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## JOSEPHUS

IV



# JOSEPHUS

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY

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IN NINE VOLUMES

IV

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, BOOKS I-IV



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## INTRODUCTION

THE *Jewish Archaeology*,<sup>a</sup> or, as it is commonly called, the *Jewish Antiquities*, the *magnum opus* of Josephus, presents in many respects a marked contrast to his earlier and finer work, the *Jewish War*. The *War*, written in the prime of life, with surprising rapidity and with all the advantages of imperial patronage, was designed to deter the author's countrymen from further revolt by portraying the invincible might of Rome. The *Archaeology* was the laboured work of middle life; compiled under the oppressive reign of Domitian, the enemy of all literature and of historical writing in particular, it was often apparently laid aside in weariness and only carried to completion through the instigation of others, and with large assistance towards the close; its design was to magnify the Jewish race in the eyes of the Graeco-Roman world by a record of its ancient and glorious history.

The author thus severs his connexion with Roman political propaganda and henceforth figures solely as Jewish historian and apologist. But this severance of Roman ties and adoption of a more patriotic theme

Proem :  
motives  
and  
models.  
The LXX.

<sup>a</sup> For this brief Introduction—limited by considerations of space—I have made use of my Lectures (iii-v) on *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929).

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hardly warrant the suggestion<sup>a</sup> that he was prompted by self-interested motives, hoping thereby to rehabilitate himself with his offended countrymen. The project of writing his nation's history was no new one, having been already conceived when he wrote the *Jewish War*.<sup>b</sup> In an interesting proem he tells us something of the genesis, motives, and difficulties of the task. He had not lightly embarked upon it, and two questions had given him cause for serious reflection, concerning the propriety of the work and the demand for it. Was such a publication consonant with piety and authorized by precedent? Was there a Greek reading public anxious for the information? He found both questions satisfactorily answered in the traditional story of the origin of the Alexandrian version of the Law under king Ptolemy Philadelphus. He, Josephus, would imitate the high priest Eleazar's example in popularizing his nation's antiquities, confident of finding many lovers of learning like-minded with the king; while he would extend the narrative to the long and glorious later history. In this allusion to the legitimacy of paraphrasing the inspired Scriptures, the author is doubtless controverting the views of the contemporary rabbinical schools of Palestine, where the Septuagint version was now in disrepute and men like R. Johanan ben Zakkai and R. Akiba were engaged in building up a fence about the Law. As regards a reading public, he might justly count on a curiosity concerning his nation having been awakened in Rome and elsewhere by the recent war, by the sculptures on the Arch of Titus, and by that religious influence of

<sup>a</sup> Laqueur. *Der jüd. Historiker Flav. Josephus*, p. 260.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* i. 6.



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the race which was now permeating every household.<sup>a</sup>

Besides the Greek Bible, which Josephus names as in part a precursor of his own work, there was another unacknowledged model, which would have found still less favour in Palestinian circles. In the year 7 B.C. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, like Josephus a migrant from the east to the western capital, had produced in Greek his great Roman history, comprised in twenty books and entitled 'Ρωμαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (*Roman Antiquities*). Exactly a century later Josephus produced his *magnum opus*, also in twenty books and entitled 'Ιουδαϊκὴ Ἀρχαιολογία (*Jewish Antiquities*). There can be no doubt that this second work was designed as a counterpart to the first. If, in his *Jewish War*, the author had counselled submission to the conqueror, he would now show that his race had a history comparable, nay in antiquity far superior, to that of Rome. Dionysius had devoted the larger part of his *Archaeology* to the earlier and mythical history of the Roman race: Josephus, on the basis of the Hebrew Scriptures, which were "pure of that unseemly mythology current among others,"<sup>b</sup> would carry his history right back to the creation. The influence of the older work may also be traced in a few details. The account of the end of Moses seems to be reminiscent of the record of the "passing" of the two founders of the Roman race, Aeneas and Romulus.<sup>c</sup> From Dionysius, too, probably comes a recurrent formula, relating to incidents of a miraculous or quasi-mythical character, on which the reader is left to form his own opinion.<sup>d</sup> Dionysius

Dionysius of  
Halicarnassus.

<sup>a</sup> *C. Ap.* ii. 284.

<sup>c</sup> *ib.* iv. 326 note.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* i. 15.

<sup>d</sup> *ib.* i. 108 note.

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has also clearly been consulted as a model of style.

**Date.** In the final paragraph of his work <sup>a</sup> the author tells us that it was completed in the thirteenth year of the reign of Domitian and in the fifty-sixth of his own life, *i.e.* in A.D. 93-94. If it was taken in hand immediately after the publication of the Greek edition of the *Jewish War*, the larger work was some eighteen years in the making. From the concluding paragraphs the further inference may be drawn that the author issued a later edition, to which the *Autobiography* was added as an appendix. For the *Antiquities* contains two perorations, the original conclusion having (like the original preface to a modern work) been relegated to the end, while to this has been prefixed another peroration, mentioning the proposal to append the *Life*.<sup>b</sup> The *Life* alludes<sup>c</sup> to the death of Agrippa II., an event which, according to Photius, occurred in A.D. 100. We may therefore infer that this later and enlarged edition of the *Antiquities* appeared early in the second century.

**Patron.** The work, like the *Life* and the *Contra Apionem* which followed it, is dedicated to a certain Epaphroditus,<sup>d</sup> the Maecenas whom Josephus found when bereft of his earlier royal patrons, Vespasian and Titus. The name Epaphroditus was not uncommon; but of those who bore it and of whom we have any record, two only come under consideration. Niese<sup>e</sup> and others have identified the patron of Josephus with the freedman and secretary of Nero, who remained with that emperor to the last and assisted

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* xx. 267.

<sup>b</sup> *ib.* xx. 259-266.

<sup>c</sup> *Vita* 359.

<sup>d</sup> *Ant.* i. 8 f., *Vita* 430, *Ap.* i. 1, ii. 1, 296.

<sup>e</sup> Vol. v. p. iii.

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him to put an end to himself—an act for which he was afterwards banished and slain by Domitian, when in terror of designs upon his own life.<sup>a</sup> The philosopher Epictetus was the freedman of this Epaphroditus; and, when Josephus describes his patron as “conversant with large affairs and varying turns of fortune” (τύχαις πολυτρόποις),<sup>b</sup> it is tempting to see an allusion to the part which he had played in the death of Nero. But chronology refutes this identification:

93-94. First edition of the *Antiquities*.

c. 95-96. Banishment and death of Epaphroditus. Yet the dedication to Epaphroditus reappears both in the *Life* (after 100) and in the *C. Apionem*, which also followed the *Antiquities* and hardly so soon as the year 94-95, as Niese supposes. With far more reason may we identify this new patron with Marcus Mettius Epaphroditus, a grammarian—mentioned by Suidas—who had been trained in Alexandria and spent the latter part of his life, from the reign of Nero to that of Nerva, in Rome, where he amassed a library of 30,000 books and enjoyed a high reputation for learning, especially as a writer on Homer and the Greek poets.<sup>c</sup> To him and to his large library Josephus may well owe some of his learning, in particular that intimate acquaintance with Homeric problems and Greek mythology displayed in the *Contra Apionem*.

The work naturally falls into two nearly equal parts, the dividing-line being the close of the exile reached at the end of Book X. A consideration of

Sources:  
Scripture.

<sup>a</sup> Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 14.

<sup>b</sup> *Ant.* i. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Schürer, *G.J.V.* (ed. 4) i. p. 80 note.

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the sources employed for the second half may be reserved for a later volume. For the first half the author is mainly dependent on Scripture and traditional interpretation of Scripture. As a rule he closely follows the order of the Biblical narrative, but he has, with apologies to his countrymen,<sup>a</sup> rearranged and given a condensed digest of the Mosaic code, reserving further details for a later treatise. In the history of the monarchy he has amalgamated the two accounts in *Kings* and *Chronicles*. In general he is faithful to his promise <sup>b</sup> to omit nothing, even the less creditable incidents in his nation's race; the most glaring omission is that of the story of the golden calf and the breaking of the first tables of the Law.<sup>c</sup> Here, as elsewhere,<sup>d</sup> he is concerned, as apologist, to give no handle to current slanders about the Jewish worship of animals. He has employed at least two forms of Biblical text, one Semitic—whether the original Hebrew or Aramaic, for there are indications in places that he is dependent on an early Targum—the other Greek. Throughout the Octateuch his main authority seems to be the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text; the use of the Greek Bible is here slight, and the translation is for the most part his own. For the later historical books the position is reversed: from 1 Samuel to 1 Maccabees the basis of his text is a Greek Bible, and the Semitic text becomes a subsidiary source.

Notwithstanding his repeated assertion<sup>e</sup> that he has added nothing to the Biblical narrative, the historian has in fact incorporated a miscellaneous mass of

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* iv. 196 ff.

<sup>c</sup> *ib.* iii. 99 note.

<sup>b</sup> *ib.* i. 17, x. 218.

<sup>d</sup> iii. 126 note.

<sup>e</sup> *ib.* i. 17, x. 218.

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traditional lore, forming a collection of first century *Midrash* of considerable value. In the realm of *Haggadah* or legendary amplification of Scripture, we have, for instance, tales of the birth and infancy of Moses <sup>a</sup> and of the Egyptian campaign against Ethiopia under his leadership, <sup>b</sup> which find partial parallels in Rabbinical and Alexandrian writings; other additions of this nature may be illustrated from the *Book of Jubilees* (c. 100 B.C.). <sup>c</sup> In the sphere of *Halakah*—the practical interpretation of the laws according to certain traditional rules, τὰ νόμιμα as Josephus would call them—the detailed exposition of the Mosaic regulations in the present volume <sup>d</sup> affords ample scope for exegesis of this nature. Where the traditions differed, the author naturally, as a rule, inclines to the Pharisaic interpretation. For the full Rabbinical parallels the reader must consult the invaluable commentary of M. Julien Weill in the French translation of Josephus edited by the late Dr. Théodore Reinach and special treatises on the subject; the principal points are mentioned in the notes to the present volume.

The account of the creation with the encomium <sup>Philo</sup> on Moses prefixed to it <sup>e</sup> betrays clear dependence on the *De opificio mundi* of Philo; acquaintance with a few other works of the Alexandrian writer is shown elsewhere. <sup>f</sup>

Besides the Bible, the historian quotes, wherever possible, external authority in support of it. Berosus

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* ii. 205 ff.                      <sup>b</sup> ii. 238 ff.

<sup>c</sup> i. 41, 52, 70 f., ii. 224 (with notes).

<sup>d</sup> iii. 224 ff., iv. 196 ff.

<sup>e</sup> i. 18-33 (notes).

<sup>f</sup> *De Abrahamo*, i. 177, 225, and perhaps *De migratione Abrahami*, i. 157; *De Iosepho*, ii. 41 f., 72.

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Non-Jewish  
authorities.

the Babylonian, Manetho the Egyptian, Dios the Phoenician, Menander of Ephesus, the Sibylline oracles, the Tyrian records, and other writers, supply evidence on the flood, the longevity of the patriarchs, the tower of Babel, and, for the later Biblical history, on the correspondence of Solomon and Hiram, on Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. But the author's repertory is here limited, and the fact that more than once an array of such names ends with that of Nicolas of Damascus <sup>a</sup> suggests that he perhaps knows of the other sources mentioned only through Nicolas, whose *Universal History* was later to serve as one of his main authorities for the post-Biblical period.

The historian, or his assistant, has not scrupled, on occasion, to enliven the narrative by details derived from pagan models. A battle scene is taken over from Thucydides <sup>b</sup>; another episode owes touches to Herodotus.<sup>c</sup>

Greek  
assistants.

Reference has been made elsewhere <sup>d</sup> to the aid which the historian received from Greek assistants (*συνεργοί*). His indebtedness to them in the *Jewish War* is acknowledged <sup>e</sup> and apparent in the uniformly excellent style of that earlier work. In the *Antiquities* there is no similar acknowledgement, and the style is much more uneven; but here too the collaborators have left their own impress. Two of these—the principal assistants—betray themselves in the later books, where the author, wearying of his *magnum opus*, seems to have entrusted the com-

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* i. 94, 107 f., 158 f.; *cf.* vii. 101.

<sup>b</sup> iv. 92.

<sup>c</sup> iv. 134 note.

<sup>d</sup> Vol. ii. p. xv; a fuller statement in *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929), Lecture v.

<sup>e</sup> *Ap.* i. 50.

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position in the main to other hands. Books xv-xvi are the work of one of the able assistants already employed in the *War*, a cultured writer with a love of the Greek poets and of Sophocles in particular (I call him the "Sophoclean" assistant); xvii-xix show the marked mannerisms of a hack, a slavish imitator of Thucydides (I call him the "Thucydidean"). In these five books (xv-xix) these two assistants have, it seems, practically taken over the entire task. In the earlier books (i-xiv) they have lent occasional aid—the Thucydidean rarely, the poet-lover more frequently.

(i) The neat style of the "Sophoclean" assistant is traceable in many passages in Books i-iv, e.g. the proem, the wooing of Rebecca (i. 242 ff.) and of Rachel (i. 285 ff.), the temptation of Joseph by Potiphar's wife (ii. 39 ff.), the exodus and passage of the Red Sea, the rebellion of Korah, the story of Balaam, the passing of Moses. Elsewhere he would appear to have revised and edited the author's work, indications of his hand appearing at the end of a paragraph.

Echoes of Sophocles, not so prominent as in *A.* xv-xvi, appear in ii. 254 ἄπτεσθαι βουλευμάτων (*Soph. Ant.* 179), 300 κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπόλλυσθαι (*Phil.* 1369), iii. 15 τὰ ἐν ποσὶ κακά (cp. 12 : *Ant.* 1327), 99 πρόνοιαν ἔχειν περὶ τινος (*Ant.* 283), 141 and 165 περονίς (else only *Trach.* 925), 264 ἐξικετεύειν (*O.T.* 760), iv. 15 θηρᾶσθαι e. inf. (*Al.* 2), iv. 265 ἄμοιρος γῆς (cp. *Al.* 1326 f.). Euripides (*Herc. Fur.* 323 f.) is clearly the model in the story of Hagar's expulsion (i. 218). From Homer we have ἐπὶ γῆρως οὐδῶ (i. 222 : cp. *Il.* xxii. 60 etc.), πίδαξιν ὀλίγαις (iii. 33 : *Il.* xvi. 825), ἤχλυσεν (iii. 203 : *Od.* xii. 406), ὥστε παῖδας εὐφρᾶναι καὶ γυναῖκας (iv. 117 : after *Il.* v. 688). The narrative of the seduction of the Hebrew youth by the Midianite women (iv. 131 ff.) is modelled on the story of the Scythians and Amazons in Herodotus (iv. 111 ff.). From Herodotus (iii. 98) comes also the phrase πρὸς ἧλιον ἀνίσχοντα (iv. 305).

Beside this dependence on classical authors, another marked feature of this assistant, which he shares with his

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favourite poet <sup>a</sup> and perhaps took over from him, is his fondness for trichotomy. Three reasons, three parties, the triple group in various forms—such modes of expression are a sure index of the work of this assistant and sharply distinguish him from an inferior *συνεργός* who appears later on (*A.* vi) and is characterized by his love of *hendiadys* and the double group. Three reasons are given for the longevity of the patriarchs (*A.* i. 106), for narrating the plagues of Egypt in full (ii. 293), for the route of the exodus (ii. 322 f.), for the three annual feasts of the Hebrews (iv. 203). Three parties hold contrary opinions concerning the lawgiver (iii. 96 f., iv. 36 f. τῶν μὲν . . . τῶν δὲ φρονίμων . . . ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὄμιλος . . .). Three alternative methods of delivering the Israelites at the Red Sea are open to the Deity (ii. 337). Instances of similar grouping are to be found in ii. 189, 275 (φωνή, ὄψις, προσηγορία), 283, 326, iii. 22, 45 *bis* (ὀπλων χρημάτων τροφῆς: ὀλίγον ἄνοπλον ἀσθενές), 80 (ἄνεμοι . . . ἀστραπαί . . . κεραυνοί), 319 (οἱ μὲν . . . οἱ δὲ . . . πολλοὶ δὲ . . .), iv. 26 (οὐκ ἐπειδὴ . . . οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εὐγενεῖα . . . οὐδὲ διὰ φιλαδελφίαν), 40 (δέσποτα τῶν ἐπ' οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, cf. 45), 48 (αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῇ γενεᾷ καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν), etc.

(ii) The "Thucydidean" assistant, who towards the close of the *Antiquities* (xvii-xix) was to lend liberal aid, in the earlier books plays but a small part. His plagiarism from Thucydides and a few mannerisms betray his hand in some five passages. Here he has been employed as a sort of "war-correspondent" for battle scenes and military matters. He it is who describes the battles with the Amalekites (iii. 53 ff.) and the Amorites (iv. 87 ff.); twice his hand appears at a point where there is a transition from civil to military regulations (iii. 287 ff., iv. 292 ff.); and he has also supplied the picture of the burning of the company of Korah (iv. 54 ff.).

After elimination of the work of these two assistants, whose large aid in the later books enables us in some measure to identify their style elsewhere, it is difficult to say how much of the composition is left to the author himself. But there are cruder passages in

<sup>a</sup> See the writer's paper on *Sophocles and the Perfect Number* (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xvi).



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*A.* i-xiv, xx and the *Life*, which it is not unreasonable to refer to him ; and it may even be possible to detect an occasional trace of the influence of his native Aramaic speech, as in the colloquial use of ἄρχεται with infinitive, familiar in the New Testament.<sup>a</sup>

As in previous volumes, the Greek text here printed is based on that of Niese, but is of an eclectic nature, the readings quoted in his *apparatus criticus* being occasionally adopted. The original text is to be looked for in no single group of mss. As a rule the group followed by Niese—RO(M)—is superior<sup>b</sup> : at the other extreme stands a pair of mss—SP—which, when unsupported, are seldom trustworthy ; the remaining authorities are of a mixed character, the old Latin version being specially important.

The length of the *Jewish Antiquities* led at an early date to its bisection in the mss,<sup>c</sup> and our authorities for the text of the first half of the work differ from those in the second half. The ancient authorities for *A.* i-x used by Niese and quoted in the present volume are as follows :

- R Codex Regius Parisinus, cent. xiv.
- O Codex Oxoniensis (Bodleianus), miscell. graec. 186, cent. xv.
- M Codex Marcianus (Venetus) Gr. 381, cent. xiii.

<sup>a</sup> See an article in the *Journal of Theological Studies*, vol. xxx (1929) p. 361, on "An unrecorded 'Aramaism' in Josephus."

<sup>b</sup> e.g. in i. 82, 148, where (R)O alone have preserved the correct figure, while the other authorities conform to the Hebrew text of Genesis.

<sup>c</sup> There are indications of a division at one time into *four* parts (Niese. vol. i. p. viii).

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- S Codex Vindobonensis II. A 19, historicus Graecus 2, cent. xi.
- P Codex Parisinus Gr. 1419, cent. xi.
- L Codex Laurentianus, plut. lxxix. 20, cent. xiv.
- Lat. Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus, cent. v or vi.
- Exe. Excerpts made by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, cent. x.
- E Epitome, used by Zonaras, and conjectured by Niese to have been made in cent. x or xi.
- Zon. The *Chronicon* of J. Zonaras, cent. xii.
- ed. pr. The *editio princeps* of the Greek text (Basel, 1544) seems to be derived in part from some unknown MS and is occasionally an important authority.

If the author of the *Jewish Antiquities* received much assistance from others in the composition of his work, so also has his translator. In particular he must here gratefully acknowledge his constant indebtedness, both in the translation and more especially in the notes, to the invaluable work of Monsieur Julien Weill, the translator of Books i-x of the *Antiquities* in the *Œuvres complètes de Flavius Josèphe* edited by the late Dr. Théodore Reinach (Paris, 1900 etc.); M. Weill's collection of Rabbinical parallels to the historian's exposition of the Mosaic code is an indispensable companion to all students of this portion of Josephus. For the Greek text, besides the great work of Benedict Niese (Berlin, 1887), that of Naber (Leipzig, Teubner, 1888) has been consulted throughout. Among previous translations, after that of M. Weill the most helpful has been the Latin version

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of John Hudson in the edition of Havercamp (Amsterdam, 1726); the translation of William Whiston, revised by the Rev. A. R. Shilleto (London, 1889), has furnished occasional aid. On two special points the translator has to express his thanks to experts for assistance received: to Professor A. E. Housman and to Mrs. Maunder on an astronomical point (*A.* iii. 182); while Mr. F. Howarth, Lecturer in Botany in the Imperial College of Science and Technology, has kindly supplied a note, with illustration, on the description of the plant henbane (iii. 172). Thanks are also due to the press reader for his vigilance and acute suggestions.

### ABBREVIATIONS

*A.* = (*Ant.*) = *Antiquitates Judaicae*.

*Ap.* = *Contra Apionem*.

*B.* (*B.J.*) = *Bellum Judaicum*.

codd. = *codices* (all mss quoted by Niese).

conj. = conjectural emendation.

ed. pr. = *editio princeps* of Greek text (Basel, 1544).

ins. = inserted by.

om. = omit.

rell. = *codices reliqui* (the rest of the mss quoted by Niese).

Conjectural insertions in the Greek text are indicated by angular brackets, < >; doubtful ms readings by square brackets, [ ].

The smaller sections introduced by Niese are shown in the left margin of the Greek text. References throughout are to these sections. The chapter-division of earlier editions is indicated on both pages (Greek and English).

**LIST OF JOSEPHUS' WORKS**  
SHOWING THEIR DIVISION INTO VOLUMES  
IN THIS EDITION

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# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

# ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

(Proem 1) Τοῖς τὰς ἱστορίας συγγράφειν βουλομένοις οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὁρῶ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αἰτίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ πλείστον  
2 ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λόγων δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς θηρευόμενοι<sup>1</sup> δόξαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς παιδείας τὸ μέρος ὀρμῶσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ χάριν ἐκείνοις φέροντες, περὶ ὧν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν  
3 πόνον καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπέστησαν· εἰσὶ δ' οἷτινες ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης οἷς πραττομένοις παρέτυχον ταῦτα γραφῆ  
δηλούσῃ περιλαβεῖν· πολλοὺς δὲ χρησίων μέγεθος πραγμάτων ἐν ἀγνοίᾳ κειμένων προὔτρεψε τὴν  
4 περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς κοινὴν ὠφέλειαν ἐξενεγκεῖν. τούτων δὴ τῶν προειρημένων αἰτιῶν αἱ τελευταῖαι δύο κάμοι συμβεβήκασι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γινόμενον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῷ πράξεις καὶ τὸ τέλος οἷον ἀπέβη πείρα μαθῶν ἐβιάσθη ἐκδιηγῆσθαι διὰ τοὺς ἐν τῷ γράφειν λυμαινομένους τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Ο: θηρώμενοι rell.

<sup>a</sup> The *Bellum Judaicum*, published some twenty years before the present work.

# JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

## BOOK I

(Proem 1) Those who essay to write histories are actuated, I observe, not by one and the same aim, but by many widely different motives. Some, eager to display their literary skill and to win the fame therefrom expected, rush into this department of letters; others, to gratify the persons to whom the record happens to relate, have undertaken the requisite labour even though beyond their power; others again have been constrained by the mere stress of events in which they themselves took part to set these out in a comprehensive narrative; while many have been induced by prevailing ignorance of important affairs of general utility to publish a history of them for the public benefit. Of the aforesaid motives the two last apply to myself. For, having known by experience the war which we Jews waged against the Romans, the incidents in its course and its issue, I was constrained to narrate it in detail<sup>a</sup> in order to refute those who in their writings were doing outrage to the truth.<sup>b</sup>

Various motives of historiana.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *B.J.* i. 2 and 6 for these earlier histories of the war; and for the later work of the historian's main rival, Justus of Tiberias, *Vita* 336 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

5 ἀλήθειαν, (2) ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν ἐγκεχεί-  
 ρισμαι<sup>1</sup> πραγματείαν νομίζων ἅπασι φανείσθαι τοῖς  
 Ἕλλησιν ἀξίαν σπουδῆς· μέλλει γὰρ περιέξειν ἅπα-  
 σαν τὴν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ [τὴν]<sup>2</sup> διάταξιν  
 τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθρρημευ-  
 6 μένην γραμμάτων. ἤδη μὲν οὖν καὶ πρότερον  
 διενόηθην, ὅτε τὸν πόλεμον συνέγραφον, δηλῶσαι  
 τίνες ὄντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαῖοι καὶ τίσι χρησάμενοι  
 τύχαις, ὑφ' οἷω τε παιδευθέντες νομοθέτη τὰ πρὸς  
 εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀσκησιν ἀρετῆς, πόσους  
 τε πολέμους ἐν μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς  
 τὸν τελευταῖον ἄκοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κατέστη-  
 7 σαν. ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἦν ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου  
 περιβολή, καθ' αὐτὸν<sup>3</sup> ἐκείνον χωρίσας ταῖς ἰδίαις  
 ἀρχαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τέλει τὴν γραφὴν συνεμέ-  
 τρησα· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς  
 μεγάλων ἀπτεσθαι διανοουμένοις, ὅκνος μοι καὶ  
 μέλλησις ἐγένετο τηλικαύτην μετενεγκεῖν ὑπό-  
 θεσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου  
 8 συνήθειαν. ἦσαν δέ τινες οἱ πόθω τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπ'  
 αὐτὴν με προύτρεπον, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων  
 Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἀνὴρ ἅπασαν μὲν ἰδέαν παιδείας  
 ἠγαπηκῶς, διαφερόντως δὲ χαίρων ἐμπειρίαις  
 πραγμάτων, ἅτε δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτὸς ὀμιλήσας  
 πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόποις, ἐν ἅπασι δὲ  
 9 θαυμαστὴν φύσεως ἐπιδειξάμενος ἰσχὺν καὶ προαί-  
 ρεσιν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακίνητον. τούτῳ δὴ πειθόμενος  
 ὡς αἰεὶ<sup>4</sup> τοῖς χρήσιμον ἢ καλὸν τι πράττειν δυνα-

<sup>1</sup> προεγκεχείρισμαι SPL.

<sup>2</sup> om. O.

<sup>3</sup> κατ' αὐτὸν OE.

<sup>4</sup> ὡς αἰεὶ O: αἰεὶ rell.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus bases the first part of his narrative on the Biblical story; but his rôle as "translator" is limited.



## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I. 5-9

(2) And now I have undertaken this present work in the belief that the whole Greek-speaking world will find it worthy of attention ; for it will embrace our entire ancient history and political constitution, translated from the Hebrew records.<sup>a</sup> I had indeed ere now, when writing the history of the war, already contemplated describing the origin of the Jews, the fortunes that befell them, the great lawgiver under whom they were trained in piety and the exercise of the other virtues, and all those wars waged by them through long ages before this last in which they were involuntarily engaged against the Romans. However, since the compass of such a theme was excessive, I made the *War* into a separate volume, with its own beginning and end, thus duly proportioning my work. Nevertheless, as time went on, as is wont to happen to those who design to attack large tasks, there was hesitation and delay on my part in rendering so vast a subject into a foreign and unfamiliar tongue. However, there were certain persons curious about the history who urged me to pursue it, and above all Epaphroditus,<sup>b</sup> a man devoted to every form of learning, but specially interested in the experiences of history, conversant as he himself has been with large affairs and varying turns of fortune, through all which he has displayed a wonderful force of character and an attachment to virtue that nothing could deflect. Yielding, then, to the persuasions of one who is ever

Origin of present work.

The historian's patron.

For the later historical books (1 Samuel to 1 Maccabees), and to a less extent for the Pentateuch, he is largely dependent on the Alexandrian Greek Bible, which he merely paraphrases.

<sup>b</sup> See Introduction. The historian's later works, the *Antiquities*, its appendix the *Life* (§ 430), and the *Contra Apionem*, are all dedicated to this patron.

## JOSEPHUS

μένοις συμφιλοκαλοῦντι καὶ ἑμαυτὸν αἰσχυρόμενος, εἰ δόξαιμι ῥαθυμία πλέον ἢ τῷ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα χαίρειν πόνῳ, προθυμότερον ἐπερρώσθην, ἔτι κάκεινα<sup>1</sup> πρὸς τοῖς εἰρημένοις λογισάμενος οὐ παρέργως, περί τε τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων εἰ μεταδιδόναι τῶν τοιούτων ἤθελον, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἴ τινας αὐτῶν γνῶναι τὰ παρ' ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασαν.

- 10 (3) Εὐρον τοίνυν ὅτι Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος, μάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίω συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας, ἔξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν ἡμέτερον νόμον καὶ τὴν κατ' αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς  
 11 πολιτείας εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁ δὲ τῶν παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέων οὐδενὸς ἀρετῇ δεύτερος Ἐλεάζαρος τῷ προειρημένῳ βασιλεῖ ταύτης ἀπολαῦσαι τῆς ὠφελείας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε, πάντως ἀντειπὼν ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάτριον ἦν ἡμῖν τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν  
 12 τῶν καλῶν ἀπόρρητον. κάμαντῷ δὴ πρέπει ἐνόμισα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μιμήσασθαι μεγαλόψυχον, τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ πολλοὺς ὁμοίως ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ νῦν εἶναι φιλομαθεῖς· οὐδὲ γὰρ πᾶσαν ἐκείνος ἔφθη λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, ἀλλ' αὐτὰ<sup>2</sup> μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδωσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν  
 13 ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· μυρία δ' ἐστὶ τὰ δηλούμενα διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ἅτε δὴ πεντακισχιλίων ἐτῶν ἱστορίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-

<sup>1</sup> O: κάκεινο rell. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ (om. αὐτὰ) O.

<sup>a</sup> Ptolemy II. "Philadelphus" (283-245 B.C., E. Bevan).

<sup>b</sup> The reputed high priest in the Aristeeas story.

<sup>c</sup> The traditional story of the origin of the Greek version

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I. 9-13

an enthusiastic supporter of persons with ability to produce some useful or beautiful work, and ashamed of myself that I should be thought to prefer sloth to the effort of this noblest of enterprises, I was encouraged to greater ardour. Besides these motives, there were two further considerations to which I had given serious thought, namely, whether our ancestors, on the one hand, were willing to communicate such information, and whether any of the Greeks, on the other, had been curious to learn our history.

(3) I found then that the second of the Ptolemies,<sup>a</sup> that king who was so deeply interested in learning and such a collector of books, was particularly anxious to have our Law and the political constitution based thereon translated into Greek; while, on the other side, Eleazar,<sup>b</sup> who yielded in virtue to none of our high priests, did not scruple to grant the monarch the enjoyment of a benefit, which he would certainly have refused had it not been our traditional custom to make nothing of what is good into a secret.<sup>c</sup> Accordingly, I thought that it became me also both to imitate the high priest's magnanimity and to assume that there are still to-day many lovers of learning like the king. For even he failed to obtain<sup>d</sup> all our records: it was only the portion containing the Law which was delivered to him by those who were sent to Alexandria to interpret it. The things narrated in the sacred Scriptures are, however, innumerable, seeing that they embrace the history of

An earlier model: the Greek version of the Law.

of the Pentateuch is told in the so-called Letter of Aristeas and repeated by Josephus in *A.* xii. 11-118.

<sup>d</sup> Or "to forestall me by obtaining." Josephus does not mention that the version of the Law was followed up by translations, which he has freely used, of the rest of the Hebrew Scriptures.

## JOSEPHUS

περιειλημμένης, καὶ παντοῖαι μὲν εἰσι παράλογοι  
 περιπέτειαι, πολλαὶ δὲ τύχαι πολέμων καὶ στρατη-  
 γῶν ἀνδραγαθίαι καὶ πολιτευμάτων μεταβολαί.  
 14 τὸ σύνολον δὲ μάλιστα τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς  
 ἱστορίας ἐβελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν  
 θεοῦ γνώμη κατακολουθοῦσι καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομο-  
 θετηθέντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν<sup>1</sup> πάντα κατ-  
 ορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονία πρό-  
 κείται παρὰ θεοῦ· καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποστῶσι τῆς  
 τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἄπορα μὲν γίνεται  
 τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δὲ εἰς συμφορὰς ἀνηκέστους  
 15 ὅ τι ποτ' ἂν ὡς ἀγαθὸν δρᾶν σπουδάσωσιν. ἤδη  
 τοίνυν τοὺς ἐντευξομένους τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ  
 τὴν γνώμην θεῶ προσανέχειν καὶ δοκιμάζειν τὸν  
 ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τὴν τε φύσιν ἀξίως αὐτοῦ  
 κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας ἀεὶ τὰς  
 πράξεις ἀνατέθεικε πάσης καθαρὸν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ  
 φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἄλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθο-  
 16 λογίας· καίτοι γε ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ πα-  
 λαιότητι πολλὴν εἶχεν<sup>2</sup> ἄδειαν ψευδῶν πλασμάτων·  
 γέγονε γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλίων, ἐφ' ὅσον πλῆθος  
 αἰῶνος οὐδ' αὐτῶν οἱ ποιηταὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν  
 θεῶν, μήτι γε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις ἢ τοὺς  
 17 νόμους ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ  
 γῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προῖων ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν  
 οἰκείαν τάξιν σημαίνει· τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης  
 ποιήσκειν τῆς πραγματείας ἐπηγγειλάμην οὐδὲν  
 προσθεῖς οὐδ' αὖ παραλιπῶν.

<sup>1</sup> παραλαβεῖν R : παριδεῖν O.      <sup>2</sup> potuisset (ἂν εἶχεν?) Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> ἄπορα γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, the reverse of the phrase of Aeschylus (*P. V.* 904), ἄπορα πόριμος "making impossibilities

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I. 13-17

five thousand years and recount all sorts of surprising reverses, many fortunes of war, heroic exploits of generals, and political revolutions. But, speaking generally, the main lesson to be learnt from this history by any who care to peruse it is that men who conform to the will of God, and do not venture to transgress laws that have been excellently laid down, prosper in all things beyond belief, and for their reward are offered by God felicity; whereas, in proportion as they depart from the strict observance of these laws, things (else) practicable become impracticable,<sup>a</sup> and whatever imaginary good thing they strive to do ends in irretrievable disasters. At the outset, then, I entreat those who will read these volumes to fix their thoughts on God, and to test whether our lawgiver has had a worthy conception of His nature and has always assigned to Him such actions as befit His power, keeping his words concerning Him pure of that unseemly mythology current among others; albeit that, in dealing with ages so long and so remote, he would have had ample licence to invent fictions. For he was born two thousand years ago, to which ancient date the poets never ventured to refer even the birth of their gods, much less the actions or the laws of mortals. The precise details of our Scripture records will, then, be set forth, each in its place, as my narrative proceeds, that being the procedure that I have promised to follow throughout this work, neither adding nor omitting anything.<sup>b</sup>

Moral lesson  
of present  
work.

possible," which is perhaps in the mind of the historian's cultured assistant, notwithstanding its association with the "unseemly mythology" denounced below.

<sup>b</sup> § 5. In fact he "adds" some curious legends, on Moses in particular, and there are some few pardonable omissions.

## JOSEPHUS

- 18 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ [τὰ]<sup>1</sup> πάντα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἡμῖν ἀνήρτηται Μωυσέος, ἀνάγκη μοι βραχέα περὶ ἐκείνου προειπεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τινες τῶν ἀναγνωσομένων διαπορῶσι, πότεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος περὶ νόμων<sup>2</sup> καὶ πράξεων ἔχων τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φυσιολογίας κεκοινώνηκεν.
- 19 Ἰστέον οὖν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκείνος ἀναγκαϊότατον ἠγήσατο τῷ καὶ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μέλλοντι βίον οἰκονομήσειν καλῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθετεῖν θεοῦ πρῶτον φύσιν κατανοῆσαι καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐκείνου θεατὴν τῷ νῶ γενόμενον οὕτως παραδειγμα τὸ πάντων ἄριστον μιμεῖσθαι, καθ' ὅσον
- 20 οἶόν τε, καὶ πειρᾶσθαι κατακολουθεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτ' ἂν γενέσθαι νοῦν ἀγαθὸν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ταύτης ἀπολειπομένῳ τῆς θέας, οὔτε τῶν γραφησομένων εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον οὐδὲν ἀποβήσεσθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διδαχθεῖεν, ὅτι πάντων πατήρ τε καὶ δεσπότης ὁ θεὸς ὢν καὶ πάντα ἐπιβλέπων τοῖς μὲν ἐπομένοις αὐτῷ δίδωσιν εὐδαίμονα βίον, τοὺς ἔξω δὲ βαίνοντας ἀρετῆς
- 21 μεγάλας περιβάλλει συμφοραῖς. τοῦτο δὴ παιδεῦσαι βουληθεῖς Μωυσῆς τὸ παιδεύμα τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ πολίτας τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως οὐκ ἀπὸ συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους δικαίων ἤρξατο τοῖς ἄλλοις παραπλησίως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευὴν τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ πείσας, ὅτι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> om. O.

<sup>2</sup> περὶ λόγων RE Lat.: παραλόγων O.

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<sup>a</sup> Greek "physiology," i.e. the investigation of the origin of existence in the account of creation. He uses the cognate verb with reference to Gen. ii. 7 in particular (§ 34).

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I. 18-21

(4) But, since well-nigh everything herein related is dependent on the wisdom of our lawgiver Moses, I must first speak briefly of him, lest any of my readers should ask how it is that so much of my work, which professes to treat of laws and historical facts, is devoted to natural philosophy.<sup>a</sup> Be it known, then, that that sage deemed it above all necessary, for one who would order his own life aright and also legislate for others, first to study the nature of God, and then, having contemplated his works with the eye of reason, to imitate so far as possible that best of all models and endeavour to follow it. For neither could the lawgiver himself, without this vision, ever attain to a right mind, nor would anything that he should write in regard to virtue avail with his readers, unless before all else they were taught that God, as the universal Father and Lord who beholds all things, grants to such as follow Him a life of bliss, but involves in dire calamities those who step outside the path of virtue. Such, then, being the lesson which Moses desired to instil into his fellow-citizens, he did not, when framing his laws, begin with contracts and the mutual rights of man, as others have done<sup>b</sup>; no, he led their thoughts up to God and the construction of the world; he convinced them that of all God's works upon earth

Moses contrasted with other legislators.

<sup>b</sup> Here and in the sequel the writer has before him Philo's *De opificio mundi*, a work which he has used again in the *Contra Apionem*. Philo's work begins with a similar contrast between Moses and other legislators. Of these some have set out their codes bare and unadorned, others have deluded the multitude by prefixing to them mythical inventions. Moses did neither, but, in order to mould (*προτυπῶσαι*) the minds of those who were to use his laws, did not at once prescribe what they should do or not do (*μήτ' εὐθὺς ἀ χρῆ πράττειν ἢ τοῦναντίον ὑπειπῶν*), but began with a marvellous account of creation (§§ 1-3 Cohn-Wendland).

## JOSEPHUS

θεοῦ κάλλιστόν ἔσμεν ἄνθρωποι, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν  
 εὐσέβειαν ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας, ῥαδίως ἤδη περὶ  
 22 πάντων ἔπειθεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι νομοθέται τοῖς  
 μύθοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀμαρ-  
 τημάτων εἰς τοὺς θεοὺς τῷ λόγῳ τὴν αἰσχύνην  
 μετέθεσαν καὶ πολλὴν ὑποτίμησιν τοῖς πονηροῖς  
 23 ἔδωκαν· ὁ δ' ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀκραιφνῆ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν ἔχοντα τὸν θεὸν ἀποφήνας ὤηθη δεῖν τοὺς  
 ἀνθρώπους ἐκείνης πειρᾶσθαι μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ  
 τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα φρονούντας μηδὲ μὴ πιστεύοντας  
 24 ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασε. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν  
 ὑπόθεσιν ποιῆσθαι τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοὺς ἀναγνω-  
 σομένους παρακαλῶ· φανεῖται γὰρ σκοπουμένοις  
 οὕτως οὐδὲν οὐτ' ἄλογον αὐτοῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὴν  
 μεγαλειότητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν  
 ἀνάρμοστον· πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὄλων φύσει σύμ-  
 φωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν, τὰ μὲν αἰνιττομένου τοῦ  
 νομοθέτου δεξιῶς, τὰ δ' ἀλληγοροῦντος μετὰ  
 σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ' ἐξ εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε  
 25 ταῦτα ῥητῶς ἐμφανίζοντος. τοῖς μέντοι βουλο-  
 μένοις καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐκάστου σκοπεῖν πολλὴ  
 γένοιτ' ἂν ἡ θεωρία καὶ λίαν φιλόσοφος, ἣν ἐγὼ  
 νῦν μὲν ὑπερβάλλομαι, θεοῦ δὲ διδόντος ἡμῖν  
 χρόνον πειράσομαι μετὰ ταύτην γράψαι τὴν πραγ-  
 26 ματείαν. τρέφομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν ἤδη τῶν  
 πραγμάτων μνησθεῖς πρότερον ὧν περὶ τῆς τοῦ  
 κόσμου κατασκευῆς εἶπε Μωυσῆς· ταῦτα δ' ἐν

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<sup>a</sup> The idea of the Law being in harmony with the universe again comes from Philo. "The opening of the narrative is, as I said, most marvellous, comprising the creation of the world, ὡς καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῷ νόμῳ καὶ τοῦ νόμου τῷ κόσμῳ συνάδοντος καὶ τοῦ νομίμου ἀνδρὸς εὐθὺς ὄντος κοσμοπολίτου πρὸς



we men are the fairest ; and when once he had won their obedience to the dictates of piety, he had no further difficulty in persuading them of all the rest. Other legislators, in fact, following fables, have in their writings imputed to the gods the disgraceful errors of men and thus furnished the wicked with a powerful excuse ; our legislator, on the contrary, having shown that God possesses the very perfection of virtue, thought that men should strive to participate in it, and inexorably punished those who did not hold with or believe in these doctrines. I therefore entreat my readers to examine my work from this point of view. For, studying it in this spirit, nothing will appear to them unreasonable, nothing incongruous with the majesty of God and His love for man ; everything, indeed, is here set forth in keeping with the nature of the universe <sup>a</sup>; some things the lawgiver shrewdly veils in enigmas, others he sets forth in solemn allegory ; but wherever straightforward speech was expedient, there he makes his meaning absolutely plain. Should any further desire to consider the reasons for every article in our creed, he would find the inquiry profound and highly philosophical ; that subject for the moment I defer, but, if God grants me time, I shall endeavour to write upon it after completing the present work.<sup>b</sup> I shall now accordingly turn to the narrative of events, first mentioning what Moses has said concerning the creation of the world,

τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντος, καθ' ἣν καὶ ὁ σύμπας κόσμος διοικεῖται," *De op. mundi* 3.

<sup>b</sup> This projected work on " Customs and Causes " (*A.* iv. 198) was apparently never completed, but the mention of its " four books " (*A.* xx. 268) and scattered allusions in the *Antiquities* to its intended contents suggest that it had taken shape in the author's mind and was actually begun.

## JOSEPHUS

ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις εὑρον ἀναγεγραμμένα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως·

- 27 (i. 1) Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἔκτισεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταύτης δ' ὑπ' ὄψιν οὐκ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖ μὲν κρυπτομένης σκότει, πνεύματος δ' αὐτὴν ἄνωθεν ἐπιθέοντος, γενέσθαι φῶς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ
- 28 θεός. καὶ γενομένου τούτου κατανοήσας τὴν ὄλην ὕλην διεχώρισε τό τε φῶς καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα ἔθετο νύκτα, τὸ δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν, ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ὄρθρον τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ
- 29 τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν προσαγορεύσας. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἴη πρώτη ἡμέρα, Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτὴν μίαν εἶπε· τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν ἰκανὸς μὲν εἶμι ἀποδοῦναι καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ δ' ὑπέσχημαι τὴν αἰτιολογίαν πάντων ἰδία
- 30 συγγραψάμενος παραδώσειν, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτῆς ἐρμηνείαν ἀναβάλλομαι. μετὰ δὲ τοῦτο τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὸν οὐρανὸν τοῖς ὄλοις ἐπιτίθησιν, ὅτ' αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίνας καθ' αὐτὸν ἠξίωσε τετάχθαι, κρύσταλλον τε περιπήξας αὐτῷ καὶ νότιον αὐτὸν καὶ ὑετώδη πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δρόσων ὠφέλειαν ἀρμοδίως<sup>1</sup> τῇ
- 31 γῆ μηχανησάμενος. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἴστησι τὴν γῆν ἀναχέας περὶ αὐτὴν τὴν θάλασσαν· κατ' αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτην τὴν ἡμέραν εὐθύς φυτὰ τε καὶ σπέρματα γῆθεν ἀνέτειλε. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ διακοσμεί τὸν οὐρανὸν ἡλίῳ καὶ σελήνῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἄστροις κινήσεις αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλας καὶ δρόμους, οἷς ἂν

<sup>1</sup> LE: ἀρμονίως rell.

<sup>a</sup> Or "founded": Josephus, in common with the later translator of Scripture, Aquila (2nd cent. A.D.), writes ἔκτισεν, not ἐποίησεν of the earlier Alexandrian translators.

<sup>b</sup> Gen. i. 5 "There was evening and there was morning,

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I. 26-31

as I find it recorded in the sacred books. His account is as follows :

(i. 1) In the beginning God created <sup>a</sup> the heaven and the earth. The earth had not come into sight, but was hidden in thick darkness, and a breath from above sped over it, when God commanded that there should be light. It came, and, surveying the whole of matter, He divided the light from the darkness, calling the latter night and the former day, and naming morning and evening the dawn of the light and its cessation. This then should be the first day, but Moses spoke of it as "one" day <sup>b</sup> ; I could explain why he did so now, but, having promised to render an account of the causes of everything in a special work,<sup>c</sup> I defer till then the explanation of this point also. After this, on the second day, He set the heaven above the universe, when He was pleased to sever this from the rest and to assign it a place apart, congealing ice about it and withal rendering it moist and rainy to give the benefit of the dews in a manner congenial to the earth. On the third day he established the earth, pouring around it the sea ; and on the self-same day plants and seeds sprang forthwith <sup>d</sup> from the soil. On the fourth he adorned the heaven with sun and moon and the other stars, prescribing their motions and courses

The  
creation.  
Genesis i. 1

one day." Jewish Rabbis sought to explain the use of the cardinal number here, rather than the ordinal "first." Philo, whose work is in the writer's mind, has a mystical interpretation of his own : *ἡμέραν ὁ ποιῶν ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἡμέραν οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἣ λέλεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου μόνωσιν μοναδικῆν ἔχοντος φύσιν, De opif. (9) § 35.*

<sup>c</sup> § 25 note.

<sup>d</sup> So Philo, *op. cit.* (12) § 40 (quoted by Weill) : *ἐβεβρίθει δὲ πάντα καρποῖς εὐθὺς ἅμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον τρόπον ἢ τὸν νυκτὶ καθεστῶτα.*

## JOSEPHUS

- 32 αἱ τῶν ὠρῶν περιφοραὶ σημαίνονται. πέμπτη δ' ἡμέρα ζῶά τε κατ' αὐτὴν νηκτὰ καὶ μετάρσια τὰ μὲν κατὰ βάθους<sup>1</sup> τὰ δὲ δι' ἀέρος ἀνῆκε συνδησάμενος αὐτὰ κοινωνία καὶ μίξει γονῆς ἔνεκα καὶ τοῦ συναύξεσθαι καὶ πλεονάζειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν. τῇ δὲ ἕκτη ἡμέρα δημιουργεῖ τὸ τῶν τετραπόδων γένος ἄρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ ποιήσας· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ
- 33 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασε. καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις Μωυσῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φησι γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἑβδόμῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων ἐκεχειρίαν, ὅθεν καὶ ἡμεῖς σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων κατὰ ταύτην ἄγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν σάββατα· δηλοῖ δὲ ἀνάπausιν κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον τοῦνομα.
- 34 (2) Καὶ δὴ καὶ φυσιολογεῖν Μωυσῆς μετὰ τὴν ἑβδόμην ἤρξατο περὶ τῆς ἀνθρώπου κατασκευῆς λέγων οὕτως· ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβῶν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνήκεν αὐτῷ καὶ ψυχὴν. ὁ δ' ἄνθρωπος οὗτος Ἀδαμος ἐκλήθη· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ γλώτταν τὴν Ἑβραίων πυρρόν,<sup>2</sup> ἐπειδήπερ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρᾶς γῆς φυραθείσης ἐγεγόνει· τοιαύτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος γῆ
- 35 καὶ ἀληθινή. παρίστησι δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἀδάμῳ κατὰ γένη τὰ ζῶα θῆλύ τε καὶ ἄρρεν ἀποδειξάμενος, καὶ τούτοις ὀνόματα τίθησιν οἷς ἔτι καὶ νῦν καλοῦνται. βλέπων δὲ τὸν Ἀδαμον οὐκ ἔχοντα κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ συνδιαίτησιν,

<sup>1</sup> βυθοῦ SPL.

<sup>2</sup> πυρρός SPL Lat.

<sup>a</sup> i.e., as modern critics recognize, near the point of transition from one document ("P") to another ("J").

to indicate the revolutions of the seasons. The fifth day He let loose in the deep and in the air the creatures that swim or fly, linking them in partnership and union to generate and to increase and multiply their kind. The sixth day He created the race of four-footed creatures, making them male and female : on this day also He formed man. Thus, so Moses tells us, the world and everything in it was made in six days in all ; and on the seventh God rested and had respite from His labours, for which reason we also pass this day in repose from toil and call it the sabbath, a word which in the Hebrew language means " rest."

(2) And here, after the seventh day,<sup>a</sup> Moses begins to interpret nature,<sup>b</sup> writing on the formation of man in these terms : " God fashioned man by taking dust Gen. ii. 7. from the earth and instilled into him spirit and soul." Now this man was called Adam, which in Hebrew signifies " red," because he was made from the red earth kneaded together ; for such is the colour of the true virgin soil.<sup>c</sup> And God brought before Adam the living creatures after their kinds, exhibiting both male and female, and gave <sup>d</sup> them the names by which they are still called to this day. Then seeing Adam to be without female partner and consort (for indeed there was none), and looking with astonishment at the

<sup>b</sup> Greek " physiologize " ; cf. § 18.

<sup>c</sup> *Adámah* = " ground," from which Adam or man was formed (Gen. ii. 7) : *Ádóm* = " red " (cf. Edom). " The old derivation [of Adam and *Adamah*] from the verb ' be red ' is generally abandoned, but none better has been found to replace it " (Skinner, *Genesis*).

<sup>d</sup> In Gen. ii. 20 Adam names the animals : in Josephus there is no indication of a change of subject to justify the rendering " and he (Adam) gave," etc.

## JOSEPHUS

- οὐδὲ γὰρ ἦν, ξενιζόμενον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις οὕτως ἔχουσι, μίαν αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου πλευρὰν
- 36 ἐξελὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔπλασε γυναῖκα.<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁ Ἄδαμος προσαχθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἐγνώρισεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην. ἔσσα δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον καλεῖται γυνή, τὸ δ' ἐκείνης ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς Εὐᾶ ἦν· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πάντων [τῶν ζώντων]<sup>2</sup> μητέρα.
- 37 (3) Φησὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ παράδεισον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καταφυτεῦσαι παντοίω τεθηλότα φυτῶ· ἐν τούτοις δ' εἶναι καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως, ἧ<sup>3</sup> διεγνώσκετο τί [τε]
- 38 εἶη τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ τί τὸ κακόν. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κῆπον εἰσαγαγόντα τὸν τε Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα κελεύσαι τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἄρδεται δ' οὗτος ὁ κῆπος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ποταμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν περιρρέοντος, ὃς εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη σχίζεται. καὶ Φεισῶν μὲν, σημαίνει δὲ πληθὺν τοῦνομα, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φερόμενος ἐκδίδωσιν εἰς τὸ πέλαγος
- 39 ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος, Εὐφράτης δὲ καὶ Τίγρις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν ἀπίασι θάλασσαν· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φοράς,<sup>4</sup> σημαίνει δὲ ἦτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἄνθος, Τίγρις δὲ Διγλάθ, ἐξ οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος ὄξύ· Γηὼν δὲ διὰ

<sup>1</sup> RO: τὴν γυναῖκα rell.

<sup>2</sup> om. RO.

<sup>3</sup> RO: ῥ rell.

<sup>4</sup> RO Lat.: Φορά rell.

<sup>a</sup> *Issah* in modern transcription (Gen. ii. 23 R.V. margin).

<sup>b</sup> Strictly *Havvah* (Eve) = "living" or "life": Josephus, constantly loose in his etymology, following the Biblical "because she was the mother of all living," implies that that is the actual meaning of the word.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. Pishon, river and etymology unknown (by some connected with Heb. *push* = "spring up"); Josephus

other creatures who had their mates, He extracted one of his ribs while he slept and from it formed woman; and when she was brought to him Adam recognized that she was made from himself. In the Hebrew tongue woman is called *essa* <sup>a</sup>; but the name of that first woman was Eve, which signifies "mother of all (living)." <sup>b</sup>

Gen. ii. 23.  
iii. 20.

(3) Moses further states that God planted eastward a park, abounding in all manner of plants, among them being the tree of life and another of the wisdom by which might be distinguished what was good and what evil; and into this garden he brought Adam and his wife and bade them tend the plants. Now this garden is watered by a single river whose stream encircles all the earth and is parted into four branches. Of these Phison <sup>c</sup> (a name meaning "multitude") runs towards India and falls into the sea, being called by the Greeks Ganges; Euphrates and Tigris end in the Erythraean <sup>d</sup> Sea: the Euphrates is called Phoras, <sup>e</sup> signifying either "dispersion" or "flower," and the Tigris Diglath, <sup>f</sup> expressing at once "narrowness" and "rapidity"; identifies "the land of Havilah where there is gold" with India.

Paradise.

Gen. ii. 10 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Greek "Red Sea," in the wider meaning, found in Herodotus, of the Indian Ocean, including its two gulfs, the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

<sup>e</sup> Heb. Perâth: derived by Josephus from either (?)  $\sqrt{Pâras}$  "divide" or  $\sqrt{Pârâh}$  "be fruitful." Philo adopts the second interpretation, rendering by καρποφορία (*Leg. Alleg.* i. 23, § 72). These etymologies are probably taken over from others.

<sup>f</sup> Diglath is the *Aramaic* equivalent of Heb. Hiddekel; Josephus quotes the Aramaic form but translates the Hebrew! *Had* = "sharp" (όξύ), *dak* = "thin" (στερόν); this, though it leaves out the last syllable *el*, seems the most satisfactory explanation.

## JOSEPHUS

τῆς Αἰγύπτου ῥέων δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐναντίας<sup>1</sup>  
ἀναδιδόμενον ἡμῖν, ὃν δὴ Νεῖλον Ἑλληνες προσ-  
αγορεύουσιν·

- 40 (4) Ὁ δὴ τοίνυν θεὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν  
γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων φυτῶν ἐκέλευε, γεύεσθαι,  
τοῦ δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, προειπὼν ἀψα-  
41 μένοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὄλεθρον γενησόμενον. ὁμο-  
φωνούντων δὲ κατ' ἐκείνο καιροῦ τῶν ζώων  
ἀπάντων ὄφις συνδιαιτώμενος τῷ τε Ἀδάμῳ καὶ  
τῇ γυναικὶ φθονερῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ' οἷς αὐτοὺς  
εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾤετο πεπεισμένους τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ  
42 παραγγέλμασιν, οἴομενος δὲ συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖσθαι  
παρακούσαντας ἀναπέθει κακοήθως τὴν γυναῖκα  
γεύσασθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς φρονήσεως ἐν αὐτῷ  
λέγων εἶναι τὴν τε τάγαθου καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ διά-  
γνωσιν, ἧς γενομένης αὐτοῖς μακάριον καὶ μηδὲν  
43 ἀπολείποντα τοῦ θείου διάξειν βίον. καὶ παρα-  
κρούεται μὲν οὕτω τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ  
θεοῦ καταφρονήσαι· γευσαμένη δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ  
ἡσθεῖσα τῷ ἐδέσματι καὶ τὸν Ἄδαμον ἀνέπεισεν  
44 αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι. καὶ συνίεσάν τε αὐτῶν ἤδη  
γεγυμνωμένων καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην ὑπαιθρον ἔχοντες  
σκέπην αὐτοῖς ἐπενόουν· τὸ γὰρ φυτὸν ὀξύτητος  
καὶ διανοίας ὑπῆρχε. φύλλοις οὖν ἑαυτοὺς συκῆς  
ἐσκέπασαν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς προβαλλό-  
μενοι<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον ἐδόκουν εὐδαιμονεῖν ὡς ὧν πρότερον

<sup>1</sup> RO: ἀνατολῆς rell.

<sup>2</sup> προβαλλόμενοι Niese with S<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>a</sup> Heb. Gihon; derived by Josephus, as by modern critics, from *giah* "burst forth." The reading "from the opposite (world)" is preferable to the other "from the east." Ancient writers rather looked to the west for the source of the Nile;



lastly Geon,<sup>a</sup> which flows through Egypt, means "that which wells up to us from the opposite world," and by Greeks is called the Nile.

(4) Now God bade Adam and his wife partake of the rest of the plants, but to abstain from the tree of wisdom, forewarning them that, if they touched it, it would prove their destruction. At that epoch all the creatures spoke a common tongue,<sup>b</sup> and the serpent, living in the company of Adam and his wife, grew jealous of the blessings which he supposed were destined for them if they obeyed God's behests, and, believing that disobedience would bring trouble upon them, he maliciously persuaded the woman to taste of the tree of wisdom, telling her that in it resided the power of distinguishing good and evil, possessing which they would lead a blissful existence no whit behind that of a god. By these means he misled the woman to scorn the commandment of God: she tasted of the tree, was pleased with the food, and persuaded Adam also to partake of it. And now they became aware that they were naked and, ashamed of such exposure to the light of day, bethought them of a covering; for the tree served to quicken their intelligence. So they covered themselves with fig-leaves, and, thus screening their persons, believed themselves the happier for having thus Dio Cassius, using the same verb as Josephus, writes ἐκ τοῦ Ἀτλαντος τοῦ ὄρους σαφῶς ἀναδίδοται (lxxv. 13).

<sup>b</sup> This legend appears in the *Book of Jubilees* (c. 100 B.C.): "On that day [of Adam's exit from Paradise] was closed the mouth of all beasts . . . so that they could no longer speak: for they had all spoken one with another with one lip and with one tongue" (iii. 28 trans. Charles). Cf. also Philo, *De opif. mundi* 55, § 156 λέγεται τὸ παλαιὸν τὸ ἰοβόλον καὶ γηγενὲς ἔρπετόν [ὄφεις] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν προϊέσθαι (quoted by Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

- 45 ἐσπάνιζον εὐρόντες. τοῦ θεοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν κῆπον ἐλθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἄδαμος, πρότερον εἰς ὁμιλίαν αὐτῷ φοιτῶν, συνειδὼς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὑπεχώρει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἐξένιζε τὸ πραττόμενον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνετο, δι' ἣν πρότερον ἠδόμενος τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλία νῦν φεύγει ταύτην καὶ περιίσταται.
- 46 τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν φθεγγομένου διὰ τὸ συγγινώσκειν ἑαυτῷ παραβάντι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταξιν "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν," εἶπεν ὁ θεός, "ἔγνωστο περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅπως βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ βιώσετε μηδεμιᾶ ξαινόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν φροντίδι, πάντων δ' ὑμῖν αὐτομάτων ὅσα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἠδονὴν συντελεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνιόντων πρόνοιαν χωρὶς ὑμετέρου πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὧν παρόντων γῆράς τε θάττον οὐκ ἂν ἐπέλθοι καὶ
- 47 τὸ ζῆν ὑμῖν μακρὸν γένοιτο. νῦν δ' εἰς ταύτην μου τὴν γνώμην ἐνύβρισας παρακούσας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τὴν σιωπὴν ἄγεις, ἀλλ'
- 48 ἐπὶ συνειδότι πονηρῷ." Ἄδαμος δὲ παρητέιτο τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτὸν καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ, τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ γεγονότος αἰτιώμενος καὶ λέγων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐξαπατηθεὶς
- 49 ἀμαρτεῖν, ἣ δ' αὖ κατηγορεῖ τοῦ ὄψεως. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἤττονα γυναικείας συμβουλίας αὐτὸν γενόμενον ὑπετίθει τιμωρία, τὴν γῆν οὐκέτι μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναδώσειν αὐτομάτως εἰπὼν, πονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τριβομένοις τὰ μὲν παρέξειν, τῶν δ' οὐκ ἀξιώσειν. Εὔαν δὲ τοκετοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ὠδίνων ἀλγηδόσιν ἐκόλαζεν, ὅτι τὸν Ἄδαμον οἷς αὐτὴν ὁ ὄφεις ἐξηπάτησε τούτοις παρακρουσαμένη
- 50 συμφοραῖς περιέβαλεν. ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὄφιν τὴν φωνὴν ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τῇ κακοηθείᾳ τῇ πρὸς

found what they lacked before. But, when God entered the garden, Adam, who ere then was wont to resort to His company, conscious of his crime withdrew ; and God, met by action so strange, asked for what reason he who once took delight in His company now shunned and avoided it. But when he spoke not a word, conscious of having transgressed the divine command, God said, " Nay, I had decreed for you to live a life of bliss, unmolested by all ill, with no care to fret your souls ; all things that contribute to enjoyment and pleasure were, through my providence, to spring up for you spontaneously, without toil or distress of yours ; blessed with these gifts, old age would not soon have overtaken you and your life would have been long. But now thou hast flouted this my purpose by disobeying my commands ; for it is through no virtue that thou keepest silence but through an evil conscience." Adam then began to make excuse for his sin and besought God not to be wroth with him, laying the blame for the deed upon the woman and saying that it was her deception that had caused him to sin ; while she, in her turn, accused the serpent. Thereupon God imposed punishment on Adam for yielding to a woman's counsel, telling him that the earth would no more produce anything of herself, but, in return for toil and grinding labour, would but afford some of her fruits and refuse others. Eve He punished by child-birth and its attendant pains, because she had deluded Adam, even as the serpent had beguiled her, and so brought calamity upon him. He moreover deprived the serpent of speech,<sup>a</sup> indignant at his

<sup>a</sup> See § 41 (note).

## JOSEPHUS

τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ ἰὸν ἐντίθησιν ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν αὐτῷ πολέμιον ἀποδείξας ἀνθρώποις καὶ ὑποθέμενος κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρειν τὰς πληγὰς, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ τε κακοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κειμένου καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς ῥάστης τοῖς ἀμυνομένοις ἐσομένης, ποδῶν τε αὐτὸν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι

51 κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἰλυσπώμενον ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν θεὸς ταῦτα προστάξας αὐτοῖς πάσχειν μετοικίζει τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν Εὐὰν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου εἰς ἕτερον χωρίον.

52 (ii. 1) Γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς παῖδες ἄρρενες δύο· προσηγορεύετο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Κάις, κτηῆσιν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτο μεθερμηνευόμενον τοῦνομα, Ἄβελος δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, σημαίνει δὲ οὐθὲν<sup>1</sup>

53 τοῦτο· γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυγατέρες. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀδελφοὶ διαφόροις ἔχαιρον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν· Ἄβελος μὲν γὰρ ὁ νεώτερος δικαιοσύνης ἐπεμελεῖτο καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένοις παρεῖναι τὸν θεὸν νομίζων ἀρετῆς προενόει,<sup>2</sup> ποιμενικὸς δ' ἦν ὁ βίος αὐτῷ· Κάις δὲ τὰ τε ἄλλα πονηρότατος ἦν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνειν μόνον ἀποβλέπων γῆν τε ἄρουν ἐπενόησε πρῶτος καὶ κτείνει δὲ τὸν

54 ἀδελφὸν ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας· θῦσαι τῷ θεῷ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Κάις τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ φυτῶν καρποὺς ἐπήνεγκεν, Ἄβελος δὲ γάλα καὶ τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοσκημάτων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτη

<sup>1</sup> R<sup>vid</sup> O Lat.: *πένθος* rell.

<sup>2</sup> *πρόβη* RO.

<sup>a</sup> Greek "Kais"; Josephus, for the sake of his readers, hellenizes Hebrew proper names, as he explains below (§ 129). For a like reason the familiar forms are generally retained in this translation.

<sup>b</sup> So the Biblical etymology "I have gotten a man" (LXX *ἐκτησάμην*), from Heb. *kanah* "acquire."

malignity to Adam ; He also put poison beneath his tongue, destining him to be the enemy of men, and admonishing them to strike their blows upon his head, because it was therein that man's danger lay and there too that his adversaries could most easily inflict a mortal blow ; He further bereft him of feet and made him crawl and wriggle along the ground. Having imposed these penalties upon them, God removed Adam and Eve from the garden to another place.

The serpent  
deprived  
of speech.  
Gen. iii. 15.

(ii. 1) Two male children were born to them ; the first was called Cain,<sup>a</sup> whose name being interpreted means " acquisition,"<sup>b</sup> and the second Abel, meaning " nothing."<sup>c</sup> They also had daughters.<sup>d</sup> Now the brothers took pleasure in different pursuits. Abel, the younger, had respect for justice<sup>e</sup> and, believing that God was with him in all his actions, paid heed to virtue ; he led the life of a shepherd. Cain, on the contrary, was thoroughly depraved and had an eye only to gain : he was the first to think of ploughing the soil, and he slew his brother for the following reason. The brothers having decided to sacrifice to God, Cain brought the fruits of the tilled earth and of the trees, Abel came with milk<sup>f</sup> and the firstlings of his flocks. This was the offering which found more

Cain and  
Abel.  
Gen. iv. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Abel, Heb. *Hebel* = " vapour " or " vanity " : the noun is translated, as here, by *οὐθέν* in Is. xlix. 4. The reading *πένθος* (= Heb. *'ibel*) presents another etymology found also in Philo, *De migr. Abr.* 13, § 74 *ὄνομα δ' ἐστὶ τὰ θνητὰ πενθοῦντος* (quoted by Weill).

<sup>d</sup> Legendary addition : *Jubilees* iv. 1, 8 names them 'Awan and 'Azura.

<sup>e</sup> Or " righteousness."

<sup>f</sup> Heb. " fat " and so LXX (*στεάτων*) : Josephus, with a different vocalization of the Heb. *h̄lb*, reads " milk," showing independence of the Greek Bible.

## JOSEPHUS

μάλλον ἤδεται τῇ θυσίᾳ, τοῖς αὐτομάτοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γεγονόσι τιμώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου [καὶ] βία πεφυκόσιν.

55 ἔνθεν ὁ Κάϊς παροξυνθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτετιμῆσθαι τὸν Ἄβελον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἀφανῆ λήσειν ὑπέλαβεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς συνεὶς τὸ ἔργον ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Κάϊν περὶ τὰδελφοῦ πυνθανόμενος, ποῖ ποτ' εἶη· πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτὸν οὐκ ἰδεῖν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἄλλον χρόνον πάντα

56 μετ' αὐτοῦ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον. ὁ δὲ Κάϊς ἀπορούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὅ τι λέγοι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀμηχανεῖν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκε τὸ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τὰδελφῷ μὴ βλεπομένῳ, παροξυνθεὶς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λιπαρῶς ἐγκειμένου καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντος οὐκ εἶναι παιδαγωγὸς καὶ φύλαξ αὐτοῦ

57 καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων ἔλεγεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦντεῦθεν ἤλεγχεν ἤδη τὸν Κάϊν φονέα τὰδελφοῦ γενόμενον καὶ “θαυμάζω,” φησί, “εἰ περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἀγνοεῖς εἰπεῖν τί γέγονεν, ὃν αὐτὸς

58 ἀπολώλεκας.” τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τιμωρίας αὐτὸν ἠφίει, θυσίαν τε ἐπιτελέσαντα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἰκετεύσαντα μὴ λαβεῖν ὄργην [ἐπ'] αὐτῷ χαλεπωτέραν, ἐπάρατον δ' αὐτὸν ἐτίθει καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐβδόμην ἠπειλήσε γενεάν, καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτὸν ἐκείνης

59 ἐκβάλλει σὺν τῇ γυναικί. τοῦ δὲ μὴ θηρίοις ἀλώ-

<sup>a</sup> Weill quotes *Pirké R. Eliezer* xxi “He took the corpse of his brother Abel and hid it in the field.”

<sup>b</sup> Cain's words “My punishment is greater than I can bear” (Gen. iv. 13) were, in Rabbinical opinion, “reckoned

favour with God, who is honoured by things that grow spontaneously and in accordance with natural laws, and not by the products forced from nature by the ingenuity of grasping man. Thereupon Cain, incensed at God's preference for Abel, slew his brother and hid his corpse,<sup>a</sup> thinking to escape detection. But God, aware of the deed, came to Cain, and asked him whither his brother had gone, since for many days He had not seen him, whom he had constantly before beheld in Cain's company. Cain, in embarrassment, having nothing to reply to God, at first declared that he too was perplexed at not seeing his brother, and then, enraged at the insistent pressure and strict inquiries of God, said that he was not his brother's guardian to keep watch over his person and his actions. Upon that word God now accused Cain of being his brother's murderer, saying, "I marvel that thou canst not tell what has become of a man whom thou thyself hast destroyed." God, however, exempted him from the penalty merited by the murder, Cain having offered a sacrifice and therewith supplicated Him not to visit him too severely in His wrath<sup>b</sup>; but He made him accursed and threatened to punish his posterity in<sup>c</sup> the seventh generation, and expelled him from that land with his wife. But, when Cain feared that in his wanderings to him as repentance" (*Pirké R. Eliezer*, xxi, quoted with other passages by Weill).

<sup>a</sup> The rendering of *κατά* by "until" seems unwarranted. Josephus apparently, in common with the Targum (Weill), means that Cain's penalty is suspended until the seventh generation, *cf.* § 65. Gen. iv. 15, however, on which this interpretation is based, as interpreted by modern critics states something quite different, viz. that seven lives, that of the slayer and six of his family, would be exacted for the slaughter of Cain.

## JOSEPHUS

μενος περιπέση δεδιότος καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόληται τὸν τρόπον, ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι σκυθρωπὸν ἀπὸ τῆς αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ θηρίων γενέσθαι δεινὸν διὰ πάσης ἀδεῶς χωρεῖν γῆς· καὶ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλὼν, ᾧ γνώριμος ἂν εἴη, προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι.

- 60 (2) Πολλὴν δ' ἐπελθὼν γῆν ἰδρύεται μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Κάις<sup>1</sup> Ναῖδα τόπον οὕτω καλούμενον καὶ αὐτόθι ποιεῖται τὴν κατοίκησιν, ἔνθ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο. οὐκ ἐπὶ ρουθεσία δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐξήσει τῆς κακίας, ἡδονὴν μὲν πᾶσαν ἐκπορίζων αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι, κἂν μεθ'
- 61 ὕβρεως τῶν συνόντων δέη ταύτην ἔχειν· αὐξων δὲ τὸν οἶκον πλήθει χρημάτων ἐξ ἀρπαγῆς καὶ βίας πρὸς ἡδονὴν καὶ ληστείαν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας παρακαλῶν διδάσκαλος αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε πονηρῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἧ πρότερον συνέζων οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μέτρων ἐπινοία καὶ σταθμῶν μετεστήσατο ἀκέραιον αὐτοῖς ὄντα τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἀμαθίας καὶ μεγαλόψυχον εἰς
- 62 πανουργίαν περιαγαγὼν, ὄρους τε γῆς πρῶτος ἔθετο καὶ πόλιν ἐδείματο καὶ τείχεσιν ὠχύρωσεν εἰς ταῦτον συνελθεῖν τοὺς οἰκείους καταναγκάσας. καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀνώχου τοῦ πρε-
- 63 σβυτάτου παιδὸς Ἀνωχαν ἐκάλεσεν. Ἀνώχου δὲ Ἰαράδης υἱὸς ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μαρούηλος, οὗ γίνεται παῖς Μαθουσάλας, τοῦ δὲ Λάμεχος, ᾧ παῖδες ὑπῆρξαν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑβδομήκοντα ἐκ δύο
- 64 γυναικῶν αὐτῷ φύντες Σελλᾶς καὶ Ἄδας. τούτων

<sup>1</sup> + eis E (Lat. in loco).

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned in a Rabbinical commentary *in loc.* ("who-  
28



he would fall a prey to wild beasts <sup>a</sup> and perish thus, God bade him have no melancholy foreboding from such cause : he would be in no danger from beasts, and might fare unafraid through every land. He then set a mark upon him, by which he should be recognized, and bade him depart.

(2) After long travels Cain settled with his wife in a place called Nais,<sup>b</sup> where he made his abode and children were born to him. His punishment, however, far from being taken as a warning, only served to increase his vice. He indulged in every bodily pleasure, even if it entailed outraging his companions ; he increased his substance with wealth amassed by rapine and violence ; he incited to luxury and pillage all whom he met, and became their instructor in wicked practices. He put an end to that simplicity in which men lived before by the invention of weights and measures : the guileless and generous existence which they had enjoyed in ignorance of these things he converted into a life of craftiness. He was the first to fix boundaries of land and to build a city, fortifying it with walls and constraining his clan to congregate in one place. This city he called Anocha after his eldest son Anoch.<sup>c</sup> Anoch had a son Jarad,<sup>d</sup> of whom came Marnel,<sup>e</sup> who begat Mathousalas, the father of Lamech, who had seventy-seven <sup>f</sup> children by his two wives, Sella and *soever* slayeth ") as assembling to avenge the blood of Abel (Weill).

Descendants  
of Cain.  
Gen. iv. 16.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. Nod, LXX *Naiδ*.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. and LXX Enoch (city and son).

<sup>d</sup> Heb. Irad, LXX *Γαιδὰδ*.

<sup>e</sup> Heb. Mehujael.

<sup>f</sup> As suggested by Weill, these seventy-seven children, not mentioned in Scripture, have probably been extracted, through some misreading of the text, out of the allusion to "Lamech" being avenged "seventy and sevenfold" (Gen. iv. 24, LXX *ἐκ δὲ Λάμεχ ἑβδομηκοντάκις ἑπτὰ*).

## JOSEPHUS

Ἰώβηλος μὲν ἐξ Ἄδας γεγονὼς σκηναὺς ἐπήξατο καὶ προβατείαν ἠγάπησεν, Ἰούβαλος δέ, ὁμομήτριος δ' ἦν αὐτῷ, μουσικὴν ἤσκησε καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησεν, Ἰουβήλος<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας γεγονότων ἰσχύι πάντας ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ πολεμικὰ διαπρεπῶς μετήλθεν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἠδονὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐκπορίζων, χαλκείαν  
 65 τε πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν. πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὸς γενόμενος ὁ Λάμεχος Νοεμᾶς ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ τὰ θεῖα σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ἑώρα δίκην αὐτὸν ὑφέξοντα τῆς Κάιος ἀδελφοκτονίας [μείζονα],<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο ταῖς  
 66 ἑαυτοῦ γυναιξίν ἐποίησε φανερόν. ἔτι δὲ ζῶντος Ἀδάμου Κάιος τοὺς ἐγγόνους πονηροτάτους συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν ἄλλον ἄλλου χεῖρονα τελευτῶντα· πρὸς τε γὰρ πολέμους εἶχον ἀκρατῶς καὶ πρὸς ληστείαν ὠρμήκεσαν· ἄλλως<sup>3</sup> δ' εἴ τις ὀκνηρὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν, ἄλλην<sup>4</sup> ἀπόνοιαν ἦν θράσους ὑβρίζων καὶ πλεονεκτῶν.  
 67 (3) Ἄδαμος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ γῆς γενόμενος, ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, Ἀβέλου μὲν ἐσφαγμένου, Κάιος δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φόνον πεφευγὸς, παιδοποιίας ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ δευρὸς εἶχεν αὐτὸν γενέσεως ἔρως ἔτη τριάκοντ' ἤδη καὶ διακόσια ἡνυκότα τοῦ βίου, πρὸς οἷς ἕτερα

RO (Lat.): Θύβελος (Θεῖβ.) rell.

<sup>2</sup> om. SPL Exc.

<sup>3</sup> conj. Niese: ἄλλος or ὅλως codd.

<sup>4</sup> ἀλλ οὖν SP Exc.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX: Heb. Jabal.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. Tubal-cain, LXX Θεβέλ (see other reading in Josephus).

<sup>c</sup> So LXX: Heb. Naamah.

Ada. Of these children, Jobêl,<sup>a</sup> son of Ada, erected tents and devoted himself to a pastoral life ; Jubal, born of the same mother, studied music and invented harps and lutes ; Jubêl,<sup>b</sup> one of the sons of the other wife, surpassing all men in strength, distinguished himself in the art of war, procuring also thereby the means for satisfying the pleasures of the body, and first invented the forging of metal. Lamech was also the father of a daughter named Noema<sup>c</sup> ; and because through his clear knowledge of divine things he saw that he was to pay the penalty<sup>d</sup> for Cain's murder of his brother, he made this known to his wives. Thus, within Adam's lifetime, the descendants of Cain went to depths of depravity, and, inheriting and imitating one another's vices, each ended worse than the last. They rushed incontinently into battle and plunged into brigandage ; or if anyone was too timid for slaughter, he would display other forms of mad recklessness by insolence and greed.<sup>e</sup>

(3) Meanwhile Adam, the man first formed out of earth—for my narrative requires me to revert to him—after the slaughter of Abel and the consequent flight of his murderer Cain, longed for children, and was seized with a passionate desire to beget a family, when he had now completed 230<sup>f</sup> years of his life : Descendant<sup>g</sup>  
of Seth.  
  
Gen. v. 3 f.

<sup>a</sup> Or, with the other reading, "a greater penalty." See § 58 note : Lamech was but five generations from Cain, but in his address to his wives (obviously misunderstood by Josephus) the allusions to "a man" and "a young man" may have been taken to refer to a son and grandson, thus completing the predicted seven generations.

<sup>e</sup> Text a little doubtful.

<sup>f</sup> So lxx : in the Heb. Bible Adam was 130 years old when he beget Seth and lived for 800 years more after that date. Similar numerical divergences will be met with later, §§ 83 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

- 68 ζήσας ἑπτακόσια τελευτᾶ. γίνονται μὲν οὖν αὐτῶ  
 παῖδες ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Σῆθος· ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν  
 τῶν ἄλλων μακρὸν ἂν εἶη λέγειν, πειράσομαι δὲ  
 μόνον τὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σήθου διελθεῖν. τραφεῖς γὰρ  
 οὗτος καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἤδη [τὰ] καλὰ  
 κρίνειν δυναμένην [ἀρετὴν ἐπετήδευσε]<sup>1</sup> καὶ γενό-  
 69 μένος αὐτὸς ἄριστος μιμητὰς τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπο-  
 γόνους κατέλιπεν. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀγαθοὶ φύντες γῆν  
 τε τὴν αὐτὴν ἀστασίαστοι κατώκησαν εὐδαιμονή-  
 σαντες, μηδενὸς αὐτοῖς ἄχρι καὶ τελευτῆς δυσκόλου  
 προσπεσόντος, σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ  
 70 τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ  
 μὴ διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ εὐρημένα μηδὲ  
 πρὶν εἰς γνώσιν ἔλθειν φθαρῆναι, προειρηκότος  
 ἀφανισμὸν Ἀδάμου τῶν ὄλων ἔσσεσθαι, τὸν μὲν  
 κατ' ἰσχὺν πυρὸς τὸν ἕτερον δὲ κατὰ βίαν καὶ  
 πλῆθος ὕδατος, στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν  
 ἐκ πλίνθου τὴν ἑτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέραις  
 71 ἐνέγραψαν τὰ εὐρημένα, ἵνα καὶ τῆς πλινθίνης  
 ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἢ λιθίνῃ μείνασα  
 παράσχη μαθεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα  
 δηλοῦσα καὶ πλινθίνην ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀνατεθῆναι.  
 μένει δ' ἄχρι δεῦρο κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σειρίδα.<sup>2</sup>
- 72 (iii. 1) Καὶ οὗτοι μὲν ἑπτὰ γενεὰς διέμειναν θεὸν  
 ἠγνούμενοι δεσπότην εἶναι τῶν ὄλων καὶ πάντα  
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέποντες, εἶτα προϊόντος χρόνου

<sup>1</sup> om. RO.

<sup>2</sup> Σειρίδα SPE Exc.

<sup>a</sup> See preceding note.

<sup>b</sup> The Bible mentions "sons and daughters," but names none except Seth: *Jubilees* iv. 10 specifies "yet nine sons."

<sup>c</sup> Rabbinical amplification; Enoch in particular was credited with these discoveries (*Jubilees* iv. 17 and the book that bears his name).

he lived for 700<sup>a</sup> years more before he died. Many other children<sup>b</sup> were born to him, and among them Seth; it would take me too long to speak of the rest, and I will only endeavour to narrate the story of the progeny of Seth. He, after being brought up and attaining to years of discretion, cultivated virtue, excelled in it himself, and left descendants who imitated his ways. These, being all of virtuous character, inhabited the same country without dissension and in prosperity, meeting with no untoward incident to the day of their death; they also discovered the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array.<sup>c</sup> Moreover, to prevent their discoveries from being lost to mankind and perishing before they became known—Adam having predicted a destruction of the universe, at one time by a violent fire and at another by a mighty deluge of water—they erected two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and inscribed these discoveries on both; so that, if the pillar of brick disappeared in the deluge, that of stone would remain to teach men what was graven thereon and to inform them that they had also erected one of brick.<sup>d</sup> It exists to this day in the land of Seiris.<sup>e</sup>

Their  
astronomi-  
cal dis-  
coveries

(iii. 1) For seven generations these people continued to believe in God as Lord of the universe and in everything to take virtue for their guide; then,

and later  
degenera-  
tion.

<sup>a</sup> Another version of this story appears in *Jubilees* viii. 3 (discovery of a writing carved on the rock recording the teaching of the watchers or angels concerning the heavenly bodies).

<sup>e</sup> Unidentified: Seirah, mentioned in connexion with "sculptured stones" in the story of Ehud (Jud. iii. 26), has been suggested. The tradition, as Reinach writes, doubtless arose from some ancient monument with an inscription in unknown (? Hittite) characters.

## JOSEPHUS

μεταβάλλονται πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἐθισμῶν μήτε τὰς νενομισμένας τιμὰς ἔτι τῷ θεῷ παρέχοντες μήτε τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δικαίου ποιούμενοι λόγον, ἀλλ' ἦν πρότερον εἶχον τῆς ἀρετῆς ζήλωσιν διπλασίονα τῆς κακίας τότε ἐπιδεικνύμενοι δι' ὧν ἔπραττον ἔνθεν ἑαυτοῖς τὸν

73 θεὸν ἐξεπολέμωσαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γυναιξὶ συνιόντες ὑβριστὰς ἐγέννησαν παῖδας καὶ παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει πεποίθησιν· ὅμοια γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ γιγάντων τετολμηθῆσαι λεγομένοις ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὗτοι

74 δράσαι παραδίδονται. Νῶχος δὲ τοῖς πραττομένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνων καὶ τοῖς βουλευμασιν ἀηδῶς ἔχων ἔπειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦς καὶ τὰς πράξεις μεταφέρειν, ὁρῶν δ' οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας, ἀλλ' ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἡδονῆς τῶν κακῶν κεκρατημένους, δείσας μὴ καὶ φονεύσωσιν αὐτὸν μετὰ γυναικῶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν τούτοις συνοικουσῶν ἐξεχώρησε τῆς γῆς.

75 (2) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τοῦτον μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης ἠγάπησε, κατεδίκαζε δ' οὐκ ἐκείνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ διαφθεῖραι καὶ ποιῆσαι γένος ἕτερον πονηρίας καθαρὸν, ἐπιτεμόμενος αὐτῶν τὸν βίον καὶ ποιήσας ἐτῶν οὐχ ὅσα πρότερον ἔζων, ἀλλ' ἑκατὸν ἑκοσιν, εἰς θάλασσαν τὴν ἠπειρον μετέβαλε.

76 καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀφανίζονται πάντες, Νῶχος δὲ σώζεται μόνος, ὑποθεμένου μηχανῆν αὐτῷ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> γυναικὸς Bekker with Lat.

<sup>a</sup> So the LXX renders the Heb. "sons of God": from the 2nd cent. A.D. Jewish Rabbis, to avoid this "unseemly

in course of time, they abandoned the customs of their fathers for a life of depravity. They no longer rendered to God His due honours, nor took account of justice towards men, but displayed by their actions a zeal for vice twofold greater than they had formerly shown for virtue, and thereby drew upon themselves the enmity of God. For many angels <sup>a</sup> of God now Gen. vi. 1. consorted with women and begat sons who were overbearing and disdainful of every virtue, such confidence had they in their strength; in fact the deeds that tradition ascribes to them resemble the audacious exploits told by the Greeks of the giants. But Noah, <sup>b</sup> Noah's preaching. indignant at their conduct and viewing their counsels with displeasure, urged them to come to a better frame of mind and amend their ways <sup>c</sup>; but seeing that, far from yielding, they were completely enslaved to the pleasure of sin, he feared that they would murder him and, with his wives and sons and his sons' wives, quitted the country.

(2) God loved Noah for his righteousness, but, as The flood. for those men, He condemned not them alone for their wickedness, but resolved to destroy all mankind then existing and to create another race pure of vice, abridging their term of life from its former longevity to one hundred and twenty years; he therefore converted the dry land into sea. Thus were they all Gen. vi. 3. obliterated, while Noah alone was saved. God having

mythology" (§ 15), interpreted the phrase to mean members of aristocratic families.

<sup>b</sup> "Nôchos."

<sup>c</sup> For Noah as "preacher of righteousness" *cf.* 2 Peter ii. 5 (1 Peter iii. 20); Book I. of the *Sibylline Oracles* (a work of mixed Jewish and Christian origin) devotes some 50 lines to two of his addresses. Genesis knows nothing of this or of Noah's migration mentioned below.

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77 πόρον πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτην· λάρνακα τετράστεγον κατασκευάσας πηχῶν τὸ μῆκος τριακοσίων πεντήκοντα δὲ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος, εἰς ταύτην σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν παίδων καὶ ταῖς τούτων γυναιξὶν ἀνέβη,<sup>1</sup> τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐπικουρήσειν αὐτοῖς ἔμελλεν ἐνθέμενος, ζῶά τε παντοῖα πρὸς διατήρησιν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἄρρενάς τε καὶ θηλείας συνεισβαλλόμενος ἄλλα τε τούτων ἐπταπλασίονα τὸν ἀριθμὸν.

78 ἦν δ' ἡ λάρναξ τοὺς τε τοίχους καρτερὰ καὶ τὸν ὄροφον, ὡς μηδαμόθεν ἐπικλύζεσθαι μηδ' ἠτῶσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὕδατος βίας. καὶ Νῶχος μὲν οὕτως μετὰ

79 τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται. ἦν δ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου δέκατος· Λαμέχου γάρ ἐστιν υἱός, οὗ πατὴρ ἦν Μαθουσάλας, οὗτος δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀνώχου τοῦ Ἰαρέδου, Μαλαήλου δὲ Ἰαρέδος ἐγεγόνει, ὃς ἐκ Καϊνᾶ τεκνοῦται τοῦ Ἀνώσου σὺν ἀδελφαῖς πλείοσιν, Ἄνωσος δὲ Σήθου υἱός ἦν τοῦ Ἀδάμου.

80 (3) Συνέβη δὲ τοῦτο τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἕξακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἤδη Νώχου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ δευτέρῳ Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρσουάνῃ δ' ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ

81 τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν Νισᾶν, ὃς ἐστι Ξανθικός, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς

<sup>1</sup> OL: ἐνέβη rell.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus employs the word used by classical writers of Deucalion's ark (λάρναξ), not κιβωτός of the LXX.

<sup>b</sup> Three only in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> These words must have accidentally dropped out of the Greek text.

<sup>d</sup> Viz. the "clean" beasts, the "unclean" being limited to pairs (Gen. vii. 2 "J"): the Priestly narrator ("P") makes no such distinction and speaks only of pairs (Gen. vi. 19).



put into his mind a device and means of salvation on this wise. He constructed an ark <sup>a</sup> of four <sup>b</sup> stories, Gen. vi. 15 f. three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in depth, on which he embarked with [his children,]<sup>c</sup> the mother of his children and his sons' wives, not only furnishing it with all things requisite to supply their needs, but also taking with him creatures of every kind, male and female, to preserve their species, some among them being numbered by sevens.<sup>d</sup> This ark had stout sides and roof so as not to be overwhelmed from any quarter and to defy the violence of the waters. Thus was Noah saved with his family. He was the tenth descendant of Adam, being son of Lamech, whose father was Mathusalas,<sup>e</sup> the son of Anoch,<sup>f</sup> the son of Jared, the son of Malael,<sup>g</sup> who with many sisters <sup>h</sup> was begotten by Cainas,<sup>i</sup> son of Anos,<sup>j</sup> the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

(3) This catastrophe happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's rulership,<sup>k</sup> in what was once the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius and by the Hebrews Marsuan,<sup>l</sup> according to the arrangement of the calendar which they followed in Egypt. Moses, however, appointed Nisan, that is to say Xanthicus, Date of the flood.  
Gen. vii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Heb. Methuselah.

<sup>f</sup> Heb. Enoch.

<sup>g</sup> Heb. Mahalalel.

<sup>h</sup> Read perhaps ἀδελφοὶς = "brothers and sisters."

<sup>i</sup> Heb. Kenan.

<sup>j</sup> Heb. Enosh.

<sup>k</sup> "Life" must be meant (Gen. vii. 6, 11): the first-born is regarded as becoming head of the clan at his birth. Cf. §§ 86 f.

<sup>l</sup> Heb. *Marheshwan* (=October-November). Josephus commonly takes the names of the months from the Macedonian calendar, appending the Hebrew post-exilic equivalents.

## JOSEPHUS

έορταῖς ὤρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τοὺς Ἑβραίους προαγαγών· οὗτος δ' αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θεῖον τιμὰς ἤρχεν, ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράξεις καὶ ὠνάς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμον διεφύλαξε· τὴν δ' ἐπομβριὰν ἄρξασθαί φησιν ἐβδόμη τοῦ προειρημένου μηνὸς 82 καὶ εἰκάδι. χρόνος δὲ οὗτος ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἐτῶν ὑπῆρχε δισχιλίων διακοσίων ἐξηκονταδύο.<sup>1</sup> ἀναγέγραπται δὲ ὁ χρόνος ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις σημειουμένων μετὰ πολλῆς

<sup>1</sup> δισχιλίων ἑξακοσίων πεντηκονταῖξ SPL Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Exod. xii. 2.

<sup>b</sup> The old Hebrew year began in autumn; later custom transferred the opening, for certain purposes, to the spring. The Babylonian year began in spring, and the completion of the change in Hebrew practice doubtless dates from the exile, though there are indications before that date of the alternative custom. In attributing an innovation to Moses Josephus is merely following the Priestly (exilic) editor of Exodus xii.; in referring to him a distinction between an ecclesiastical and a civil year the historian seems to impute to earlier ages the custom of his own day. For this there is a classical passage in the Mishnah, *Rosh Hashanah*, i. 1, distinguishing four New Years' Days for various purposes. (Driver on Exodus *loc. cit.*; I. Abrahams in Hastings' *B.D.*, art. "Time" supports the accuracy of Josephus.)

<sup>c</sup> So LXX: Heb. "on the seventeenth day."

<sup>d</sup> So Niese, with the best ms. of Josephus here extant, cod. O; there is a lacuna at this point in its usual companion, cod. R. The figure 2262 is the correct total of the items which follow and is doubtless original (Niese, Preface p. xxxv). The figures in the other authorities (2656 SPL Lat., 1656 Zonaras, 1056 Epitome) are due to conformation, partial or complete, to the Hebrew text of Genesis. For the Hebrew and the Greek texts of that book here diverge, representing two different schemes of antediluvian chronology; and Josephus follows the LXX or an allied text. The lifetime of each patriarch remains constant in both schemes. The main

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I. 81-82

as the first month for the festivals, because it was in this month that he brought the Hebrews out of Egypt<sup>a</sup>; he also reckoned this month as the commencement of the year for everything relating to divine worship, but for selling and buying and other ordinary affairs he preserved the ancient order.<sup>b</sup> It was, he tells us, on the seven and twentieth<sup>c</sup> day of the said month that the deluge began. The time of this event was 2262<sup>d</sup> years after the birth of Adam, the first man; the date is recorded in the sacred books, it being the custom of that age to note with

Moses alteration of the calendar.

The year of the flood *anno mundi*

difference between the totals of the first and third columns below arises from the repeated transference of a century from one portion of the life to the other: clearly a deliberate and arbitrary alteration made in one or other of the texts in the interest of some scheme of world chronology.

HEBREW TEXT (Gen. v. 3-31).			GREEK TEXT (LXX and Josephus).		Both Texts
	Age at birth of first-born	After life.	Age at birth of first-born.	After life (LXX).	Total
Adam . . . . .	130	800	230	700	930
Seth . . . . .	105	807	205	707	912
Enosh . . . . .	90	815	190	715	905
Kenan . . . . .	70	840	170	740	910
Mahalalel . . . . .	65	830	165	730	895
Jared . . . . .	162	800	162	800	962
Enoch . . . . .	65	300	165	200	365
Methuselah . . . . .	187	782	187	782	969
Lamech . . . . .	182	595	188	565	969
	Age at Flood (Gen. vii. 6-11)		Age at Flood (Ant. i. 80).		{ Heb 777 LXX 753 Jos. 707
Noah . . . . .	600	..	600	..	..
Total = date of Flood <i>anno mundi</i> }	1656	..	2262	..	..

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ἀκριβείας τῶν τότε καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς τελευταίς.

- 83 (4) Ἀδάμῳ μὲν [οὖν] τριακοστῷ ἤδη καὶ διακοσιοστῷ ἔτει γεγοιότι παῖς Σῆθος γίνεται, ὃς ἐνακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἔτη ἐβίωσε. Σῆθος δὲ κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἔτος ἐγέννησεν Ἄνωσον, ὃς πέντε ζήσας ἔτη καὶ ἐνακόσια Καϊνᾷ τῷ παιδί τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν δίδωσι τεκνώσας αὐτὸν περὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος· οὗτος ἐβίωσε ἔτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνα-
- 84 κοσίοις. Καϊνᾶς δὲ βιοῦς δέκα καὶ ἐνακόσια Μαλάηλον υἱὸν ἔσχεν ἔτει γενόμενον ἑβδομηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ. οὗτος ὁ Μαλάηλος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἐνενηκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια ἔτη ἐτελεύτησεν Ἰάρεδον καταλιπὼν υἱόν, ὃν ἔτος πέμπτον ἐξήκοστον καὶ ἑκατοστὸν γενόμενος ἐγέννησε.
- 85 τοῦτον εἰς δύο<sup>1</sup> καὶ ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς ἐνακοσίοις βιώσαντα Ἄνωχος υἱὸς διαδέχεται γεννηθεὶς περὶ ἔτη δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντος. οὗτος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς τριακοσίοις ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον,
- 86 ὅθεν οὐδὲ τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναγεγράφασι. Μαθουσάλας δὲ Ἀνώχου παῖς κατὰ ἔτος αὐτῷ γεγονῶς πέμπτον καὶ ἐξήκοστον καὶ ἑκατοστὸν Λάμεχον υἱὸν ἔσχε περὶ ἔτη γεγονῶς ἑπτὰ καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ ἑκατὸν, ᾧ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸς αὐτῇ κατασχὼν ἐννέα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐνακοσίοις.
- 87 Λάμεχος δὲ ἄρξας ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑπτακοσίοις ἔτεσι Νῶχον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδείκνυσι προστάτην υἱόν, ὃς Λαμέχῳ γενόμενος ὀγδοον καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἔτος ἡνυκίτι πεντήκοντα
- 88 καὶ ἐνακοσίοις ἔτεσι ἤρξε τῶν πραγμάτων. ταῦτα

minute care the birth and death of the illustrious men.

(4) For Adam was 230 years old when his son Seth was born and <sup>a</sup> lived (in all) 930 years. Seth at the age of 205 begat Anos,<sup>b</sup> who when aged 905 years delivered the care of affairs to his son Cainas,<sup>c</sup> whom he had begotten when he was about 190 years old; Seth<sup>d</sup> lived in all 912 years. Cainas lived 910 years and in his 170th year had a son Malael.<sup>e</sup> This Malael died aged 895 years, leaving a son Jared, whom he begat at the age of 165. Jared lived 969 years and was succeeded by his son Anoch,<sup>f</sup> born when his father was in his 162nd year; Anoch lived 365 years and then returned to the divinity,<sup>g</sup> whence it comes that there is no record in the chronicles of his death. Mathusalas<sup>h</sup> the son of Anoch was born when his father was 165, and at the age of 187 had a son Lamech, to whom he transmitted the rulership which he had held for 969 years. Lamech bare rule for 707 years and put at the head of affairs his son Noah, who was born when his father was 188, and for 950 years held the reins of power. These years,

fixed by the  
genealogy  
of the  
patriarchs.  
Gen. v. 3-31.

ib. ix. 29.

<sup>a</sup> Gr. "who," apparently referring to Seth. But Adam must be intended (see table): Seth's age at death is mentioned below. Josephus is not concerned with the ages at death which do not help to fix the date of the flood (§ 88); and the two clauses in § 83 *ὅς . . . ἐβίωσε, οὗτος ἐβίωσεν κτλ.* may be later marginal insertions which have become misplaced in the text.

<sup>b</sup> Enosh. <sup>c</sup> Kenan. <sup>d</sup> Gr. "he": see note a.

<sup>e</sup> Mahalalel. <sup>f</sup> Enoch.

<sup>g</sup> "God took him" or in LXX "transported him" (*μετέθηκεν*). Gen. v. 24; Josephus uses the same phrase "return to the divinity" of the passing of Moses, *A. iv. 326* (iii. 96).

<sup>h</sup> Methuselah.

<sup>1</sup> *έννέα*. O Lat.

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συναγόμενα τὰ ἔτη τὸν προαναγεγραμμένον πληροῖ χρόνον. ἔξεταζέτω δὲ μηδεὶς τὰς τελευτὰς τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν παισὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐκείνων ἀπογόνοις παρεξέτεινον<sup>2</sup> τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν μόνον ὀράτω.

- 89 (5) Ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὕειν ἀρξαμένου τὸ ὕδωρ ἡμέραις τεσσαράκοντα ὅλαις κατεφέρετο, ὡς ἐπὶ πήχεις πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν γῆν ὑπερέχειν. καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ αἴτιον τοῦ μὴ διασωθῆναι πλείονας φυγῆς ἀφορμὴν οὐκ ἔχοντας.
- 90 παυσαμένου δὲ τοῦ ὕετοῦ μόλις ἤρξατο ὑποβαίνειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑκατὸν καὶ πενήκοντα, ὡς μηνὶ ἑβδόμῳ, ἵσταμένου δὲ ἦν ἑβδόμη, κατ' ὀλίγον ὑπονοστεῖν ἀπολήγοντος. ἔπειτα τῆς λάρνακος περὶ ἄκραν τινὰ ὄρους σταθείσης κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν συνεῖς ὁ Νῶχος ἀνοίγει τ' αὐτὴν<sup>3</sup> καὶ θεασάμενος γῆν βραχεῖαν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ χρηστο-
- 91 τέρας ἤδη γεγωνὸς ἐλπίδος ἠρέμει. ὀλίγαις δ' ὕστερον ἡμέραις μᾶλλον ὑποχωροῦντος τοῦ ὕδατος μεθίησι κόρακα, βουλόμενος μαθεῖν εἴ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς γῆς ἐκλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀσφαλές

<sup>1</sup> συμπληροῖ SPL.

<sup>2</sup> συμπαρεξέτεινον SPL.

<sup>3</sup> τ' αὐτὴν Niese: ταύτην codd.

<sup>a</sup> Greek ὡς " so that " : possibly *ἕως* should be read.

<sup>b</sup> Gr. " in the seventh month, and it was the seventh (day) of its first decade."

<sup>c</sup> Such I take to be the meaning: ἀπολήγοντος (*sc.* τοῦ μηνός) is the converse of ἵσταμένου and a variant for the normal ἀπίοντος or φθίνοντος, the technical term for the last decade of the month. The Scriptural account, composed of two sources, " J " and " P," is different: "(J) And the waters returned from off the earth continually: (P) and *after the end of*

added together, give the total above mentioned. The reader should not examine the ages of the individuals at death, for their life-times extended into those of their sons and of their sons' descendants, but should confine his attention to their dates of birth.

(5) When God gave the signal and caused the rain-fall to begin, the water poured down for forty entire days, insomuch that it rose to fifteen cubits above the surface of the earth. That was the reason why no more escaped, since they had no place of refuge. When the rain at length ceased, for 150 days the water scarcely began to sink, until <sup>a</sup> at the opening of the seventh month, from the seventh day, <sup>b</sup> it little by little subsided as the month drew to a close. <sup>c</sup> Then the ark settled on a mountain-top in Armenia: observing this, Noah opened the ark and, seeing a little land surrounding it, with hopes now revived, remained where he was. But a few days later, <sup>d</sup> the water continuing to sink, he let loose a raven, to learn whether any other portion of the earth had emerged from the flood and would now make it safe

Subsidence  
of the flood.  
Gen. vii.  
17, 20.

*ib.* viii. 3 f.

*ib.* 7

*150 days* the waters decreased. And the ark rested in the 7th month, on the 17th (LXX 27th) day of the month, upon the mountains of Ararat." Josephus indicates three dates. a period of 150 days, not of stagnation but of slight, almost imperceptible, subsidence (this he apparently gets from "J"), a more pronounced fall at the opening of the 7th month, increasing towards its close. The distinct mention of the opening and closing decades of the month may have arisen from conflicting readings in his Scriptural MSS., one of which named the 7th day as the turning-point, the other (like the LXX) the 27th. On the further stages in the subsidence (Gen. viii. 5, 14) he is silent.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. viii. 6 (J) Noah sends out the raven " at the end of " the " forty days " of the flood.

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- ἔστιν ἤδη πρὸς ἔκβασιν· ὁ δὲ πᾶσαν εὐρῶν ἔτι λιμναζομένην πρὸς Νῶχον ἐπανήλθε. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ περιστερὰν ἐπὶ τῷ γνῶναι τὰ περι-  
 92 τὴν γῆν προύπεμψεν· ἐπανελλθούσης δὲ πεπηλω-  
 μένης ἅμα καὶ θαλλὸν ἐλαίας κομιζούσης, μαθὼν τὴν γῆν ἀπηλλαγμένην τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ μείνας ἄλλας ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας τὰ τε ζῶα τῆς λάρνακος ἐξαφίησιν αὐτός τε μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς προελθὼν καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ συνευωχεῖτο τοῖς οἰκείοις. ἀποβατήριον μέντοι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον Ἀρμένιοι καλοῦσιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἀνασωθείσης τῆς λάρνακος ἔτι νῦν αὐτῆς<sup>1</sup> τὰ λείψανα ἐπιδεικνύουσι.
- 93 (6) Τοῦ δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ τούτου καὶ τῆς λάρνακος μέμνηται πάντες οἱ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἱστορίας ἀναγεγραφότες, ὧν ἔστι Βηρωσὸς ὁ Χαλδαῖος· διηγούμενος γὰρ τὰ περὶ τὸν κατακλυσμόν οὕτως που διέξεισι· “ λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλοίου ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει τῶν Κορδυαίων ἔτι μέρος τι εἶναι καὶ κομίζειν τινὰς τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἀφαιρούν-  
 94 τας· χρῶνται δ’ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῷ κομιζομένῳ πρὸς τοὺς ἀποτροπιασμούς.” μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἰερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος καὶ Μνασέας δὲ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῆς RO: οἱ ἐπιχώριοι M Lat.: the rest, including Euseb., present a conflated text.

<sup>a</sup> Condensation of the Scriptural account in which the dove is sent out three times at intervals of seven days (Gen. viii. 8, 10, 12).

<sup>b</sup> πεπηλωμένης: this detail comes apparently from Berosus (mentioned below), who writes in his account of the flood



to disembark; but the bird found the whole land inundated and returned to Noah. Seven days after he sent forth a dove <sup>a</sup> to explore the condition of the earth; it returned bearing the marks of clay <sup>b</sup> and an olive-branch in its mouth. Noah, thus learning that the earth was delivered from the flood, waited yet seven days, and then let the animals out of the ark, went forth himself with his family, sacrificed to God and feasted with his household. The Armenians call that spot the Landing-place, for it was there that the ark came safe to land, and they show the relics of it to this day.

(6) This flood and the ark are mentioned by all who have written histories of the barbarians. Among these is Berosus the Chaldaean,<sup>c</sup> who in his description of the events of the flood writes somewhere <sup>d</sup> as follows: "It is said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountain of the Cordyaeans,<sup>e</sup> and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans." These matters are also mentioned by Hieronymus the Egyptian,<sup>f</sup> author of the ancient history of Phoenicia,

ταῦτα (τὰ ὄρυεα) δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ναῦν ἐλθεῖν τοὺς πόδας πεπηλωμένους ἔχοντα, C. Müller, *Frag. Hist. Graec.* ii. 501.

<sup>a</sup> A Hellenized Babylonian priest, c. 330-250 B.C., who wrote a history of Babylon in three books (*Ap.* i. 129 ff.). His account of the Chaldaean flood and the salvation of the hero Xisouthros (the equivalent of Noah) has been preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, through Syncellus, and is printed in Müller, *loc. cit.* (last note).

<sup>d</sup> Or "somewhat." The text quoted by Syncellus differs slightly from that below.

<sup>e</sup> *Alias* Gordyaeans or Carduchi, occupying approximately the modern Kurdistan.

<sup>f</sup> Otherwise unknown (to be distinguished from Hieronymus of Cardia, historian of the Diadochi, mentioned elsewhere, *Ap.* i. 213).

## JOSEPHUS

ἄλλοι πλείους, καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἐνενηκοστῇ καὶ ἕκτῃ βίβλῳ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν  
 95 λέγων οὕτως· “ ἔστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μιννάδα μέγα ὄρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὃ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισωθῆναι καὶ τινα ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὀχοούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὀκεῖλαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. γένοιτο δ’ ἂν οὗτος, ὄντινα καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης.”

96 (7) Νῶχος δὲ φοβούμενος, μὴ καθ’ ἕκαστον ἔτος ἐπικλύζῃ τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς φθορὰν ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισάμενος, ἱερά’ καύσας ἐδεῖτο τὸν θεὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μένειν εὐταξίας καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι τοιοῦτον ἐπενεγκεῖν πάθος, ὑφ’ οὗ κινδυνεύσει πᾶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ τῶν ζώων γένος, ἀλλὰ τετιμωρημένον τοὺς πονηροὺς φειδῶ ποιείσθαι τῶν διὰ χρηστότητα περιλειφθέντων καὶ τὸ δεινὸν  
 97 διαφυγεῖν κεκριμένων· κακοδαιμονεστέρους γὰρ ἐκείνων ἔσεσθαι καὶ χεῖρω κακίαν καταδικασθέντας, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς εἶεν σεσωσμένοι, τηρηθεῖεν δ’ ἑτέρῳ κατακλυσμῶ, τοῦ μὲν πρώτου τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθόντες,<sup>2</sup> τοῦ δευ-  
 98 τέρου δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν. εὐμενῶς τε οὖν αὐτὸν προσδέχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν παρεκάλει καὶ μηδεμίαν

<sup>1</sup> RO Lat. (*fana!*): ἱερεία rell.

<sup>2</sup> v.l. παθόντες, which should probably be inserted after ἀπώλειαν.

<sup>a</sup> Of Patara in Lycia, antiquary and disciple of Eratosthenes, end of third cent. B.C. : there are passing allusions to him in *Ap.* i. 216, ii. 112.

<sup>b</sup> Friend and biographer of Herod the Great and author of a *Universal History* which was one of the main sources

by Mnaseas<sup>a</sup> and by many others. Nicolas of Damascus<sup>b</sup> in his ninety-sixth book relates the story as follows: "There is above the country of Minyas<sup>c</sup> in Armenia a great mountain called Baris, where, as the story goes, many refugees found safety at the time of the flood, and one man, transported upon an ark, grounded upon the summit, and relics of the timber were for long preserved; this might well be the same man of whom Moses, the Jewish legislator, wrote."

(7) Noah, fearing that God, having sentenced mankind to annihilation, might annually inundate the earth, offered burnt-sacrifices and besought Him to maintain for the future the primitive order (of nature) and to inflict no more such calamity as would bring the whole race of living creatures into danger of destruction, but, having now punished the wicked, to spare those who for their rectitude had survived and been judged fit to escape the peril. For their lot would be more miserable than that of those miscreants, and they would be condemned to a yet worse evil, were they now not absolutely secure but reserved for another deluge, and after learning the terrible reality and tale of the first, they were to be the victims of the second. He therefore entreated Him graciously to accept his sacrifice and to be moved

Noah's fear  
of a second  
flood

of Josephus. Here, as in § 108, Nicolas is the last name in a list of authorities; and Josephus perhaps takes over the other names from him and has no first-hand knowledge of Hieronymus, etc.

<sup>c</sup> The Minni of the O.T. (Jer. li. 27), like the *Mannu* of Assyrian inscriptions, are mentioned in close connexion with Ararat. Another tradition, mentioned elsewhere by Josephus (*A.* xx. 24 f.), places the relics of the ark in a region remote from Ararat, viz. at Carrhae, S.E. of Edessa.

## JOSEPHUS

ὄργην ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὁμοίαν λαβεῖν,<sup>1</sup> ὅπως ἔργοις τε τοῖς ταύτης προσλιπαροῦντες καὶ πόλεις ἀναστήσαντες εὐδαιμόνως ζῆν ἔχοιεν καὶ μηδενὸς ὦν καὶ πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἀπέλαυον ὑστερώσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς μακρὸν αὐτῶν γῆρας καὶ βίου μῆκος ὁμοιον τοῖς τάχιον ἐπερχομένων.

- 99 (8) Νώχου δὲ ταύτας ποιησαμένου τὰς ἱκετείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη τὸν ἄνδρα ἀγαπῶν ἐπένευεν αὐτῷ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τέλος ἄξειν, οὔτε τοὺς διεφθαρμένους λέγων αὐτὸς ἀπολέσαι, κακία δὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποσχεῖν τὴν δίκην, οὔτ' ἄν, εἰ γενομένους ἀνθρώπους ἀφανίσει διεγνώκει,
- 100 παραγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν βίον, σῶφρον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ χαρίσασθαι τὸ ζῆν ἢ δόντα τοῦτο διαφθείρειν· “ἀλλ’ οἷς ἐξύβριζον εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, τούτοις ἐξεβιάσαντό με ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν δίκην.
- 101 παύσομαι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ μετὰ τσοαύτης ὄργῆς τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν εἰσπραττόμενος καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον σοῦ παρακαλοῦντος. εἰ δ’ ἐπὶ πλέον ποτὲ χειμάσαιμι, μὴ δείσητε τῶν ὄμβρων τὸ μέγεθος· οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσει τὸ ὕδωρ.
- 102 παραινῶ μέντοι σφαγῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθαρεύειν φόνου τοὺς δράσαντάς τι τοιοῦτον κολάζοντας, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις ἅπασιν πρὸς ἃ βούλεσθε καὶ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἔχετε· δεσπότης γὰρ ἀπάντων ὑμᾶς εἶναι πεποίηκα τῶν τε χερσαίων

<sup>1</sup> So most mss. (cf. i. 58): βαλεῖν RO.

<sup>a</sup> τάχιον is occasionally used in Josephus as equivalent to πρότερον, e.g. A. xvi. 179, B. i. 284 (= τὸ πρῶτον in the parallel

no more to such wrath against the earth, that so they might assiduously devote themselves to its cultivation, erect cities, live in happiness, lacking none of the blessings which they enjoyed before the deluge, and attain to a ripe old age and a length of days like that of the men of yore.<sup>a</sup>

(8) Noah having ended his supplications, God, who loved this man for his righteousness, signified to him that He would grant his prayers. Those who had perished, He said, had not been destroyed by Him, but through their own wickedness had incurred this punishment; had He determined to annihilate mankind when made, He would not have called them into existence, for it were reasonable not to have bestowed the boon of life at all rather than having given to destroy it. "No, it was the outrages with which they met my reverent regard<sup>b</sup> and goodness that constrained me to impose this penalty upon them. Howbeit from henceforth I will cease to exact punishment for crimes with such wrathful indignation; I will cease above all at thy petition. And if ever I send tempests of exceeding fury, fear ye not the violence of the rainfall; for never more shall the water overwhelm the earth. Yet I exhort you to refrain from shedding human blood, to keep yourselves pure from murder and to punish those guilty of such crime. The other living creatures ye may use as may meet your desires and appetites, for I have made you lords of all, creatures both of the land and of the deep, and such

God's covenant with Noah. Cf. Gen. viii. 21 ff.

passage in *A.* xiv. 354), 432 καὶ τάχιον μὲν μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν . . . ἄφιξιν. There is no need, as Weill thinks, to alter the text to τοῖς πάλαι.

<sup>b</sup> εἰσέβεια, *pietas*, rather strangely placed in the mouth of the Deity, seems to denote His *respect* for His creatures, unless it is a synonym for "holiness."

## JOSEPHUS

καὶ ἰηκτῶν καὶ ὅσα τὴν μετάρσιον αἰώραν ἔχει  
καὶ φορὰν, χωρὶς αἵματος· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ  
103 ψυχὴ. σημανῶ<sup>1</sup> δὲ ὑμῖν παῦλαν ἔσομένην τοξείᾳ  
τῇ ἐμῇ, τὴν ἱρὴν ἀποσημαίνων· τόξον γὰρ εἶναι  
τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ νενόμισται. καὶ ὁ μὲν  
θεὸς ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ ὑποσχόμενος ἀπαλλάσσεται.

104 (9) Νῶχος δὲ βιούσ μετατὴν ἐπομβρίαν πεντή-  
κοντα καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον  
τοῦτον εὐδαιμόνως διαγαγὼν τελευτᾷ ζήσας ἐτῶν  
105 ἀριθμὸν ἑνακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα. μηδεὶς δὲ  
πρὸς τὸν νῦν βίον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἐτῶν  
ἂ ζῶμεν συμβαλὼν τὸν τῶν παλαιῶν ψευδῆ νομι-  
ζέτω τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα τῷ μηδένα νῦν  
τοσοῦτον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρατείνειν χρόνον τεκμαιρό-  
μενος μηδ' ἐκείνους εἰς ἐκείνο τὸ μῆκος τῆς ζωῆς  
106 ἀφίχθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ  
τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειο-  
τέρας πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὔσας εἰκότως ἔζων  
πλήθος τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν· ἔπειτα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ  
τὴν εὐχρηστίαν ὧν ἐπενόουν, ἀστρονομίας<sup>2</sup> καὶ  
γεωμετρίας, πλείον ζῆν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν,  
ἄπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζήσασιν  
ἑξακοσίους ἑνιαυτούς διὰ τοσοῦτων γὰρ ὁ μέγας  
107 ἑνιαυτὸς πληροῦται. μαρτυροῦσι δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ  
πάντες οἱ παρ' Ἑλλῆσι καὶ βαρβάροις συγγραψά-  
μενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μανέθων ὁ  
τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ποιησάμενος ἀναγραφὴν καὶ Βηρω-  
σὸς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ συναγαγὼν καὶ Μῶχος τε καὶ  
Ἐστιαῖος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Αἰγύπτιος Ἱερῶ-  
νυμος, οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραψάμενοι,<sup>3</sup> συμ-

<sup>1</sup> SPL: σημανῶ rell. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ἀστρολογίας SP Lat. Eus.

<sup>3</sup> ROE: συναζάμενοι rell.

as hover aloft or wing the air—yet without the blood, for therein is the soul. Moreover I will manifest the truce that ye shall have by displaying my bow.” He meant the rainbow, which in those countries was believed to be God’s bow. Having spoken these words and promises God left him.

(9) Noah lived after the deluge for 350 years, all happily passed, and died at the age of 950. Nor let the reader, comparing the life of the ancients with our own and the brevity of its years, imagine that what is recorded of them is false ; let him not infer that, because no life is so prolonged to-day, they too never reached such a span of existence. For, in the first place, they were beloved of God and the creatures of God Himself ; their diet too was more conducive to longevity : it was then natural that they should live so long. Again, alike for their merits and to promote the utility of their discoveries in astronomy and geometry, God would accord them a longer life ; for they could have predicted nothing with certainty had they not lived for 600 years, that being the complete period of the great year.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, my words are attested by all historians of antiquity, whether Greeks or barbarians : Manetho the annalist of the Egyptians, Berosus the compiler of the Chaldaean traditions ; Mochus, Hestiaeus, along with the Egyptian Hieronymus, authors of Phoenician his-

Gen. ix. 28.  
The lon-  
gevity of the  
patriarchs,  
three  
reasons  
for it.

<sup>a</sup> As suggested by Weill, Josephus appears here to be ultimately dependent on Berosus (possibly through the medium of Nicolas or other later writer). Berosus (Frag 4 in Müller, *F.H.G.* ii. 498) reckoned world history by cycles of 60, 600 and 3600 years : the “ great year ” of Josephus is the middle cycle called by Berosus *νῆρος*.

## JOSEPHUS

- 108 φωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, Ἡσιόδός τε καὶ Ἐκαταῖος καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις Ἐφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἱστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἔτη χίλια. περὶ μὲν [οὖν]<sup>1</sup> τούτων, ὡς ἂν ἐκάστοις ἦ φίλον, οὕτω σκοπεῖτωσαν.
- 109 (iv. 1) Οἱ δὲ Νώχου παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες, Σήμας καὶ Ἰάφθας καὶ Χάμας, ἔτεσιν ἑκατὸν ἔμπροσθεν τῆς ἐπομβρίας γεγονότες, πρῶτοι κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὄρων εἰς τὰ πεδία τὴν ἐν τούτοις οἴκησιν ἐποίησαντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφόδρα δεδιότας διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τὰ πεδία καὶ ὀκνηρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων κατάβασιν ἔπει-
- 110 σαν θαρσύνοντας μιμητὰς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πεδίον, εἰς ὃ πρῶτον αὐτοὶ κατώκησαν,<sup>2</sup> καλεῖται Σεναάρ<sup>3</sup>. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτοὺς διὰ πολυανθρωπίαν στέλλειν ἀποικίας, ἵνα μὴ στασιάζοιεν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν γεωργοῦντες ἀφθονίᾳ ἀπολαύοιεν τῶν καρπῶν, ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας παρήκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες ἦσθοντο τῆς ἀμαρτίας.
- 111 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦνθουν νεότητος πλήθει, πάλιν ὁ θεὸς

<sup>1</sup> om. ROE.

<sup>2</sup> So most mss. (supported by LXX): Niese αὐτοὺς κατώκισαν.

<sup>3</sup> Σέναρον L.

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<sup>a</sup> For Nicolas as last of the list see note on § 94.

<sup>b</sup> The first occurrence of a formula which, with variations, recurs repeatedly where anything of a miraculous nature is in question (ii. 348, iii. 81, etc.). Dionysius of Halicarnassus in his *Roman Antiquities* (the unnamed model for our author's *Jewish Antiquities*) had already used similar formulas in the same connexion, e.g. i. 48. Ἰ κρινέτω δὲ ὡς ἕκαστος τῶν ἀκούοντων βούλεται; and by the 2nd century A.D. this non-committal attitude to the marvellous had become



tories, concur in my statements; while Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, as well as Ephorus and Nicolas,<sup>a</sup> report that the ancients lived for a thousand years. But on these matters let everyone decide according to his fancy.<sup>b</sup>

(iv. 1) The three sons of Noah—Shem, Japhet and Ham—born a hundred years<sup>c</sup> before the deluge, were the first to descend from the mountains to the plains and to make their abode there; the rest,<sup>d</sup> who by reason of the flood were sore afraid of the plains and loath to descend from the heights,<sup>e</sup> they persuaded to take courage and follow their example. The plain where they first settled is called Senaar.<sup>f</sup> God bade them, owing to increasing population, to send out colonies, that they might not quarrel with each other but cultivate much of the earth and enjoy an abundance of its fruits; but in their blindness they did not hearken to Him, and in consequence were plunged into calamities which made them sensible of their error. For when they had a flourishing youthful popu-

The descent to the plain and refusal to colonize. Gen. ix. 18

Ib. xi. 2.

a rule for historians. "And should any myth come into question, it should be related but not wholly credited: rather it should be left open (*ἐν μέσῳ θετέος*) for readers to conjecture about it as they will, but do you take no risks and incline neither to one opinion nor to the other," Lucian, *Quomodo hist. sit conscribenda* 60 (67).

<sup>c</sup> Noah was 500 years of age when he begat them (Gen. v. 32) and 600 at the date of the flood (vii. 6).

<sup>d</sup> Presumably the grandsons and later descendants, unless this is a relic of some version of the story in which others beside the family of Noah survived the flood.

<sup>e</sup> Non-Biblical, like most of this paragraph. Weill quotes a partial parallel from the *Pirke Rabbi Eliezer*, cap. xi. (tr. Friedlander, p. 80), "All the creatures were dwelling in one place and they were afraid of the waters of the flood, and Nimrod was king over them."

<sup>f</sup> LXX form of the Heb. Shinar.

## JOSEPHUS

- αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευσε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν· οἱ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν ἐκείνου νομίζοντες ἔχειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ, τὴν δ' ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οἰκείαν αἰτίαν τῆς εὐπορίας ὑπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐπέ-  
 112 θοντο. προσετίθεσαν δὲ τῷ παρακούειν τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης καὶ τὸ κατ' ἐπιβουλήν ὑπονοεῖν εἰς ἀποικίαν αὐτοὺς παρορμᾶν, ἵνα διαιρεθέντες εὐ-  
 ἐπιχειρητότεροι γένωνται.
- 113 (2) Ἐξῆρέ τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησιν Νεβρώδης,<sup>1</sup> ὃς υἱὸνὸς μὲν ἦν Χάμου τοῦ Νώχου, τολμηρὸς δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα γενναῖος· ἔπειθεν οὖν αὐτοὺς μὴ τῷ θεῷ διδόναι τὸ δι' ἐκείνον εὐδαιμονεῖν, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν  
 114 ταῦτα παρέχειν αὐτοῖς ἡγεῖσθαι, καὶ περίσστα δὲ κατ' ὀλίγον εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα, μόνως οὕτως νομίζων ἀποστήσειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοῦ φόβου τοῦ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰ χρώμενοι τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει διατελοῖεν, ἀμυνεῖσθαι τε τὸν θεὸν πάλιν ἠπεῖλει τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσαι θελήσαντα· πύργον γὰρ οἰκοδομήσειν ὑψηλότερον ἢ τὸ ὕδωρ ἀναβῆναι δυνηθείη, μετελεύσεσθαι δὲ καὶ τῆς τῶν προγόνων ἀπωλείας.
- 115 (3) Τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρόθυμον ἦν τοῖς Νεβρώδου ἔπεσθαι δόγμασι δουλείαν ἡγούμενοι<sup>2</sup> τὸ εἶκειν τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὸν πύργον ὠκοδόμουν οὐδὲν ἀπο-  
 λείποντες σπουδῆς οὐδὲ πρὸς τὸ ἔργον ὀκνηρῶς ἔχοντες· ἐλάμβανε δὲ θᾶπτον ὕψος ἢ προσεδό-  
 116 κησεν ἄν τις ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας. τὸ μέντοι πάχος

<sup>1</sup> So most (with LXX): Niese with other mss. Ναβρώδης.

<sup>2</sup> M: ἡγούμενον rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Nimrod, LXX Νεβρώδ. His connexion with the tower  
 54

lation. God again counselled them to colonize; but they, never thinking that they owed their blessings to His benevolence and regarding their own might as the cause of their felicity, refused to obey. Nay, to this disobedience to God's will they even added the suspicion that God was plotting against them in urging them to emigrate, in order that, being divided, they might be more open to attack.

(2) They were incited to this insolent contempt of God by Nebrodes,<sup>a</sup> grandson of Ham the son of Noah, an audacious man of doughty vigour. He persuaded them to attribute their prosperity not to God but to their own valour, and little by little transformed the state of affairs into a tyranny, holding that the only way to detach men from the fear of God<sup>b</sup> was by making them continuously dependent upon his own power. He threatened to have his revenge on God if He wished to inundate the earth again; for he would build a tower higher than the water could reach and avenge the destruction of their forefathers.

The rebel  
Nimrod  
builds the  
tower of  
Babel.

(3) The people were eager to follow this advice of Nebrodes, deeming it slavery to submit to God; so they set out to build the tower with indefatigable ardour and no slackening in the task; and it rose with a speed beyond all expectation, thanks to the multitude of hands. Its thickness, however, was so

of Babel is unbiblical and inferred from his activity as city-builder (Gen. x. 11 f.); such identification of names and deductions from Scripture are in Rabbinic vein and recur in Josephus. The same identification appears in the *Pirke R. Eliezer*, cap. xxiv. (Weill).

<sup>b</sup> A saying attributed in the Talmud to Johanan ben Zakkai (a contemporary of Josephus) speaks of "Nimrod the wicked who led all the world to rebel against (God)," *Chagigah* 13a, i. (Streane); again I owe the reference to M. Weill.

## JOSEPHUS

ἦν ἰσχυρὸν τοσοῦτον, ὥσθ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ μειοῦσθαι τοῖς ὀρώσι τὸ μῆκος. ὠκοδομεῖτο δὲ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς ἀσφάλτῳ συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρέοι. οὕτως δὲ μεμηνότας αὐτοὺς ὀρῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀφανίσαι μὲν ἐκ παντὸς οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὅτι μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν  
 117 πρώτων ἀπολωλότων σωφρονισθεῖεν, εἰς στάσιμ δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐπέβαλεν ἀλλογλώσσους ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ πολυφωνίας ποιήσας ἑαυτῶν ἀσυνέτους εἶναι. ὁ δὲ τόπος ἐν ᾧ τὸν πύργον ὠκοδόμησαν νῦν Βαβυλῶν καλεῖται διὰ τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον πρώτον ἐναργοῦς· Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ τὴν  
 118 σύγχυσιν βαβέλ καλοῦσι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τούτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα οὕτως· “ πάντων ὁμοφῶνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργον ὠκοδόμησάν τινες ὑψηλότατον ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβησόμενοι δι' αὐτοῦ. οἱ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκάστῳ φωνὴν ἔδωκαν· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλῶνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν  
 119 πόλιν.” περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σεναὰρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ χώρα μνημονεύει Ἐστιαῖος λέγων οὕτως· “ τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τοὺς διασωθέντας τὰ τοῦ Ἐνναλίου Διὸς ἱερώματα λαβόντας εἰς Σεναὰρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐλθεῖν.”

<sup>a</sup> So the Heb. and LXX (using the same Greek word *σύγχυσις*).

<sup>b</sup> There follows a prose paraphrase, loosely taken over from Alexander Polyhistor, of *Oracula Sibyllina* iii. 97 ff., a Jewish work of about the 2nd cent. B.C. (ed. Rzach, 1891). The original runs :

ἀλλ' ὀπότ' ἂν μεγάλοι θεοῦ τελέωνται ἀπειλαί,<sup>i</sup>  
 ἄς ποτ' ἐπηπέλθῃσε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτευξαν  
 χώρῃ ἐν Ἀσσυρίῃ· ὁμόφωνοι δ' ἦσαν ἅπαντες

stout as to dwarf its apparent height. It was built of baked bricks cemented with bitumen to prevent them from being washed away. Seeing their mad enterprise, God was not minded to exterminate them utterly, because even the destruction of the first victims had not taught their descendants wisdom; but He created discord among them by making them speak different languages, through the variety of which they could not understand one another. The place where they built the tower is now called Babylon from the confusion of that primitive speech once intelligible to all, for the Hebrews call confusion "Babel.<sup>a</sup>" This tower and the confusion of the tongues of men are mentioned also by the Sibyl in the following terms <sup>b</sup>: "When all men spoke a common language, certain of them built an exceeding high tower, thinking thereby to mount to heaven. But the gods <sup>c</sup> sent winds against it and overturned the tower and gave to every man a peculiar language; whence it comes that the city was called Babylon." And as concerning the plain called Senaar in the region of Babylon, Hestiaeus <sup>d</sup> speaks as follows: "Now the priests who escaped took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius <sup>e</sup> and came to Senaar in Babylonia." Gen. xi. 3.  
Ib. 9.

καὶ βούλοντ' ἀναβῆναι ἐς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα·  
αὐτίκα δ' ἀθάνατος μεγάλην ἐπέθηκεν ἀνάγκην  
πνεύμασιν· αὐτὰρ ἔπειτ' ἀνεμοὶ μέγαν ὑψόθι πύργον  
ῥίψαν καὶ θνητοῖσιν ἐπ' ἀλλήλους ἔριν ὤρσαν·  
τοῦνεκά τοι Βαβυλῶνα βροτοὶ πόλει οὖνομ ἔθεντο.

<sup>c</sup> The plural comes from Alexander's paraphrase (*ap. Rzach*), τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς ἀνέμοις ἐμφυσήσαντας ἀνατρέψαι.

<sup>d</sup> Already mentioned (§ 107) as author of a Phoenician history; his date is unknown.

<sup>e</sup> "The Warlike" (*Enyo* = Lat. *Bellona*), in Homer epithet of *Ares*, here only applied to *Zeus*; *Gutschmid* proposed to read *Z. Ἐνάλιος*, i.e. *Poseidon* (*T. Reinach*).

## JOSEPHUS

- 120 (v.) Σκίδναιται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλογλωσσίας τὰς ἀποικίας ποιησάμενοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἕκαστοι κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχοῦσαν καὶ εἰς ἣν αὐτοὺς ἤγειν ὁ θεός, ὡς πληρωθῆναι πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ἡπειρον μεσόγειών τε καὶ παράλιον· εἰσι δ' οἱ καὶ περαιωσάμενοι ναυσὶ τὰς νήσους κατώκησαν.
- 121 καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕνια μὲν διασώζει τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων κειμένας προσηγορίας, ἕνια δὲ καὶ μετέβαλεν,<sup>1</sup> οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον εἶναι δοκοῦν τοῖς παροικοῦσι τροπὴν ἔλαβον. "Ἕλληνες δ' εἰσὶν οἱ τούτου καταστάντες αἴτιοι· ἰσχύσαντες γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον ἰδίαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν πάλαι δόξαν, καλλωπίσαντες τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς ὀνόμασι πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κόσμον θέμενοι πολιτείας ὡς ἀφ' αὐτῶν γεγονόσιν.
- 122 (vi. 1) Ἦσαν δὲ τῶν Νώχου παίδων υἱοί, ὧν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῖς ἔθνεσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπετίθεσαν οἱ γῆν τινα καταλαβόντες. Ἰάφθα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νώχου παιδὸς ἦσαν ἑπτὰ υἱοί. κατοικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάνου τῶν ὄρων ἀρξάμενοι καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Τανάιδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἕως Γαδείρων<sup>2</sup> γῆν ἣν ἔτυχον καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ μηδενὸς προκατωκηκότος τὰ ἔθνη τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν ὀνό-
- 123 μασιν. τοὺς [μὲν] γὰρ νῦν ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων Γαλάτας καλουμένους, Γομαρεῖς δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἔκτισε. Μαγώγης δὲ τοὺς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας

<sup>1</sup> μετέβαλον codd.

<sup>2</sup> Γαζήρων RO (Gazirorum Lat.).

<sup>a</sup> Or "to sojourners among them."      <sup>b</sup> Greek "Japhtha."

<sup>c</sup> The Don, regarded in antiquity as the boundary between Asia and Europe.      <sup>d</sup> Cadiz.      <sup>e</sup> Or "provinces."

<sup>f</sup> Biblical Gomer: in reality "the Gamir of the Assyrian

(v.) From that hour, therefore, they were dispersed through their diversity of languages and founded colonies everywhere, each group occupying the country that they lit upon and to which God led them, so that every continent was peopled by them, the interior and the seaboard alike; while some crossed the sea on shipboard and settled in the islands. Of the nations some still preserve the names which were given them by their founders, some have changed them, while yet others have modified them to make them more intelligible to their neighbours.<sup>a</sup> It is the Greeks who are responsible for this change of nomenclature; for when in after ages they rose to power, they appropriated even the glories of the past, embellishing the nations with names which they could understand and imposing on them forms of government, as though they were descended from themselves.

The dispersion and founding of colonies. Gen. x. 32.

(vi. 1) Noah's children had sons, who were honoured by having their names conferred upon the nations by the first occupants of the several countries. Japheth,<sup>b</sup> son of Noah, had seven sons. These, beginning by inhabiting the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, advanced in Asia up to the river Tanais<sup>c</sup> and in Europe as far as Gadeira,<sup>d</sup> occupying the territory upon which they lit, and, as no inhabitant had preceded them, giving their own names to the nations.<sup>e</sup> Thus those whom to-day the Greeks call Galatians were named Gomarites, having been founded by Gomar.<sup>f</sup> Magog founded the Magogians, thus

Nations descended from Japheth. Cf. Gen. x 1 ff.

inscriptions, the Cimmerians of the Greeks," Skinner, *Genesis*. Here and in the sequel the alleged ancient eponymous names of the nations are generally fictitious. The Greek terminations as in Gomar(os), Magog(es), etc., are as a rule not reproduced in translation.

## JOSEPHUS

ὀνομασθέντας ᾤκισεν, Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 124 προσαγορευομένους. τῶν δὲ Ἰάφθα παίδων Ἰανά-  
 ρου<sup>1</sup> καὶ Μάδου ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου Μαδαῖοι γίνονται  
 ἔθνος, οἱ πρὸς Ἑλλήνων Μῆδοι κέκληνται, ἀπὸ δὲ  
 Ἰανάρου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἕλληνες γεγόνασι.  
 κατοικίζει δὲ καὶ Θεοβήλους Θεόβηλος, οἵτινες ἐν  
 125 τοῖς νῦν Ἰβηρες καλοῦνται. καὶ Μεσχηνοὶ δὲ ὑπὸ  
 Μέσχου κτισθέντες Καππάδοκες μὲν ἄρτι κέκλην-  
 ται, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν προσηγορίας σημεῖον  
 δείκνυται· πόλις γάρ ἐστι παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔτι καὶ νῦν  
 Μάζακα, δηλοῦσα τοῖς συνιέναι δυναμένοις οὕτως  
 ποτὲ προσαγορευθὲν πᾶν τὸ ἔθνος. Θείρης δὲ  
 Θείρας μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἤρξεν, Ἕλληνες δὲ Θρα-  
 126 κας αὐτοὺς μετωνόμασαν. καὶ τσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη  
 ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰάφθου παίδων κατοικεῖται· Γομάρου δὲ  
 τριῶν υἱῶν γενομένων Ἀσχανάξης μὲν Ἀσχα-  
 νάξους ᾤκισεν, οἱ νῦν Ῥήγιες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων  
 καλοῦνται, Ῥιφάθης δὲ Ῥιφαθαίου τοὺς Παφλα-  
 γόνας λεγομένους, Θυγράμης δὲ Θυγραμαίους, οἱ  
 127 δόξαν Ἑλλησι Φρύγες ὠνομάσθησαν. Ἰανάρου δὲ  
 τοῦ Ἰάφθου τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παίδων γενομένων

<sup>1</sup> Ἰανάρου RO: Ἰωνίου SPL (similar variants below).

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Madai (the common Heb. name for Media and the Medes).

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Tubal (LXX Θεβέλ).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Meshech (Μοσόχ). Josephus's identification of Meshech and Tubal, who are mentioned together elsewhere in Scripture, with Iberians and Cappadocians respectively is "arbitrary." "Since Bochart no one has questioned their identity with the *Τιβερηνοὶ* and *Μόσχοι*" of Herodotus (iii. 94, vii. 78); they appear in Assyrian monuments as *Tabali* and *Muski* and are regarded by modern writers as remnants of the Hittites (Skinner).



named after him, but who by the Greeks are called Scythians. Two other sons of Japheth, Javan and Mados,<sup>a</sup> gave birth, the latter to the Madaeans—the race called by the Greeks Medes—the former to Ionia and all the Greeks. Theobel<sup>b</sup> founded the Theobelians, nowadays called Iberians. The Meschenians, founded by Meschos,<sup>c</sup> are to-day called Cappadocians, but a clear trace of their ancient designation survives; for they still have a city of the name of Mazaca,<sup>d</sup> indicating to the expert that such was formerly the name of the whole race. Theires<sup>e</sup> called his subjects Theirians, whom the Greeks have converted into Thracians. So numerous are the nations founded by the sons of Japheth. Gomar had three sons, of whom Aschanaxes<sup>f</sup> founded the Aschanaxians, whom the Greeks now call Reginians,<sup>g</sup> Riphathes<sup>h</sup> the Riphataeans—the modern Paphlagonians—and Thugrames<sup>i</sup> the Thugramaeans, whom the Greeks thought good to call Phrygians. Javan, son of Japhet, also had three sons: of these

<sup>a</sup> The name had in fact been changed to Caesarea when Cappadocia became a Roman province under Tiberius.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Tiras; now conjectured to be identical with the *Τυρσηνοί*, Mediterranean pirates who gave their name to the Etruscans (Skinner; his valuable edition of Genesis in the *Int. Crit. Comm.* has been consulted throughout this passage).

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Ashkenaz, often connected with the Homeric Ascania (in Asia Minor), now thought to be Scythians; the name survives to-day in the *Ashkenazim*, one of the two main classes of Jews, those of German and Slavonic-speaking countries, as opposed to *Sephardim* (Spanish and Portuguese).

<sup>g</sup> Name unknown, perhaps corrupt.

<sup>h</sup> Bibl. Riphath; otherwise unknown.

<sup>i</sup> Bibl. Togarmah (Ixx Θεργαμά, Θοργαμά); “traditionally associated with Armenia” (Skinner).

Ἄλισσας μὲν Ἄλισαίους ἐκάλεσεν ὧν ἦρχεν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσι, Θάρσος δὲ Θαρσεῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἢ Κιλικία. σημεῖον δὲ Ταρσὸς γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἡ ἀξιολογώτατη καλεῖται, μητρόπολις οὖσα, τὸ ταῦ πρὸς τὴν  
 128 κλῆσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ θῆτα μεταβαλόντων. Χέθιμος δὲ Χέθιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε, Κύπρος αὕτη νῦν καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν παρὰ θάλατταν Χεθίμ' ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὀνομάζεται· μάρτυς δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ μία τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεων ἰσχύσασα τὴν προσηγορίαν φυλάξαι· Κίτιον γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξελληνισάντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται μηδ' οὕτως διαφυγοῦσα τοῦ Χεθίμου τὸ ὄνομα. Ἰάφθα  
 129 ὁ δ' ἴσως ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων ἀγνοεῖται, τοῦτο προειπὼν τρέψομαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφήγησιν ὧν κατέλιπον. τὰ γὰρ ὀνόματα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς εὐπρεπὲς ἠλλήμισται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τῶν ἐντευξομένων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριος ἡμῖν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος, ἀλλ' ἐν τε αὐτῶν σχῆμα καὶ τελευτὴ μία· Νῶχος γέ τοι Νῶε καλεῖται καὶ τοῦτον τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ παντὸς τηρεῖ σχήματος.

130 (2) Οἱ δὲ Χάμου παῖδες τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ Ἀμάνου καὶ Λιβάνου τῶν ὄρων γῆν κατέσχον, ὅσα

<sup>1</sup> Lat. (*Cethim*): *Χέθη* (-ημ) etc. codd.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Elishah (Ἐλισά), else only known as the name of "isles" supplying Tyre with purple (Ezek. xxvii. 7); Conder's identification with *Alasia* of the Tel-Amarna Tablets (probably = Cyprus) is now widely accepted.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Tarshish (Θαρσεῖς), doubtless = *Tarshish* in the south of Spain; Tarsus in Semitic has no *s* but a *z* (*Tarzi*).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Kittim (Κήτιοι); the view here given and still prevalent that Cyprus is primarily intended has recently been questioned, a site farther west being desiderated.

Halisas <sup>a</sup> gave his name to his subjects the Halisaeans — the modern Aeolians — and Tharsos <sup>b</sup> to the Tharsians ; the latter was the ancient name of Cilicia, as is proved by the fact that its principal and capital city is called Tarsus, the *Th* having been converted into *T*. Chethimos <sup>c</sup> held the island of Chethima — the modern Cyprus — whence the name *Chethim* given by the Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries <sup>d</sup> ; here I call to witness one of the cities of Cyprus which has succeeded in preserving the old appellation, for even in its Hellenized form Cition <sup>e</sup> is not far removed from the name of Chethimos.<sup>f</sup> So many were the countries possessed by the sons and grandsons of Japheth. I have one thing to add, of which Greeks are perhaps unaware, before reverting to the narrative where I left it. With a view to euphony and my readers' pleasure these names have been Hellenized.<sup>g</sup> The form in which they here appear is not that used in our country, where their structure and termination remain always the same ; thus Nochos (Noah) in Hebrew is Noe,<sup>h</sup> and the name retains this form in all the cases.

(2) The children of Ham held the countries branching from Syria and the mountain-ranges of Amanus and Libanus, occupying all the district in the direction

Descendants  
of Ham.  
Cf. Gen. x.  
6 ff.

<sup>a</sup> In the phrase " ships of Kittim " it denotes the coast-lands of the Mediterranean generally, including in one instance (Dan. xi. 30) Greece. <sup>e</sup> Mod. Larnaka.

<sup>f</sup> Josephus omits one name, Dodanim (LXX Ῥόδιαι), also omitted in one group of mss. of the Greek Bible.

<sup>g</sup> This is why he elsewhere omits lists of strange names as unnecessary (vii. 369, xi. 68, 152, xii. 57) : an exception is made for a special reason in ii. 176. Other writers, such as Strabo, did the same. (Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 124.)

<sup>h</sup> The usual LXX transliteration of the Hebrew נח (in the vocalized Masoretic form Noah).

## JOSEPHUS

- πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτῆς ἐτέτραπτο καταλαβόντες  
καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ ἐξιδιωσάμενοι· αἱ μείντοι  
προσηγορίαι τῶν μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἐξίτηλοι  
γεγόνασιν, ἐνίων δὲ μεταβαλοῦσαι καὶ μεταρρυθ-  
μισθεῖσαι πρὸς ἑτέρας δύσγνωστοι τυγχάνουσιν,  
131 ὀλίγοι δὲ οἱ φυλάξαντες ἀκεραίους τὰς προσ-  
ηγορίας ὑπάρχουσι. τεσσαρῶν γὰρ Χάμου παίδων  
γενομένων Χουσαῖον μὲν οὐδὲν ἔβλαψεν ὁ χρόνος·  
Λιθίοπες γὰρ ὧν ἤρξεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν τε  
καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων Χουσαῖοι καλοῦνται.  
132 ἐτηρήθη δὲ καὶ Μερσαίοις<sup>1</sup> ἢ κατὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν  
μνήμη· τὴν γὰρ Αἴγυπτον Μέρσην καὶ Μερσαίους  
τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἅπαντες οἱ ταύτη καλοῦμεν. ἔκτι-  
σε δὲ καὶ Φούτης τὴν Λιβύην Φούτους ἀφ' αὐτοῦ  
133 καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς  
ἐν τῇ Μαύρων χώρα τοῦτο ἔχων τὸ ὄνομα, ὅθεν  
καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων  
ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μεμνημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς  
παρακειμένης αὐτῷ χώρας Φούτης λεγομένης.  
μετέβαλε δὲ ὁ νῦν αὐτῇ ἔστιν ὄνομα ἀπὸ τῶν  
Μερσαίου<sup>2</sup> υἱῶν Λίβυος λεγομένου· μετ' οὐ πολὺ  
δ' ἐροῦμεν τὴν αἰτίαν, δι' ἣν αὐτὴν καὶ Ἀφρικαν  
134 προσαγορεύεσθαι συμβέβηκε. Χαναταῖος δὲ τέ-  
ταρτος ὧν Χάμου παῖς τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν καλου-  
μένην οἰκίσας ἀφ' αὐτοῦ Χαναταίαν προσηγόρευσεν.  
γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῶν Χούσου μὲν ἕξ, ὧν  
Σάβας μὲν Σαβαίους, Εὐίλας δὲ Εὐιλαίους ἔκτισεν,

<sup>1</sup> Μεστραίοις SPE and so (with Μέστρη) below.

<sup>2</sup> Niese (cf. § 132): Μεσ(τ)ράμου codd.

<sup>a</sup> The Mediterranean.

<sup>b</sup> The Indian Ocean.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Cush (LXX Χούσις).

<sup>d</sup> Or (with *v.l.*) "Mestraeans": Bibl. Mizraim (LXX, some mss., Μεστραεῖμ).

of the sea <sup>a</sup> and appropriating the regions reaching to the ocean.<sup>b</sup> Of the names of these countries, however, some have altogether disappeared, others have been altered and remodelled beyond recognition, few have been preserved unimpaired. Thus, of the four sons of Ham, the name of one, Chusaeus,<sup>c</sup> has escaped the ravages of time: the Ethiopians, his subjects, are to this day called by themselves and by all in Asia Chusaeans. The Mersaeans <sup>d</sup> also have kept their memory alive in their name, for we in these parts <sup>e</sup> all call Egypt Merse <sup>f</sup> and the Egyptians Mersaeans.<sup>d</sup> Phut <sup>g</sup> colonized Libya and called the inhabitants after his name Phutians. There is moreover a river in Mauretania which bears this name: mention of the river and of the adjacent region, called Phute, is to be found in most Greek historians.<sup>h</sup> But this country has changed its name into that which it now bears, taken from one of the sons of Mersaeus <sup>i</sup> named Libys; I shall state shortly why it also came to be called Africa.<sup>j</sup> Chana-naeus,<sup>k</sup> the fourth son of Ham, settled in the country now called Judaea and named it after himself Chananaea. The sons of Ham had sons in their turn. Chus <sup>l</sup> had six, of whom Sabas <sup>m</sup> founded the Sa- <sup>G<sup>n</sup>. x. 7</sup> baeans,<sup>n</sup> Evilas <sup>o</sup> the Evilaean, the Gactulians of

<sup>a</sup> The author, writing in Rome, adopts the standpoint of his native Palestine.

<sup>f</sup> Or "Mestre."

<sup>g</sup> Bibl. Put (Φούθ or Φούδ).

<sup>h</sup> Unverifiable.

<sup>i</sup> Or "Mestramus."

<sup>j</sup> §§ 239-241.

<sup>k</sup> Bibl. Canaan (LXX Χαναάν).

<sup>l</sup> Bibl. Cush, called Chusaeus above. <sup>m</sup> Bibl. Seba.

<sup>n</sup> There were Sabacans on either side of the Red Sea and elsewhere; as the Ethiopian branch seems to be alluded to below, this may mean the Arabian clan.

<sup>o</sup> Bibl. Havilah, probably to be located in N. Arabia, not in N.W. Africa, as here.

## JOSEPHUS

οἱ νῦν Γαιτούλοι λέγονται, Σαβάθης δὲ Σαβαθη-  
 νούς, ὀνομάζονται δὲ Ἀστάβαροι παρ' Ἑλλησιν·  
 135 οἰκίζει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκτας Σαβακτηνούς· Ῥάμος  
 δὲ Ῥαμαίους ᾤκισε καὶ δύο παῖδας ἔσχεν, ὧν  
 Ἰουδάδας μὲν Ἰουδαδαίους Αἰθιοπικὸν ἔθνος τῶν  
 ἑσπερίων οἰκίσας ἐπώνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλιπε, Σα-  
 βαίους δὲ Σαβαίους· Ναβρώδης δὲ Χούσου υἱὸς  
 ὑπομείνας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίοις ἐτυράνησεν, ὡς καὶ  
 136 πρότερόν μοι δεδήλωται. τῶν δὲ Μερσαίου<sup>1</sup>  
 παίδων ὀκτὼ γενομένων οἱ πάντες τὴν ἀπὸ Γάζης  
 ἕως Αἰγύπτου γῆν κατέσχον, μόνου δὲ Φυλιστίνου  
 τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν ἢ χώρα διεφύλαξε· Παλαιστίνην  
 137 γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτοῦ τὴν μοῖραν καλοῦσι. τῶν  
 δὲ ἄλλων, Λουμαίου καὶ Ἀναμία καὶ Λαβίμου τοῦ  
 μόνου κατοικήσαντος ἐν Λιβύῃ καὶ ὧδε τὴν χώραν  
 ἀφ' αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος, Νεδέμου τε καὶ Πεθρωσίμου  
 καὶ Χεσλοίου καὶ Χεφθώμου πέρα τῶν ὀνομάτων  
 οὐδὲν ἴσμεν· ὁ γὰρ Αἰθιοπικὸς πόλεμος, περὶ οὗ  
 138 ἐποίησεν. ἐγένοντο δὲ καὶ Χανααίου παῖδες,  
 Σιδώνιος ὃς καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμόν ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ  
 Φοινίκῃ, Σιδὼν δ' ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων καλεῖται, Ἀμα-

<sup>1</sup> v.l. Μεστράου.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Sabtah.

<sup>b</sup> Astaboras appears elsewhere as a tributary of the upper Nile, which it joined at the city of Saba, the later Meroe, capital of the Ethiopian realm of the Queen of Sheba (*A.* ii. 249).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Sabteca.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Raamah (LXX Ῥεγμά).

<sup>e</sup> Heb. Dedan (a merchant tribe of N. Arabia); but the form in Josephus has the support of one group of LXX MSS. and—a constant ally—the Armenian version.

to-day, Sabathes<sup>a</sup> the Sabathenians, whom the Greeks call Astabarians,<sup>b</sup> Sabactas<sup>c</sup> the Sabactenians, and Ramus<sup>d</sup> the Ramaeans ; the last-named had two sons, Judadas,<sup>e</sup> founder of the Judadaeans, a people of western Aethiopia to whom he bequeathed his name, and Sabaeus,<sup>f</sup> who stood in the same relation to the Sabaeans.<sup>g</sup> Nabrodes,<sup>h</sup> [the sixth] son of Chus, remained in Babylonia, where he held sway, as I have previously related.<sup>i</sup>

Mersaeus<sup>j</sup> had eight sons, all of whom occupied the territory extending from Gaza to Egypt ; but Phylistinus is the only one whose country has preserved the founder's name, for the Greeks call his portion Palestine. Of the rest, Lumaeus, Anamias, Labimus<sup>k</sup>—who alone settled in Libya and thus gave his name<sup>l</sup> to the country,—Nedemus, Pethrosimus, Chesloimus and Cephthomus,<sup>m</sup> we know nothing beyond their names ; for the Ethiopian war, of which we shall speak later,<sup>n</sup> reduced their cities to ruins.

Chananaeus also had sons, of whom Sidonius built in Phoenicia a city named after him, still called Sidon by the Greeks, and Amathus<sup>o</sup> founded Amathus,<sup>p</sup>

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Sheba.

<sup>g</sup> Another mention of this ubiquitous name : the Heb. refers to the great state in S.W. Arabia.

<sup>h</sup> Nimrod. § 113. <sup>i</sup> *i.e.* Mizraim.

<sup>k</sup> Bibl. Ludim, Ananim, Lehabim.

<sup>l</sup> Given differently as Libys in § 133.

<sup>m</sup> Bibl. " Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence went forth the Philistines) and Caphtorim." Pathros = Upper Egypt ; Caphtor = Crete.

<sup>n</sup> *A.* ii. 238 ff.

<sup>o</sup> Bibl. " the Hamathite " (LXX 'Αμαθί). Josephus here deserts the Biblical order of names.

<sup>p</sup> Hamath on the Orontes, modern Hamah : the " Macedonian " or Seleucid name was short-lived.

## JOSEPHUS

- θοῦς δὲ Ἀμάθουν κατώκισεν, ἥτις ἔστι καὶ νῦν  
 ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀμάθη καλουμένη,  
 Μακεδόνες δ' αὐτὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφ' ἐνὸς τῶν  
 ἐπιγόνων ἐπωνόμασαν, Ἀρουδαῖος δὲ Ἄραδον  
 τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν, Ἀρουκαῖος δὲ Ἄρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ  
 139 Λιβάνῳ. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑπτὰ, Εὐαίου Χετταίου  
 Ἰεβουσαίου Ἀμορραίου Γεργεσαίου Σειναίου  
 Σαμαραίου, πλὴν τῶν ὀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 βίβλοις οὐδὲν ἔχομεν. Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀν-  
 ἔστησαν τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἐν συμφορᾷ  
 γενομένης·
- 140 (3) Νῶχος μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τῆς γῆς κατα-  
 σταθείσης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἐπ' ἔργα χωρεῖ  
 καὶ καταφυτεύσας αὐτὴν ἀμπέλοις, ἠνίκα τοῦ  
 καρποῦ τελεσφορηθέντος καθ' ὥραν ἐτρύγησε καὶ  
 παρῆν εἰς χρῆσιν ὁ οἶνος, θύσας ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν.
- 141 μεθυσθεῖς δὲ εἰς ὕπνον καταφέρεται καὶ γεγυμνω-  
 μένος παρακόσμως ἔκειτο. θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν  
 ὁ νεώτατος τῶν παίδων τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιγελῶν  
 142 δείκνυσιν· οἱ δὲ περιστέλλουσι τὸν πατέρα. καὶ  
 Νῶχος αἰσθόμενος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παισὶν εὐ-  
 δαιμονίαν εὐχεται, τῷ δὲ Χάμα διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν  
 αὐτῷ μὲν οὐ κατηράσατο, τοῖς δ' ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ·  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπεφενγότων τὴν ἀρὰν τοῦς  
 Χανααίου παιδας μέτεισιν ὁ θεός· καὶ περὶ μὲν  
 τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἐξῆς ἐροῦμεν.

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<sup>a</sup> Bibl. "the Arvadite" (LXX τὸν Ἀράδιον): Arvad (Ezek. xxvii. 8), or Aradus, an island off the north coast of Phoenicia, founded, according to Strabo (xvi. 2. 13), by exiles from Sidon.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX, Heb. "the Arkite": Arca at the N.W. foot of Lebanon, near Tripolis, was a seat of the worship of Astarte



which the inhabitants to this day call Amathe, though the Macedonians renamed it Ēpiphaneia after one of Alexander's successors. Arudæus<sup>a</sup> occupied the island of Aradus, and Arucaeus<sup>b</sup> Arce in Lebanon. Of the seven others—Euaeus,<sup>c</sup> Chettaeus,<sup>d</sup> Jebuseus, Amorreus, Gergesæus, Seinaeus, Samaraeus<sup>e</sup>—we have no record in the sacred Scriptures beyond their names; for the Hebrews destroyed their cities, which owed this calamity to the following cause.

(3) After the flood, when the earth was restored to its natural state, Noah set to work and planted vines upon it; and when the fruit ripened in due season he gathered the vintage and, the wine being ready, he held a sacrifice and gave himself up to festivity. Drunken, he fell asleep and lay in an indecent state of nudity. His youngest son<sup>f</sup> saw him and with mockery showed the sight to his brethren, but they wrapped a covering about their father. Noah, on learning what had passed, invoked a blessing on his other sons, but cursed—not Ham himself, because of his nearness of kin, but his posterity. The other descendants of Ham escaped the curse, but divine vengeance pursued the children of Chananaeus. But of this I shall speak hereafter.

The curse upon the Canaanites. Gen. ix. 20.

and the birthplace of the Roman emperor, Alexander Severus.

<sup>e</sup> So LXX, Heb. "Hiv(v)ite."

<sup>d</sup> So LXX, Heb. "Heth": the wide range of the Hittite empire has been revealed by modern exploration.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Jebusite, Amorite, Gergashite, Sinite (LXX Ἀσενναῖος), Zemarite (LXX as in Josephus).

<sup>f</sup> Ham elsewhere in Genesis is the second son, yet in this incident is called "the youngest son" (ix. 24). The Bibl. writer apparently follows a distinct tradition in which Canaan was the youngest son, the actual sinner, and Ham disappears.

## JOSEPHUS

- 143 (4) Σήμα δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Νώχου υἱῶν πέντε  
 γίνονται παῖδες, οἳ τὴν μέχρι τοῦ κατ' Ἰνδιάν  
 ὠκεανοῦ κατοικοῦσιν Ἀσίαν ἀπ' Εὐφράτου τὴν  
 ἀρχὴν πεποιημένοι. Ἐλυμος μὲν γὰρ Ἐλυμαίους  
 Περσῶν ὄντας ἀρχηγέτας κατέλιπεν. Ἀσσοῦρας  
 δὲ Νίνον οἰκίζει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἀσ-  
 συρίους ἐπωνόμασεν, οἳ μάλιστα εὐδαιμόνησαν.  
 144 Ἀρφαξάδης δὲ τοὺς νῦν Χαλδαίους καλουμένους  
 Ἀρφαξαδαίους ὠνόμασεν ἀρχας αὐτῶν. Ἀραμαίους  
 δὲ Ἀραμος ἔσχεν, οὓς Ἕλληνες Σύρους προσ-  
 αγορεύουσιν· οὓς δὲ Λυδοὺς νῦν καλοῦσι, Λούδους  
 145 δὲ τότε, Λούδας ἔκτισε. τῶν δὲ Ἀράμου παίδων  
 τεσσάρων ὄντων Οὕσης μὲν κτίζει τὴν Τραχωνίτιν  
 καὶ Δαμασκόν, μέση δ' ἐστὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ  
 κοίλης Συρίας, Ἀρμενίαν δὲ Οὕρος,<sup>1</sup> καὶ Γεθέρης  
 Βακτριανούς, Μήσας δὲ Μησαναίους, Σπασίνου  
 146 Χάραξ ἐν τοῖς νῦν καλεῖται. Ἀρφαξάδου δὲ παῖς  
 γίνεται Σέλης, τοῦ δὲ Ἑβερως, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς  
 Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχήθεν ἐκάλουν. Ἑβερως  
 δὲ Ἰούκταν καὶ Φάλεγον ἐγέννησεν· ἐκλήθη δὲ  
 Φάλεγος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀποδοασμὸν<sup>2</sup> τῶν οἰκή-  
 σεων τίκτεται· φαλέκ γὰρ τὸν μερισμὸν Ἑβραῖοι

<sup>1</sup> Niese: "Οτρος most mss.: Ούλος (after lxx) SP.

<sup>2</sup> LM: τὸν ἀπόστολον (τὴν ἀποστολὴν E) the rest.

<sup>a</sup> First in age, but Josephus follows Scripture in naming his descendants, the progenitors of the Hebrews, last.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Elam (Αἰλάμ), a non-Semitic people.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Asshur.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Arpachshad: Josephus, in common with many modern commentators, recognized in the last part of the word the name Chesed (Gen. xxii. 22), whence Chasdim, the Biblical name for the Chaldaeans.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Lud: the equation with Lydia in Asia Minor presents difficulties.

(4) Shem, the third <sup>a</sup> of Noah's sons, had five sons, Descendants  
of Shem.  
Gen. x. 21. who inhabited Asia as far as the Indian Ocean, beginning at the Euphrates. Elymus <sup>b</sup> had for his descendants the Elymaeans, ancestors of the Persians. Assyras <sup>c</sup> founded the city of Ninus, and gave his name to his subjects, the Assyrians, who rose to the height of prosperity. Arphaxades named those under his rule Arphaxadaeans, the Chaldaeans of to-day. <sup>d</sup> Aramus ruled the Aramaeans, whom the Greeks term Syrians; while those whom they now call Lydians were then Ludians, founded by Ludas. <sup>e</sup> Of the four sons of Aramus, Uses <sup>f</sup> founded Trachonitis and Damaseus, situated between Palestine and Coele Syria, Urus <sup>g</sup> founded Armenia, Getheres the Bactrians, and Mesas <sup>h</sup> the Mesanaeans in the region to-day called Spasini Charax. Arphaxades was the father of Seles <sup>i</sup> and he of Heber, after whom the Jews were originally called Hebrews. Heber begat Juctas <sup>j</sup> and Phaleg, who was thus called because he was born at the time of the partition of territories, *Phalek* being the Hebrew for "division." <sup>k</sup> Juctas,

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Uz (ὤς), probably identical with the first-born of Nabor (Gen. xxii. 21) and therefore pointing to a region north-east of Palestine, near Haran, distinct from Uz the home of Job in the south.

<sup>g</sup> Bibl. Hul (Ὀὐλ).

<sup>h</sup> Bibl. Mash (Μοσόχ), "perhaps connected with Mons Masius" (Skinner), the mountain-chain forming the north boundary of Mesopotamia: this would suit J.'s identification with "Spasini Charax," which he elsewhere locates in the neighbourhood of Adiabene, in the upper Tigris region (*A.* xx. 22, 34).

<sup>i</sup> Bibl. Shelah (Σαλά).

<sup>j</sup> Bibl. Joktan (Ἰεκτάν), representing the southern (Arabian) branch, as Peleg the northern (Aramaean) branch of the Semites.

<sup>k</sup> A popular etymology repeated from Scripture and referring either to the dispersion at the time of the Tower of Babel or to the severance of the northern and southern Semites.

## JOSEPHUS

- 147 καλοῦσιν. Ἰούκτα δὲ τῶν Ἐβέρου παίδων ἦσαν υἱοὶ Ἐλμόδαδος Σάλεφος Ἀζερμώθης Εἰράης Ἐδώραμος Οὐζάλης Δάκλης Ἡβαλος Ἀβιμάηλος Σάφας Ὀφίρης Εὐίλης Ἰόβηλος. οὗτοι ἀπὸ Κωφῆνος ποταμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτῇ Σηρίας<sup>1</sup> τινὰ κατοικοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν Σήμα παίδων ἱστορήσθω.<sup>2</sup>
- 148 (5) Ποιήσομαι δὲ<sup>3</sup> περὶ Ἑβραίων τὸν λόγον· Φαλέγου γὰρ τοῦ Ἐβέρου γίνεται παῖς Ῥεούς· τούτου δὲ Σεροῦγος, ᾧ Ναχώρης υἱὸς τίκτεται· τούτου δὲ Θέρρος· πατὴρ δὲ οὗτος Ἀβράμου γίνεται, ὃς δέκατος μὲν ἔστιν ἀπὸ Νώχου, δευτέρῳ δ' ἔτει καὶ ἐνενηκοστῷ πρὸς ἑνακοσίους μετὰ
- 149 τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ἐγένετο. Θέρρος μὲν γὰρ ἐβδόμη-

<sup>1</sup> M: Συρίας the rest.      <sup>2</sup> Bekker: ἱστορησθω codd.  
<sup>3</sup> δὴ RSP: read perhaps δ' ἤδη.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX: Heb. Almodad.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Sheba (LXX Σαβεῦ or the like).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Havilah (Ἐβειλά).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Jobab, and so (Ἰώβαβος or the like) some mss. of Josephus.      <sup>e</sup> Tributary of the Indus.

<sup>f</sup> Probably N.W. China. The corresponding Biblical verse (Gen. x. 30) runs: "And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest toward Sephar (LXX Σωφηρά), the mountain of the east." The names are probably Arabian: but the LXX, in which Σωφείρ elsewhere = Ophir, seemed to point to the far east. Ophir has been identified by some modern commentators with Abhira near the mouths of the Indus. Cf. A. viii. 164 of Solomon's sending for gold εἰς τὴν πάλαι μὲν Σώφειραν νῦν δὲ χρυσοῦν γῆν καλουμένην, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἔστιν αὕτη.      <sup>g</sup> Bibl. Terah (Θαρά).

<sup>h</sup> So Niese's two principal mss., R and O: the figure here given is approximately the total of the figures that follow (993) and is doubtless original. The reading of the other mss. (292) has been taken over from the Hebrew Bible. For, as before in the case of the date of the flood (§ 82), we have to

Heber's other son, was the father of Elmodad,<sup>a</sup> Saleph, Azermoth, Ira, Edoram, Uzal, Dacles, Ebal, Abimael, Saphas,<sup>b</sup> Ophir, Evil,<sup>c</sup> Jobel.<sup>d</sup> These, proceeding from the river Cophen,<sup>e</sup> inhabited parts of India and of the adjacent country of Seria.<sup>f</sup> That is all that I have to tell of the children of Shem.

(5) I shall now speak of the Hebrews. Phaleg, son of Heber, had a son Reus; of Reus was born Serug, of Serug Nachor(es), of Nachor Therrus<sup>g</sup>; he was the father of Abraham, who was tenth in descent from Noah, and was born in the nine-hundred-and-ninety-second year after the flood.<sup>h</sup> For Therrus

Origin of the Hebrews. (Gen. xi. 13.)

do with two (or three) different schemes of world chronology. The interval from the flood to the birth of Abraham has, in the scheme followed by Josephus, apparently been increased by 700 years by the simple process of adding a century to the age of most of the parents at the date of birth of their first-born. The scheme of Josephus approximates to that of the LXX, but in the latter the total has been further increased by the insertion of another name (*Kaináv*). The three schemes run thus :

		HEBREW TEXT (Gen. xi. 10-26).	LXX.	Josephus.
Shem	Years after flood at birth of first-born	2	2	12
Arpachshad	Age at birth of first-born	35	135	135
Kainav	" "	"	130	"
Shelah	" "	30	130	130
Eber	" "	34	134	134
Peleg	" "	30	130	130
Reu	" "	32	132	130
Serug	" "	30	130	132
Nahor	" "	29	79	120
Terah	" "	70	70	70
TOTAL = Years from flood to birth of Abraham		292	1072	993

## JOSEPHUS

κοστῶ ποιείται τὸν Ἀβραμὸν· Ναχώρης δὲ  
 Θέρρον εἰκοστὸν αὐτὸς καὶ ἑκατοστὸν ἤδη γε-  
 γονῶς ἐγέννησε· Σερούγω δὲ Ναχώρης τίκτεται  
 περὶ ἔτος δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν καὶ ἑκατοστόν·  
 Ῥοῦμος δὲ Σερούγον [ἔσχεν] ἔτη τριάκοντα γε-  
 γονῶς πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτεσι  
 150 καὶ Ῥοῦμον Φάλεγος ἔσχεν· Ἐβερὸς δὲ τετάρτῳ  
 καὶ τριακοστῶ πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν γεννᾷ Φάλεγον  
 γεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Σέλου τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχον-  
 τος καὶ ἑκατοστόν, ὃν Ἀρφάξαδος ἐτέκνωσε κατὰ  
 πέμπτον καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν·  
 Σήμα δὲ υἱὸς Ἀρφαξάδης ἦν μετὰ ἔτη δώδεκα τῆς  
 151 ἐπομβρίας γενόμενος· Ἀβραμος δὲ εἶχεν ἀδελφούς  
 Ναχώρην καὶ Ἀράνην· τούτων Ἀράνης μὲν υἱὸν  
 καταλιπὼν Λῶτον καὶ Σάρραν καὶ Μελχὰν  
 θυγατέρας ἐν Χαλδαίοις ἀπέθανεν ἐν πόλει Οὐρῇ  
 λεγομένη τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ μέχρι  
 νῦν δείκνυται· γαμοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἀδελφίδας Μελχὰν  
 152 μὲν Ναχώρης Σάρραν δὲ Ἀβραμος· Θέρρου δὲ  
 μισήσαντος τὴν Χαλδαίαν διὰ τὸ Ἀράνου πένθος  
 μετοικίζονται πάντες εἰς Χαρρὰν τῆς Μεσο-  
 ποταμίας, ὅπου καὶ Θέρρον τελευτήσαντα θάπ-  
 τουσιν ἔτη βιώσαντα πέντε καὶ διακόσια· συν-  
 ετέμνετο γὰρ ἤδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ζῆν καὶ  
 βραχύτερον ἐγένετο μέχρι τῆς Μωυσέος γενέσεως,  
 μεθ' ὃν ὄρος ἦν τοῦ ζῆν ἑκατόν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς  
 εἴκοσι τσαυθ' <sup>1</sup> ὀρίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα καὶ  
 153 Μωυσεὶ συνέβη βιώναι· Ναχώρη μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς  
 Μελχὰς ὀκτῶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Οὕξος Βαοῦξος

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: ταυθ' mss.

\* Called Reus above (Heb. Reu): Ῥάγανος, the reading of other  
 mss. of Josephus is doubtless derived from the LXX (Ῥαγὰ).

begat Abraham at the age of 70 ; Nachor was 120 when he begat Therrus, and Serug about 132 when Nachor was born ; Rumus <sup>a</sup> was 130 when he begat Serug, and Phaleg the same age at the birth of Rumus ; Heber was 134 when he begat Phaleg, having been begotten himself by Seles when the latter was 130 ; Seles was born when Arphaxad was in his 135th year, while Arphaxad was son of Shem, and was born 12 years after the flood.

Abraham had brothers, Nachor and Aran.<sup>b</sup> Aran left a son, Lot, and daughters, Sarra<sup>c</sup> and Melcha: he died in Chaldaea in a city called Ur of the Chaldees, and his sepulchre is shown to this day. Nachor married his niece Melcha, and Abraham his niece Sarra. Therrus having come to hate Chaldaea because of the loss of his lamented Aran, they all migrated to Charran<sup>d</sup> in Mesopotamia, where Therrus also died and was buried, after a life of 205 years. For the duration of human life was already being curtailed and continued to diminish until the birth of Moses, after whom the limit of age was fixed by God at 120 years—the length of the life of Moses.<sup>e</sup> Nachor had eight children by Melcha, namely, Ux, Baux,<sup>f</sup>

Abraham and his family.  
Gen. xi. 27.

*Ib.* 32.  
Abbreviation of human life.

Gen. xxii. 20.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Haran.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Sarai, later in the narrative Sarah: the spelling Σάρρα of Josephus (for Σάρα) has the support of one important group of LXX MSS. According to Gen. xi. 29 Haran's two daughters were Milcah and Iscah: the latter, otherwise unknown, is identified with Sarah by Josephus, following Rabbinical tradition. In Josephus Sarah is Abraham's niece, in Scripture (Gen. xx. 12) his half-sister, daughter of Terah by another wife.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Haran (Harran), the Latin Carrhae.

<sup>e</sup> A combination of Gen. vi. 3 with Deut. xxxiv. 7.

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Uz and Buz (Ὠξ, Βαύξ).

JOSEPHUS

Μαθούηλος<sup>1</sup> Χάζαμος Ἀζαούος Ἰαδελφᾶς Ἰα-  
δαφᾶς Βαθούηλος· οὗτοι μὲν Ναχώρου παῖδες  
γνήσιοι· Ταβαῖος γὰρ καὶ Γάδαμος καὶ Τααῦος  
καὶ Μαχᾶς ἐκ Ῥούμας παλλακῆς αὐτῷ γεγόνασι.  
Βαθουήλω δὲ τῶν Ναχώρου γνησίων παίδων  
γίνεται Ῥεβέκκα θυγάτηρ καὶ Λάβανος υἱός.

- 154 (vii. 1) Ἄβραμος δὲ Λῶτον τὸν Ἀράνου τοῦ  
ἀδελφοῦ υἱὸν τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρρας  
ἀδελφὸν εἰσεποίησατο γνησίου παιδὸς ἀπορῶν, καὶ  
καταλείπει τὴν Χαλδαίαν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε  
γεγονῶς ἔτη τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Χα-  
ναναίαν μετελθεῖν, ἐν ἧ [καὶ] κατώκησε καὶ τοῖς  
ἀπογόνοις κατέλιπε, δεινὸς ὢν συνιέναι τε περὶ  
πάντων καὶ πιθανὸς τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις περὶ τε ὧν  
155 εἰκάσειεν οὐ διαμαρτάνων. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φρονεῖν  
μεῖζον ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἠργμένος καὶ τὴν  
περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ἣν ἅπασι συνέβαινεν εἶναι,  
καινίσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἔγνω. πρῶτος οὖν τολμᾷ  
θεὸν ἀποφήνασθαι δημιουργὸν τῶν ὄλων ἕνα, τῶν  
δὲ λοιπῶν εἰ καὶ τι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν συντελεῖ  
κατὰ προσταγὴν τὴν τούτου παρέχειν ἕκαστον  
156 καὶ οὐ κατ' οἰκείαν ἰσχύν. εἵκαζε<sup>2</sup> δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς  
γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης παθήμασι τοῖς τε περὶ τὸν ἥλιον  
καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν συμ-  
βαίνουσι· δυνάμει γὰρ αὐτοῖς παρούσης κἂν<sup>3</sup>  
προνοῆσαι τῆς καθ' αὐτοὺς εὐταξίας, ταύτης δ'

<sup>1</sup> So or Μαούηλος mss. : Canuel (with LXX) Lat.

<sup>2</sup> εἰκάζεται RO.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: καὶ codd.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Kemuel.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Chesed.

<sup>c</sup> So LXX: Heb. Hazo.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Pildash and Jidlaph.

<sup>e</sup> So LXX: Heb. Bethuel.

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Tebah (Ταβέκ).



Mathuel,<sup>a</sup> Chazam,<sup>b</sup> Azau,<sup>c</sup> Iadelphas, Iadaphas,<sup>d</sup> Bathuel.<sup>e</sup> These were Nachor's legitimate children; his other sons, Tabai,<sup>f</sup> Gadam, Taau, and Machas,<sup>g</sup> were born of his concubine Ruma. Bathuel, one of the legitimate children, had a daughter Rebecca and a son Laban.

(vii. 1) Now Abraham, having no legitimate son, adopted Lot, his brother Aran's son and the brother of his wife Sarra; and at the age of seventy-five he left Chaldaea, God having bidden him to remove to Canaan, and there he settled, and left the country to his descendants. He was a man of ready intelligence on all matters, persuasive with his hearers, and not mistaken in his inferences. Hence he began to have more lofty conceptions of virtue than the rest of mankind, and determined to reform and change the ideas universally current concerning God. He was thus the first boldly to declare that God, the creator of the universe, is one, and that, if any other being contributed aught to man's welfare, each did so by His command and not in virtue of its own inherent power. This he inferred from the changes to which land and sea are subject, from the course of sun and moon, and from all the celestial phenomena; for, he argued, were these bodies endowed with power, they would have provided for their own regularity,<sup>h</sup> but, since they lacked this last, it was

Abraham's migration to Canaan. His revolutionary monotheistic doctrine. Gen. xii. 1

<sup>g</sup> Bibl. Gahan, Tahash, Maacah.

<sup>h</sup> Or "uniformity": Greek "good order." The heavenly bodies betray irregularity, *e.g.* in the varying hours of sunrise and sunset, the phases of the moon, etc. Had they been their own masters they would have behaved in more regular fashion. But since, notwithstanding these irregularities, they work together for man's good, there must clearly be some controlling Power behind them.

ὕστεροῦντας φανεροὺς γίνεσθαι μηδ' ὅσα πρὸς τὸ  
 χρησιμώτερον ἡμῖν συνεργοῦσι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν  
 ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύοντος ἰσχὺν  
 ὑπουργεῖν, ᾧ καλῶς ἔχει μόνῳ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ  
 157 τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονέμειν. δι' ἅπερ Χαλδαίων τε  
 καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιτῶν στασιασάντων  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν μετοικεῖν δοκιμάσας κατὰ βούλησιν  
 καὶ βοήθειαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χανααίαν ἔσχε γῆν,  
 ἰδρυθεῖς τε αὐτόθι βωμὸν ᾧκοδόμησε καὶ θυσίαν  
 ἐτέλεσε τῷ θεῷ.

158 (2) Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου  
 Βηρωσός, οὐκ ὀνομάζων λέγων δ' οὕτως· “μετὰ  
 δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτῃ γενεᾷ παρὰ Χαλδαίοις  
 τις ἦν δίκαιος ἀνὴρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια  
 159 ἔμπειρος.” Ἐκαταῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μνησθῆναι  
 πλείον τι πεποίηκε· βιβλίον γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συν-  
 ταξάμενος κατέλιπε. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς  
 ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως· “Ἀ-  
 βράμης ἐβασίλευσεν<sup>1</sup> ἔπηλυς σὺν στρατῷ ἀφιγμένος  
 ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγο-  
 160 μένης. μετ' οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον μεταναστὰς καὶ  
 ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας σὺν τῷ σφετέρῳ λαῷ εἰς  
 τὴν τότε μὲν Χανααίαν λεγομένην νῦν δὲ Ἰου-  
 δαίαν μετώκησε καὶ οἱ ἀπ' ἐκείνου πληθύσαντες,

<sup>1</sup> RO: ἐβασίλευσε Δαμασκού tell.

<sup>a</sup> Philo in several passages (cited by Weill) refers to the motives for Abraham's migration and to the tenets of his opponents, the Chaldaean astronomers and astrologers, who taught ὡς δίχα τῶν φαινομένων οὐδενὸς ἐστὶν οὐδὲν αἴτιον τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ' ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων αἱ περίοδοι τὰ τε ἀγαθὰ καὶ τὰ ἐναντία ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἀπονέμουσι

manifest that even those services in which they cooperate for our greater benefit they render not in virtue of their own authority, but through the might of their commanding sovereign, to whom alone it is right to render our homage and thanksgiving. It was in fact owing to these opinions that the Chaldaeans and the other peoples of Mesopotamia rose against him,<sup>a</sup> and he, thinking fit to emigrate, at the will and with the aid of God, settled in the land of Canaan. Established there, he built an altar and offered a sacrifice to God. Gen. xii. 7.

(2) Berosus mentions our father Abraham, without naming him, in these terms: "In the tenth generation after the flood there lived among the Chaldaeans a just man and great and versed in celestial lore." Hecataeus has done more than mention him: he has left us a book which he composed about him.<sup>b</sup> External allusions to Abraham. Nicolas of Damascus, again, in the fourth book of his *Histories* makes the following statement: "Abram(es) reigned (in Damascus), an invader who had come with an army from the country beyond Babylon called the land of the Chaldees. But, not long after, he left this country also with his people for the land then called Canaan but now Judaea, where he settled, he and his

(*De migrat. Abr.* § 32, i. 464 M.). This is the argument combated in the text above.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. *Ap.* i. 183 "Hecataeus . . . makes no mere passing allusion to us, but wrote a book entirely about the Jews." Hecataeus of Abdera lived in Egypt c. 300 B.C. That he wrote *inter alia* on the Jews appears certain, and the extracts which follow the above words in the *Contra Apionem* are probably genuine. But apocryphal Jewish productions were fathered upon him, and the work "on Abraham and the Egyptians" from which Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* v. 14. 113) quotes spurious verses of Sophocles must be rejected as a forgery.

## JOSEPHUS

περὶ ὧν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ διέξιμι τὰ ἱστορούμενα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκηνῇ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται καὶ κώμη δαίκενται ἀπ' αὐτοῦ Ἀβράμου οἴκησις λεγομένη."

- 161 (viii. 1) Λιμοῦ δὲ χρόνοι ὕστερον τὴν Χαναναίαν<sup>1</sup> καταλαβόντος Ἀβραμος Αἰγυπτίους εὐδαιμονεῖν πυθόμενος μεταίρειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν πρόθυμος τῆς τε ἀφθονίας τῆς ἐκείνων μεθέξων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων ἀκροατῆς ἐσόμενος ὧν λέγοιεν περὶ θεῶν· ἢ γὰρ κρείσσοσιν εὐρεθεῖσι κατακολουθήσειν ἢ μετακοσμήσειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτὸς ἄμεινον
- 162 φρονῶν. ἐπαγόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Σάρραν καὶ φοβούμενος τὸ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιμανές, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν ἀνέλη, τέχνην ἐπενόησε τοιαύτην· ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς εἶναι προσεποιήσατο κάκεινην τοῦθ'
- 163 ὑποκρίνασθαι, συμφέρειν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἐδίδαξεν. ὡς δ' ἤκον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἀπέβαινε τῷ Ἀβράμῳ καθὼς ὑπενόησε· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἐξεβοήθη τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, διὸ καὶ Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένοις ἀρκεσθεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ θεάσασθαι σπουδάσας οἷός τ'
- 164 ἦν ἄψασθαι τῆς Σάρρας. ἐμποδίζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς τὴν ἄδικον ἐπιθυμίαν νόσω τε καὶ στάσει τῶν πραγμάτων· καὶ θυομένῳ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἀπεσήμαινον

<sup>1</sup> Ἰουδαίαν RO.

\* Nicolas (i. 94) is good authority for the traditions of his native place. A rather earlier Latin writer, Trogus Pompeius (c. 20 B.C.), likewise mentions Abraham among the kings of Damascus: "Post Damascus (the eponymous king) Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israhel reges

numerous descendants, whose history I shall recount in another book. The name of Abram is still celebrated in the region of Damascus, and a village is shown that is called after him 'Abram's abode.'"<sup>a</sup>

(viii. 1) Some time later, Canaan being in the grip of a famine, Abraham, hearing of the prosperity of the Egyptians, was of a mind to visit them, alike to profit by their abundance and to hear what their priests said about the gods; intending, if he found their doctrine more excellent than his own, to conform to it, or else to convert them to a better mind should his own beliefs prove superior. He took Sarra with him and, fearing the Egyptians' frenzy for women, lest the king should slay him because of his wife's beauty, he devised the following scheme: he pretended to be her brother and, telling her that their interest required it, instructed her to play her part accordingly. On their arrival in Egypt all fell out as Abraham had suspected: his wife's beauty was noised abroad, insomuch that Pharaohes,<sup>b</sup> the king of the Egyptians, not content with the reports of her, was fired with a desire to see her and on the point of laying hands on her. But God thwarted his criminal passion by an outbreak of disease and political disturbance; and when he had sacrifices offered to discover a remedy, the priests declared that his calamity was due to

Abraham  
in Egypt.  
Gen. xii. 10.

fuere" (Justin's *Epitome* xxxvi. 2). T. Reinach, to whom I owe this reference, adds that these traditions must have arisen at the time when Damascus and Israel were on intimate terms.

<sup>b</sup> The Hellenized form of Pharaoh normally employed by Josephus: once (*A.* viii. 151) he writes *Φαραώνης*, once (*B.* v. 379) *Φαραώ*. In the last-mentioned passage he gives a strange version of the present story, in which Φ., surnamed *Νεχάως*, is represented as invading Palestine and carrying off Sarra.

## JOSEPHUS

- οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ' οἷς ἠθέλησεν ὑβρίσαι τοῦ ξένου τὴν  
 165 γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἠρώτα τὴν Σάρραν, τίς  
 τε εἶη καὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἐπάγοιτο, πυθόμενός τε  
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν Ἄβραμον παρηγεῖτο· νομίζων γὰρ  
 ἀδελφὴν ἀλλ' οὐ γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι περὶ  
 αὐτὴν συγγένειαν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενος, ἀλλ' οὐκ  
 ἐνυβρίσαι κατ' ἐπιθυμίαν ὠρμημένος· δωρεῖται  
 τε αὐτὸν πολλοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ συνῆν<sup>1</sup> Αἰγυπτίων  
 τοῖς λογιωτάτοις, τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπ' αὐτῇ δόξαν ἐντεῦθεν ἐπιφανεστέραν συνέβη  
 γενέσθαι.
- 166 (2) Τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων  
 ἔθεσι καὶ τὰ παρ' ἀλλήλοις ἐκφραυλιζόντων νόμιμα  
 καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσμενῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους,  
 συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν ἐκάστοις καὶ διαπτύων τοὺς  
 λόγους οὓς ἐποιοῦντο περὶ τῶν ἰδίων κενούς καὶ  
 167 μηδὲν ἔχοντας ἀληθῆς ἀπέφαινε. θαυμασθεὶς οὖν  
 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετώτατος  
 καὶ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ νοῆσαι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ πείσαι  
 λέγων περὶ ὧν ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε διδάσκειν, τὴν τε  
 ἀριθμητικὴν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστρο-  
 168 νομίαν<sup>2</sup> παραδίδωσι. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀβράμου  
 παρουσίας Αἰγύπτιοι<sup>3</sup> τούτων εἶχον ἀμαθῶς· ἐκ  
 Χαλδαίων γὰρ ταῦτ' ἐφοίτησεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ὅθεν  
 ἦλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἕλληνας.
- 169 (3) Ὡς δ' εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀφίκετο, μερίζεται

<sup>1</sup> συνεῖναι RO.

<sup>2</sup> ἀστρολογίαν L Lat. Eus.

<sup>3</sup> Euseb., Eustath.: εἰς Αἴγυπτον RO: the rest have a conflate text.

<sup>a</sup> Amplification of Scripture; cf. Eupolemus (c. 150 B.C., ap. Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 17, quoted by Weill) μάντεις δὲ αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος τοῦτο φάναι, μὴ εἶναι χήραν τὴν γυναῖκα.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps with the other reading "permission to

the wrath of God, because he had wished to outrage the stranger's wife.<sup>a</sup> Terrified, he asked Sarra who she was and who was this man she had brought with her. On learning the truth he made his excuses to Abraham : it was, he said, in the belief that she was his sister, not his wife, that he had set his affections on her ; he had wished to contract a marriage alliance and not to outrage her in a transport of passion. He further gave him abundant riches, and Abraham consorted<sup>b</sup> with the most learned of the Egyptians, whence his virtue and reputation became still more conspicuous.

(2) For, seeing that the Egyptians were addicted to a variety of different customs and disparaged one another's practices and were consequently at enmity with one another, Abraham conferred with each party and, exposing the arguments which they adduced in favour of their particular views, demonstrated that they were idle and contained nothing true. Thus gaining their admiration at these meetings as a man of extreme sagacity, gifted not only with high intelligence but with power to convince his hearers on any subject which he undertook to teach, he introduced them to arithmetic and transmitted to them the laws of astronomy.<sup>c</sup> For before the coming of Abraham the Egyptians were ignorant of these sciences, which thus travelled from the Chaldaeans into Egypt, whence they passed to the Greeks.

Abraham instructs the Egyptians.

(3) On his return to Canaan, he divided the land consort." In Scripture the presents are given before the discovery, after which Abraham and his wife are dismissed forthwith.

Division of Canaan with Lot. Gen. xiii. 6.

<sup>c</sup> So Artapanus (c. 2nd cent. B.C.) states that Abraham migrated with his household to Egypt and taught Pharaoh's astrology (*ap. Eus. Praep. Ev.* ix. 18).

## JOSEPHUS

- πρὸς Λῶτον τὴν γῆν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτοῖς στασια-  
ζόντων περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐν ἣ νέμοιεν· τὴν ἐκλογὴν  
170 μέντοι καὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Λῶτῳ, λαβὼν  
δ' αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνου καταλελειμμένην ὑπώ-  
ρειαν ὄκει ἐν τῇ Ναβρῶ πόλει· παλαιότερα δέ  
ἐστὶν ἕτεσιν ἑπτὰ πρὸ Τάνιδος τῆς Αἰγύπτου.  
Λῶτος δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πεδῖον κειμένην καὶ ποταμὸν  
Ἰόρδανον εἶχεν οὐκ ἄπωθεν τῆς Σοδομιτῶν  
πόλεως, ἣ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀγαθή, νῦν δὲ ἠφάνισται  
κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν κατὰ χώραν  
σημανῶ.
- 171 (ix.) Κατ' ἐκείνον δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀσσυρίων  
κρατούντων τῆς Ἀσίας Σοδομίταις ἦνθει τὰ πράγ-  
ματα εἰς τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων καὶ  
νεότητα πολλήν· βασιλεῖς δὲ αὐτοῖς πέντε διεῖπον  
τὴν χώραν, Βάλας Βαλαίας Συναβάνης καὶ Συμ-  
μόβορος ὃ τε Βαλήνων βασιλεύς· μοίρας δ' ἦρχον  
172 ἕκαστος ἰδίας. ἐπὶ τούτους στρατεύσαντες Ἀσ-  
σύριοι καὶ μέρη τέσσαρα ποιήσαντες τῆς στρατιᾶς  
ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτούς· στρατηγὸς δ' ἐκάστοις ἦν  
εἷς ἐπιτεταγμένος. γενομένης δὲ μάχης νικήσαντες  
οἱ Ἀσσύριοι φόρον ἐπιτάσσουσι τοῖς Σοδομιτῶν  
173 βασιλεῦσι. δώδεκα μὲν οὖν ἔτη δουλεύοντες καὶ  
τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας αὐτοῖς φόρους τελοῦντες ὑπ-  
έμειναν, τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἀπέστησαν, καὶ  
διαβαίνει στρατὸς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατη-

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<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Hebron. This name takes a variety of forms in different parts of Josephus: Ναβρῶ (or Ναβρών), Νεβρών, Γιβρών, Ἐβρών and Χεβρών.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Numb. xiii. 22, "Hebron was built seven years before Zoan in Egypt." Zoan, or Tanis, lay in the E. part of the Delta; its foundation is dated by modern scholars



with Lot, since their shepherds quarrelled about grazing ground ; but he left Lot to select what he chose. Taking for himself the lowland that the other left him, he dwelt in Nabro,<sup>a</sup> a city that is more ancient by seven years than Tanis in Egypt.<sup>b</sup> Lot for his part occupied the district in the direction of the plain and the river Jordan,<sup>c</sup> not far from the city of Sodom, which was then prosperous but has now by God's will been obliterated ; the cause of its fate I shall indicate in its place.<sup>d</sup>

Gen. xlii. 18.

(ix.) At that time, however, when the Assyrians were masters of Asia, the people of Sodom were in a flourishing condition ; their wealth had grown and their youth were numerous ; and five kings governed their country—Balas, Balaias, Synabanes, Symmobar, and the king of the Baleni<sup>e</sup>—each ruler having his own province. Against these kings the Assyrians marched out and, dividing their army into four bodies, with one general in command of each, besieged them. A battle took place, and the victorious Assyrians imposed tribute on the kings of the Sodomites. For twelve years, then, the latter submitted to serve and to pay the appointed tribute ; but in the thirteenth year they rebelled and an army of Assyrians strode off<sup>f</sup> against them, under the command

War of Sodomites and Assyrians. Lot taken prisoner. Gen. xiv. 1.

“ before 2000 B.C.” (G. B. Gray, *Int. Crit. Comm.* on Numbers *loc. cit.*). Elsewhere (*B.J.* iv. 530) we read that local tradition in the time of Titus regarded Hebron (Χεβρών) as 2300 years old, and “ more ancient than Egyptian *Memphis*.”

<sup>e</sup> Gen. xiii. 10, “ the Plain of Jordan,” or rather “ the Circle (or “Oval,” Heb. *kikkar*) of J.,” the broader portion of the Jordan valley at its southern end.

<sup>d</sup> § 194.

<sup>f</sup> Biblical names Bera (LXX Βαλά), Birsha (Βαρσά), Shinab, Shemeber, Bela (Βαλάκ).

<sup>g</sup> Or “ crossed over ” (*sc.* the Euphrates).

## JOSEPHUS

γούντων Ἀμαραφίδου Ἀριόχου Χοδολαμόρου Θα-  
 174 δάλου. οὗτοι τὴν τε Συρίαν ἄπασαν διηρπάσαντο  
 καὶ τοὺς τῶν γιγάντων ἀπογόνους κατεστρέψαντο,  
 γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ Σόδομα στρατοπεδεύουσι  
 κατὰ τὴν κοιλάδα τὴν λεγομένην φρέατα ἀσφάλτου·  
 κατ' ἐκείνον γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν φρέατα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ,  
 νῦν μέντοι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως ἀφανισθείσης  
 ἢ κοιλὰς ἐκείνη λίμνη γέγονεν ἢ Ἀσφαλτίτις  
 175 λεγομένη. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης αὐθις  
 μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν, τῶν δὲ Σοδομιτῶν συμ-  
 βαλόντων τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ καρτερᾶς τῆς μάχης  
 γενομένης, πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, οἱ λοιποὶ  
 δὲ ἤχμαλωτίσθησαν, σὺν οἷς καὶ Λῶτος ἦγετο τοῖς  
 Σοδομίταις σύμμαχος ἐληλυθῶς.  
 176 (x. 1) Ἀβράμῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντι τὴν συμφορὰν  
 αὐτῶν φόβος τε ἄμα περὶ Λώτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς  
 εἰσηλθε καὶ οἶκτος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν φίλων  
 177 ὄντων καὶ γειτνιώντων. καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκι-  
 μάσας οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειχθεὶς καὶ κατὰ  
 πέμπτην ἐπιπεσὼν νύκτα τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις περὶ  
 Δάνον, οὕτως γὰρ ἢ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσ-  
 αγορεύεται πηγὴ, καὶ φθάσας πρὶν ἐν ὄπλοις  
 γενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε  
 μηδ' ἐπίνοιαν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ μήπω  
 πρὸς ὕπνον τετραμμένοι μάχεσθαι δ' ὑπὸ μέθης

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Amraphel (Ἀμαρφάλ).

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Chedorlaomer (Χοδολλογομόρ).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Tidal (Θαλγά or the like).

of Amarapsides,<sup>a</sup> Arioch, Chodolamor<sup>b</sup> and Thadal.<sup>c</sup> These ravaged the whole of Syria and subdued the descendants of the giants<sup>d</sup>; then, on reaching the region of Sodom, they encamped in the valley called "Bitumen pits." For at that time there were pits in that district, but now that the city of Sodom has disappeared the valley has become a lake, the so-called Asphaltitis<sup>e</sup>; to that lake, however, I shall shortly revert.<sup>f</sup> The Sodomites, then, joined battle with the Assyrians and there was a stubborn contest: many of their number perished, and the rest were taken prisoners. Among the latter was Lot, who had come to fight as an ally of the Sodomites.

Gen. xiv. 10

LXX.

(x. 1) Abraham, hearing of their disaster, was moved alike with fear for his kinsman Lot and with compassion for his friends and neighbours, the Sodomites. Determining to succour them, without loss of time he set out in haste and on the fifth night<sup>g</sup> fell upon the Assyrians in the neighbourhood of Dan<sup>h</sup> (such is the name of one of the two sources of the Jordan),<sup>i</sup> surprising them before they had time to arm: some, unconscious of their fate, he slew in their beds; while those who were not yet plunged in sleep but through drunkenness were incapable of fighting

Abraham  
defeats the  
Assyrians  
Gen. xiv. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xiv. 5. "the Rephaim" (LXX τοῖς γίγαντας).

<sup>e</sup> "Bituminous" (lake), the Dead Sea. Josephus, in common perhaps with the Biblical narrative (Gen. xiii. 10), conceives it to have been non-existent at this time.

<sup>f</sup> § 203, describing the fate of Sodom, does not mention the lake: a description is given in *B.J.* iv. 476 ff.

<sup>g</sup> These details of time and circumstances are legendary.

<sup>h</sup> So Gen. xiv. 14: the older Laish, renamed Dan in the period of the Judges.

<sup>i</sup> Josephus appears to countenance the popular etymology, which saw in the name a compound of two alleged sources of the river, Jor and Dan!

## JOSEPHUS

- 178 ἀδύνατοι ἔφυγον. Ἄβραμος δὲ διώκων εἶπετο μέχρι καὶ δευτεραίους συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ὠβά τῆς Δαμασκηνῶν γῆς, ἐπιδείξας ὅτι τὸ νικᾶν οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ κείσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ προθυμία τῶν μαχομένων καὶ τὸ γενναῖον κρατεῖ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ, τριακοσίοις καὶ δεκαοκτῶ οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ τρισὶ φίλοις τοσοῦτου στρατοῦ περιγεγόμενος. ὅποσοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον ἀδόξως ἀνέστρεψαν.
- 179 (2) Ἄβραμος δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σοδομιτῶν σώσας αἰχμαλώτους, οἱ ληφθέντες ἔφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ τὸν συγγενῆ Λῶτον ἀνέξευξεν μετὰ εἰρήνης. ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς τόπον τινὰ ὃν καλοῦσι πεδίον
- 180 βασιλικόν. ἔνθα ὁ τῆς Σολυμᾶ ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Μελχισεδέκ· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς δίκαιος· καὶ ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁμολογουμένως, ὡς διὰ ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν αἰτίαν καὶ ἱερέα γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ· τὴν μέντοι Σολυμᾶ ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν<sup>1</sup>
- 181 Ἱεροσόλυμα. ἐχορήγησε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μελχισεδέκ τῷ Ἀβράμου στρατῷ ξένια καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρέσχε καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτόν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν

<sup>1</sup> ἐκάλεσεν ROP.

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<sup>a</sup> Weill quotes a striking parallel from Philo, *De Abr.* (40) § 233 Cohn: ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς πολεμίοις δεδειπνοποιημένοι ἤδη καὶ πρὸς ὕπνον μέλλουσι τρέπεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἐν εὐναῖς ἰέρετε, τοὺς δ' ἀντιταχθέντας ἄρδην ἀνήρει, πάντων δ' ἐρρωμένως ἐπεκράτει τῷ θαρραλέῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Hobah (Χωβάλ), Gen. xiv. 15.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xiv. 14.

<sup>d</sup> Gen. xiv. 24 (cf. 13).

• “The King’s Vale,” mentioned in the story of Absalom

took to their heels.<sup>a</sup> Abraham followed hotly in pursuit until on the following day he had driven them all into Oba<sup>b</sup> in the country of the Damascenes; thereby proving that victory does not depend on numbers and a multitude of hands, but that the ardour and mettle of the combatants overcome all odds, seeing that with three hundred and eighteen of his servants<sup>c</sup> and three friends<sup>d</sup> he had defeated so great a host. And all those who succeeded in escaping returned ingloriously home.

(2) So Abraham, having rescued the Sodomite prisoners, previously captured by the Assyrians, including his kinsman Lot, returned in peace. The king of the Sodomites met him at a place which they call the "royal plain."<sup>e</sup> There he was received by the king of Solyma,<sup>f</sup> Melchisedek; this name means "righteous king,"<sup>g</sup> and such was he by common consent, insomuch that for this reason he was moreover made priest of God; Solyma was in fact the place afterwards called Hierosolyma.<sup>h</sup> Now this Melchisedek hospitably entertained Abraham's army, providing abundantly for all their needs, and in the course of the feast he began to extol Abraham and to

His meeting  
with Mel-  
chisedek.  
Gen. xiv. 16

(2 Sam. xviii. 18), and located by Josephus two "stadia" from Jerusalem (*A.* vii. 243).

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Salem (Σαλήμ).

<sup>g</sup> The usual Jewish interpretation—"king of righteousness" (*zedek*)—repeated in *B. J.* vi. 438 (βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, ἣν γὰρ δὴ τοιοῦτος) and found in the N.T. (Hebr. vii. 2) and elsewhere; probable meaning "my king is Zedek," Z. being the name of a Canaanite deity.

<sup>h</sup> The Hellenized form of Jerusalem (LXX Ἱεροσαλήμ) used throughout Josephus, who here and elsewhere (*A.* vii. 67. *B.* vi. 438, *cf.* *Ap.* i. 174) takes over, besides the name, the popular fantastic etymology of it, "the holy Solyma" (or Salem).

## JOSEPHUS

ὑποχειρίους αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἐχθρούς. Ἀβρά-  
 μου δὲ διδόντος καὶ τὴν δεκάτην τῆς λείας αὐτῷ  
 182 προσδέχεται τὴν δόσιν. ὁ δὲ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν  
 βασιλεὺς τὴν μὲν λείαν ἔχειν Ἀβραμον παρεκάλει,  
 τοὺς δ' ἀνθρώπους ἀπολαβεῖν ἡξίου, οὓς παρὰ τῶν  
 Ἀσσυρίων ἔσωσεν οἰκείους ὄντας. Ἀβραμος δὲ  
 οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν, οὐδ' ἂν ἄλλην ὠφέλειαν  
 ἐκ τῆς λείας ἐκείνης εἰς αὐτὸν ἦξειν πλὴν ὅσα  
 τροφή τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ γένοιτο· μοῖραν μέντοι  
 τινὰ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ παρέσχε' τοῖς συστρατευο-  
 μένοις. Ἐσχων δ' ὁ πρῶτος ἐκαλεῖτο [καὶ]  
 Ἐννηρος καὶ Μαμβρῆς.

183 (3) Ἐπαινέσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ θεός,  
 “ ἄλλ' οὐκ ἀπολεῖς,” φησί, “ μισθοὺς οὓς ἄξιόν  
 ἐστίν σε ἐπὶ τοιαύταις εὐπραγίαις κομίζεσθαι.”  
 τοῦ δ' ὑπολαβόντος καὶ τίς ἂν εἴη χάρις τούτων  
 τῶν μισθῶν, οὐκ ὄντων οἱ διαδέξονται μετ' αὐτόν,  
 ἔτι γὰρ ἦν ἄπαις, ὁ θεὸς καὶ παῖδα αὐτῷ γενή-  
 σεσθαι καταγγέλλει καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενεάν,  
 ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτὴν τοῖς ἄστροις ἔσεσθαι τὸν  
 184 ἀριθμόν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀκούσας θυσίαν προσ-  
 φέρει τῷ θεῷ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ  
 τρόπος τῆς θυσίας τοιοῦτος· δάμαλιν τριετίζουσαν  
 καὶ αἶγα τριετίζουσαν καὶ κριὸν ὁμοίως τριετῆ  
 καὶ τρυγόνα καὶ περιστερὰν κελεύσαντος διεΐλε,  
 185 τῶν ὀρνέων οὐδὲν διελών. εἶτα πρὶν στήναι τὸν  
 βωμὸν οἰωνῶν ἐφιπταμένων ἐπιθυμία τοῦ αἵματος  
 φωνὴ θεία παρῆν ἀποσημαίνουσα πονηροὺς αὐτοῦ  
 τοῖς ἐγγόνοις γείτονας ἐπὶ ἔτη τετρακόσια<sup>2</sup> γενησο-  
 μένους κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, ἐν οἷς κακοπαθήσαντας

<sup>1</sup> ROM: παρασχεῖν tell.

<sup>2</sup> τριακόσια RO.

bless God for having delivered his enemies into his hand. Abraham then offered him the tithe of the spoil, and he accepted the gift. As for the king of Sodom, he entreated Abraham to keep the spoil, and desired only to recover those of his subjects whom he had rescued from the Assyrians. But Abraham replied that he could not do this and that no further profit should accrue to him from those spoils beyond what would meet his servants' maintenance. However, he offered a portion to his comrades in arms : of these the first was named Eschon,<sup>a</sup> the others Ennêr<sup>b</sup> and Mambres.<sup>c</sup>

(3) God commended his virtue and said, "Nay, thou shalt not lose the rewards that are thy due for such good deeds." And when he replied, "What pleasure can those rewards afford, when there is none to succeed to them after me ?" (for he was still childless), God announced that a son would be born to him, whose posterity would be so great as to be comparable in number to the stars. On hearing these words Abraham offered a sacrifice to God as bidden by Him. And the sacrifice was on this wise : he took a heifer of three years old, a she-goat of three years old and a ram of the same age, with a turtle-dove and a pigeon, and, at God's bidding, divided them in twain, save the birds which he divided not. Then, before the altar was erected, while birds of prey were flying to the scene lusting for the blood, there came a voice divine announcing that his posterity would for four hundred years find evil neighbours in Egypt, but that after affliction among them they would overcome their

Gen. xiv. 24.  
God's  
promises  
to Abraham.  
Gen. xv. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Eshcol : Josephus agrees with LXX in placing this name "first," not second.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Aner (LXX *Ανάν*).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Mamre.

## JOSEPHUS

- περιέσεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ κρατήσαντας πολέμῳ  
 Χανααίων ἕξειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις.
- 186 (4) Ἄβραμος δὲ κατώκει μὲν περὶ τὴν Ὠγύγην  
 καλουμένην δρυῶν, ἔστι δὲ τῆς Χανααίας τὸ χωρίον  
 οὐ πόρρω τῆς Ἐβρωνίων πόλεως, δυσφορῶν δὲ  
 ἐπὶ γυναικὶ μὴ κούσῃ ἱκετεύει τὸν θεὸν γονὴν
- 187 αὐτῷ παιδὸς ἄρσενος παρασχεῖν. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ  
 θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν παρακελευομένου τοῖς τε ἄλλοις  
 ἅπασιν ὡς ἐπ' ἀγαθοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσο-  
 ποταμίας ἠγμένον καὶ παίδων ἔσομένων, Σάρρα  
 τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπικλίνει μίαν τῶν θερα-  
 παινίδων Ἀγάρην ὄνομα, γένος οὔσαν Αἰγυπτίαν,
- 188 ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδοποιησομένῳ. καὶ γενομένη  
 ἐγκύμων ἢ θεραπαινὶς ἐξυβρίζειν εἰς τὴν Σάρραν  
 ἐτόλμησε βασιλίζουσα, ὡς τῆς ἡγεμονίας περι-  
 στησομένης εἰς τὸν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τεχθησόμενον.  
 Ἄβράμου δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς αἰκίαν παραδιδόντος τῇ  
 Σάρρᾳ δρασμὸν ἐπεβούλευσεν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα τὰς  
 ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἱκέτευεν οἶκτον αὐτῆς
- 189 λαβεῖν. ὑπαντιάζει δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου προοῖουσαν  
 αὐτὴν ἄγγελος θεῖος κελεύων πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας  
 ἐπανιέναι· βίου γὰρ μείζονος τεύξεσθαι σωφρο-  
 νοῦσαν· καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰς τὴν δέσποιναν ἀγνώμονα  
 καὶ αὐθάδη γενομένην ἐν τούτοις εἶναι τοῖς κακοῖς·
- 190 παρακούουσαν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προσωτέρω  
 χωροῦσαν ἔλεγεν ἀπολεῖσθαι, νοστήσασαν δὲ αὐτὴν  
 ὀπίσω γενήσεσθαι μητέρα παιδὸς τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης  
 βασιλεύσοντος. τούτοις πείθεται καὶ ἐπανελθοῦσα

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<sup>a</sup> Bibl. "the oaks (or "terebinths") of Mamre," and so Josephus, following the LXX, writes below, § 196 πρὸς τῇ δρυὶ τῇ Μαμβρῇ; in B. iv. 533 he speaks of "a huge tere-



foes, vanquish the Canaanites in battle, and take possession of their land and cities.

(4) Abraham was living near the oak called Ogyges,<sup>a</sup> a place in Canaan not far from the city of the Hebronites, when, distressed at his wife's sterility, he besought God to grant him the birth of a male child. Thereon God bade him be assured that, as in all else he had been led out of Mesopotamia for his welfare, so children would come to him ; and by God's command Sarra brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, an Egyptian named Agar,<sup>b</sup> that he might have children by her. Becoming pregnant, this servant had the insolence to abuse Sarra, assuming queenly airs as though the dominion were to pass to her unborn son. Abraham having thereupon consigned her to Sarra for chastisement, she, unable to endure her humiliations, resolved to fly and entreated God to take pity on her. But as she went on her way through the wilderness an angel of God met her and bade her return to her master and mistress, assuring her that she would attain a happier lot through self-control, for her present plight was but due to her arrogance and presumption towards her mistress ; and that if she disobeyed God and pursued her way she would perish, but if she returned home she would become the mother of a son hereafter to reign over that country. Obedient to this behest she returned

Hagar and  
Ishmael.  
Gen. xiii. 18,  
xvi. 1.

binth " six *stadia* from Hebron, " which is said to have stood there ever since the creation." Here for his Greek readers he appears to give this famous tree the name of a *primaeval* Greek hero associated in Attic and Boeotian legend with stories of a flood. But the adjective " Ogygian " was used in Greek for " *primaeval*," " *antediluvian*," and was perhaps what he wrote.

<sup>b</sup> Greek Agare : Bibl. Hagar.

## JOSEPHUS

πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας συγγνώμης ἔτυχε· τίκτει δὲ μετ' οὐ πολὺ Ἰσμαήλον, θεόκλυτον ἄν τις εἶποι, διὰ τὸ εἰσακοῦσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἰκεσίας.

- 191 (5) Ἀβράμῳ μὲν οὖν ἕκτον ἤδη καὶ ὄγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι ὁ προειρημένος ἐγεννήθη, εἰς ἕνατον δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνενηκοστὸν παρελθόντι ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἔσοιτο· κελεύει δ' αὐτὸν καλέσαι Ἰσακὸν δηλῶν ἐσόμενα ἔθνη μεγάλα ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅτι πολεμήσαντες καθέξουσι τὴν Χαναanaίαν ἅπασαν  
 192 ἀπὸ Σιδῶνος μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, προσέταξέ τε βουλόμενος τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος μένειν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ συμφυρόμενον περιτέμνεσθαι τὰ αἰδοῖα καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄγδῳ ἡμέρα μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι. τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς περιτομῆς ἡμῶν ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσω.  
 193 πυθομένῳ δὲ Ἀβράμῳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσμαήλου, εἰ ζήσεται, πολυχρόνιον τε ἀπεσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μεγάλων ἐθνῶν πατέρα. καὶ Ἀβραμὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ περιτέμνεται παραχρῆμα καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰσμαήλος, οὗ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἐνενηκοστὸν πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα διῆγεν.  
 194 (xi. 1) Ὑπὸ δὴ τούτων τὸν καιρὸν οἱ Σοδομίται πλήθει<sup>1</sup> καὶ μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερφρονούντες εἰς τε ἀνθρώπους ἦσαν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον

<sup>1</sup> ROE: πλούτῳ rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Or possibly, in the classical active sense of the word, "calling upon God"; the name can mean either "May God hear" or "God hears." Philo translates ἀκοῆ θεοῦ (*De mut. nom.* 37 § 202).

to her master and mistress, was forgiven, and not long after gave birth to Is(h)mael, a name which may be rendered "Heard of God,"<sup>a</sup> because God had hearkened to her petition. Cf. Gen. xvi. 11.

(5) Abraham was already eighty-six years of age when this son was born to him. He had attained his ninety-ninth year when God appeared to him and announced that he should have a son by Sarra, bidding him call him Isa(a)e, and revealing how great nations and kings would spring from him, and how they would win possession, by war, of all Canaan from Sidon to Egypt. Furthermore, to the intent that his posterity should be kept from mixing with others,<sup>b</sup> God charged him to have them circumcised and to perform the rite on the eighth day after birth. The reason for our practice of circumcision I shall expound elsewhere.<sup>c</sup> Abraham then inquiring concerning Ishmael also, whether he was to live,<sup>d</sup> God made known to him that he would live to an advanced age and become the father of great nations. So Abraham rendered thanks to God for these blessings and was circumcised forthwith, he and all his household and his son Ishmael, who on that day was in his thirteenth year, his father's age being 1b 1. ninety-nine.

(xi. 1) Now about this time the Sodomites, overweeningly proud of their numbers and the extent of their wealth, showed themselves insolent to men and impious to the Divinity, insomuch that they no Impiety of the arrogant Sodomites.

<sup>b</sup> Motive not mentioned in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> In the projected work on "Customs and Causes," often alluded to elsewhere (§ 25 note).

<sup>d</sup> Josephus seems to have read Gen. xvii. 18 as a question, Ἰσμαὴλ οὗτος ζήσεται (so one ms. of LXX for ζήτω) ἐναντίου σου Heb. "Oh that I. might live before thee!"

## JOSEPHUS

- ἀσεβεῖς, ὡς μηκέτι μεμνήσθαι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ  
γενομένων ὠφελειῶν, εἶναι τε μισόξενοι καὶ τὰς  
195 πρὸς ἄλλους<sup>1</sup> ὀμιλίας ἐκτρέπεσθαι. χαλεπήνας  
οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς  
ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοῦς καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup>  
κατασκάψασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν οὕτως ἀφανίσει,  
ὡς μήτε φυτὸν ἔτι μήτε καρπὸν ἕτερον ἐξ αὐτῆς  
ἀναδοθῆναι.
- 196 (2) Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος περὶ τῶν Σοδο-  
μιτῶν Ἀβραμὸς θεασάμενος τρεῖς ἀγγέλους, ἐκαθ-  
έζετο δὲ πρὸς τῇ δρυὶ τῇ Μαμβρῇ παρὰ τῇ θύρᾳ  
τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐλῆς, καὶ νομίσας εἶναι ξένους ἀναστάς  
ἠσπάσατό τε καὶ παρ' αὐτῶ καταχθέντας παρεκάλει  
197 ξενίων μεταλαβεῖν. ἐπινευσάντων δὲ ἄρτους τε  
προσέταξεν εὐθύς ἐκ σεμιδάλεως γενέσθαι καὶ  
μόσχον θύσας καὶ ὀπτήσας ἐκόμισεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ  
τῇ δρυὶ κατακειμένοις· οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῶ παρέσχον  
ἐσθιόντων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπυν-  
θάνοντο, ποῖ ποτ' [ἄν]<sup>3</sup> εἶη Σάρρα. τοῦ δ' εἰπόντος  
ἔνδον εἶναι, ἤξειν ἔφασαν εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ εὐρήσειν  
198 αὐτὴν ἤδη μητέρα γεγενημένην. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς  
ἐπὶ τούτῳ μειδιασάσης καὶ ἀδύνατον εἶναι τὴν  
τεκνοποιίαν εἰπούσης, αὐτῆς μὲν ἐνενήκοντα ἔτη

<sup>1</sup> SP: ἀλλήλους *rell.*

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὴν ROE.

<sup>3</sup> *ins.* RO: *om.* most *mss.*, reading ποῖ ποτ' εἶη τυγχάνουσα ἢ Σ.

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• The *μισοξενία* of the Sodomites is mentioned in Wisdom xix. 13 f., and emphasized in Rabbinical writings, *e.g.* Pirkè R. Eliezer c. xxv. "The men of Sodom showed no consideration for the honour of their Owner by distributing food to the wayfarer and the stranger, but they even fenced in all the trees," etc.

more remembered the benefits that they had received from Him, hated foreigners and declined all intercourse with others.<sup>a</sup> Indignant at this conduct, God accordingly resolved to chastise them for their arrogance, and not only to uproot their city, but to blast their land so completely that it should yield neither plant nor fruit whatsoever from that time forward.

(2) After God had pronounced this doom upon the Sodomites, Abraham, while sitting beside the oak of Mambre before the door of his court-yard,<sup>b</sup> espied three angels, and, taking them for strangers, arose and saluted them and invited them to lodge with him and partake of his hospitality. On their assenting, he ordered loaves of fine flour to be made forthwith and killed a calf and cooked it and brought it to them as they reclined under the oak; and they gave him to believe that they did eat.<sup>c</sup> They inquired, moreover, about his wife, what might have become of Sarra; and when he replied that she was within, they declared that they would return one day<sup>d</sup> and find that she had become a mother. Thereat the woman smiled<sup>e</sup> and said that child-bearing was impossible, seeing that she was ninety years old and

*Cf. Gen. xviii. 20.*

Abraham's  
angel  
visitors.  
*Gen. xviii. 1.*

<sup>b</sup> In Genesis "tent": Josephus introduces the idea of a Greek house.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xviii. 8, "they did eat." The "Docetic" paraphrase of Josephus reappears almost verbatim in Philo: *τεράστιον δὲ . . . τὸ μὴ ἐσθιοντας ἐσθιόντων παρέχειν φαντασίαν, De Abrahamo, 23 § 118 (cf. § 116 παρέσχον ὑπόληψιν). Cf. also the Palestinian Targum, "He (Abraham) quieted himself (to see) whether they would eat." Such avoidance of anthropomorphism is characteristically Rabbinic.*

<sup>d</sup> *eis τὸ μέλλον (cf. Lk. xiii. 9): the Heb. is taken to mean "a year hence."*

<sup>e</sup> Gen. "laughed within herself."

## JOSEPHUS

ἐχούσης τοῦ δ' ἀνδρὸς ἑκατόν, οὐκέτι κατέσχον  
 λανθάνοντες ἀλλ' ἐμήνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὄντας ἀγγέλους  
 τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεμφθείη μὲν ὁ εἰς σημανῶν  
 περὶ τοῦ παιδός, οἱ δὲ δύο δὲ Σοδομίτας καταστρεψό-  
 μενοι.

- 199 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Ἄβραμος ἤλγησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 Σοδομίταις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναστάς ἰκέτευσε παρα-  
 καλῶν, μὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συναπ-  
 ολλύναι τοῖς πονηροῖς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος μη-  
 δένα εἶναι τῶν Σοδομιτῶν ἀγαθόν, εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς  
 200 δέκα εἶεν συγχωρεῖν ἅπασιν τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἁμαρ-  
 τήμασι τιμωρίαν, ὁ μὲν Ἄβραμος ἠσύχαζεν<sup>1</sup>. οἱ  
 δὲ ἄγγελοι παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν  
 πόλιν, καὶ ὁ Λῶτος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ξενίαν παρεκάλει·  
 λίαν γὰρ ἦν περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλόανθρωπος καὶ  
 μαθητῆς τῆς Ἀβράμου χρηστότητος. οἱ δὲ Σοδο-  
 μίταις θεασάμενοι τοὺς νεανίσκους εὐπρεπείᾳ τῆς  
 ὄψεως διαφέροντας καὶ παρὰ Λώτῳ καταχθέντας  
 201 ἐπὶ βίαν καὶ ὕβριν αὐτῶν τῆς ὥρας ἐτράπησαν. τοῦ  
 δὲ Λώτου παραινούντος σωφρονεῖν καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν  
 ἐπ' αἰσχύνῃ τῶν ξένων, ἀλλ' ἔχειν αἰδῶ τῆς παρ'  
 αὐτῷ καταγωγῆς, εἰ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἀκρατῶς, τὰς  
 θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις  
 αὐτῶν λέγοντος παρέξειν, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπέισθησαν.  
 202 (4) Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀγανακτήσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 τολμήμασι τοὺς μὲν ἠμαύρωσεν, ὡς μὴ δυνηθῆναι  
 τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρεῖν, Σοδομιτῶν  
 δὲ κατέκρινε πάνδημον ὄλεθρον. Λῶτος δὲ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ἠσύχασεν RO.

<sup>a</sup> This difference of functions was inferred in Rabbinical tradition (cited by Weill) from Gen. xix. 1, where two angels only are mentioned as visiting Sodom. The text of that verse

her husband an hundred ; whereupon they could maintain dissimulation no longer but confessed themselves messengers of God, of whom one had been sent to announce the news of the child and the other two to destroy the Sodomites.<sup>a</sup>

(3) On hearing this Abraham was grieved for the men of Sodom and arose and made supplication to God, imploring him not to destroy the just and good along with the wicked. To this God answered that not one of the Sodomites was good, for were there but ten such he would remit to all the chastisement for their crimes ; so Abraham held his peace. But the angels came to the city of the Sodomites and Lot invited them to be his guests, for he was very kindly to strangers and had learnt the lesson of Abraham's liberality.<sup>b</sup> But the Sodomites, on seeing these young men of remarkably fair appearance whom Lot had taken under his roof, were bent only on violence and outrage to their youthful beauty. Lot adjured them to restrain their passions and not to proceed to dishonour his guests, but to respect their having lodged with him, offering in their stead, if his neighbours were so licentious, his own daughters to gratify their lust. But not even this would content them.

(4) God, therefore, indignant at their atrocities, blinded the criminals so that they could not find the entrance to the house, and condemned the whole people of the Sodomites to destruction. Lot, being

has itself perhaps been affected by motives of reverence : Jehovah must be kept from direct contact with the wicked Sodomites (so Philo, *De Abr.* 28).

<sup>b</sup> Weill quotes Rabbinical parallels. Prov. xiii. 20, " He who walks with the wise shall be wise," was interpreted of " Lot, who walked with our father Abraham and learned of his good deeds and ways " (Pirḳê R. Eliezer, xxv.).

The angels  
at Sodom.

Gen. xviii.  
23.

Ib. xix. 1.

Destruction  
of Sodom.  
Gen. xix. 11.

## JOSEPHUS

θεοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀπώλειαν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν  
 αὐτῷ φράσαντος ἀπαλλάσσεται τὴν τε γυναῖκα  
 καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἔτι παρθένοι,  
 ἀναλαβόν· οἱ γὰρ μνηστήρες περιεφρόνησαν<sup>1</sup> τῆς  
 ἐξόδου εὐθήθειαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λώτου  
 203 λεγομένοις. καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐνσκήπτει βέλος εἰς τὴν  
 πόλιν καὶ σὺν τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν κατεπίμπρα τὴν γῆν  
 ὁμοίᾳ πυρώσει ἀφανίζων, ὥς μοι καὶ πρότερον  
 λέλεκται τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἀναγράφοντι πόλεμον. ἡ  
 δὲ Λώτου γυνὴ παρὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν συνεχῶς  
 εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρεφομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα  
 τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν, ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο μὴ  
 ποιεῖν, εἰς στήλην ἀλῶν μετέβαλεν· ἰστορήσα δ'  
 204 αὐτὴν, ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. διαφεύγει δ'  
 αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων εἰς βραχὺ τι χωρίον  
 κατασχὼν περιγραφέν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρός· Ζωὼρ ἔτι  
 καὶ νῦν λέγεται· καλοῦσι γὰρ οὕτως Ἑβραῖοι τὸ  
 ὀλίγον. ἐνταῦθα τοίνυν ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων ἐρημίας  
 καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίας ταλαιπῶρως διῆγεν.  
 205 (5) Αἱ δὲ παρθένοι πᾶν ἠφανίσθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον  
 ὑπολαβοῦσαι τῷ πατρὶ πλησιάζουσι προνοήσασαι  
 λαθεῖν· ἐποιοῦν δὲ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ γένος  
 ἐκλιπεῖν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πρεσβυ-  
 τέρας Μῶαβος· εἶποι δ' ἄν τις ἀπὸ πατρός.  
 "Ἀμμανον δ' ἡ νεωτέρα ποιεῖται· γένους υἱὸν

<sup>1</sup> RO: ὑπερεφρόνησαν *rell.*

<sup>a</sup> The phrase recalls Hdt. iv. 79 *ἐς ταύτην (τὴν οἰκίην) ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηψε βέλος· καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάη πᾶσα.*

<sup>b</sup> *B.J.* iv. 483-485.

<sup>c</sup> Describing the range of salt hills, *Jebel Usdum*, at the S.W. end of the Dead Sea, Dr. C. Geikie writes (*Holy Land and the Bible*, ii. 121), "Here and there, harder portions of



forewarned by God of the ruin impending over the Sodomites, then departed, taking with him only his wife and his two daughters, who were still virgins ; for their suitors scorned this exodus, ridiculing as an absurdity what they were told by Lot. God then hurled his bolt upon the city <sup>a</sup> and along with its inhabitants burnt it to the ground, obliterating the land with a similar conflagration, as I have previously related in my account of the Jewish War.<sup>b</sup> But Lot's wife, who during the flight was continually turning round towards the city, curious to observe its fate, notwithstanding God's prohibition of such action, was changed into a pillar of salt : I have seen this pillar which remains to this day.<sup>c</sup> Lot himself escaped with his daughters, finding refuge in a tiny spot forming an oasis in the flames : it is still called Zoor,<sup>d</sup> that being the Hebrew word for " little." There, isolated from mankind and in lack of food, he passed a miserable existence.

Gen. xix. 22.

(5) His maiden daughters, in the belief that the whole of humanity had perished, had intercourse with their father, taking care to elude detection ; they acted thus to prevent the extinction of the race. And of these unions children were born : the elder daughter gave birth to Moab, as much as to say " of the father," the younger to Amman,<sup>e</sup> the name

Origin of Moab and Ammon. Gen. xix. 30.

the salt . . . rise up as isolated pillars, one of which bears, among the Arabs, the name of Lot's wife." A " salt pillar " is shown here in the *Atlas of the Holy Land* (Smith and Bartholomew, Map 30).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Zoar (LXX Ζήγωρ), usually located to the S.E. of the Dead Sea, some five miles from the present shore. Heb. *za'ir* = " little," " insignificant."

<sup>e</sup> So LXX (Heb. Ben-ammi). From the LXX also Josephus takes over the interpretation of both names.

## JOSEPHUS

206 ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ κτίζει δ' αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν  
Μωαβίτας μέγιστον ὄντας καὶ νῦν ἔθνος, Ἀμμανί-  
τας δὲ ὁ ἕτερος· Συρίας τῆς κοίλης ἐστὶν ἀμφότερα.  
καὶ Λώτῳ μὲν τοιαύτην συνέβη τὴν ἐκ Σοδομιτῶν  
ἀναχώρησιν γενέσθαι.

207 (xii. 1) Ἄβραμος δὲ μετώκησεν εἰς Γέραρα τῆς  
Παλαιστίνης ἐν ἀδελφῆς ἐπαγόμενος σχήματι τὴν  
Σάρραν, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὶν ὑποκρινάμενος διὰ τὸν  
φόβον· ἐδεδίει γὰρ Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν  
ἐπιχωρίων, ὃς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Σάρρας

208 φθείρειν οἷός τε ἦν. εἴργεται δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ  
νόσου χαλεπῆς αὐτῷ προσπεσοῦσης ἐκ θεοῦ, καὶ  
τῶν ἰατρῶν αὐτὸν ἀπεγνωκότων ὑπνώσας ὄναρ ὄρα  
μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν τὴν τοῦ ξένου γυναῖκα, καὶ ῥᾶον  
διατεθεὶς φράζει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ  
ταύτην ἐπαγάγοι<sup>1</sup> τὴν νόσον ὑπὲρ ἐκδικίας τοῦ  
ξένου φυλάσσωσιν ἀνύβριστον αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, μὴ  
γὰρ ἀδελφὴν οὔσαν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμῳ δ' αὐτῷ συν-  
οικοῦσαν, ἐπαγγέλλεται τε παρέξειν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ  
τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδεοῦς ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γενο-

209 μένου. ταῦτα εἰπὼν μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἄβραμον  
συμβουλευσάντων τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ  
τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτὸν ὡς πεισομένης τι τῶν αἰσchrῶν  
ἐκέλευσε δεδιέναι, θεὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κήδεσθαι, καὶ  
κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεμενηκυῖαν  
ἀνύβριστον κομίζεσθαι τοῦ τε<sup>2</sup> θεοῦ μάρτυρος  
ὄντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς συνειδότης· ἔλεγέ  
<τε><sup>3</sup> μηδ' ἂν ὄρεχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ γαμετὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἐπάγει ROE.

<sup>2</sup> conj. Niese: δὲ codd.

<sup>3</sup> ins. Niese.

signifying "son of the race." The former was the progenitor of the Moabites, still to-day a mighty nation, the latter of the Ammanites,<sup>a</sup> both being peoples of Coele-Syria.<sup>b</sup> Such then was the manner of Lot's escape from the Sodomites.

(xii. 1) Abraham now migrated to Gerara in Philistia, accompanied by Sarra, whom he passed off as his sister, practising the same dissimulation as before<sup>c</sup> from fear; for he dreaded Abimelech, the king of that district, who too being enamoured of Sarra was prepared to seduce her. But he was restrained from his lustful intent by a grievous disease inflicted upon him by God; the physicians had already despaired of his life,<sup>d</sup> when he saw in his sleep a vision (admonishing him) to do no outrage to the stranger's wife; and, beginning to recover, he told his friends that it was God who had brought this malady upon him to vindicate the rights of his guest and to preserve his wife from violence, since it was not his sister that accompanied him but his lawful wife, and that God promised to show himself gracious hereafter, were Abraham reassured concerning his wife. Having said this he sent for Abraham, on the advice of his friends, and bade him have no further fear of any indignity to his wife, for God was watching over him, and through His help and protection he would receive her back inviolate, as God and the woman's conscience would testify. He added that he would never have yearned for her at

Abraham  
and  
Abimelech.  
Gen. xx. 1.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX (Heb. "children of Ammon").

<sup>b</sup> "To Josephus Coele-Syria is all Eastern Palestine," G. A. Smith, *Hist. Geography of the Holy Land*, 538 (on the varying meanings of the name, originally given to the hollow between the Lebanons).

<sup>c</sup> In Egypt, § 162.      <sup>d</sup> Amplification of Scripture.

## JOSEPHUS

- οὐσαν ἠπίστατο, ὡς ἀδελφὴν δὲ ἀγόμενον<sup>1</sup> οὐκ  
 210 ἠδίκουν. παρακαλεῖ τε πρῶως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν  
 καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιεῖν, παρ' αὐτῷ τε μένειν  
 βουλομένῳ πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν ὑπάρξειν, ἀπιέναι τε  
 211 ὄσων καὶ χρήζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο. ταῦτ'  
 εἰπόντος Ἄβραμος οὔτε τὴν συγγένειαν τῆς γυναι-  
 κος ἐψεῦσθαι ἔλεγεν, ἀδελφοῦ γὰρ αὐτὴν εἶναι  
 παῖδα, καὶ δίχα τοιαύτης ὑποκρίσεως οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ  
 τὴν ἐπιδημίαν ὑπολαβεῖν. ὅσα τε ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν  
 αἴτιος τῆς νόσου γεγονέναι προθυμηθῆναι δ' αὐτοῦ  
 περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἐτοιμῶς ἔφασκεν ἔχειν παρ'  
 212 αὐτῷ μένειν. καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχος τὴν τε γῆν πρὸς  
 αὐτὸν νέμεται καὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ συντίθενται  
 ἀδόλως πολιτεύσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ τινος φρέατος ποιού-  
 μενοι τὸν ὄρκον, ὃ Βηρσουβαὶ καλοῦσιν· ὄρκιον δὲ  
 φρέαρ λέγοιτ' ἄν. οὕτω δ' ἔτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν  
 ἐπιχωρίων ὠνόμασται.
- 213 (2) Γίνεται δὲ Ἀβράμῳ μετ' οὐ πολὺ καὶ παῖς ἐκ  
 Σάρρας, ὡς αὐτῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προεῖρητο, ὃν  
 Ἰσακὸν ὠνόμασε· τοῦτο γέλῳτα σημαίνει· διὰ  
 μέντοι τὸ τὴν Σάρραν μειδιᾶσαι τέξεσθαι φήσαντος  
 αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσαν ἤδη τοκετοῦ  
 πρεσβυτέραν οὐσαν τὸν υἱὸν οὕτως ἐκάλεσεν· αὐτὴ  
 μὲν γὰρ ἐνενήκοντα εἶχεν ἔτη ἑκατὸν δὲ Ἄβραμος.

<sup>1</sup> MP<sup>2</sup>L: + ἦν rell.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: πολιτεύσασθαι or -εύεσθαι codd.

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<sup>o</sup> According to Josephus, she was the daughter of Haran, Abraham's brother, and therefore Abraham's *niece* (§ 151),

all, had he known her to be married, but as Abraham had brought her as his sister he had done him no wrong. He begged him moreover to be indulgent to him and to conciliate God's favour : if he wished to remain with him, he should have abundance of everything ; if he preferred to depart, he should be given an escort and all that he had sought in coming to his country. To this Abraham replied that he had not belied his relationship to his wife, for she was his brother's child,<sup>a</sup> and that without such dissimulation he would have felt it unsafe to sojourn in the country ; and to show that he was in no way responsible for the king's illness but anxious for his recovery, he declared that he would gladly remain with him. So Abimelech assigned to him land and riches and they *Ib. 14.* covenanted to deal honestly with each other, swearing an oath over a well which they call Bêsubai,<sup>b</sup> that is *Ib. xxi. 31.* to say " well of the oath " : it is still so named by the inhabitants of the country.

(2) Not long after, Abraham, as God had foretold him, had a son by Sarra, whom he called Isaac ; the name means " laughter " and was given him by his father because Sarra had smiled<sup>c</sup> when God said that she would give birth, child-bearing at her advanced age being beyond her expectations ; for she was then ninety years old and Abraham a hundred. Their *Birth of Isaac. Gen. xxi. 1.* *Ib. xvii. 17 : xxi. 5.*

ἀδελφιδῆ not ἀδελφή ; but the latter can be used loosely = " kins-woman." According to Genesis she was Abraham's half-sister.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. Beer-sheba, strictly = " well of seven " (or " seven wells "). Josephus takes over the Biblical etymology : LXX translates by Φρέαρ ὀρκισμοῦ (or τοῦ ὄρκου), *vv. 31, 33.* The two words were probably not unallied, if, as is thought, the Heb. verb " to swear " originally meant " to bind oneself by pledging seven things."

<sup>c</sup> § 198.

## JOSEPHUS

- 214 *τίκτεται δὲ παῖς ἑκατέρων τῷ ὑστάτῳ ἔτει, ὃν εὐθύς μετ' ὀγδόην ἡμέραν περιτέμνουσι, καὶ ἐκείνου μετὰ τοσαύτας ἔθος ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς περιτομάς, Ἰσραῆλ δὲ μετὰ ἔτος τρισκαίδέκατον. Ἰσμάηλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους Ἀβράμῳ γενόμενος ἐκ τῆς παλλακῆς ἐν τούτῳ περιτέμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ· περὶ οὗ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐκθήσομαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας.*
- 215 (3) *Σάρρα δὲ γεννηθέντα τὸν Ἰσμάηλον ἐκ τῆς δούλης αὐτῆς Ἀγάρης τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἔστεργεν οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσα τῆς [ὡς]<sup>1</sup> πρὸς ἴδιον υἱὸν εὐνοίας, ἐτρέφετο γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας διαδοχῇ, τεκοῦσα δ' αὐτῇ τὸν Ἰσακὸν οὐκ ἠξίου παρατρέφεισθαι τούτῳ τὸν Ἰσμάηλον ὄντα πρεσβύτερον καὶ κακουργεῖν δυνάμενον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀπο-*
- 216 *θανόντος. ἔπειθεν οὖν τὸν Ἀβραμὸν εἰς ἀποικίαν ἐκπέμπειν αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρός. ὁ δὲ κατὰ μὲν ἀρχὰς οὐ προσετίθετο τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην οἷς ἢ Σάρρα ἐσπουδάκει πάντων ὠμότερον ἡγούμενος εἶναι παῖδα νῆπιον καὶ γυναῖκα ἄπορον τῶν ἀναγ-*
- 217 *καίων ἐκπέμπειν. ὕστερον δέ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἠρέσκετο τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Σάρρας προσταττομένοις, πεισθεὶς παρεδίδου τὸν Ἰσμάηλον τῇ μητρὶ μήπω δι' αὐτοῦ χωρεῖν δυνάμενον, ὕδωρ τε ἐν ἀσκήῳ καὶ ἄρτον φερομένην ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι ὀδηγῶ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ*
- 218 *χρωμένῃ. ὡς δ' ἀπιούσαν ἐπιλελοίπει τὰ ἀναγκαῖα, ἐν κακοῖς ἦν, ὕδατος δὲ σπανίζοντος ὑπ' ἐλάτῃ τινὶ θεῖσα τὸ παιδίον ψυχορραγοῦν, ὡς μὴ*

<sup>1</sup> om. ROE.

<sup>a</sup> Literally "And a child is born of the pair in the last year." I follow Weill in the rendering of this puzzling clause, but would suggest that it is unnecessary to alter the text.

child was born in the year after (that prediction).<sup>a</sup> Eight days later they promptly circumcised him ; and from that time forward the Jewish practice has been to circumcise so many days after birth. The Arabs defer the ceremony to the thirteenth year, because Ishmael, the founder of their race, born of Abraham's concubine, was circumcised at that age. I propose in future to expound this whole subject in detail.<sup>b</sup>

(3) Sarra at the first, when Ishmael was born of her servant Hagar, cherished him with an affection no less than if he had been her own son, seeing that he was being trained as heir to the chieftaincy ; but when she herself gave birth to Isaac, she held it wrong that her boy should be brought up with Ishmael, who was the elder child and might do him an injury after their father was dead. She therefore urged Abraham to send him and his mother away to settle elsewhere. He, however, at first refused to consent to Sarra's scheme, thinking nothing could be more brutal than to send off an infant child with a woman destitute of the necessaries of life. But afterwards, seeing that Sarra's behests were sanctioned also by God, he yielded and, committing Ishmael to his mother, the child being not yet of age to go alone, bade her take a skin full of water and a loaf and be gone, with necessity to serve as her guide. She went her way, but, so soon as her provisions failed her, was in evil case ; and the water being well-nigh spent, she laid the little child, expiring, under a fir-tree and went

Expulsion  
of Hagar.

Cf. Gen. xxi  
10.

As *πρῶτος* in late Greek is used for *πρότερος* and *ἔσχατος* in LXX for "latter," so Josephus may have used *ὑστάτος* for *ὑστερος*. The obvious rendering, "in the last year of both," is impossible ; the parents, we are told, lived for many more years.

<sup>b</sup> See § 192 note.

## JOSEPHUS

- παρούσης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆ, προῆει πορρωτέρω.  
 219 συντυχῶν δ' αὐτῇ θεῖος ἄγγελος πηγῆν τε φράζει  
 παρακειμένην καὶ κελεύει προνοεῖν τῆς ἀνατροφῆς  
 τοῦ παιδίου· μεγάλα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀγαθὰ περιμένειν  
 ἐκ τῆς Ἰσμαήλου σωτηρίας. ἡ δ' ἐθάρσησε τοῖς  
 προκατηγγελημένοις καὶ συμβαλοῦσα ποιμέσι διὰ  
 τὴν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν διαφεύγει τὰς ταλαιπω-  
 ρίας.
- 220 (4) Ἄνδρωθέντι δὲ τῷ παιδί γύναιον ἄγεται τὸ  
 γένος Αἰγύπτιον, ἐνθένδε ἦν καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ἀρχαῖον,  
 ἐξ οὗ παῖδες Ἰσμαήλω γίνονται δώδεκα πάντες,  
 Ναβαιώθης Κήδαρος Ἀβδέηλος Μάσσαμος Μάσμα-  
 σος Ἰδουμάς Μάσμησος Χόδαμος Θαίμανος Ἰετουῦ-  
 221 ρος Νάφαισος Κάδμασος. οὗτοι πᾶσαν τὴν ἀπ'  
 Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν θάλασσαν  
 κατοικοῦσι Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὀνομάσαντες.  
 εἰσὶ δὲ οὗτοι, οἱ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος καὶ τὰς<sup>1</sup>  
 φυλὰς ἀπ' αὐτῶν<sup>2</sup> καλοῦσι διὰ τε τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν  
 καὶ τὸ Ἀβράμου ἀξίωμα.
- 222 (xiii. 1) Ἰσακὸν δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀβραμὸς ὑπερηγάπα  
 μονογενῆ ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ γήρως οὐδῶ κατὰ δωρεὰν  
 αὐτῷ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον. προεκαλείτο δὲ εἰς  
 εὐνοίαν καὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων

<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὰς] κατὰ Lat. (secundum tribus).

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: ἀπ' αὐτῶν codd.

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<sup>a</sup> Modelled on Eurip. *Hercules Furens*, 323 f. ὡς μὴ τέκν' εἰσίδωμεν, ἀνόσιον θεῶν, | ψυχορραγοῦντα καὶ καλοῦντα μητέρα. That play seems to have been a favourite of the author, or rather of his assistant.

<sup>b</sup> Amplification of Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> So one group of LXX mss. : Heb. Adbeel.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX : Heb. Mibsam.

<sup>e</sup> After LXX : Heb. Mishma.



farther on, that she might not be there when he gave up his spirit.<sup>a</sup> But she was met by an angel of God, who told her of a spring hard by and bade her look to the nurture of the young child, for great blessings awaited her through the preservation of Ishmael. These promises gave her new courage, and, meeting some shepherds,<sup>b</sup> she through their care escaped her miseries.

(4) When the child reached manhood, his mother found him a wife of that Egyptian race whence she herself had originally sprung; and by her twelve sons in all were born to Ishmael, Nabaioth(es), Kedar, Abdeël,<sup>c</sup> Massam,<sup>d</sup> Masmās,<sup>e</sup> Idum(as),<sup>f</sup> Masmēs,<sup>g</sup> Chodam,<sup>h</sup> Thaiman,<sup>i</sup> Jetur, Naphais,<sup>j</sup> Kadmas.<sup>k</sup> These occupied the whole country extending from the Euphrates to the Red Sea and called it Nabatene<sup>l</sup>; and it is these who conferred their names on the Arabian nation and its tribes<sup>m</sup> in honour both of their own prowess and of the fame of Abraham.

Descendants of Ishmael. Gen. xxv. 12.

Cf. *ib.* 18.

(xiii. 1) Now Isaac was passionately beloved of his father Abraham, being his only son and born to him "on the threshold of old age"<sup>n</sup> through the bounty of God. On his side, the child called out the affection of his parents and endeared himself to them yet more by

The trial of Abraham. Gen. xxii. 1.

<sup>f</sup> After LXX: Heb. Dumah. <sup>g</sup> Bibl. Massa (Μασσή).

<sup>h</sup> After LXX (Χοδῶάν): Heb. Hadad.

<sup>i</sup> With LXX: Heb. Tema.

<sup>j</sup> Bibl. Naphish (Ναφίς). <sup>k</sup> Bibl. Kedemah (Κεδμά).

<sup>l</sup> The Nabataeans were a flourishing kingdom in Graeco-Roman times; Josephus derives the name from Ishmael's eldest son Nabaioth.

<sup>m</sup> Or (with the other reading) "on the various tribes of the Arabian nation." One cannot resist the suspicion of a preposterous connexion of the name Arab with the first two letters of ἀρ-ετή and of Ἀβ-ραμὸς!

<sup>n</sup> Homeric phrase.

καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς ἐπιτηδεύων πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν καὶ τῆς  
 223 τε τῶν πατέρων θεραπείας ἐχόμενος καὶ περὶ τὴν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδακώς. Ἄβραμος δὲ  
 τὴν ἰδίαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἀπαθῆ  
 καταλιπὼν ἐξελθεῖν τοῦ ζῆν ἐτίθετο. τούτου μέντοι  
 κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἔτυχεν, ὃς διάπειραν  
 αὐτοῦ βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείας  
 ἐμφανισθεὶς αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα ὅσα εἶη παρεσχημένος  
 224 καταριθμησάμενος, ὡς πολεμίων τε κρείττονα  
 ποιήσῃε καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῆς  
 αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἔχοι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἰσακὸν, ἧται τοῦ-  
 τον αὐτῷ θῦμα καὶ ἱερεῖον [αὐτὸν] παρασχεῖν,  
 ἐκέλευέ τε εἰς τὸ Μώριον ὄρος ἀναγαγόντα ὀλοκαυ-  
 τῶσαι βωμὸν ἰδρυσάμενον· οὕτως γὰρ ἐμφανίσειν  
 τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν, εἰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ τέκνου  
 σωτηρίας προτιμήσῃε τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον.

225 (2) Ἄβραμος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ κρίνων παρακούειν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ δίκαιον ἅπαντα δ' ὑπουργεῖν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐκείνου προνοίας ἀπαντῶντων<sup>2</sup> οἷς ἂν εὐμενῆς ᾗ,  
 ἐπικρυψάμενος πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ  
 πρόρρησιν καὶ ἦν εἶχεν αὐτὸς γνώμην περὶ τῆς  
 τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν τι  
 δηλώσας, ἐκωλύετο γὰρ ἂν ὑπηρετῆσαι τῷ θεῷ,  
 λαβὼν τὸν Ἰσακὸν μετὰ δύο οἰκετῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς  
 τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπισάξας ὄνω ἀπῆει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος.  
 226 καὶ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτῷ συνώδευσαν οἱ οἰκέται,

<sup>1</sup> ἅπαντά θ' ROE.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπάντων ζώντων ed. pr. with Lat. is attractive, but cf. for ἀπαντῶν § 254: perhaps ἀπάντων has dropped out before ἀπ. (Niese).

<sup>a</sup> Genesis (xxii. 2) speaks of "one of the mountains" in "the land of Moriah" (LXX τὴν γῆν τὴν ὑψηλὴν). "Mount Moriah" is named in 2 Chron. iii. 1 as the site of Solomon's

the practice of every virtue, showing a devoted filial obedience and a zeal for the worship of God. Abraham thus reposed all his own happiness on the hope of leaving his son unscathed when he departed this life. This object he indeed attained by the will of God, who, however, desiring to make trial of his piety towards Himself, appeared to him and after enumerating all the benefits that He had bestowed upon him—how He had made him stronger than his enemies, and how it was His benevolence to which he owed his present felicity and his son Isaac—required him to offer up that son by his own hand as a sacrifice and victim to Himself. He bade him take the child up to the Morian Mount,<sup>a</sup> erect an altar and make a holocaust of him : thus would he manifest his piety towards Himself, if he put the doing of God's good pleasure even above the life of his child.

(2) Abraham, deeming that nothing would justify disobedience to God and that in everything he must submit to His will, since all that befell His favoured ones was ordained by His providence,<sup>b</sup> concealed from his wife God's commandment and his own resolve concerning the immolation of the child ; nay, revealing it not even to any of his household,<sup>c</sup> lest haply he should have been hindered from doing God's service, he took Isaac with two servants and having laden an ass with the requisites for the sacrifice departed for the mountain. For two days the

Preparations for the sacrifice of Isaac.

temple. The locality here intended is unknown ; its identification by Josephus (§ 226) and by Rabbinical tradition with the temple mount cannot be sustained.

<sup>b</sup> Or (with the other text) " since all His favoured ones lived through His providence."

<sup>c</sup> Cf. Philo, *De Abr.* 32, § 170 μηδενι τῶν ενδον εξειπῶν τὸ λόγιον.

## JOSEPHUS

- τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ὡς κάτοπτον ἦν αὐτῷ τὸ ὄρος, καταλιπὼν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοὺς συνόντας μετὰ μόνου τοῦ παιδὸς παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ' οὗ τὸ ἱερόν
- 227 Δαυίδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὕστερον ἰδρύεται. ἔφερον δὲ σὺν αὐτοῖς ὅσα λοιπὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἦν πλήν ἱερείου. τοῦ δ' Ἰσαάκου πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἔχοντας τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάζοντος καὶ πυθόμενου, τί καὶ μέλλοιεν θύειν ἱερείου μὴ παρόντος, [ὁ δὲ]<sup>1</sup> τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἔλεγεν ὄντα ἱκανὸν καὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀνθρώπους<sup>2</sup> παραγαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς θαρρούντων ἀφελῆσθαι· δώσειν οὖν κἀκεῖνῳ ἱερεῖον, εἶπερ εὐμενῆς μέλλει τῇ θυσίᾳ παρατυγχάνειν αὐτοῦ.
- 228 (3) Ὡς δ' ὁ βωμὸς παρεσκευάαστο καὶ τὰς σχίζας ἐπενηνόχει καὶ ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, λέγει πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν “ὦ παῖ, μυρίαὶ εὐχαῖς αἰτησάμενός σε γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθες εἰς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτι μὴ περὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνατροφὴν ἐφιλοτιμησάμην οὐδ' ἐφ' ᾧ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονήσειν ᾧμην, ὡς εἰ σέ τ' ἴδοιμι ἠνδρωμένον καὶ τελευτῶν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καταλίπομι.
- 229 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ θεοῦ τε βουλομένου σὸς πατὴρ ἐγενόμην καὶ πάλιν τούτῳ δοκοῦν ἀποτίθεμαί σε, φέρε γενναίως τὴν καθιέρωσιν· τῷ θεῷ γάρ σε παραχωρῶ ταύτης ἀξιώσαντι παρ' ἡμῶν τῆς τιμῆς, ἀνθ' ᾧν εὐμενῆς γέγονέ μοι παραστάτης καὶ σύμμαχος,
- 230 νῦν ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἐγεννήθης \* \* ἄπιθι νῦν<sup>3</sup> οὐ

<sup>1</sup> om. RO.

<sup>2</sup> ed. gr.: ἀνθρώποις codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἄπιθι νῦν SP: ἀποθάνης most mss.; text doubtful and probably defective.

<sup>a</sup> Or rather “Solomon . . . in the place that David had appointed” (2 Chron. iii. 1). But see § 224 note.

servants accompanied him, but on the third, when the mountain was in view, he left his companions in the plain and proceeded with his son alone to that mount whereon king David <sup>a</sup> afterwards erected the temple. They brought with them all else needed for the sacrifice except a victim. Isaac, therefore, who was now twenty-five years of age, <sup>b</sup> while constructing the altar, asked what sacrifice they were about to offer, having no victim; to which his father replied that God would provide for them, seeing that He had power alike to give men abundance of what they had not and to deprive of what they had those who felt assured of their possessions: He would therefore grant him too a victim, should He vouchsafe to grace his sacrifice with His presence.

(3) But when the altar had been prepared and he had laid the cleft wood upon it and all was ready, he said to his son: "My child, myriad were the prayers in which I besought God for thy birth, and when thou camest into the world, no pains were there that I did not lavish upon thine upbringing, no thought had I of higher happiness than to see thee grown to man's estate and to leave thee at my death heir to my dominion. But, since it was by God's will that I became thy sire and now again as pleases Him I am resigning thee, bear thou this consecration valiantly; for it is to God I yield thee, to God who now claims from us this homage in return for the gracious favour He has shown me as my supporter and ally. Aye, since thou wast born (out of the course of nature, so) <sup>c</sup> quit thou now this life not by the

Abraham's  
address to  
his son.

<sup>b</sup> Age unrecorded in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> Apparent lacuna in the Greek.

## JOSEPHUS

- τὸν κοινὸν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τρόπον, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἰδίου θεῷ τῷ πάντων πατρὶ νόμῳ θυσίας προπεμπόμενος, ἄξιον οἶμαί σε κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μήτε νόσῳ μήτε πολέμῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν παθῶν, ἃ συμπίπτειν πέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις, ἀπαλλαγῆναι
- 231 τοῦ βίου, μετ' εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου ψυχὴν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ καθέξοντος· ἔση τ' ἐμοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηροκόμον, διὸ καὶ σὲ μάλιστα ἀνετρεφόμενην, τὸν θεὸν ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ παρεσχημένος."
- 232 (4) Ἰσακος δέ, πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν οἴου τετυχηκότα γενναῖον ἔδει τὸ φρόνημα εἶναι, δέχεται πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φήσας, ὡς οὐδὲ γεγονέναι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦν δίκαιος, εἰ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς μέλλει κρίσιν ἀπωθεῖσθαι καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀμφοτέρων βουλήμασιν<sup>1</sup> ἐτοίμως, ὅτε καὶ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ταῦτα προαιρουμένου μὴ ὑπακούειν ἄδικον ἦν, ὥρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν.
- 233 κὰν ἐπράχθη τὸ ἔργον μὴ στάντος ἐμποδῶν τοῦ θεοῦ· βοᾷ γὰρ ὄνομαστί τὸν Ἀβραμὸν εἵργων τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας αἵματος ἀνθρωπίνου τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτῷ προστάξαι τοῦ παιδὸς ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ οὐ πατέρα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς ἀφελέσθαι τούτου βουλόμενος μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀσεβείας, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάσαι θέλων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν,
- 234 εἰ καὶ τοιαῦτα προστασσόμενος ὑπακούοι. μαθῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας ἡδεσθαι μὲν οἷς αὐτῷ παρέσχεν, οὐχ ὑστερήσειν δὲ αὐτὸν αἰεὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸ γένος ἀξιούντα, ἔσεσθαι τε τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ πολυχρονιώτατον καὶ βιώσαντα εὐδαιμόνως παισὶν ἀγαθοῖς καὶ γνησίοις παραδώσειν μεγάλην ἡγε-

common road, but sped by thine own father on thy way to God, the Father of all, through the rites of sacrifice. He, I ween, accounts it not meet for thee to depart this life by sickness or war or by any of the calamities that commonly befall mankind, but amid prayers and sacrificial ceremonies would receive thy soul and keep it near to Himself; and for me thou shalt be a protector and stay of my old age—to which end above all I nurtured thee—by giving me God in the stead of thyself.”

(4) The son of such a father could not but be brave-hearted, and Isaac received these words with joy. He exclaimed that he deserved never to have been born at all, were he to reject the decision of God and of his father and not readily resign himself to what was the will of both, seeing that, were this the resolution of his father alone, it would have been impious to disobey; and with that he rushed to the altar and his doom. And the deed would have been accomplished, had not God stood in the way, for He called upon Abraham by name, forbidding him to slay the lad. It was, He said, from no craving for human blood that He had given command for the slaughter of his son, nor had He made him a father only to rob him in such impious fashion of his offspring; no, He wished but to test his soul and see whether even such orders would find him obedient. Now that He knew the ardour and depth of his piety, He took pleasure in what He had given him and would never fail to regard with the tenderest care both him and his race; his son should attain to extreme old age and, after a life of felicity, bequeath to a virtuous and lawfully begotten offspring a great

The salvation of Isaac and the divine benediction

<sup>1</sup> *v.l.* βουλεύμασιν.

## JOSEPHUS

- 235 μονίαν. προεδήλου τε τὸ γένος τὸ αὐτῶν εἰς  
 ἔθνη πολλὰ καὶ πλοῦτον ἐπιδώσειν, καὶ μνήμην  
 αἰώνιον αὐτῶν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς γενάρχαις, τὴν τε  
 Χανααίαν ὄπλοις κατακτησαμένους ζηλωτοὺς  
 236 ἔσεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ταῦτα ὁ θεὸς εἰπὼν  
 κριὸν ἐκ τάφανοῦς παρήγαγεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερ-  
 ουργίαν. οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδας αὐτοὺς κεκομισμένοι<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἀκηκοότες ἠσπά-  
 ζοντό τε ἀλλήλους καὶ θύσαντες ἀπενόστησαν πρὸς  
 τὴν Σάρραν καὶ διήγον εὐδαιμόνως, ἐφ' ἅπασιν οἷς  
 ἐβελήσειαν τοῦ θεοῦ συλλαμβάνοντος αὐτοῖς.
- 237 (xiv.) Καὶ Σάρρα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀπο-  
 θνήσκει βιώσασα ἔτη ἑπτὰ καὶ εἴκοσι πρὸς τοῖς  
 ἑκατόν. θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὴν ἐν Νεβρῶνι συγ-  
 χωρούντων μὲν τῶν Χανααίων καὶ δημοσίᾳ χοῦν  
 αὐτῆς τὸν τάφον, Ἀβράμου δὲ ὠνησαμένου τὸ  
 χωρίον σίκλων τετρακοσίων παρ' Ἐφραΐμου τινὸς  
 ἐκ τῆς Νεβρῶνος. καὶ τὰ μνημεῖα Ἀβραμὸς τε  
 καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ταύτη κατεσκευάσαντο.
- 238 (xv.) Γαμεῖ δ' αὐτὸς Κατούραν ὕστερον, ἐξ ἧς  
 αὐτῷ παῖδες ἐξ γίνονται πρὸς τε πόρους καρτεροὶ  
 καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι, Ζεμβράνης Ἰαζάρης Μαδάνης  
 Μαδιάνης Λουσοῦβακος Σοῦος. φύονται δὲ καὶ  
 τούτοις παῖδες· καὶ Σοῦου μὲν Σαβακίνης γίνεται  
 καὶ Δαδάνης, τούτου δὲ Λατούσιμος Ἄσσουρις  
 Λούουρις· Μαδάνου δὲ Ἡφᾶς Ἐώφρην Ἄνωχος  
 239 Ἐβιδᾶς Ἐλδᾶς. τούτοις ἅπασιν τοῖς παισὶ καὶ  
 τοῖς υἱωνοῖς Ἀβραμὸς ἀποικιῶν στόλους μη-

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῦ κεκομισμένου ROE.

<sup>a</sup> Greek "Nebron," see § 170 note.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Ephron.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Keturah (Χεττουρά).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Zimran.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Jokshan (Ἰεξάν).

<sup>f</sup> With LXX: Heb. Medan.



dominion. He moreover foretold that their race would swell into a multitude of nations, with increasing wealth, nations whose founders would be had in everlasting remembrance, that they would subdue Canaan by their arms and be envied of all men. Having spoken thus God brought from obscurity into their view a ram for the sacrifice. And they, restored to each other beyond all hope and having heard promises of such great felicity, embraced one another and, the sacrifice ended, returned home to Sarra and lived in bliss, God assisting them in all that they desired.

(xiv.) Not long after Sarra died at the age of one hundred and twenty-seven years. They buried her in Hebron,<sup>a</sup> where the Canaanites offered burial-ground for her at the public expense, but Abraham bought the spot for four hundred shekels of Ephraim,<sup>b</sup> a native of the place. Here too Abraham and his descendants built their own tombs.

Death of Sarah.  
Gen. xxiii. 1.

(xv.) Abraham afterwards married Katura,<sup>c</sup> by whom he had six sons, strong to labour and quick of understanding, viz., Zembran(es),<sup>d</sup> Jazar(es),<sup>e</sup> Madan(es),<sup>f</sup> Madian(es),<sup>g</sup> Lousoubak(os),<sup>h</sup> Souos.<sup>i</sup> These too had families: Souos begat Sabakin(es)<sup>j</sup> and Dadan(es),<sup>k</sup> from whom sprung Latousim(os), Assuris and Lououris<sup>l</sup>; Madan begat Êphas,<sup>m</sup> Eôphrên,<sup>n</sup> Anôch(os), Ebidas<sup>o</sup> and Eldas.<sup>p</sup> All these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to send out

Abraham's descendants by his second wife.  
Gen. xxv. 1.

<sup>a</sup> LXX (some mss.): Heb. Midian.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Ishbak (Ἰεσβάκ).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Shuah (Σουή).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Sheba (Σαβάκ LXX, some mss.).

<sup>e</sup> With LXX (some mss.): Heb. Dedan.

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. "Asshurim, Letushim (Λατουσιείμ), Leummim" (in this order).

<sup>m</sup> Bibl. Ephah (Γεφάρ).

<sup>n</sup> Bibl. Epher (Ἐφέρ).

<sup>o</sup> Bibl. Abida.

<sup>p</sup> Bibl. Eldaah (LXX Ἐεργαμά with *v.l.*).

- χανᾶται, καὶ τὴν τε Τρωγλοδῦτιν καταλαμβάνουσι καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὅσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρὰν καθήκει θάλασσαν. λέγεται δ' ὡς οὗτος ὁ Ἐώφρησ στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχευ αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ υἱῶνοί αὐτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου ὀνόματος Ἀφρικαν προσηγόρευσαν.
- 240 μαρτυρεῖ δέ μου τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυίστωρ λέγων οὕτως· “Κλεόδημος δέ φησιν ὁ προφήτης, ὁ καὶ Μάλχος, ἱστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἱστόρησεν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, ὅτι ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας Ἀβράμῳ ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἱκανοί.
- 241 λέγει δέ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα ὀνομάζων τρεῖς Ἀφέραν Σούρην Ἰάφραν. ἀπὸ Σούρου μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν κεκλήσθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο Ἰάφρα τε καὶ Ἀφέρου πόλιν τε Ἀφρᾶν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικαν ὀνομασθῆναι. τούτους γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεῦσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἀνταῖον, γῆμαντά τε τὴν Ἀφράνου θυγατέρα Ἡρακλέα γεννῆσαι υἱὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Δίδωρον· τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σόφωνα, ἀφ' οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σόφακας λέγεσθαι.”
- 242 (xvi. 1) Ἰσάκῳ δέ<sup>2</sup> περὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι γυναῖκα γνοὺς ἀγαγέσθαι ὁ πατὴρ Ἀβραμὸς Ῥεβέκκαν, Ναχώρου παιδὸς θυγατέρα τὰδελφοῦ, τὸν πρεσβύτατον πέμπει τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστειάν ἐνδησάμενος μεγάλας πίστεσι.

<sup>1</sup> Ἐφρᾶν most mss.

<sup>2</sup> δὴ ML.

<sup>a</sup> The Arabian shore of the Red Sea: the name may also include the opposite coast. Gen. xxv. 6 speaks of their being sent “eastward unto the east country.”

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 133.

<sup>c</sup> Alexander Cornelius, a contemporary of Sulla, wrote a treatise on the Jews containing extracts from Jewish and Samaritan writings of the second cent. b.c.; the fragments have

to found colonies, and they took possession of Troglodytis<sup>a</sup> and that part of Arabia Felix which extends to the Red Sea. It is said moreover that this Eôphrên led an expedition against Libya and occupied it and that his grandsons settled there and called the land after his name Africa.<sup>b</sup> I have a witness to this statement in Alexander Polyhistor,<sup>c</sup> whose words are as follows: "Cleodemus the prophet, also called Malchus, in his history of the Jews relates, in conformity with the narrative of their lawgiver Moses, that Abraham had several sons by Katura. He moreover gives their names, mentioning three—Aphas, Sures, Japhras—adding that Sures gave his name to Assyria, and the two others, Japhras and Aphas, gave their names to the city of Aphra and the country of Africa. In fact, he adds, these latter joined Heracles in his campaign against Libya and Antaeus; and Heracles, marrying the daughter of Aphranes,<sup>d</sup> had by her a son Didorus, who begat Sophon, from whom the barbarians take their name of Sophakes."

(xvi. 1) Now when Isaac was about forty years old,<sup>e</sup> his father Abraham, having decided to give him to wife Rebecca, the granddaughter of his brother Nahor, sent the eldest of his servants to ask for her hand in marriage, after binding him by solemn

The wooing  
of Rebecca.  
Gen. xxiv. 1.

been collected by Freudenthal (*Hellenistische Studien*). The work of Malchus (in Freudenthal's opinion a Samaritan) "seems to have been a classic example of that intermixture of Oriental and Greek traditions, which was popular" in Hellenistic times. The legends about Heracles recurred, with variations, in the Libyan history of King Juba (Plutarch *Sertor.* 9, quoted by Schürer).

<sup>d</sup> The fluctuating spelling leaves it uncertain which son is intended.

<sup>e</sup> Gen. xxv. 20.

## JOSEPHUS

- 243 γίνονται δὲ αὐταὶ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ὑπὸ τοὺς  
 μηροὺς ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαγαγόντες ἔπειτα  
 ἐπικαλοῦνται τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα τῶν ἐσομένων.  
 ἔπεμπε δὲ καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἐκεῖ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον
- 244 ἢ μηδ' ὅλως ἐπιχωριάζειν ἐκτετιμημένα. οὗτος  
 ἀπερχόμενος χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαλεπὴν ὀδεύεσθαι  
 τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, χειμῶνι μὲν ὑπὸ πηλῶν  
 βάθους θέρους δ' ὑπὸ ἀνυδρίας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ληστηρίων  
 ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ, ἃ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐνῆν μὴ προ-  
 νοοῦσι τούτου τοῖς ὀδεύουσιν, εἰς πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται  
 Χάρραν,<sup>1</sup> καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις παρ-  
 θένοις ἐντυγχάνει πλείοσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις·
- 245 εὔχεται μὲν οὖν τῷ θεῷ Ῥεβέκκαν, ἣν τῷ παιδί  
 Ἄβραμος μνηστευσόμενον ἐξαπέστειλαν, εἰ κατὰ  
 νοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ μέλλει ὁ γάμος οὗτος συντελεῖσθαι,  
 ἐν ἐκείναις εὔρεθῆναι γνωρισθῆναι τε αὐτὴν τῶν  
 μὲν ἄλλων αἰτοῦντι ποτὸν ἀρνούμενων ἐκείνης δὲ  
 αὐτῷ παρασχούσης.
- 246 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὢν τῆς διανοίας ἐπὶ τὸ  
 φρέαρ παραγίνεται καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὰς παρθένους  
 ποτὸν αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν· τῶν δ' ἐκτρεπομένων ὡς<sup>2</sup>  
 χρηζουσῶν οἴκαδε κομίζειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ  
 παρασχεῖν, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' εὔληπτον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ,  
 μία ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἐκείναις τε τῆς πρὸς τὸν ξένον  
 ἐπιπλήττει δυσκολίας, τίνος ἄλλου κοινωγήσειν πρὸς  
 ἀνθρώπους αὐτάς ποτε, αἱ μὲν δ' ὕδατος μετέδωσαν
- 247 λέγουσα, καὶ παρέχει αὐτῷ φιλοφρόνως. ὁ δὲ ἐν  
 ἐλπίδι μὲν τῶν ὄλων γενόμενος, βουλόμενος δὲ τὴν  
 ἀλήθειαν μαθεῖν, ἐπήνει τε τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτὴν  
 καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος, ὅτι καὶ μετ' οἰκείου πόνου  
 τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν οὐκ ἔφυγεν, ἐπυθάνετό

<sup>1</sup> Κάρραν most mss.

<sup>2</sup> SPE: καὶ rell.

pledges. These pledges are given on this wise : each party places his hands under the other's thigh, and they then invoke God as witness of their future actions. He also sent to his friends over there presents, which, by reason of their rarity or their being wholly unobtainable in those parts, were inestimable. The servant's journey was prolonged, because travel is rendered difficult in Mesopotamia, in winter by the depth of mud, and in summer through the drought ; moreover, the country is infested by bands of brigands whom travellers could not escape without taking necessary precautions. But at length he reached the city of Charran, in the suburbs of which he fell in with a number of maidens going to fetch water. He therefore prayed God to grant that, if it were His pleasure that this marriage should be consummated, Rebecca, for whose hand Abraham had sent him to sue on behalf of his son, might be found among these maidens and be made known to him by her proffering him drink at his request, when the rest refused it.

(2) With this purpose in mind he approached the well and asked the maidens to give him drink. Scene at the well. But they declined, saying that they wanted the water to carry home and not for serving him, for it was no easy matter to draw it. One only of them all rebuked the rest for their churlishness to the stranger, saying " What will you ever share with anyone, who refuse even a drop of water ? ", and with that she graciously offered him some. He, now in high hopes of attaining his main object, but wishing to learn the truth, commended her for her nobility and goodness of heart in not hesitating to minister to another's need at the cost of her own toil, and inquired who

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τε τίνων εἶη γονέων καὶ κατεύχεται αὐτοῖς ὄνησι  
 τοιαύτης παιδὸς καὶ “ νυμφεύσειαν,” φησὶν, “ ὡς  
 αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένον, εἰς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ  
 248 παῖδας αὐτῷ τεξομένην γνησίους.” ἡ δὲ οὐδὲ  
 τούτων ἐφθόνησεν αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπεσήμαινε καὶ “ ‘Ρεβέκκα μὲν,”  
 φησὶν, “ ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι, πατὴρ δέ μοι Βαθούηλος  
 ἦν· ἀλλ’ ὁ μὲν ἤδη τέθνηκε, Λάβανος δὲ ἀδελφός  
 ἐστὶν ἡμέτερος τοῦ τε οἴκου παντὸς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ  
 249 προνοούμενος καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς παρθενίας ἐπιμελό-  
 μενος.” τούτων ἀκροασάμενος ἔχαιρέ τε τοῖς  
 γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ὀρών  
 αὐτῷ τῆς ὁδοῦ σαφῶς συλλαμβανόμενον,<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 προκομίσας ὀρμίσκον τε καὶ τινὰ κόσμους, οὓς  
 εὐπρεπὲς φορεῖν παρθένοις, ἀνεδίδου τῇ κόρῃ τῆς  
 ἐπὶ τῷ πιεῖν χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι καὶ γέρας,  
 δίκαιον λέγων τοιούτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν ἀγαθὴν  
 250 παρὰ τὰς τοσαύτας παρθένοὺς γενομένην. ἡξίου  
 τε παρ’ αὐτοῖς καταχθῆναι, τοῦ προσωτέρῳ χωρεῖν  
 τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρουμένης, κόσμον τε φέρων  
 γυναικεῖον πολυτελῆ πιστεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἀσφα-  
 λεστέροις ἔφασκεν ἢ τοιούτοις, οἷας<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς ἐπει-  
 ράθη. τεκμαίρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ  
 τὰδελφοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῆς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὐ  
 δυσχερανοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετῆς· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ἔσσεσθαι βαρὺς μισθόν τε τῆς φιλοξενίας τελέσας  
 251 καὶ δαπάναις ἰδίαις χρησάμενος. ἡ δὲ περὶ μὲν  
 τῆς τῶν γονέων φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς  
 εἰκάζειν αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ἐπεμέμφετο δὲ ὡς μικρο-

<sup>1</sup> συλλαμβάνοντα RO.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: οἷς mss. Niese with some mss. reads τούτοις οἷς αὐτὸς ἐπ.

were her parents, wishing them joy of such a child and saying, "May they marry thee to their hearts' content into the house of a good man to bear him children in wedlock!" Nor yet did she grudge him this information that he sought but told him also of her family, saying, "I am called Rebecca, and my father was Bathuel, but he is now dead,<sup>a</sup> and our brother Laban directs the whole household, with my mother, and is guardian of my maidenhood." On hearing this the servant rejoiced alike at the deeds done and the words spoken, seeing that God was so manifestly furthering his mission; and, producing a necklace and some ornaments<sup>b</sup> becoming for maidens to wear, he offered them to the damsel as a recompense and reward for her courtesy in giving him drink, saying that it was right that she should receive such things, having outstripped so many maidens in charity. He also besought that he might lodge with them, night prohibiting him from journeying farther, and, being the bearer of women's apparel of great price, he said that he could not entrust himself to safer hosts than such as he had found her to be. He could guess from her own virtues the kindness of her mother and brother, and that they would not take his request amiss; nor would he be burdensome to them, but would pay a price for their gracious hospitality and live at his own expense. To this she replied that with regard to her parents' humanity he judged aright, but she upbraided him for suspecting

<sup>a</sup> Not stated in Genesis, but implied by xxiv. 28 ("her mother's house").

<sup>b</sup> Gen. xxiv. 22, "a golden ring (LXX, 'gold earrings') . . . and two bracelets."

λόγους ὑπειληφότα· πάντων γὰρ ἀμισθὶ μεθέξειν. δηλώσασα μέντοι Λαβάνῳ πρότερον τὰδελφῶ συγχωροῦντος ἄξειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν.

- 252 (3) Ὡς οὖν τούτου γενομένου παρῆγε τὸν ξένον, τὰς μὲν καμήλους αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντες οἱ Λαβάνου θεράποντες ἐτημέλουν, αὐτὸς δὲ δειπνήσων εἰσήγετο σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνόν φησι πρὸς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς κόρης “ Ἀβραμος Θέρρου<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐστὶν υἱός, συγγενὴς δ’ ὑμέτερος· Ναχώρης γὰρ ὁ τούτων, ὦ γυναῖκα, τῶν παιδῶν πάππος ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ἀβράμου ὁμοπάτριός τε καὶ
- 253 ὁμομήτριος. πέμπει τοίνυν οὗτος πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἀξιῶν τὴν κόρην ταύτην παιδὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λαβεῖν πρὸς γάμον, ὃς γνήσιός ἐστιν αὐτῷ καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τεθραμμένος· ὦ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖ γυναικῶν δυνατὸν <ὄν> αὐτῷ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην λαβεῖν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν ἀγαγέσθαι, τιμῶν δὲ τὸ γένος τὸν γάμον πολιτεῦει
- 254 τοῦτον. οὐ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν μὴ ὑβρίσητε· κατὰ γὰρ θεοῦ βούλησιν τά τε ἄλλα μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπήνησεν καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τὸν ὑμέτερον οἶκον εὗρον. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐγενόμην, παρθένους ἰδὼν πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγινομένας ἠϋξάμην εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσεῖν,
- 255 ὃ δὴ γέγονε. γάμον οὖν ὑπὸ θείας μνηστευόμενον ἐπιφανείας καὶ ὑμεῖς κυρώσατε καὶ Ἀβραμον τὸν μετὰ τῆσάυτης ἀπεσταλκότα σπουδῆς τῷ κατανεῦσαι τὴν κόρην τιμήσατε.” οἱ δέ, καλὰ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ κεχαρισμένα, τὴν τε γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ συνῆκαν καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἠξίου τὴν θυγατέρα. γαμεί δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἰσακος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς



them of meanness, for he should have everything free of cost ; however, she would first speak to her brother Laban and with his consent would bring him in.

(3) So, this being done, she introduced the stranger, his camels were received by Laban's servants who took charge of them, and he himself was brought in to sup with the master. Supper ended, he addressed Laban and the mother of the damsel thus : " Abraham is the son of Therrus <sup>a</sup> and a kinsman of yours ; for Nahor, the grandfather of these children, dear lady, was Abraham's brother : they had the same father and the same mother. Well, it is this Abraham who sends me to you to ask this damsel in wedlock for his son—his lawful son, who has been brought up as sole heir to his whole estate. Aye, though he might have taken for him the wealthiest of the women yonder, he scorned such a match, and in honour of his own kin now plans this marriage. Flout not his ardour and his proposal ; for it was through God's will that all else befell me on my journey and that I found this child and your house. For when I drew nigh to the city I saw many maidens coming to the well and I prayed that I might light upon this one, as indeed has come to pass. Nuptials thus manifestly blessed of heaven do you then ratify, and show honour to Abraham, who with such zeal has sent me hither, by consenting to give the damsel away." And they, since the suit was honourable and to their liking, understood God's will and sent their daughter in accordance with the servant's request. And Isaac married her, being now

Marriage  
of Isaac.

<sup>a</sup> Or Tharrus (Bibl. Terah), § 148.

<sup>1</sup> *v.l.* Θάρρου, Θάρρα.

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αὐτὸν ἀφικομένων· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐξεληλύθεισαν.

256 (xvii.) Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ "Αβραμος μετ' ὀλίγον, ἀνὴρ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἀξίως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τιμημένος. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἑτῶν ἑβδομηκονταπέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατὸν καὶ θάπτεται ἐν Νεβρῶνι μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Σάρρας ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων Ἰσαάκου καὶ Ἰσμαήλου.

257 (xviii. 1) Ἰσαάκω δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀβράμου τελευτὴν ἐκύει τὸ γύναιον, καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐπὶ μείζον ὄγκουμένης ἀγωνιάσας ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν. φράζει δ' αὐτῷ διδύμους τέξεσθαι τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν καὶ φερώνυμα ἔσεσθαι τοῖς παισὶν ἔθνη, τοῦ δὲ μείζονος  
258 προτερήσειν τὸ δοκοῦν ἔλασσον εἶναι. τίκτεται δ' αὐτῷ μετ' ὀλίγον κατὰ πρόρρησιν τοῦ θεοῦ δίδυμα παιδία, ὧν τὸ μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας περισσῶς ἦν δασύ, τὸ δὲ νεώτερον εἶχετο προϊόντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ πτέρναν. ἡγάπα δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τὸν πρεσβύτερον Ἡσαῦν λεγόμενον κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς τριχώσεως· Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ τὸ ἥσαυρον<sup>1</sup> τρίχωμα λέγουσιν· Ἰακωβος δὲ ὁ νεώτερος τῇ μητρὶ προσφιλῆς ἦν.

259 (2) Λιμοῦ δὲ τὴν γῆν καταλαβόντος Ἰσαακος, δόξαν αὐτῷ χωρεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον τῆς χώρας ἀγαθῆς ὑπαρχούσης, ἐπὶ Γεράρων ἀπήει τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος. ὑποδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβιμέ-

<sup>1</sup> Σῆειρον MSLE, Seirion Lat.: after τριχώσεως SP ins. εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἕτερον ὄνομα Σῆειρον λεγόμενον τῆς τριχώσεως (doubtless a gloss).

\* A condensation of Gen. xxv. 21 f., where Isaac first  
126

master of his father's estate ; for his sons by Katura had departed to found their colonies. Gen. xxv. 5.

(xvii.) Not long after Abraham died, a man in every virtue supreme, who received from God the due meed of honour for his zeal in His service. He lived in all one hundred and seventy-five years and was buried at Hebron, beside his wife Sarra, by their sons Isaac and Ishmael. Death of Abraham.  
Gen. xxv. 8.

(xviii. 1) Now after Abraham's death Isaac's young wife conceived, and seeing her inordinately big with child her husband anxiously consulted God.<sup>a</sup> And He told him that Rebecca would give birth to twins, that nations would bear their names, and that he that to appearance was the lesser would excel the greater. Not long after, as God had foretold, twin children were born to him, the elder of whom was excessively hairy from head to foot ; the younger held his brother, issuing before him from the womb, by the heel. The father loved the elder son, who was called Esau after his hairiness, since the Hebrews call shaggy hair *ésauron* <sup>b</sup> ; but Jacob the younger was the darling of his mother. Birth of Esau and Jacob.  
Gen. xxv. 21

(2) A famine now prevailing in the land, Isaac resolved to go into Egypt, where the country was fruitful, but at God's bidding removed to Gerara.<sup>c</sup> Here king Abimelech welcomed him in virtue of his entreats the Lord for his barren wife, and then she in the pangs of childbirth goes to inquire of Him, and is the recipient of the oracle. Isaac at Gerar(a).  
Gen. xxvi. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Esau is thought to be connected with an Arabic word meaning "hirsute," for which there is no known Hebrew equivalent ; Gen. xxv. 25 contains plays on the names Edom ("red") and Seir ("hairy"), but not apparently on Esau itself. Josephus is weak in philology, and it is idle to discuss his text and meaning.

<sup>c</sup> Gerar in Philistia.

- λεχος κατὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν τὴν Ἀβράμου καὶ πολλῇ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοία χρησάμενος κατ' ἀρχὰς ἐπὶ ταύτης ὑπὸ φθόνου μείναι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν
- 260 ἐκωλύθη. ὄρων γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἰσαάκω συμπρόντα καὶ τοσαύτη περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῇ χρώμενον ἀπόσωτο αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ τοιοῦτου πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασκανοῦ πειραθεὶς Ἀβιμελέχου τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Φάραγμα χωρίον οὐ μακρὰν Γεράρων, ὀρύσσοντι δ' αὐτῷ φρέαρ ποιμένες ἐπιπεσόντες εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησαν κωλύοντες τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μὴ βουλευθέντος φιλονικεῖν
- 261 ἔδοξαν κεκρατηκέαι. ὑποχωρήσας δὲ ὤρυσσεν ἕτερον, καὶ βιασαμένων ἄλλων τινῶν Ἀβιμελέχου ποιμένων καὶ τοῦτο καταλιπὼν ἀπεχώρησεν εὐγνώμονι λογισμῷ κτώμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἄδειαν.
- 262 εἶτα <τ>αὐτομάτου παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν φρεωρυχίαν ἀνεπικώλυτον, Ῥοωβὼθ τὸ φρέαρ ὠνόμασεν· εὐρύχωρον ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ προτέρων τὸ μὲν Ἔσκον καλεῖται· μάχην ἂν τις αὐτὸ φήσειε· τὸ δ' ἕτερον Στένα<sup>1</sup>. ἔχθραν ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα.
- 263 (3) Ἰσαάκω μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζειν συνέβαινε τὴν ἰσχὺν ὑπὸ μεγέθους πραγμάτων, Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ καθ' αὐτοῦ φύεσθαι νομίζων τὸν Ἰσακόν, ὑπόπτου μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς συνδιαιτήσεως γενομένης, ἐπ' οὐ φανερά δὲ ἔχθρα τοῦ Ἰσαάκου ὑπεκστάντος, δείσας μὴ τῆς προτέρας αὐτῷ φιλίας οὐδὲν ὄφελος γένηται πρὸς ἄμνηναν ὧν ἔπαθεν Ἰσαάκου τραπέντος φιλίαν ἄνωθεν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν

<sup>1</sup> After Niese (Στέναν): Σύαιναν or Σύεννα(ν) codd.

former friendship and hospitality to Abraham <sup>a</sup> and at first showed him the utmost benevolence, but was prevented by envy from maintaining these feelings to the end ; for seeing that God was with Isaac and showered such favours upon him, he cast him off. Meeting with this change in the temper of Abimelech, arising from jealousy, Isaac then withdrew to a place called the Ravine <sup>b</sup> not far from Gerara. Here, as he was digging a well, some shepherds fell upon him and started a fight in order to stop the work ; and, when Isaac declined a quarrel, they claimed a victory. He retired and began digging another, but when other shepherds of Abimelech did him violence he left this also and departed, purchasing his security by reasonable calculation. Then, when accident enabled him to dig unmolested, he called this well Roôbôth, a name which denotes " spacious. <sup>c</sup>" Of the former wells one was called Eskos, <sup>d</sup> that is to say " Combat," the other Stena, <sup>e</sup> signifying " Hatred."

Gen. xxvi.  
26 ff.

(3) Isaac's power thus steadily mounted through increasing wealth ; and Abimelech, thinking that his growing fortunes were a threat to himself (since their relations had been strained even when living together and Isaac had retired dissimulating his hatred), and fearing that his former friendship might avail him nothing when Isaac should turn to avenge himself for his injuries, made renewed overtures to him, taking with him Philoch, <sup>f</sup> one of his generals.

Reconciliation with  
Abimelech .  
Gen. xxvi.  
26.

<sup>b</sup> After LXX, taking Φάραγξ as a proper name : Heb. " in the vale of Gerar."

<sup>c</sup> After LXX (εὐρυχωρία) : Heb. Rehoboth = " broad places."

<sup>d</sup> Heb. Esek, " contention " : LXX ἀδικία.

<sup>e</sup> Heb. Sitnah, " enmity " : LXX ἐχθρία.

<sup>f</sup> Heb. Phicol : the same transposition of consonants occurs in some MSS. of LXX.

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- 264 Φίλοχον ἐπαγόμενος. πάντων δὲ τετυχηκῶς ὦν ἡξίου διὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου χρηστότητα, ὀργῆς προσφάτου πρεσβυτέραν χάριν εἰς αὐτόν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα γεγεννημένην προτιμῶντος, ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.
- 265 (4) Τῶν δὲ Ἰσάκου παίδων Ἡσαῦς, περὶ ὃν μάλιστα ὁ πατὴρ ἐσπουδάκει, τεσσαράκοντα γεγυῶς ἔτη γαμῆ Ἄδαν τὴν Ἡλωνος καὶ Ἀλιβάμην τὴν Ἐυσεβεῶνος,<sup>1</sup> δυναστευόντων ἐν Χαναταίοις ἀνδρῶν θυγατέρας, ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐξουσίας κύριον καὶ μηδὲ τῷ πατρὶ συμ-
- 266 βουλευσάμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰσακος ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης γενομένης· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ δι' ἡδονῆς συνάψασθαι συγγένειαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπεχθὴς εἶναι τῷ παιδί κελεύων ἀφίστασθαι τῶν γυναικῶν σιγᾶν ἔκρινε.
- 267 (5) Γηραιὸς δὲ ὦν καὶ τὰς ὄψεις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἠφανισμένος προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἡσαῦν καὶ τὸ γῆρας εἰπὼν ὡς καὶ δίχα τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὄψεις πάθους ἐμποδῶν ἦν αὐτῷ θερα-
- 268 πεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ θηρασάμενον ὅσα ἂν αὐτῷ δυνατὸν γίνηται παρασκευάσαι δεῖπνον, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο ἰκετεύσῃ τὸν θεὸν σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργὸν εἰς ἅπαντα παρεῖναι τὸν βίον, ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι λέγων, ὁπότε καὶ τελευτήσῃ, πρὸ δὲ τούτου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ

<sup>1</sup> Ἐσεβεῶνος Bernard.

And, having obtained complete satisfaction of his desires, thanks to the good nature of Isaac, who set more store on ancient favours bestowed on himself and his father than on recent indignation, he returned home.

(4) Of Isaac's two children, Esau, the favourite of his father, at the age of forty married<sup>a</sup> Ada and Alibame,<sup>b</sup> daughters respectively of Helon<sup>c</sup> and Eusebeon,<sup>d</sup> Canaanite chieftains; these marriages he contracted on his own responsibility without consulting his father, for Isaac would never have permitted them, had his advice been sought, having no desire to form ties of affinity with the indigenous population. However, not wishing to become at enmity with his son through ordering him to separate himself from these women, he resolved to hold his peace.

Esau's  
wives.  
Gen. xxvi.  
34 with  
xxxvi. 2.

(5) But when he was old and had completely lost his sight, he called Esau to him and after speaking of his old age, and how, apart from his affliction in the loss of his vision, his years hindered him from ministering to<sup>e</sup> God, bade him go out to the chase, catch whatever he could and prepare him a supper, that so, after partaking of it, he might beseech God to support and assist his son throughout all his life; adding that it was uncertain when he might die, but he wished

Isaac's old  
age.  
Gen. xxvii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Scripture contains three inconsistent records of Esau's marriages. Josephus, in common with a few LXX MSS., here introduces the names mentioned in Gen. xxxvi. 2: the Heb. here has the names Judith and Basemath.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Oholibamah (LXX 'Ελιβεμά or 'Ολ.).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Elon ('Ελώμ).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Zibeon (Σεβεγών).

<sup>e</sup> He could not procure a sacrifice himself: such seems to be the meaning.

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βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένον.

- 269 (6) Καὶ Ἰσαῦς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἐξώρμησεν· ἡ δὲ Ῥεβέκκα τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν εὐνοίαν ἀξιούσα τὴν Ἰακώβου παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου γνώμην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐρίφους κατασφάξαντα δείπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὁ δὲ Ἰάκωβος ὑπηρετεῖ τῇ μητρὶ
- 270 πάντα παρ' αὐτῆς πεπυσμένος· ἐπεὶ δ' εὐτρεπὲς ἦν τὸ δείπνον, ἐρίφου δέρματι τὸν βραχίονα περιβαλὼν, ἵνα πιστεύοιτο παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὴν δασύτητα Ἰσαῦς εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντ' ὦν ὁμοῖος διὰ τὸ εἶναι δίδυμος τούτῳ μόνῳ διέφερε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς εὐρεθεὶς κακουργῶν εἰς τοῦναντίον παροξύνῃ τὸν πατέρα ποιήσασθαι ταύτας, προσέφερε τῷ πατρὶ τὸ δείπ-
- 271 νον. καὶ ὁ Ἰσακὸς ἐπαισθόμενος τῷ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἰδίῳ προσκαλεῖται τὸν υἱόν· τοῦ δὲ τὸν βραχίονα προτείναντος, ᾧ τὴν αἰγέαν περιβέβλητο, ταύτης ἐπαφώμενος “φωνεῖς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “Ἰακώβω παραπλήσιον, κατὰ δὲ τὸ τῆς τριχὸς βάθος
- 272 Ἰσαῦς εἶναί μοι δοκεῖς.” καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαβὼν κακουργὸν δειπνήσας τρέπεται πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ “δέσποτα,” λέγων, “παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ δημιουργὲ τῆς ὅλης οὐσίας· σὺ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ μεγάλην ἰσχὴν προύθηκας ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἠξίωσας καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένοις ὑπέσχου βοηθὸς εὐμενῆς<sup>1</sup> καὶ δοτὴρ
- 273 αἰεὶ τῶν κρειττόνων ἔσεσθαι· ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ βεβαίωσον καὶ μὴ περιίδης με διὰ τὴν παροῦσαν ἀσθένειαν, δι' ἣν καὶ μᾶλλον σου δεόμενος τυγχάνω, καὶ μοι παῖδα τοῦτον εὐμενῆς σῶζε καὶ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ κακοῦ διαφύλαττε δούς αὐτῷ βίον εὐδαίμονα



before that time to procure God's protection for him by his prayers on his behalf.

(6) So Esau sped forth to the chase ; but Rebecca, The blessing of Jacob. being determined to invoke God's favour upon Jacob, even in defiance of Isaac's intent, bade him kill some kids and prepare a meal. And Jacob obeyed his mother, taking all his instructions from her. Accordingly, when the meal was ready, he put the skin of a kid about his arm, in order to make his father believe by reason of its hairiness that he was Esau—for being his twin he resembled his brother in all else but this—fearful lest before the benedictions his guile might be discovered and provoke his father to convert them into a curse, and so brought the supper to his father. Isaac, detecting him by the peculiarity of his voice, called his son to him, but Jacob extended the arm which he had wrapped in the goat-skin, feeling which his father exclaimed, "Thy voice is like that of Jacob, but from the thickness of the hair I take thee to be Esau." So, suspecting no fraud, he supped and then turned to prayer and invocation of God, saying,<sup>a</sup> "Lord of all the ages and Creator of universal being, forasmuch as thou didst bestow upon my father great store of good things, and to me hast vouchsafed all that I possess, and to my descendants hast promised thy gracious aid and to grant them ever greater blessings ; now therefore confirm these promises and think not scorn of me for my present infirmity, by reason of which I need thee the more ; graciously protect this my son and preserve him from every touch of ill ; grant him a bliss-

<sup>a</sup> Wholly independent of Gen. xxvii. 27 ff.

<sup>1</sup> Casaubon: *εὐμενῆ* codd.

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καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσων σοι δύναμις παρασχεῖν, ποιήσας δ' αὐτὸν φοβερὸν μὲν ἐχθροῖς φίλοις δὲ τίμιον καὶ κεχαρισμένον."

274 (7) Καὶ ὁ μὲν νομίζων εἰς Ἡσαῦν ποιεῖσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς παρεκάλει τὸν θεόν· ἄρτι δὲ πέπαυτο τούτων καὶ παρῆν Ἡσαῦς ἀπὸ τῆς θήρας. καὶ τῆς διαμαρτίας Ἰσακος αἰσθόμενος ἡσυχίαν ἄγει, Ἡσαῦς δὲ ἡξιῶν τῶν ὁμοίων τὰδελφῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς  
275 τυγχάνειν· τοῦ δὲ [πατρὸς]<sup>1</sup> ἀρνούμενου διὰ τὸ πάσας εἰς Ἰάκωβον τὰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλωκέναι πένθος ἦγεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσιν ἀχθόμενος ὁ πατὴρ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ δύναμιν σώματος ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις εὐδοκιμήσειν αὐτὸν ἔφασκε καὶ καρπώσεσθαι<sup>2</sup> τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόξαν δι' αἰῶνος καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ γένος, δουλεύσειν δὲ τὰδελφῶν.

276 (8) Ἰάκωβον δὲ φοβούμενον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τιμωρίαν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς<sup>4</sup> διαμαρτίας ἢ μήτηρ ῥύεται· πείθει γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα Μεσοποταμίαν ἀγαγέσθαι τῷ Ἰακώβῳ γυναῖκα  
277 συγγενῆ. ἤδη γὰρ τὴν Ἰσμαήλου παῖδα Ἡσαῦς παρειλήφει πρὸς γάμον Βασεμάθην· οὐ γὰρ εὐνόουν τοῖς Χανααίοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσακον, ὥστε ἐπὶ τοῖς πρότερον αὐτοῦ γάμοις δυσχερῶς διακειμένων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνοις κεχαρισμένον τὴν Βασεμάθην παρέλαβε μάλιστα περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάσας.

278 (xix. 1) Ἰάκωβος δὲ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν στελλόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς κατὰ γάμον τῆς Λαβάνου θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἐκείνης ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπιτρέψαντος Ἰσακου τὸν γάμον διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι τοῖς βουλήμασι τῆς γυναικός, διὰ τῆς Χανααίας

<sup>1</sup> om. O Lat.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: καρπώσασθαι codd.

ful life and the possession of all good things that thou hast power to bestow ; and make him a terror to his foes, to his friends a treasure and a delight."

(7) Thus did he invoke God, believing that he was offering these prayers for Esau ; but scarce had he ended them when Esau came in from his hunting. Perceiving his error Isaac held his peace, but Esau desired to obtain from his father the same benedictions as his brother, and when his father refused because he had exhausted all his prayers on Jacob, loudly lamented his disappointment. His father, moved by his tears, then pronounced that he would be renowned in the chase and for strength of body in arms and in labours of all kinds, and that he and his posterity would thence reap an age-long reputation, but that he would serve his brother.

The prediction upon Esau, Gen. xxvii. 30.

(8) Jacob being now in terror of his brother, who wished to avenge himself for being defrauded of the benedictions, was rescued by his mother, who persuaded her husband to take a wife for him from his kinsfolk in Mesopotamia. Esau, for his part, had already taken to wife Basemath,<sup>a</sup> the daughter of Ishmael ; for Isaac and his family had no love for the Canaanites, wherefore, seeing their vexation at his former marriages, to gratify them he took this Basemath, to whom he was deeply devoted.

Esau's third wife, Gen. xxvii. 41.

*Ib.* xxviii. 8.

(xix. 1) Jacob then was sent by his mother to Mesopotamia to espouse the daughter of her brother Laban, Isaac consenting to the marriage in compliance with his wife's wishes. He journeyed through

Jacob's journey to Mesopotamia, Gen. xxviii. 1, 11.

<sup>a</sup> Heb. Mahalath (Gen. xxviii. 9) ; but the small group of LXX MSS., to which the text of Josephus is most closely allied, reads *Μασσεμάθ*.

<sup>3</sup> ἀπολαβεῖν MSPL,

<sup>4</sup> ἀραῖς OMSP.

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- ἐπορεύετο καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μίσος  
 279 παρ' οὐδενὶ μὲν ἡξίου κατάγεσθαι, ὑπαιθρος<sup>2</sup> δὲ  
 ἠυλίζετο τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθοις ὑπ' αὐτοῦ συμ-  
 φορουμένοις ἐπιτιθεῖς καὶ τοιαύτην κατὰ τοὺς  
 ὕπνους ὄψιν ὄρα παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ· κλίμακα γῆθεν  
 ἔδοξεν ἐφικνουμένην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βλέπειν καὶ δι'  
 αὐτῆς ὄψεις κατιούσας σεμνότερον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου  
 φύσιν ἐχούσας, καὶ τελευταῖον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὸν  
 θεὸν ἐναργῶς αὐτῷ φαινόμενον ὀνομασί τε  
 280 καλέσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι τοιούτους λόγους· “ Ἰά-  
 κωβε, πατὴρ ὄντα σε ἀγαθοῦ καὶ πάππου δόξαν  
 ἀρετῆς μεγάλης εὐραμένου κάμνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 παροῦσιν οὐ προσῆκεν, ἀλλ' ἐλπίζειν τὰ κρείττονα·  
 281 καὶ γὰρ ἄφθονος ἐκδέχεταιί σε μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν  
 παρουσία πρὸς τὸ πᾶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπικουρίαν.  
 “ Ἀβραμόν τε γὰρ ἐγὼ [ἐκ]<sup>3</sup> τῆς Μεσοποταμίας  
 δεῦρο ἤγαγον ἐλαυνόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ  
 πατέρα τὸν σὸν εὐδαίμονα ἀπέφηνα· ὧν οὐχ ἦττω  
 282 μοῖραν εἰς σὲ καταθήσομαι. θαρρῶν οὖν καὶ  
 ταύτην πορεύου τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμοὶ προπομπῷ<sup>4</sup> χρώ-  
 μενος· ἀνυσθήσεται γάρ σοι γάμος, ἐφ' ὃν ἐσπού-  
 δακας, καὶ γενήσονται σοι παῖδες ἀγαθοί, τὸ δὲ  
 πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ κρείττον ἔσται, μείζουσιν  
 υἱοῖς αὐτῶν καταλιμπάνοντες· οἷς ἐγὼ τὸ ταύτης  
 κράτος τῆς γῆς δίδωμι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ  
 πληρώσουσιν ὄσσην ἡλιος ὄρα καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν.  
 283 ἀλλὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ὑφορῶ μηδένα μήτ' εὐλαβοῦ  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόνων, ἐμοῦ ποιουμένου τῶν σοὶ  
 πραχθησομένων πρόνοιαν ἔν τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ πολὺ  
 πλέον ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον.”
- 284 (2) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβῳ προαγορεύει·

<sup>1</sup> οὐδένα ROE.

<sup>2</sup> ὑπαίθριος RO.

Canaan and, because of his hatred of the inhabitants, disdained to seek lodging with any of them, but passed the night in the open air, resting his head on some stones which he had collected; and this was the vision which appeared to him in his sleep. He thought that he saw a ladder reaching from earth to heaven, down which were descending phantoms of nature more august than that of mortals, and above it last of all plainly visible to him was God, who called him by name and addressed him thus: "Jacob, offspring of a good sire and of a grandsire who won renown for exceeding virtue, it would beseem thee not to repine at thy present lot, but to hope for better things; for indeed an abundant and abiding store of great blessings awaiteth thee through my succour. For it was I that led Abraham hither from Mesopotamia when he was driven out by his kinsfolk and that brought thy father to prosperity; and no less than theirs shall be the portion that I shall bestow on thee. With courage, then, go thou on this journey too, with me for thine escort. For this marriage on which thine heart is set shall be consummated, and goodly children shall be born to thee, whose descendants<sup>a</sup> shall be beyond number and shall leave their heritage to a yet greater posterity.<sup>b</sup> To them do I grant dominion over this land, to them and to their children who shall fill all that the sun beholds of earth and sea. Nay, fear no danger nor be dismayed at thy multitude of toils, for it is I who am watching over all that thou shalt do both now and far more hereafter."

(2) That was what God foretold to Jacob; and he,

<sup>a</sup> Greek "multitude."

<sup>b</sup> Text doubtful.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr., Lat.: om. codd.

<sup>4</sup> RO: πομπῶν rell.

ὁ δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑωραμένοις καὶ  
κατηγγελμένοις φαιδρύνει τε τοὺς λίθους ὡς  
τηλικούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προρρήσεως γε-  
γεννημένης καὶ εὐχὴν ποιεῖται θύσειν ἐπ' αὐτῶν,  
εἰ κτησάμενος βίον ἀπαθῆς ἐπανίοι, τῷ θεῷ [δὲ]<sup>1</sup>  
δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως [αὐτῆς]<sup>2</sup>  
ἀφικόμενος, τίμιόν τε κρίνει τὸ χωρίον ὄνομα αὐτῷ  
Βηθλὴλ θέμενος· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο θείαν ἐστίαν  
κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν.

- 285 (3) Προῖὼν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας χρόνῳ  
παρῆν εἰς τὴν Χαρράν, καὶ ποιμένας ἐν τοῖς προ-  
αστείοις καταλαβὼν καὶ παῖδας ἐφήβους καὶ  
παρθένους ὑπὲρ τινος ἰδρυμένου φρέατος συν-  
διέτριβεν αὐτοῖς χρήζων ποτοῦ, εἰς τε λόγους  
αὐτοῖς ἀφικνούμενος ἀνέκρινεν αὐτούς, εἰ τυγ-  
χάνουσι Λάβανόν τινα παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰδότες ἔτι  
286 περιόντα. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐπίστασθαί τε ἔφασαν,  
οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοιοῦτον ὥστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ συμ-  
ποιμαίνειν αὐτοῖς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἣν θαυμάζειν  
ὅτι μήπω παρείη· “παρὰ γὰρ ταύτης μεμαθήκεις  
ἂν ἀκριβέστερον ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκοῦσαι ποθεῖς.”  
ταῦτα δ' αὐτῶν ἔτι λεγόντων παρῆν ἡ παῖς σὺν  
287 τοῖς ἐπικατιοῦσι τῶν ποιμένων. καὶ δεικνύουσι  
τὸν Ἰάκωβον αὐτῇ λέγοντες, ὡς ξένος οὗτος ἦκοι  
τὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀναπυθανόμενος. ἡ  
δὲ ἡσθεῖσα ὑπὸ νηπιότητος τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ  
Ἰακώβου ἀνέκρινεν αὐτόν, τίς τε ὢν καὶ πόθεν  
ἦκοι πρὸς αὐτούς καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος χρείας ἡγμένος,  
ἠὔχετο δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ὧν  
ἀφικνεῖται δεόμενος.

- 288 (4) Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας οὐδὲ

<sup>1</sup> ins. L: om. RO: τῷ δὲ θεῷ (καὶ τῷ θεῷ) rell.

overjoyed at these visions and promises, polished <sup>a</sup> the stones whereon he lay when such great blessings were predicted, and made a vow to sacrifice upon them, should he, after gaining a livelihood, return unscathed, and to offer to God a tithe of all that he had acquired, should he come back in such fashion; he moreover held the spot in veneration and gave it the name of Bethel, which denotes in the Greek tongue *θεία ἐστία*—"God's hearth-stone."<sup>b</sup>

Consecration of Bethel. Gen. xxviii. 18.

(3) Proceeding on his way to Mesopotamia, he at length reached Charran. Here meeting with shepherds in the suburbs, young men and maidens seated beside a well, he joined their company, craving for a drink, and entering into conversation with them he inquired whether they chanced to know of one of their people named Laban and if he were still alive. And they all replied that they knew him, for (they said) he was not a man who could remain unknown, and that his daughter tended the flocks along with them, and they wondered that she was not yet come; "from her," they said, "thou wouldest have learnt more fully all that thou desirest to hear of their family." And even as they said this the maiden arrived with the last of the shepherds to descend to the well. And they pointed out Jacob to her and told her that this stranger had come to ask after her father. Thereupon she, with childish delight at Jacob's coming, asked him who he was, whence had he come to them, and what business had brought him, and prayed that it might be in their power to supply his wants.

Meeting with Rachel. Gen. xxix. 1

(4) But Jacob was not so much moved by their

<sup>a</sup> Sc. with oil: LXX *ἐπέχεεν ἔλαιον*.

<sup>b</sup> LXX *οἶκος θεοῦ*.

## JOSEPHUS

- τῆς διὰ ταύτην εὐνοίας, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι τῆς παιδὸς  
 ἠττηθεὶς ἐκπέπληκτό τε τοῦ κάλλους ὄρων οὕτως  
 ἔχουσαν, ὡς ὀλίγαι τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἦνθουν,  
 καὶ φησιν “ ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς σέ καὶ πατέρα τὸν  
 σόν, εἶπερ Λαβάνου παῖς τυγχάνεις, οἰκειότης  
 289 ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρα τῆς τε σῆς καὶ ἐμῆς γενέσεως·  
 ἐκ Θέρρου γὰρ Ἀβραμος καὶ Ἀρράνης καὶ  
 Ναχώρης ἦσαν υἱοί, ὧν Βαθούηλος ὁ σὸς πάππος  
 Ναχώρου γίνεται παῖς, Ἀβράμου δὲ καὶ τῆς  
 Ἀρράνου Σάρρας Ἰσακος ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ. ἔγγιον  
 δὲ καὶ νεώτερον τοῦθ' ἡμεῖς τῆς συγγενείας ὁμή-  
 290 ρευμα πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔχομεν· Ῥεβέκκα γὰρ μήτηρ,  
 ἐμὴ Λαβάνου πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ ἀδελφῆ πατρὸς τε  
 τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρός, ἀνεψιοὶ δ' ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἐγώ  
 τε καὶ σύ. καὶ νῦν δεῦρο ἦκω ἀσπασόμενός τε  
 291 ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν προὔπαρχουσαν ἡμῖν συγγένειαν  
 ἀνανεωσόμενος.” ἡ δὲ ὑπὸ μνήμης, ὁποῖα φιλεῖ  
 συντυγχάνειν τοῖς νέοις, προπετυσμένη παρὰ τοῦ  
 πατρὸς τὰ περὶ τῆς Ῥεβέκκας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς  
 εἰδυῖα ποθοῦντας αὐτῆς τὸ ὄνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ  
 τὸν πατέρα εὐνοίας ἔνδακρυς γενομένη περιβάλλει  
 292 τὸν Ἰάκωβον, καὶ κατασπασαμένη τὴν εὐκταιο-  
 τάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἡδονὴν αὐτὸν κομίσει τῷ  
 πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἅπασιν ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ  
 τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ κειμένῳ καὶ πρὸς  
 μόνῃ ταύτῃ τυγχάνοντι· φανείσθαι δ' αὐτῷ παντὸς  
 ἀντάξιον ἀγαθοῦ. χωρεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἤδη πρὸς  
 τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἔπεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγουμένη καὶ  
 τῆς ἡδονῆς μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ πλεον αὐτὸν  
 βραδύνοντα.  
 293 (5) Ταῦτ' εἰποῦσα παρῆγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν  
 Λάβανον, καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτρωος αὐτός



relationship or the affection consequent thereon, as overcome with love for the maid ; he was amazed at the sight of beauty such as few women of those days could show, and said : “ Nay, but the kinship that unites me to thee and to thy father, seeing that thou art Laban’s child, dates from before thy birth and mine. For Abraham, Arran<sup>a</sup> and Nahor were sons of Therrus,<sup>b</sup> and to Nahor was born Bathuel thy grand-sire, and of Abraham and Sarra, daughter of Arran, came my father Isaac. But we have a closer and more recent pledge of kinship uniting us to each other, for Rebecca, my mother, is thy father Laban’s sister : they had the same father and the same mother : so we are cousins, I and thou. And now I am come hither to salute you all and to renew that alliance that already exists between us.” And she, as young people are wont to do, recalling what ere now she had heard her father tell of the story of Rebecca, and knowing that her parents were longing to have word of her, from filial affection burst into tears and flung her arms round Jacob, and after tenderly embracing him said that he had brought the most cherished and keenest of pleasures to her father and to all their household, for her father was devoted to the memory of Jacob’s mother and dwelt only upon it, and his coming would appear to him worth more than every blessing in the world. And she bade him come straight to her father, following her lead, and to deprive him no longer of this pleasure by delay.

(5) Having thus spoken she conducted him to Laban<sup>c</sup>; and being recognized by his uncle he for his

Jacob and Laban.  
Gen. xxix.  
13.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Haran.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Terah.

<sup>c</sup> In Genesis Laban runs to meet him, and brings him into his house.

## JOSEPHUS

- τε ἀδεῆς ἦν ἐν φίλοις γενόμενος κακείνοις πολλὴν  
 294 ἡδονὴν παρέιχεν ἀδοκῆτως ἐπιφανείς. μετὰ δὲ  
 οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὁ Λάβανος χαίρειν μὲν ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ παρόντι μειζόνως ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ δηλώσειεν  
 ἔλεγε, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἀφίκται μητέρα τε καὶ  
 πατέρα πρεσβύτας καταλιπὼν καὶ θεραπείας τῆς  
 παρ' αὐτοῦ δεομένου ἀνεπυθάνετο· παρέξειν γὰρ  
 295 αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἅπασαν ἐπαμνεῖν<sup>1</sup> χρεῖαν. Ἰάκωβος  
 δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν διηγείτο λέγων Ἰσάκῳ  
 γενέσθαι παῖδας διδύμους αὐτόν τε καὶ Ἡσαῦν,  
 ὄν, ἐπεὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχῶν διήμαρτε σοφία  
 τῆς μητρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων, ἀποκτεῖναι ζητεῖν  
 αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφηρημένον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βασι-  
 296 λείας καὶ ἀγαθῶν ὧν ὁ πατὴρ ἠῤῥατο· ταύτην  
 τε εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε παρουσίας κατὰ  
 τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐντολήν. “πάπποι<sup>2</sup> τε γὰρ ἡμῖν  
 ἀδελφοὶ τυγχάνουσι καὶ πλεον τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους  
 συγγενοῦς ἢ μήτηρ προσλαμβάνει. ἔρυμα δὲ τῆς  
 ἐμῆς,” φησὶν, “ἀποδημίας σέ τε καὶ τὸν θεὸν  
 ποιούμενος θαρρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι.”
- 297 (6) Λάβανος δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπ-  
 ισχνεῖται πάσης αὐτῷ μεταδώσειν φιλανθρωπίας  
 καὶ διὰ τὴν μητέρα, πρὸς ἣν τὴν εὐνοίαν διὰ τῆς  
 περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἐνδείξεσθαι<sup>3</sup> καὶ μὴ παρούσης·  
 ποιμνίων τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελητὴν καταστήσειν  
 ἔφασκε καὶ προνομίας<sup>4</sup> ἀντὶ τούτων ἀξιώσειν, καὶ  
 πρὸς τοὺς ἰδίους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γονεῖς βουλόμενον  
 μετὰ δώρων ἐπανήξειν καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης εἰκὸς ἦν  
 298 τυχεῖν τὸν οὕτω συγγενῆ. Ἰακώβου δὲ ἀσμένως  
 ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος καὶ φήσαντος ἡδέως πάντα  
 μένων παρ' αὐτῷ πόνον εἰς ἡδονὴν ὑπομενεῖν<sup>5</sup> τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Naber: ἐπαμύνειν codd.

part now felt secure among friends and withal afforded them great pleasure by his unlooked-for appearance. A few days later Laban said that his presence indeed gave him more joy than he could express, but he asked him for what reason he had come, leaving his mother and father at an age when they would need his care, and assured him of his aid and succour in his every need. Jacob then recounted the whole matter to him, saying that Isaac had twin sons, himself and Esau; and Esau, being defrauded of his father's blessings, which through his mother's artifice had been bestowed upon himself, sought to kill him for having deprived him of God's destined gift of the kingdom and of the benefits invoked by his father; that was the reason for his coming thither in compliance with his mother's behest. "For," said he, "our grandfathers were brothers, and my mother brings us into yet closer relationship than that. And so, placing myself on my sojourn here under thy protection and God's, I have confidence in my present state."

(6) Laban thereon promised to show him every kindness, both in the name of their ancestors and also for his mother's sake, his affection for whom, though absent, he would display by his solicitude for her son: he would in fact make him overseer of his flocks and accord him privileges for these services; and should he wish to depart to his parents, he should return laden with presents and all the honours befitting so near a kinsman. Jacob welcomed these words and said that he would gladly tarry with him and endure

Jacob's  
service and  
marriages.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: *πᾶσι* codd.

<sup>3</sup> Bakker: *ἐνδείξασθαι* codd.

<sup>4</sup> *προνομῆς* ROE.

<sup>5</sup> Dindorf: *ὑπομένειν* codd.

ἐκείνου, μισθὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν ἀξιούντος τὸν Ῥαχήλας γάμον, διὰ τε τὰ ἄλλα τιμῆς ἀξίας παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν οὔσης καὶ ὅτι διάκονος τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίξεως γένοιτο· ὁ γὰρ τῆς παιδὸς ἔρως αὐτὸν ἠνάγκασε ποιήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τούτου  
 299 λόγους· Λάβανος δὲ ἤσθεις τούτοις ἐπινεύει τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τῆς παιδὸς οὐκ ἄλλον ἀμείνω γαμβρὸν εὐξάμενος ἔλθειν· εἰ μέντοι παρ' αὐτῷ μένοι τινὰ χρόνον, τοῦτο ποιήσειν· εἰς γὰρ Χαναναίους οὐκ ἂν πέμψειν<sup>1</sup> τὴν θυγατέρα, μεταμέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κήδους ἐκεῖ συναφθέντος.  
 300 τοῦ δ' Ἰακώβου τούτοις συγχωροῦντος ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν χρόνον συντίθεται· τοσάδε γὰρ αὐτῷ κέκριται θητεῦσαι τῷ πενθερῷ, ἵνα τῆς ἀρετῆς πείραν δοὺς ἐπιγνωσθῆ μάλλον τίς εἴη. καὶ προσδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον Λάβανος τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος προτίθει  
 301 τὴν εὐωχίαν τῶν γάμων. νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιγενομένης οὐδὲν προηορημένῳ τῷ Ἰακώβῳ παρακατακλίνει τὴν ἑτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων πρεσβυτέραν τε τῆς Ῥαχήλας καὶ τὴν ὄψιν οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ. συνελθὼν δ' ἐκείνος ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ σκότους, εἶτα μεθ'  
 302 ἡμέραν γνούς, ἀδικίαν ἐπέκάλει Λαβάνῳ. ὁ δὲ συγγνώμην ἠτείτο τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὑφ' ἧς ταῦτα πράξειεν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κακουργίαν αὐτῷ τὴν Λείαν παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ' ὑφ' ἑτέρου μείζονος νενικημένον. τοῦτο μέντοι γ' οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὸν Ῥαχήλας γάμον, ἀλλ' ἐρώντι δώσειν ταύτην μετ' ἄλλην ἑπταετίαν. πείθεται δ' ὁ Ἰάκωβος,

<sup>1</sup> πέμψαι Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Implied by Gen. xxix. 17, though only one defect is mentioned, viz. that her eyes lacked lustre.

<sup>b</sup> Greek, here and throughout, "Leia."

any labour to please him ; but for his wages in return for this he asked the hand of Rachel, who on all grounds deserved his esteem, and not least for her ministry in bringing him to Laban—the love that he bare the maiden constraining him thus to speak. Laban, delighted at his words, consented to the marriage with his child, saying that he could not have prayed for a better son-in-law ; on condition, however, that he would abide for some time with him, for he would not send his daughter among the Canaanites : indeed he regretted that his sister's marriage had been contracted over there. Jacob, approving these conditions, covenanted for a period of seven years : such was the term for which he resolved to serve his father-in-law, in order to give proof of his worth and that it might the better be seen what manner of man he was. Laban accepted this proposal and, when the time expired, prepared to celebrate the nuptial festivities. But at nightfall he brought to the chamber of the all-unconscious Jacob his other daughter, who was older than Rachel and devoid of beauty.<sup>a</sup> Jacob, deluded by wine and the dark, had union with her ; then, when daylight came, he recognized her and accused Laban of perfidy. The other craved his pardon for the necessity which had constrained him so to act, saying that it was not out of malice that he had given him Leah<sup>b</sup> but from another more overpowering motive.<sup>c</sup> This would, however, in no way debar his marriage with Rachel : no, if he loved her, he would give her to him after another seven years. To this Jacob submitted, his love for

<sup>a</sup> Weill suspects a lacuna in the text : the motive is stated in Gen. xxix. 26, " It is not so done in our place, to give the younger before the firstborn."

## JOSEPHUS

οὐδὲν γὰρ ἕτερον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ τῆς κόρης ἔρωσ ἐπέτρεπε, καὶ διελθούσης ἄλλης ἐπταετίας τὴν Ῥαχήλαν παρέλαβεν.

- 303 (7) Ἦσαν δ' ἑκατέραις θεραπαινίδες τοῦ πατρὸς δόντος, Ζέλφα μὲν Λείας Ῥαχήλας δὲ Βάλλα, δοῦλαι μὲν<sup>1</sup> οὐδαμῶς ὑποτεταγμένοι δέ. καὶ τῆς Λείας ἤπτετο δεινῶς ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔρωσ τάνδρὸς, προσεδόκα τε παίδων γενομένων ἕσσεσθαι
- 304 τιμία ἰκέτευέ τε τὸν θεὸν διηνεκῶς. καὶ γενομένου παιδὸς ἄρρενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπεστραμμένου τάνδρὸς Ῥουβήλον ὀνομάζει τὸν υἱόν, διότι κατ' ἔλεον αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο· τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τεκνοῦνται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τρεῖς ἕτεροι μετὰ χρόνον· Συμεών,<sup>2</sup> ἀποσημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐπήκοον αὐτῇ τὸν θεὸν γεγονέναι, εἶτα Λευίς, κοινωνίας οἶον βεβαιωτής, μεθ' ὃν
- 305 Ἰούδας, εὐχαριστίαν τοῦτο δηλοῖ. Ῥαχήλα δὲ φοβουμένη, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἤττονος παρὰ τάνδρὸς μοίρας τυγχάνη, παρακατακλίνει τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τὴν αὐτῆς θεραπαινίδα Βάλλαν. γίνεται δὲ παιδίον ἐξ αὐτῆς Δάν, θεόκριτον ἄντινες εἶποιεν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν· καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Νεφθάλεις, μηχανητὸς<sup>3</sup> οἶον, διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

<sup>1</sup> + οὖν RO.

<sup>2</sup> Σεμεών M.

<sup>3</sup> O Lat. (ex machinationibus): ἀμηχάνητος (εὐμηχάνητος) rell.

<sup>a</sup> So LXX (Gen. xxx. 9): Heb. Zilpah.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX (Gen. xxix. 29): Heb. Bilhah.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Reuben (Ῥουβήν), "because," according to Scriptural etymology, "Jehovah hath looked upon my

the damsel permitting of no other course, and after the lapse of seven years more he won Rachel.

(7) The two sisters had each a handmaid given them by their father—Leah had Zelphah<sup>a</sup> and Rachel Balla<sup>b</sup>—in no way slaves but subordinates. Now Leah was grievously mortified by her husband's passion for her sister, and hoping to win his esteem by bearing children she made continual supplication to God. Then a boy was born and, her husband's affection being consequently drawn towards her, she called her son Rubel,<sup>c</sup> because he had come to her through the mercy of God; for that is the meaning of the name. Three more sons were born to her later: Symeon, the name signifying that God had hearkened<sup>d</sup> to her, then Levi(s), that is to say a "surety of fellowship,"<sup>e</sup> and after him Judas, which denotes "thanksgiving." Rachel, fearing that her sister's fecundity would lessen her own share in her husband's affections, now gave as concubine to Jacob her handmaid Balla. By her he had an infant, Dan,<sup>f</sup> which might be rendered in Greek by *Theocritos* ("adjudged of God"), and after him Nephthali(s),<sup>g</sup> that is to say "contrived," because his mother had outmanœuvred

Jacob's children.

Gen. xxix. 32.

Ib. xxx. 1.

*affliction (raah beonyi).*" Josephus here and throughout adopts the Syriac and probably older form *Rubil*, finding in the last syllable the divine name *El*; how he extracted the sense of "mercy" from the first is obscure. Modern scholars see in the final syllable not *El* but *Baal*.

<sup>a</sup> Heb. *shama* "hear."

<sup>b</sup> In Biblical etymology (Gen. xxix. 34) connected with the root *lavah*, "join," "adhere"; now thought to be the gentile name for the Leah tribe as a whole.

<sup>c</sup> Meaning in Heb. "he judged."

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Naphtali (*Νεφθαλει*): the verb *niphtal* (translated "wrestle"), from which Scripture derives the name, means rather "twist," suggesting tortuousness, cunning.

## JOSEPHUS

- 306 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λεΐα ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔργον ἀντιτεχνασαμένη· παρακατακλίνει γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς θεράπαιναν, γίνεται τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ζέλφης υἱὸς Γάδας, τυχαῖον ἂν τις καλέσειεν αὐτόν, καὶ μετ' αὐτόν Ἄσηρος, μακαριστῆς λέγοιτ' ἂν ἐξ
- 307 ὧν πρὸς εὐκλειαν<sup>1</sup> προσελάμβανε. Ῥουβήλου δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν υἱῶν Λεΐας μανδραγόρου μῆλα κομίζοντος τῇ μητρὶ Ῥαχήλα θεασαμένη παρακαλεῖ μεταδοῦναι δι' ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ βρώματος γενομένη. τῆς δ' οὐ πειθομένης, ἀρκείσθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἀξιούσης, ὅτι τῆς τιμῆς αὐτὴν ἀφέλοιτο τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, Ῥαχήλα πεπαίνουσα τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παραχωρήσειν αὐτῇ τὸν ἀνδρὸς ἔλεγε κοιμησομένου παρ' αὐτῇ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐσπέραν.
- 308 τῆς δὲ προσιεμένης τὴν χάριν Ἰάκωβος συγκαθεύδει τῇ Λεΐα Ῥαχήλα χαριζόμενος. πάλιν οὖν γίνονται παῖδες αὐτῇ, Ἰσσαχάρης μὲν σημαίνων τὸν ἐκ μισθοῦ γενόμενον, Ζαβουλὼν δὲ ἠνεχυρασμένον εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δεΐνα. χρόνους δ' ὕστερον καὶ Ῥαχήλα γίνεται [ὁ] Ἰώσηπος υἱός· προσθήκην γενησομένου τινὸς δηλοῖ.
- 309 (8) Τοῦτον ἅπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἔτη δ' ἐστὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐποίμαίνε τῷ πενθερῷ· μετὰ τοῦτον δ'<sup>2</sup> ἠξίου τὰς γυναῖκας ἀναλαβῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· τοῦ δὲ πενθεροῦ μὴ συγχωροῦντος κρύφα
- 310 τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπενόει. τῶν γυναικῶν οὖν ἀπειρεῖατο, πῶς ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, τῶν

<sup>1</sup> RO: +τῇ Λεΐα rell.

<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τὸν δ' RO: μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ most mss.

<sup>a</sup> Gad, "the name of an Aramaean and Phoenician god of Luck, mentioned in Is. lxv. 11" (Skinner).

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Asher (Ἀσήρ), there derived from the verb "call



her sister's fecundity. Leah responded to her sister's action by the same stratagem: she too gave her own handmaid as concubine, and of Zelpha was born a son Gad(as) <sup>a</sup>—"Godsend" we may call him—and after him Aser,<sup>b</sup> or as we may say "Beatific," because of this addition to the woman's fame. Now when Rubel, the eldest of Leah's sons, brought some apples of the mandrake to his mother, Rachel spied them and begged her to give her of them, having a longing to eat of them. Leah refusing and protesting that she ought to be content with having robbed her of her husband's esteem, Rachel to appease her sister's wrath said that she would surrender her place to her and let her husband sleep with her that evening. She accepted this favour and Jacob, to please Rachel, slept with Leah. So she again had children: Issachar,<sup>c</sup> meaning "one born of hire," Zabulon "pledged by affection towards her,"<sup>d</sup> and a daughter, Dinah. Later on Rachel also bare a son, Joseph, signifying an "addition of one to come."<sup>e</sup>

(8) Throughout all this period of twenty years Jacob was tending the flocks of his father-in-law; but at the close of it he desired leave to take his wives and depart to his own home, and, when his father-in-law refused, he planned to do this thing secretly. He accordingly tested his wives' feelings concerning this happy," but possibly "related to the Canaanite goddess Asherah."

<sup>c</sup> = either "man of hire" or "there is a reward."

<sup>d</sup> Genesis (xxx. 20) offers two derivations, from *zabad*, "endow" (*zebed*, "dowry"), or *zabal*, "dwell": Joseph seems to connect the word with *haból*, "a pledge."

<sup>e</sup> Or "of something to come." Josephus adopts the second of the two Biblical etymologies of his own name, "May Jehovah add" (LXX προσθήτω ὁ θεός μοι ἕτερον υἱόν, Gen. xxx. 24).

Gen. xxx. 14.

Flight of Jacob and his family. Gen. xxx. 25.

Ib. xxxi. 4.

## JOSEPHUS

- δ' ἔχουσῶν ἡδέως Ῥαχήλα καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν θεῶν, οὓς σέβειν πατρίους ὄντας νόμιμον ἦν, συνανελομένη συναπεδίδρασκε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς οἷ τε ἑκατέρων παῖδες καὶ αἱ θεραπαινίδες σὺν
- 311 τοῖς υἱοῖς εἴ τέ τις ἦν κτῆσις αὐταῖς. ἐπήγετο δὲ Ἰάκωβος καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τὴν ἡμίσειαν Λαβάνου μὴ προεγνωκότος. τοὺς δὲ τύπους ἐπέφερετο τῶν θεῶν ἢ Ῥαχήλα καταφρονεῖν μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τῶν θεῶν διδάξαντος αὐτὴν Ἰακώβου, ἵνα δ' εἰ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς διωχθέντες ἔχοι τούτοις προσφυγοῦσα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν.
- 312 (9) Λάβανος δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρώτην γνοὺς τὴν τε Ἰακώβου ἀναχώρησιν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων δεινοπαθῶν ἤλαυνεν ἐπ' αὐτὸν μετὰ δυνάμειος ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ καθ' ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ τινος
- 313 λόφου λαμβάνει προκαθιδρυμένους. καὶ τότε μὲν, ἑσπέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἡσύχαζεν· ὄναρ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ παρήνεσε λαβόντι τὸν γαμβρὸν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἡρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τολμᾶν, σπονδὰς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἰακώβον, αὐτὸς λέγων ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσειν, εἰ καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀλιγότητος χωρήσειεν αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης.
- 314 Λάβανος δὲ τοιαύτης αὐτῷ προρρήσεως γεγενημένης μεθ' ἡμέραν τὸν Ἰακώβον εἰς λόγους προκαλεσάμενος καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὸ ὄναρ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦλθε πεισθεῖς, ἤρξατο κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ προφέρων ὅτι καὶ πένητα αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ πάντων ἄπορον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ

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° Midrashic addition. For other motives given for the theft of the Teraphim cf. *Pirké R. Eliezer*, c. 36 (Friedlander), "Rachel stole them, so that they should not tell Laban that

migration; and, they being well content, Rachel, taking with her even the images of the gods which the religion of her fathers made it customary to venerate, escaped along with her sister and the children of both wives, the handmaids with their sons and all their possessions. Jacob, moreover, took with him one half of the cattle without the knowledge of Laban. Rachel, who carried the images of the gods, had indeed been taught by Jacob to despise such worship, but her motive was that, in case they were pursued and overtaken by her father, she might have recourse to them to obtain pardon.<sup>a</sup>

Gen. xxxi.  
19.

(9) Laban having, a day later,<sup>b</sup> discovered the escape of Jacob and his daughters, indignant at such treatment, set out after him with a band of men in hot pursuit, and on the seventh day overtook them on a hill where they were encamped. It being then evening, he took his rest; and God appeared to him in a dream and warned him, now that he had overtaken his son-in-law and his daughters, to act gently and take no rash measures against them in wrath, but to make a covenant with Jacob; He would Himself, He said, come to Jacob's aid if, in contempt of his inferiority of numbers, he should proceed to attack him. Thus forewarned, Laban at break of day summoned Jacob to a parley, telling him of his dream, and when Jacob thereon confidently approached him, began to accuse him, protesting that, on his arrival at his house in poverty and utter destitution, he (Laban)

Dispute  
between  
Jacob and  
Laban.  
Gen. xxxi.  
22.

Jacob had fled, and not only that, but also to remove idolatrous worship from her father's house." The Teraphim = an idol or idols in human form, used for divination (*Zech. x. 2*); thought to have been household gods, like the Latin *Penates*, and connected with ancestor-worship.

<sup>b</sup> After the lapse of a whole day = Bibl. "on the third day."

## JOSEPHUS

παράσχοι πᾶσαν ἀφθονίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως·  
 “καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐμὰς συνέζευξα τὴν  
 εὐνοϊάν σου τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούτοις ἀυξήσεσθαι  
 315 λογιζόμενος. σὺ δὲ οὔτε τῆς μητρὸς τῆς σαυτοῦ  
 καὶ [κοινωνίας]<sup>1</sup> ἧς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμὲ συγγενείας  
 οὔτε γυναικῶν ἄς ἔγημας αἰδῶ ποιησάμενος οὐδὲ  
 τέκνων ὧν εἰμι πάππος φροντίσας, ἐχρήσω μοι  
 πολέμου νόμῳ, κτῆσιν μὲν ἄγων τὴν ἐμὴν θυγα-  
 316 τέρας δὲ ἀναπέισας ἀποδρᾶναι τὸν γεγεννηκότα,  
 ἱερὰ τε πάτρια βαστάσας οἴχη φερόμενος ὑπὸ τε  
 τῶν ἐμῶν τιμηθέντα προγόνων καὶ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ  
 θρησκείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἐκείνοις ἀξιωθέντα· καὶ  
 ταῦτα ἂ μὴδὲ οἱ πολεμήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς  
 ἔδρασαν ὁ συγγενῆς σὺ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀδελφῆς τῆς  
 ἐμῆς υἱός, θυγατέρων δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνὴρ, ξένος  
 δὲ καὶ ἐφέστιος τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας γεγεννημένος  
 317 ἔδρασας.” ταῦτα εἰπόντος Λαβάνου Ἰάκωβος ἀπ-  
 ελογεῖτο μὴ μόνῳ πατρίδος ἔρωτα τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμφῦσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον  
 318 καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ κατελθεῖν εἰς ταύτην. “ὑπὲρ δὲ  
 τῆς λείας ἧς ἐγκαλεῖς,” φησὶν, “ἀδικῶν αὐτὸς ἂν  
 εὐρεθείης ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ κριτῇ· ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἧς ἐχρῆν σε  
 χάριν ἡμῖν ἔχειν καὶ φυλαχθείσης ὑφ’ ἡμῶν καὶ  
 πλείονος γεγεννημένης, ὑπὲρ ταύτης πῶς οὐ δια-  
 μαρτάνεις τῶν δικαίων χαλεπαίνων ἐμοί, εἰ μοῖραν  
 αὐτῆς ὀλίγην λαβόντες ἔχομεν; περὶ μέντοι γε  
 τῶν θυγατέρων ἴσθι μὴ κατ’ ἐμὴν κακουργίαν ἀπ-  
 αναστήσαντος ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ’ εὐνοϊαν δικαίαν,  
 ἣν γυναιξὶ γαμεταῖς πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας εἶναι  
 συμβέβηκεν· ἔπονται τοίνυν οὐχ ὡς ἐμοὶ τοσοῦτον,  
 319 ὅσον τοῖς παισὶν αὐτῶν.” καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὑπὲρ

<sup>1</sup> om. ROE.

had entertained him and supplied him with ample abundance of his possessions. "Aye," said he, "I even gave thee my daughters in wedlock, reckoning thereby to increase thy affection towards us. But thou, without regard either for thine own mother or for the kinship which unites thee to me or for the wives whom thou hast wed, without a thought for the children of whom I am the grandsire, hast dealt with me by the laws of warfare, plundering my property, instigating my daughters to flee from their sire, and making off with the sacred objects of my family which my forefathers venerated and I have deemed worthy of the same worship as they. And these actions which even in war one would not have practised upon a foe, thou, a kinsman, the son of my own sister, the husband of my daughters, the guest and sharer of my hearth and home, hast done to me." To this speech of Laban Jacob replied in self-defence that he was not the only one in whose heart God had implanted a love of native country, that it was innate in all, and that after so long a time it was right that he should return to his own. "As for the charge of spoiling thee," he proceeded, "it is thou thyself who wouldst be found the wrongdoer before any other judge. For whereas thou oughtest to be grateful to me for having kept and multiplied thy cattle, is it not unreasonable to be wroth with me for the small portion of them that we have taken with us? As concerning thy daughters, I would have thee know that it is no malice on my part that has forced them to accompany my flight, but that just affection which wedded wives are wont to have for their husbands; in truth it is not so much me whom they follow as their children." Such was his

- τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, προσενεκάλει δὲ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μητρὸς ὦν ἀδελφὸς τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ συζεύξας αὐτῷ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐπιτάγμασιν ἐκτροχώσειε χαλεποῖς εἴκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατασχών. καὶ τὰ μὲν προφάσει τῶν γάμων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα καίπερ ὄντα χαλεπὰ κουφότερα ἔφασκε, χεῖρω δὲ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς
- 320 γάμους καὶ ἅ τις ἂν ἔπαθεν ἐχθρὸς.<sup>1</sup> καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα κακούργως ὁ Λάβανος ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ἰακώβῳ· ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν πρὸς ὃ τι θελήσειε συλλαμβανόμενον ὑπισχνεῖτο τῶν τεχθησομένων αὐτῷ παρέξειν ἔσθ' ὅτε μὲν ὃ τι καὶ γένοιτο λευκόν, ποτὲ δ' αὖ τὰ μέλανα τῶν γεννωμένων.
- 321 πληθύνοντων δὲ τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῷ Ἰακώβου τικτομένων, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἐφύλαττε πίστιν, εἰς ἔτος δὲ παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο<sup>2</sup> διὰ τὸ ἐποφθαλμιᾶν τῷ πλήθει τῆς κτήσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσέλπιστον γενέσθαι τοσαῦτα, ψευδόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ γενομένοις.
- 322 (10) Περὶ μέντοι τῶν ἱερωμάτων ἐκέλευεν ἔρυναν ποιεῖσθαι· δεξαμένου δὲ Λαβάνου τὴν ἔρυναν Ῥαχήλα πυνθανομένη κατατίθησι τοὺς τύπους εἰς τὴν σάγην τῆς φερούσης αὐτὴν καμήλου· ἐκαθέζετο δὲ φάσκουσα τὴν κατὰ φύσιν κάθαρσιν
- 323 αὐτῇ ἐνοχλεῖν. καὶ Λάβανος μὲν ἀφίσταται τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐρεύνης οὐκ ἂν οἰηθεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοιούτου πάθους τοῖς τύποις προσελθεῖν, ποιεῖται δ' ὄρκους πρὸς Ἰακώβον οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μνησικακήσειν τῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ κάκεῖνος

<sup>1</sup> ἅ τις ἐχθρὸς ἐφυγεν ἂν SPL: ἅ τις ἂν ἔπαθεν (om. ἐπαθεῖ M) ἐχθρὸς ἐφυγε rell.

<sup>2</sup> ROE: + τὸ ἐξῆς rell.

defence to prove that he had done no wrong, from which he proceeded to complaint and accusation against Laban: he, though he was his mother's brother and had given him his daughters in wedlock, had worn him out by imposing grievous tasks and by detaining him there for the space of twenty years. What Laban had made him suffer, he added, on the pretext of the marriages, notwithstanding its cruelty, was indeed comparatively light; but what had followed those marriages was worse and a fate such as might have befallen an enemy.<sup>a</sup> And indeed Laban had used Jacob exceedingly ill; for when he saw that God assisted him in whatsoever he desired, he promised to grant him from the young of the flock at one time all that should be born white, at another all the black progeny. But when the offspring that should have been credited to Jacob proved numerous, he did not keep his word at the moment, but promised to deliver them a year later, since he looked askance at his becoming possessed of so much. He made these promises because such numbers were not to be expected, but when they came he proved faithless.

Gen. xxx.  
27 ff.

(10) As for the sacred objects, Jacob bade him institute a search. This offer Laban accepted, whereupon Rachel, hearing of it, deposited the images in the pack-saddle of the camel which carried her and sat upon it, professing to be incommoded by the functions natural to women. Laban then desisted from further search, never supposing that his daughter in that condition would approach the images; he moreover made an oath to Jacob that he would bear him no grudge for the past, while

The re-  
conciliation.  
Gen. xxxi.  
32.

<sup>a</sup> Or (with the other text) "such as an enemy would have refrained from inflicting."

324 ἀγαπήσειν αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας. καὶ τὰς πίστεις τὰς ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐποιήσαντο ὑπὲρ ὀρῶν τινων, ἐφ' οἷς στήλην ἀνέθεσαν κατὰ βωμοῦ σχῆμα, ὅθεν Γαλάδης<sup>1</sup> λέγεται [ὁ] βουνός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ νῦν Γαλαδηνὴν καλοῦσι τὴν γῆν. ἐστιαθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις ὁ μὲν Λάβανος ἀνέζευξεν.

325 (xx. 1) Ἰακώβω δὲ εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν προϊόντι φαντάσματα συνετύγχανεν ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπαγορεύοντα περὶ τῶν ἐς ὕστερον· καὶ τὸν μὲν τόπον ἐκείνον προσαγορεύει θεοῦ στρατόπεδον, βουλόμενος δὲ εἰδέναί, τί ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρονεῖ, τοὺς γνωσομένους ἕκαστα μετὰ ἀκριβείας προύπεμψε

326 δεδιῶς αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑποψίαν. ἐνετέλλετο δὲ τοῖς πεμπομένοις λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Ἡσαῦν, ὅτι νομίσας Ἰακώβος ἄδικον συνδιαιτᾶσθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ ὀργῇ τῆς χώρας ἐκὼν ὑπεξέλθοι, καὶ νῦν τὸν χρόνον ἰκανὸν ἡγούμενος εἶναι διαλλάκτην ἐπανήκοι γυναϊκάς τε καὶ παῖδας ἐπαγόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πορισθέντος βίου, μετὰ τῶν τιμιωτάτων ἑαυτὸν ἐκείνῳ παραδιδούς, ὅτι κρίνοι μέγιστοι ἀγαθὸν τὸ τῷ ἀδελφῷ συμεταλαμβάνειν τῶν

327 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐδήλουν, Ἡσαῦς δὲ περιχαρὴς γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑπήντα σὺν ὀπλίταις τετρακοσίοις. καὶ Ἰακώβος πυνθανόμενος ἤκειν αὐτὸν ὑπαντησόμενοι μετὰ τοσοῦτων ἦν περίφοβος, τῷ μέντοι θεῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέτρεπε καὶ πρόνοιαν εἶχει ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀπαθὴς σώζοι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ θέλοιν ἀδικεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> Γαλάδην M: Γαλαδηνή rel.

<sup>a</sup> Strictly "a slash": Josephus takes over the Greek word *klélē* from the LXX.



Jacob on his side swore to love his daughters. To these engagements they pledged themselves on some hills, whereon they erected a monument<sup>a</sup> in the form of an altar; hence comes the name Galad(es)<sup>b</sup> given to the hill, and hence to this day they call the district Galadene.<sup>c</sup> A feast having followed the oath-taking, Laban withdrew.

(xx. 1) Jacob now pursuing his journey to Canaan had visions which inspired him with good hopes for the future; and he called that spot "God's camp."<sup>d</sup> Being, however, desirous to know his brother's intentions, he sent forward a party to obtain full and precise information; for he feared him by reason of their suspicions of old. He charged these messengers to tell Esau that he, Jacob, had left the country of his own free will, thinking it wrong to live with him while his wrath persisted, and that now, deeming that the time past was sufficient to reconcile them, he was returning with wives and children and all the substance that he had procured and was entrusting himself into his hands with all that he treasured most, holding it the greatest of blessings to share with his brother what God had given him. This message they delivered, and Esau, overjoyed, went to meet his brother with four hundred men-at-arms. Jacob, on learning that he was coming to receive him with so large a force, was sore afraid, but committed to God his hopes of salvation, while he took all available precautions to secure himself, to save his companions and to master his foes should they wish to injure him.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Galeed = "cairn of witness" (1.xx βουνὸς μαρτυρεῖ).

<sup>c</sup> The Hellenized form of Bibl. Gilead.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Mahanaim = "two hosts" (1.xx παρεμβολή or παρεμβολαί).

- 328 νείμας οὖν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν προύπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ λειπομένους ἄσσον ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ βιασθεῖεν οἱ προπεμφθέντες ἐπιθεμένοι τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καταφυγὴν ἔχοιεν τοὺς ἐπομένους.
- 329 καὶ τοῦτον διατάξας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τρόπον πέμπει τινὰς δῶρα κομίζοντας τὰδελφῷ· ὑποζύγια δὲ ἦν τὰ πεμπόμενα καὶ πλῆθος τετραπόδων ποικίλων, ἃ δὴ τίμια τοῖς ληψομένοις ἔμελλεν
- 330 ἔσσεσθαι παρὰ τὸ σπανίζειν αὐτῶν. ἦσαν<sup>1</sup> δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, ἵνα συνεχέστερον ἐντυγχάνοντες πολλοὶ δοκῶσιν· ἀνήσειν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δωρεῶν τῆς ὀργῆς, εἰ διαμένοι τεθυμωμένοι· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ λόγοις χρηστοῖς ὀμιλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἶρητο τοῖς πεμπομένοις.
- 331 (2) Ταῦτα συνθεῖς διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐκίνει τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· καὶ χειμάρρουν τινὰ Ἰάβακχον λεγόμενον διαβεβηκότων Ἰάκωβος ὑπολελειμμένος φαντάσματι συντυχῶν διεπάλαιεν, ἐκείνου προκατάρχοντος τῆς μάχης, ἐκράτει τε
- 332 τοῦ φαντάσματος, ὃ δὴ καὶ φωνῇ χρῆται καὶ λόγοις πρὸς αὐτόν, χαίρειν τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις παραινοῦν καὶ μὴ μικρὸν<sup>2</sup> κρατεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ θεῖον ἄγγελον νενικηκέναι, καὶ σημεῖον ἡγεῖσθαι τοῦτο μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὸ γένος ἐκλείψειν αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὑπέρτερον ἀνθρώπων
- 333 τινὰ τῆς ἰσχύος ἔσσεσθαι τῆς ἐκείνου. ἐκέλευέ τε καλεῖν<sup>3</sup> αὐτὸν Ἰσράηλον· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν τὸν ἀντιστάτην<sup>4</sup> ἀγγέλω

<sup>1</sup> ἦσαν codd.<sup>2</sup> μικρῶν MPL.<sup>3</sup> καλεῖσθαι SPL Lat.: perhaps αὐτὸν should be read for αὐτόν.<sup>4</sup> RO: ἀντιστάντα rell.

Accordingly, dividing his company, he sent one party in advance and bade the remainder follow close behind, in order that if the advance guard were overpowered by an attack from his brother, they might have those in the rear to fall back upon. Having disposed his men after this fashion, he sent a party to carry presents to his brother: the convoy consisted of beasts of burden and a multitude of quadrupeds of divers kinds such as would be treasured by their recipients on account of their rarity. These emissaries marched with intervals between, in order to appear more numerous by arriving continuously. It was hoped that Esau would be induced by the presents to relax his wrath, were he still indignant; moreover the messengers had instructions to address him affably.

(2) Having spent the whole day in making these arrangements, at nightfall he put his company in motion; and when they had crossed a torrent called Jabacchos,<sup>a</sup> Jacob, being left behind, encountered a phantom, wrestled with it and overcame it. The struggle had been begun by the spectre, which now found a tongue and addressed him, bidding him rejoice in his achievement and not to imagine that it was a puny adversary whom he had mastered: he had defeated an angel of God and should deem this victory an omen of great blessings to come and an assurance that his race would never be extinguished and that no mortal man would surpass him in strength. He moreover bade him take the name of Israel,<sup>b</sup> which in the Hebrew tongue denotes the opponent of an angel of God. This revelation indeed

His wrestle  
with an  
angel.  
Gen. xxxii.  
22.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Jabbok.

<sup>b</sup> = "striver with God," or "God strives."

- θεοῦ. ταῦτα μέντοι προύλεγεν Ἰακώβου δεη-  
θέντος· αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἄγγελον εἶναι θεοῦ, τίνα  
μοῖραν ἕξει σημαίνειν παρεκάλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν  
334 φάντασμα ταῦτ' εἶπόν ἀφανὲς γίνεται. ἦσθεις δὲ  
τούτοις Ἰακώβος Φανούηλον ὀνομάζει τὸν τόπον,  
ὃ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον. καὶ γενομένου διὰ  
τὴν μάχην ἀλγήματος αὐτῷ περὶ τὸ νεῦρον τὸ  
πλατὺ αὐτὸς τε ἀπέχεται τῆς τούτου βρώσεως  
καὶ δι' ἐκείνον οὐδὲ ἡμῖν ἐστὶν ἐδώδιμον.
- 335 (3) Πλησίον δ' ἤδη τὸν ἀδελφὸν πυνθανόμενος  
κελεύει προϊέναι τῶν γυναικῶν ἑκατέραν καθ'  
αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν θεραπεινίδων, ἵνα πόρρωθεν  
ἀφορῶεν τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων, εἰ τοῦτο  
θελήσειεν Ἡσαῦς· προσεκύνει δ' αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελ-  
φὸν ἐγγὺς αὐτῷ γεινόμενον οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόλιον  
336 φρονοῦντα. καὶ ὁ Ἡσαῦς ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸν  
ἀνήρετο τῶν παίδων τὸν ὄχλον καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας,  
ἠξίου τε μαθῶν περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ πᾶν καὶ αὐτὸς  
συμβαδίζειν αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὸν πατέρα, Ἰακώβου  
δὲ προφασίζομένου τὸν κόπον τῶν ὑποζυγίων ὑπ-  
εχώρησεν εἰς Σάειραν· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν  
δίαιταν προσαγορεύσας τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ  
τριχώσεως [δασείαν].<sup>1</sup>
- 337 (xxi. 1) Ἰακώβος δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰς ἔτι νῦν  
Σκηναὺς λεγομένας, ὅθεν εἰς Σίκκιμον παρῆν·  
Χαναταίων δ' ἐστὶν ἡ πόλις. τῶν δὲ Σικκιμιτῶν  
ἑορτὴν ἀγόντων Δεῖνα, θυγάτηρ ἦν Ἰακώβου

<sup>1</sup> Probably a gloss ("Bushy").

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Peniel (LXX εἶδος θεοῦ).

<sup>b</sup> Commonly explained as the sciatic nerve, running from thigh to ankle.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Seir (Σηείρ).

<sup>d</sup> So LXX renders, correctly, the Heb. Succoth, Gen. xxxiii. 17.

<sup>e</sup> After LXX: Heb. Shechem.

he gave at the request of Jacob, who, perceiving him to be a messenger of God, besought him to declare what destiny was in store for him. The apparition, having thus spoken, vanished; and Jacob, delighted with the vision, named the place Phaniel,<sup>a</sup> that is to say, "the face of God." And because in the contest he had suffered injury near the broad sinew,<sup>b</sup> he himself abstained from eating that sinew, and for his sake we too are forbidden to eat of it.

(3) Learning that his brother was now at hand, Jacob ordered his two wives to go forward, each apart with their handmaidens, that they might view from afar the actions of the combatants, should Esau desire battle. For his part he prostrated himself before his brother, who, however, approached him with no thought of treachery. Esau embraced him, questioned him concerning this crowd of children and his womenkind, and, having learnt the whole history of them, desired to conduct them himself to their father; but, on Jacob pleading the fatigue of the beasts of burden, Esau withdrew to Saeira,<sup>c</sup> for it was there that he had his abode, having so named the place after his own shaggy hair.

(xxi. 1) Jacob next reached the place still to this day called "Booths,"<sup>d</sup> whence he passed to Sikim,<sup>e</sup> which is a city of the Canaanites. As the Sikimites were holding a festival,<sup>f</sup> Dina(h), Jacob's only

His meeting with Esau. Gen. xxxiii. 1.

Rape of Dinah: the brothers' reprisals. Gen. xxxiv. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Genesis merely states that Dinah "went out to see the daughters of the land." The "festival" perhaps comes from Theodotus, the (Samaritan?) author of a hexameter poem on this episode, who is mentioned elsewhere by Josephus (*Ap. i.* 216). According to the paraphrase of this poem given in Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 22, Theodotus related that τὴν Δεῖναν πάρθενον οὖσαν εἰς τὰ Σίκιμα ἐλθεῖν πανηγύρεως οὔσης, βουλομένην θεάσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. The passage, with Rabbinical parallels, is quoted by M. Weill.

- μόνη, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὀψομένη τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν. θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὴν Συχέμμης [ὁ] Ἐμμώρου τοῦ βασιλέως υἱὸς φθείρει δι' ἀρπαγῆς καὶ διατεθεὶς ἐρωτικῶς ἰκετεύει τὸν
- 338 πατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον τὴν κόρην. ὁ δὲ πεισθεὶς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἰάκωβον δεόμενος τῷ παιδί αὐτοῦ Συχέμμη συζευξάμενος Δείναν κατὰ νόμον. Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὐτ' ἀντιλέγειν ἔχων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε νόμιμον ἠγούμενος ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικίσει τὴν θυγατέρα ἠξίωσεν ἐπιτρέψαι
- 339 αὐτῷ βουλήν ἀγαγεῖν περὶ ᾧ παρακαλεῖ. ἀπῆει μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζων Ἰάκωβον παρέξειν τὸν γάμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τὴν τε φθορὰν τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἐμμώρου τὴν δέησιν ἠξίου βουλευέσθαι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἠσύχαζον γνώμης ἀποροῦντες, Συμεῶν<sup>1</sup> δὲ καὶ Λεὺς ὁμομήτριοι τῆς κόρης ἀδελφοὶ συν-
- 340 τίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιάνδε τινὰ πράξιν· οὔσης ἐορτῆς καὶ τῶν Σικιμιτῶν εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ εὐωχίαν τετραμμένων νύκτωρ πρώτοις ἐπιβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι κτείνουσι κοιμωμένους καὶ παρελθόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναιροῦσι πᾶν ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, φεῖδονται δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν. πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα δίχα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμης ἐπανάγουσι τὴν ἀδελφήν.
- 341 (2) Ἰακώβω δὲ ἐκπλαγέντι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων καὶ χαλεπαίνοντι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς ὁ θεὸς παραστάς ἐκέλευσε θαρρεῖν, ἀγνίσαντι δὲ τὰς σκηναὺς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, ἃς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπιὼν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ὄψει τοῦ ὄνειρου ἠῤῥατο.

<sup>1</sup> Συμεῶν R.M.<sup>2</sup> Bibl. Shechem, son of Hamor.

daughter, went into the city to see the finery of the women of the country. There she was perceived by Sychem,<sup>a</sup> son of king Emmor, who carried her off and ravished her, and being enamoured of her besought his father to procure the damsel for him in marriage. To this Emmor consented and went to Jacob to ask him to give Dinah to his son Sychem in lawful wedlock. Jacob, who could not refuse in view of the petitioner's rank and yet on the other hand deemed it unlawful to marry his daughter to a foreigner, asked permission to hold a council on the subject of his request. So the king departed, hoping that Jacob would allow the marriage, but Jacob told his sons of the seduction of their sister and of Emmor's request and asked them to deliberate what ought to be done. Most of them held their peace, not knowing what to think ; but Symeon and Levi, the girl's brothers, born of the same mother, mutually agreed upon the following course. During a feast,<sup>b</sup> when the Sikimites were given up to indulgence and festivity, they, under cover of night, first surprised the sentries, whom they slew in their sleep, and then penetrating into the town killed all the males, the king and his son among them, sparing only the women. Having perpetrated this deed without their father's sanction, they brought their sister back.

(2) Jacob being aghast at the enormity of these acts and indignant at his sons, God appeared beside him and bade him take courage, purify his tents, and perform those sacrifices which he had vowed to offer when at the first he set out for Mesopotamia

Purification ceremonies.  
Gen. xxxiv.  
30.

<sup>b</sup> This second feast is another importation into the Biblical narrative.

## JOSEPHUS

- 342 ἀγνίζων οὖν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς  
 Λαβάνου θεοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὑπὸ τῆς Ῥαχὴλης  
 κλαπέντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἔκρυψεν ἐν Σικίμοις εἰς  
 γῆν ὑπὸ τινα δρυῶν, ἀπάρας τε τούντεϋθεν ἐν  
 Βαιθήλοις ἔθυσεν, ὅπου τὸ ὄνειρον ἐθεάσατο χωρῶν  
 πρότερον ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας.
- 343 (3) Ἐντεϋθεν δὲ προῖων ἐπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφρα-  
 θηνὴν γίνεται, ἐνθάδε Ῥαχήλαν ἐκ τοκετοῦ  
 θανοῦσαν θάπτει, μόνην τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς ἐν  
 Ἐβρῶνι τιμῆς οὐ τυχοῦσαν. πενθήσας δὲ μεγά-  
 λως τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίον Βενιαμὲν ἐκάλεσε διὰ  
 344 τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην ὀδύνην τῇ μητρί. οὗτοι  
 Ἰακώβου παῖδες οἱ πάντες, ἄρρενες μὲν δώδεκα  
 θήλεια δὲ μία. τούτων ὀκτὼ γνήσιοι, ἐκ Λείας  
 μὲν ἕξ, δύο δὲ ἐκ Ῥαχὴλης, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐκ τῶν  
 θεραπαινίδων, δύο ἕξ ἐκάτερας, ὧν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα  
 πάντων προεῖπον.
- 345 (xxii.) Παρῆν δ' ἐντεϋθεν ἐπὶ Ἐβρῶνα πόλιν ἐν  
 Χαναναίοις κειμένην· ἐκεῖ δὲ Ἰσακος τὴν δίαιταν  
 εἶχε. καὶ βραχέα μὲν ἀλλήλοις συνδιατρίβουσι· τὴν  
 γὰρ Ῥεβέκκαν Ἰάκωβος οὐ κατέλαβε ζῶσαν,  
 θνήσκει δὲ καὶ Ἰσακος οὐ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀφίξεως  
 τοῦ υἱοῦ καὶ ταφῆς ἔτυχεν ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων σὺν τῇ  
 346 γυναικὶ ἐν Ἐβρῶνι μνημείου προγονικοῦ ἐν αὐτῇ  
 θεοφιλῆς καὶ προνοίας πολλῆς ἡξιωμένος ὑπ'

<sup>a</sup> § 284.

<sup>b</sup> Genesis mentions "strange gods" generally, without specifying the Teraphim of Laban.

<sup>c</sup> "The burial of idolatrous emblems under this sacred tree



and had seen the dream.<sup>a</sup> While he was purifying his company accordingly, he lit upon the gods of Laban,<sup>b</sup> being unaware that Rachel had stolen them; these he hid in the ground beneath an oak at Sikim,<sup>c</sup> and departing thence offered sacrifice at Bethel, where he had seen the dream when journeying of yore to Mesopotamia.

*Cf. Gen. xxxv. 1; xxxi. 32.*

(3) Thence he proceeded on his way, and when he was come over against Ephratene<sup>d</sup> Rachel died in childbirth and there he buried her, being the only one of his family who had not the honour of burial at Hebron. Deeply he mourned her and he called the child whom she bore Benjamin because of the suffering which he had caused his mother.<sup>e</sup> These then are all the children of Jacob, twelve sons and one daughter. Of these sons eight were born in wedlock, six by Leah and two by Rachel; four he had by the handmaidens, two by each of them; I have already given the names of all.

*Death of Rachel. Gen. xxxv. 16.*

(xxii.) From there he came to Hebron, a city in Canaanite territory, where Isaac had his abode. They lived but a short while together, for Jacob did not find Rebecca alive and Isaac also died not long after the coming of his son; he was buried by his children beside his wife at Hebron in their ancestral tomb. Isaac was a man beloved of God and was deemed worthy of His special providence after his

*Death of Rebecca and of Isaac. Gen. xxxv. 27.*

has some traditional meaning which we cannot now explain" (Skinner).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Ephrath ('Εφραθά); in Benjamite territory, otherwise unknown.

<sup>e</sup> A confused statement, regardless of etymology. In Genesis the dying mother calls the child Ben-oni ("son of my sorrow"); the father, to avert the omen, names him Ben-jamin ("son of the right hand").

## JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ μετ' Ἀβραμον τὸν πατέρα, πολυχρονιώτατος  
δέ· βιώσας γὰρ ἔτη πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα πρὸς τοῖς  
ἑκατὸν μετὰ ἀρετῆς οὕτως ἀπέθανεν.

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<sup>a</sup> Doubtless a contrast is intended between the 175 years of Abraham (§ 256) and the 185 years of Isaac, whose exceptional longevity had been predicted (§ 234, πολυχρονιώτατον as here). But it is unnecessary to alter the superlative to the comparative; the former includes the latter (see note on ὑστάτος § 214, and *cf.* in N.T. Jo. i. 15 πρῶτός μου ἦν).

father Abraham; in longevity he even surpassed him,<sup>a</sup> having completed one hundred and eighty-five years of a virtuous life when he died.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Josephus breaks off the book at the end of Gen. xxxv. The recently edited 3rd cent. *Berlin Fragment of Genesis* (ed. Sanders and Schmidt, New York, 1927) breaks off in the same chapter (xxxv. 8), with the subscription γένεσις κόσμου as though at the close of a work. Was the Greek Genesis ever divided at this point? I may refer to my Schweich Lectures (1920), App. IV. "The Bisection of Old Testament books."

## BIBLION B

(i. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰσαάκου τελευτὴν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μερισάμενοι τὴν οἴκησιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἦν ἔλαβον ταύτην κατέσχον, ἀλλ' Ἡσαῦς μὲν τῆς Νεβρωνίας<sup>1</sup> πόλεως ἐκχωρήσας τὰδελφῶ ἐν Σαείρα διητάτο καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ἦρχεν οὕτω καλέσας τὴν χώραν ἀφ' αὐτοῦ. Ἄδωμος γὰρ ἐπωνομάζετο κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τυχὼν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπὸ θήρας ποτὲ καὶ πόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον<sup>2</sup> λιμώττων ἐπανῆκεν, ἔτι δὲ ἦν παῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιτυχὼν δὲ τὰδελφῶ φακῆν ἐσκευακότι πρὸς ἄριστον αὐτῶ, ξανθὴν σφόδρα τὴν χροιάν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ὀρεχθεῖς ἡξίου παρασχεῖν αὐτῶ

<sup>3</sup> πρὸς τροφήν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδόσθαι τὸ πρεσβεῖον αὐτῶ τοῦ φαγεῖν συνεργῶ χρησάμενος τῇ πείνῃ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἠνάγκαζε,<sup>3</sup> κάκεῖνος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ προαχθεῖς παραχωρεῖ τῶν πρεσβεῖων αὐτῶ μεθ' ὄρκων. ἔνθεν διὰ τὴν ξανθότητα τοῦ βρώματος ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν κατὰ παιδιὰν Ἄδωμος ἐπικληθεῖς, ἄδωμα γὰρ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ ἐρυθρὸν καλοῦσι,

<sup>1</sup> Χεβρωνίας SPE.

<sup>2</sup> κυνήγιον RE.

<sup>3</sup> SP: ἠνάγκασε rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxvi. 7, "For their substance was too great for them to dwell together, and the land of their sojournings

## BOOK II

(i. 1) After the death of Isaac his sons divided the territory between them, not retaining that which they had inherited.<sup>a</sup> Esau, for his part, left the city of Hebron to his brother, and taking up his abode in Saeira<sup>b</sup> ruled over Idumaea, calling the country thus after himself: for he bore the surname of Adom,<sup>c</sup> which he had obtained under the following circumstances. One day, while yet a lad, he was returning from the chase, fatigued with his hunting and famished, when, meeting his brother who had just prepared for his midday meal a dish of lentils of a rich tawny hue, which still further whetted his appetite, he asked him to give him to eat. Jacob, thereupon, taking advantage of his famished state, required his brother to sell to him in exchange for the food his rights as firstborn son: and he, instigated by hunger, surrendered to him his rights under an oath. Hence, by reason of the ruddy colour of the pottage, he was jestingly nicknamed by his youthful comrades Adom—*adoma*<sup>d</sup> being the Hebrews' word for "red"—and that was how he

Esau sells his birth-right.  
Gen. xxxvi. 6.

xxv. 27, 29.

xxv. 30.

(lxx τῆς παροιμίας, whence τὴν οἰκισιν of Jos.) could not bear them because of their cattle."

<sup>b</sup> Gen. "mount Seir." Josephus (like the narrative in Genesis, compiled from two independent sources) ignores the previous mention of Saeira as the abode of Esau, i. 336.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Edom.

<sup>d</sup> Heb. *ádóm* = "red."

## JOSEPHUS

- τὴν χώραν οὕτως προσηγόρευσεν· Ἕλληνες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον Ἰδουμαίαν ὠνόμασαν.
- 4 (2) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ πατὴρ παίδων πέντε τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὧν Ἰάους μὲν καὶ Ἰόλαμος καὶ Κορῆος ἐκ γυναικὸς μιᾶς Ἀλιβάμης τοῦνομα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀλιφάζης μὲν ἐξ Ἀδάσης, Ῥαουήλος δὲ
- 5 ἐκ Βασαμάθης ὑπῆρξαν αὐτῷ γεγονότες. καὶ Ἡσαῦ μὲν οὗτοι παῖδες ἦσαν· Ἀλιφάζη δὲ γίνονται γνήσιοι πέντε Θημανὸς Ὀμερος Σόφους<sup>1</sup> Ἰόθαμος Καναζός· Ἀμαλήκος γὰρ νόθος ἦν ἐκ παλλακῆς
- 6 αὐτῷ γεγονῶς Θαμνάης ὄνομα. οὗτοι κατώκησαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Γοβολίτιν λεγομένην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀμαλήκου κληθεῖσαν Ἀμαληκίτιν· πολλὴ γὰρ γενομένη ποτὲ ἢ Ἰδουμαία τό τε πάσης αὐτῆς ἀπέσωζεν ὄνομα καὶ τοῖς μέρεσι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητόρων προσηγορίας διεφύλαξεν.
- 7 (ii. 1) Ἰακώβω δὲ συνέβη παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας μέγεθος οἶον οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ ραδίως· πλούτω τε γὰρ ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ παῖδων ἀρεταῖς ζηλωτὸς καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν· οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὄλως ὑστέρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ πόνων ὑπομονὴν ἦσαν εὐψυχοὶ καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι.
- 8 τοσαύτην δ' ἄρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔσχε καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν λυπηρῶν αὐτῷ δοξάντων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρυσχεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου τῶν ἡμετέρων

<sup>1</sup> Niese: Ὀφους (etc.) codd.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Jeush (Ἰεούς).

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Jalam (Ἰεγλάμ).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Korah (Κορέ).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Oholibamah (Αἰλιβαμά, the reading of one ms. of the LXX, approximates to the Josephan form).

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Eliphaz.

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Adah (Ἀδά).

<sup>g</sup> Bibl. Reuel (Ῥαγουήλ).

<sup>h</sup> Bibl. Basemath.

called the country: the more dignified name of Idumaea it owes to the Greeks.

(2) He became the father of five children: of these, Iaûs,<sup>a</sup> Iolam(os)<sup>b</sup> and Korê(os)<sup>c</sup> came of one wife named Alibame<sup>d</sup>; as for the others, Aliphaz(es)<sup>e</sup> was born of Adasa<sup>f</sup> and Raûêl(os)<sup>g</sup> of Basamathe.<sup>h</sup> Such were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons—Thêman(os),<sup>i</sup> Omer(os),<sup>j</sup> Sophous,<sup>k</sup> Jotham(os),<sup>l</sup> Kanaz(os)<sup>m</sup>: Amalek(os) was a bastard born to him by a concubine named Thamnae.<sup>n</sup> These occupied the region of Idumaea termed Gobolitis<sup>o</sup> and that called, after Amalek, Amalekitis; for Idumaea, formerly extensive, has kept that name for the whole country and in its several provinces preserved the names that were derived from their founders.

(ii. 1) To Jacob, on the other hand, it befell to reach a degree of prosperity hardly attained by any man. In riches he surpassed the inhabitants of the country and his children's virtues made him an object of envy and admiration; for there was no quality that they lacked: courageous for manual labour and endurance of toil they were withal quick of understanding. Moreover, the Deity showed such providential care for their father and his welfare, that He made even events that seemed to him deplorable become the source of the utmost felicity and brought about the departure of our ancestors from Egypt by means

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Teman (Θαιμάν).

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. Omar.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Zepho (Σωφάρ).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Gatam (Ἰοθόμ the ms. of LXX mentioned above).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Kenaz (Κενέζ).

<sup>n</sup> Bibl. Timna (Θαμνά).

<sup>o</sup> Cf. A. iii. 40 "The inhabitants of G. and Petra who are called Amalekites," and ix. 188 "Gabalites" (|| Amalekites and Idumaeans); it is the Gebal mentioned beside Amalek in Ps. lxxxiii. 7, Arabic *Jibal*, in north Edom.

## JOSEPHUS

- προγόνων ἐναχωρήσεως αἴτιον αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.
- 9 Ἰώσηπον ἐκ Ῥαχήλας πεπαιδοποιημένος Ἰάκωβος διὰ τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐγένειαν καὶ διὰ ψυχῆς ἀρετὴν, φρονήσει γὰρ διέφερε, τῶν ἄλλων
- 10 πλέον υἱῶν ἠγάπα. τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἢ τε τοῦ πατρὸς στοργὴ φθόνον ἐκίνησε καὶ μῖσος ἢ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ἃ θεασάμενος τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τούτοις ἐμήνυσεν, εὐδαιμονία καταγγελλομένη, ζηλοτυπούντων ἄρα τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων εὐπραγίας. αἱ δὲ ὄψεις, ἃς κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους εἶδεν Ἰώσηπος, τοιαίδε ἦσαν.
- 11 (2) Ἐκπεμφθεὶς μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ συλλογῇ τῶν καρπῶν θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὄρᾳ πολὺ τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐπιφοιτούντων κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὀνειράτων διαφέρουσαν ὄψιν, ἣν περιεγερθεὶς τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὡς κρινουσιν αὐτῷ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐξέθετο, λέγων ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ δράγμα τῶν πυρῶν ἠρεμεῖν ἐφ' οὗ κατέθηκε τόπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων προστρέχοντα προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸ καθάπερ
- 12 οἱ δοῦλοι τοὺς δεσπότας. οἱ δὲ συνέντες ἰσχὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μέγεθος πραγμάτων τὴν ὄψιν προλέγουσαν καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἐσομένην τῷ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ τούτων οὐδὲν ὡς οὐ γνώριμον αὐτοῖς τὸ ὄναρ ὃν διεσάφησαν, ἀρὰς δ' ἐποιήσαντο μηδὲν εἰς τέλος αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ὧν ὑπενόουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἀπεχθῶς ἔχοντες διετέλουν.
- 13 (3) Τῷ δὲ παρ' αὐτῶν φθόνῳ προσφιλονικῆσαν τὸ θεῖον δευτέραν ὄψιν ἐπιπέμπει τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ

<sup>a</sup> For Rachel's exceptional beauty cf. i. 288.



of Jacob and his offspring under circumstances that I proceed to relate.

Joseph, whom Jacob begat by Rachel, was beloved of his father above all his sons, alike for the beauty of person that he owed to his birth<sup>a</sup> and for virtuous qualities of soul, for he was endowed with exceptional understanding. This tender affection of his father aroused against him the envy and hatred of his brethren, as did also the dreams, predictive of good fortune, which he saw and related both to his father and to them: so jealous are men of the successes even of their nearest relatives. Now the visions which Joseph saw were on this wise.

(2) Having been sent out with his brethren by their father to gather in the crops at midsummer, he had a vision very different from the dreams that ordinarily visit us in sleep, which on awaking he recounted to his brethren for them to interpret to him its signification. He had seen, he said, during the past night his own wheat-sheaf standing motionless on the spot where he had placed it, while their sheaves ran up and bowed down to it like slaves before their masters. But they, understanding that the vision predicted for him power and majesty and a destined supremacy over themselves, revealed nothing of this to Joseph, as though the dream were unintelligible to them; they uttered prayers, however, that nothing of what they augured might<sup>b</sup> ever come to pass and continued to hate him yet the more.

(3) But the Deity, counteracting their jealousy, sent Joseph a second vision far more marvellous than

<sup>b</sup> Or "vowed (or "bound themselves under a curse") that nothing . . . should" etc.

Joseph the favourite son, Gen. xxxvii 3.

His first dream, Gen. xxxvii. 5.

His second dream, Gen. xxxvii. 9.

## JOSEPHUS

- πολὺ τῆς προτέρας θαυμασιωτέραν· τὸν ἥλιον γὰρ ἔδοξε τὴν σελήνην παραλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀστέρας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν
- 14 αὐτόν. ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακότητες ὑφορώμενος καὶ τούτων παρατυγχανόντων διεσάφησε, τί καὶ βούλεται σημαίνειν
- 15 φράσαι παρακαλῶν. ὁ δὲ ἦσθη<sup>1</sup> τῷ ὄνειρατι, τὴν γὰρ πρόρρησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ συλλαβῶν καὶ μετὰ σοφίας οὐκ ἀσκόπως εἰκάσας ἔχαιρεν ἐπὶ μεγάλοις τοῖς σηματομένοις, ἃ εὐδαιμονίαν τῷ παιδί κατήγγελλε καὶ καιρὸν ἦξειν θεοῦ δόντος, καθ' ὃν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τε τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν
- 16 ἔσεσθαι τίμιον καὶ προσκυνήσεως ἄξιον, τὴν μὲν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἥλιον μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ, τῆς μὲν αὐξούσης ἅπαντα καὶ τρεφούσης τοῦ δ' ἐκτυποῦντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἰσχὺν ἐντιθέντος εἰκάζων, τοὺς δ' ἀστέρας τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς· καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἔνδεκα εἶναι καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπὸ τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τὴν ἰσχὺν λαμβάνοντας.
- 17 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰάκωβος τοιαύτην οὐκ ἀσυνέτως ἐποίησατο τῆς ὄψεως τὴν κρίσιν, τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήπου σφόδρα ἐλύπησε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ διετέθησαν ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίῳ τινὶ μέλλοντι τὰ σημαινόμενα διὰ τῶν ὄνειράτων ἀγαθὰ ἦξειν,<sup>2</sup> ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδελφῶ καὶ ᾧ συναπολαύσειν αὐτούς<sup>3</sup> εἰκὸς ἦν, κοινωνοὺς ὡς τῆς γενέσεως οὕτως καὶ τῆς εὐ-
- 18 δαιμονίας ἐσομένους· ἀνελεῖν τε ὠρμήκεσαν τὸ μει-

<sup>1</sup> Hudson, Dindorf: ἦσθεῖς codd.

<sup>2</sup> ἔξειν OP.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ὦν συναπολαύσειν αὐτῷ codd.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 10 f. says that "his father rebuked him" but "kept the saying in mind." Parallels from Midrash

the first; for he believed that he saw the sun, attended by the moon and the other stars, descend to earth and make obeisance to him. This vision he recounted to his father in the presence of his brethren, suspecting no malice on their part, and besought him to explain what it meant. Jacob was delighted with the dream <sup>a</sup>: grasping in his mind what it predicted and sagely and unerringly divining its import, he rejoiced at the great things that it betokened, which promised prosperity to his son and that, by the gift of God, a time would come when he would be honoured and held worthy of veneration by his parents and his brethren: the moon and the sun he conjectured to mean mother and father, the one giving increase and nourishment to all things, the other moulding their form and implanting in them their stores of strength: the stars were his brethren, who, like them, were eleven in number <sup>b</sup> and borrowed, like them, their strength from sun and moon.

(4) Thus shrewdly did Jacob interpret the vision. But Joseph's brethren were sorely aggrieved by these predictions and bore themselves as though it were some stranger who was to receive the benefits indicated by these dreams, and not a brother, whose fortunes it was but natural that they should share, becoming his partners, as in parentage, so likewise in prosperity; and they were eager to slay the lad.

His  
brothers  
plot his  
death.

and Philo for the interpretation put upon these last words by Josephus are quoted by Weill.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. Gen. xxxvii. 9, "eleven stars" (without definite article). The absence of the article makes it improbable that there was any allusion to the signs of the Zodiac in the mind of the Biblical writer; but such an allusion is implied by Josephus and expressly mentioned by Philo (*De Somniis*, ii. 16, quoted by Reinach).

## JOSEPHUS

- ράκιον, καὶ ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλήν, ἐπεὶ τὰ  
 τῆς συγκομιδῆς αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Σικίμων  
 τραπέντες, χώρα δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη βόσκειν ἀγαθῆ  
 θρέμματα καὶ νομὰς ἐκτρέφειν,<sup>1</sup> αὐτόθι τῶν ποιμ-  
 νίων ἐπεμελοῦντο μὴ προδηλώσαντες τῷ πατρὶ  
 19 τὴν ἐκεῖσε ἄφιξιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῦ  
 μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιμνίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τινα  
 τὸν περὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτῷ τάληθές σημαίνειν  
 δυνάμενον, σκυθρωπότερον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διά-  
 νοιαν λαμβάνων καὶ περιδεῆς ὢν πέμπει τὸν Ἰω-  
 σηπον εἰς τὰ ποιμνία μαθησόμενον τὰ περὶ τῶν  
 ἀδελφῶν καὶ τί πράττειεν σηματοῦντα.
- 20 (iii. 1) Οἱ δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὡς εἶδον πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
 ἀφιγμένον, ἤσθησαν μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείου  
 παρουσίᾳ καὶ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλκότητος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ'  
 ἐχθροῦ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτῶν κατὰ θεῖαν βούλησιν  
 παραδοθέντος, ἀναιρεῖν τε ἤδη καὶ μὴ τὸν ἐν  
 21 ποσὶν ὑπερβαλέσθαι καιρὸν ὠρμήκεσαν. οὕτως δ'  
 αὐτοὺς Ῥουβήλος ὄρων ἔχοντας ὁ πρεσβύτατος  
 αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πράξιν ὠμονοηκότας ἐπειράτο  
 κατέχειν ὑποδεικνύς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος  
 22 καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ μύσος, ὡς πονηρὸν μὲν καὶ θεῷ  
 καὶ ἀνθρώποις ἀνόσιον δοκοῦν καὶ τὸ μὴ συγ-  
 γενοῦς ἀνθρώπου χειρουργῆσαι φόνον, πολὺ μέντοι  
 μιαιώτερον τὸ σφαγῆν ἀδελφοῦ δράσαντας ὀφθῆ-  
 ναι, ᾧ πατήρ τε ἀναιρουμένῳ συναδικεῖται καὶ  
 μήτηρ εἰς πένθος καὶ παιδὸς ἀποστέρησιν οὐ κατ'  
 23 ἀνθρώπινον γενομένην νόμον συγκατασπᾶται. τού-

<sup>1</sup> ἐκφέρειν RO.

<sup>a</sup> Amplification of Scripture.

<sup>b</sup> Shechem.

• In Gen. xxxvii. 13 Jacob opines that they are in Shechem.

Having determined upon this scheme, they, now that their harvest labours were ended,<sup>a</sup> betook themselves to Sikima,<sup>b</sup> a district excellent for the feeding of cattle and for its crop of pasturage, and there tended their flocks, having given their father no warning of their departure thither.<sup>c</sup> He, in his ignorance of their movements and because no one came to him from the flocks who could give him certain news of his sons, conceived the gloomiest forebodings concerning them and, full of anxiety, sent Joseph off to the flocks to learn what had befallen his brothers and to bring him word of their doings.

(iii. 1) They, on seeing that their brother had come to them, were delighted, not, however, at this visit from a relative and their father's envoy, but rather as if it had been an enemy, who by the will of God had been delivered into their hands; and they were keen to kill him outright and not to let slip this opportunity that offered itself. But Rubel,<sup>d</sup> the eldest of them, seeing them thus minded and unanimous for the deed, endeavoured to restrain them, representing to them the enormity and abominable nature of the crime. If it were a sin before God and a sacrilege in the eyes of men to perpetrate the murder of one having no kinship with them, far fouler would appear their deed in slaughtering a brother, whose destruction would entail grievous injury to a father and plunge a mother<sup>e</sup> into mourning, thus unnaturally bereft of a child. He besought

Gen. xxxvii. 12.

Rubel's attempt to save him. Gen. xxxvii. 18.

<sup>a</sup> Reuben (see i. 304 note). We have here the first of many rhetorical speeches, or pairs of speeches, with which the narrative is diversified.

<sup>e</sup> Rachel was already dead (i. 343); but Josephus had Biblical warrant for the inconsistency (Gen. xxxvii. 10, interpretation of the second dream).

## JOSEPHUS

των οὖν αὐτῶν αἰδῶ λαβόντας καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τί  
καὶ πείσονται τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ  
καὶ νεωτάτου παραθεμένους ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ τολ-  
μήματος παρεκάλει, καὶ τὸν θεὸν δείσαντας, ὃς  
θεατῆς ἅμα καὶ μάρτυς ἦδη καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν  
τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γεγενημένος<sup>1</sup> ἀποστάντας μὲν  
τῆς πράξεως ἀγαπήσει<sup>2</sup> μετανοία καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν  
24 εἴξαντας, προελθόντας δ' ἐπὶ τοῦργον οὐκ ἔστιν ἦν  
οὐκ εἰσπράξεται τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας δίκην μιανάντας  
αὐτοῦ τὴν πανταχοῦ παροῦσαν πρόνοιαν καὶ μήτε  
τῶν ἐπ' ἐρημίαις<sup>3</sup> πραττομένων ὑστεροῦσαν μήτε  
τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἄνθρωπος ἦ  
25 χρῆ δοκεῖν ἐνταῦθα παρεῖναι καὶ θεόν. τό τε  
συνειδὸς αὐτοῦς τὸ ἴδιον ἔξειν ἐχθρὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολ-  
μηθεῖσιν ἔλεγεν, ὃ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ ἔχουσι  
μήτε τοιοῦτον ὅποιον αὐτοῖς συνοικήσει<sup>4</sup> τὸν ἀδελ-  
26 φὸν ἀνελοῦσιν ἔστιν ἀποδράναι. προσετίθει δὲ καὶ  
ταῦτα τοῖς προειρημένοις, ὡς ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲ  
ἀδικήσαντα κτείνειν ὅσιον, καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ  
μνησικακεῖν τοῖς οὕτω φίλοις ὑπὲρ ὧν ἁμαρτεῖν  
ἔδοξαν. Ἰωσήπον δὲ οὐδὲ πονηρὸν εἰς αὐτοῦς  
γεγενημένον διαφθεροῦσιν, ᾧ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας  
ἀσθενὲς ἔλεον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐρανί-  
27 ζεται κηδεμονίαν· ἥ τε αἰτία τῆς ἀναιρέσεως πολὺ  
χείρω τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῖς τίθησι, διὰ φθόνον τῶν  
ἔσομένων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῷ τοῦ ζῆν ἔξαγαγεῖν δι-  
εγνωκότων, ὧν τὸ ἴσιν ἀπολαύσουσι κοινωνοῦντες  
αὐτῷ τῆς μετουσίας οὐκ ἄλλοτρίων ὄντων ἀλλ'  
28 οἰκείων· ἴδια γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσα ὁ θεὸς  
Ἰωσήπῳ δώσει· προσήκειν οὖν<sup>5</sup> τὴν ὀργὴν καὶ διὰ

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: γεγενημένης codd.

<sup>3</sup> ἐρημία ROE.

<sup>2</sup> O: ἀγαπήσειν rell.

<sup>4</sup> συνοικήσειν L.

them, therefore, to have consideration for their parents, to reflect what they too would suffer through the death of a son so virtuous and so young, and to desist from their mad intent; to fear God, who at that very moment was watching and witnessing their designs upon their brother and would be well content should they renounce the deed, yielding to penitence and sober reflexion; whereas, should they proceed to accomplish it, there was no chastisement which He would not inflict for their fratricide upon those who had profaned His providence, present in every place and from which nothing done, whether in desert solitude or in city, could be hid; for wheresoever man was found, there too must God be deemed to be present. Their own conscience too, he said, would be their enemy in their enterprise—conscience from which, whether pure or such as would haunt them after the murder of their brother, it was impossible to flee. To these remonstrances he added that even though a brother had injured one it were impious to slay him, and gracious rather to bear no malice against persons so dear, for their seeming errors. But now it was Joseph, who had not so much as done them wrong, whom they would destroy, “he whose tender age should rather elicit all our compassion and care.” And then the motive for the murder rendered the deed far worse, seeing that it was through envy of his future fortune that they had resolved to take his life, although they would each have an equal share in that fortune and partake of it in common with him, being not strangers to him but relatives; for they might consider all that God gave to Joseph as their own. They ought there-

<sup>5</sup> πρὸς ἐκείνου οὖν Niese with cod. O: προσκείνου R.

## JOSEPHUS

τοῦτο [καλῶς ἔχειν]<sup>1</sup> χαλεπωτέραν ἔσεσθαι νομίζεις, εἰ τὸν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κεκριμένον τῶν ἐλπιζομένων ἀγαθῶν ἄξιον ἀποκτείναντες ἀφαιρήσονται τὸν θεὸν ᾧ ταῦτα χαρίζεται.

- 29 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥουβήλος ταῦτα λέγων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλείω καὶ δεόμενος ἐπειράτο τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτοὺς ἀποτρέπει, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν μετριωτέρους ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἑώρα γεγεννημένους, ἀλλὰ σπεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, συνεβούλευε τὸ κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικέστερον ποιῆσαι τῷ τρόπῳ
- 30 τῆς ἀναιρέσεως, [καὶ γὰρ]<sup>2</sup> ἄμεινον μὲν <ἂν><sup>3</sup> οἷς παρήνεσε τὸ πρῶτον πεπεισθαι λέγων αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δ' ἐκράτησαν ὥστε ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφόδρα κακοὺς οἷς νῦν παραινεῖ πεισθέντας· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐφ' ᾧ σπεύδουσιν, οὐ μέντοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις
- 31 κουφότερον. ἡξίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς αὐτόχειρας μὲν μὴ γενέσθαι τὰδελφοῦ, ῥύσαντας δὲ εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον λάκκον οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν ἑᾶσαι καὶ τό γε [μὴ]<sup>4</sup> μινθῆναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν κερδαίνειν. συναινεσάντων δὲ τούτοις τῶν νεανίσκων παραλαβῶν ὁ Ῥουβήλος τὸ μεράκιον καὶ καλωδίου ἐκδήσας ἡρέμα καθίησιν<sup>5</sup> εἰς τὸν λάκκον· καὶ γὰρ ἰκανῶς ἄνυδρος ἦν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιήσας ἀπαλλάσσεται κατὰ ζήτησιν χωρίων πρὸς νομὰς ἐπιτηδείων.

- 32 (3) Ἰούδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων ἐμπόρουσ ἰδὼν Ἄραβας τοῦ Ἰσμαηλιτῶν γένους ἀρώματα καὶ Σύρα φορτία κομίζοντας

<sup>1</sup> Probably a gloss on προσήκειν.

<sup>2</sup> Bracketed by Niese.

<sup>3</sup> ins. edd. with Exc.

<sup>4</sup> om. RO (Lat.?).

<sup>5</sup> RO: καθίμησεν rell.



fore to expect His wrath on this ground also to be more severe, if, in killing him whom He had adjudged worthy of these coveted blessings, they should rob God of the recipient of His favours.

(2) With these and many more such appeals and entreaties did Rubel endeavour to deter them from fratricide ; but, when he saw that his words failed to moderate their passion and that they were bent on the murder, he counselled them to mitigate the iniquity of it by the manner of destruction. The better course, he said, would have been to follow his first advice, but since their determination to slay their brother had prevailed, their wickedness would be less heinous if they listened to what he would now advise ; this involved, to be sure, the deed on which they had set their heart, but in a different and, where it was a choice of evils, a less aggravated form. He begged them, in fact, not to raise their own hands against their brother, but to cast him into the adjacent pit and so leave him to die : it would at least profit them not to have soiled their hands in his blood. To this the young men consented, and Rubel took the lad and, tying him to a rope, gently let him down into the pit, which was as good as <sup>a</sup> dry. This done, he departed in search of grounds suitable for pasturage.<sup>b</sup>

His second  
speech.  
Cf. Gen.  
xxxvii. 21.

(3) But Judas, another of the sons of Jacob, having seen some Arab traders of the race of Ishmaelites conveying spices and Syrian merchandise from Gala-

Joseph sold  
to the  
Ishmaelites.  
Gen. xxxvii.  
25.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 24, "The pit was empty, there was no water in it." The adverb *ικανῶς* ("sufficiently") in Josephus may be due to misreading of *κενός* ("empty") found in some mss. of the LXX.

<sup>b</sup> Amplification of Scripture.

## JOSEPHUS

- Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν Ῥουβήλου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβούλευεν ἀνιμῆσαι τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀπεμπολῆσαι τοῖς Ἄραβιν·
- 33 ἐκεῖνόν τε γὰρ ὅτι πορρωτάτῳ γενόμενον καὶ τεθιγῆξασθαι παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις, αὐτούς τε τοῦ μιάσματος οὕτως ἀπαλλαγῆσασθαι. δόξαν οὖν τοῦτο, τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀποδίδονται τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνεγκύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου μνῶν εἴκοσιν, ἑπτα-
- 34 καίδεκα ἑτῶν γεγονότα. Ῥουβήλος δὲ νύκτωρ ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἐλθὼν σῶσαι τοὺς ἀδελφούς λαθῶν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ὡς ἀνακαλουμένῳ μὴ ὑπήκουσε, δείσας μὴ ἐφθάρκασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ κατεμέμφετο τοὺς ἀδελφούς. τῶν δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν αὐτῷ φρασάντων παύεται τοῦ πένθους Ῥουβήλος.
- 35 (4) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπέπρακτο, τί ποιήσαντες ἂν ἔξω τῆς ὑπονοίας παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γενηθεῖεν ἐζήτουν, καὶ δὴ τὸν χιτωνίσκον, ὃν ἀφῖκτο μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐνδεδυμένος, περιηγήκεσαν δ' αὐτὸν ὅτε καθίεσαν εἰς τὸν λάκκον, ἔδοξεν αὐτοῖς διασπαράξασιν αἵματι τράγου μολῦναι καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δεῖξαι φέροντας, ὡς ἂν ὑπὸ θηρίων αὐτῷ φανείη δι-
- 36 εφθαρμένος. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἤκον πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην ἤδη τῶν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένον, ἔλεγον δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰώσηπον οὐτ' ἰδεῖν οὐθ' ἢ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ μεμαθηκέαι, χιτῶνα δὲ τοῦτον εὐρεῖν ἤμαγμένοι καὶ λελακισμένοι, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν εἶναι περιπεσόντα θηρίοις αὐτὸν

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Gilead.

dene <sup>a</sup> for the Egyptian market, after Rubel's departure advised his brethren to draw up Joseph and sell him to these Arabs ; for he, banished to remotest exile, would die among strangers, while they would thus be free from the guilt of his blood. To this then they agreed, and they drew Joseph out of the pit and sold him to the merchants for twenty minas,<sup>b</sup> he being then seventeen years of age.<sup>c</sup> As for Rubel, he returned by night <sup>d</sup> to the pit, having resolved to rescue Joseph without the knowledge of his brethren, and when his calls met with no response, fearing that they had put an end to him after his departure, he heaped abuse upon his brethren. But they told him what had passed and Rubel ceased from lamentation.

(4) When Joseph's brethren had thus disposed of him, they considered what they should do to elude their father's suspicion. There was that tunie, which Joseph was wearing when he came to them and of which they had stripped him when they let him down into the pit : this they decided to tear in pieces, befoul with goat's blood, and take and show to their father, giving him to believe that his son had been destroyed by wild beasts. Having so done they came to the old man, who had already received news of his son's misadventure,<sup>d</sup> and told him that they had neither seen Joseph nor discovered what accident had befallen him, but that they had found this tunie, bloodstained and mangled, from which they surmised that he had encountered wild beasts and perished,

<sup>b</sup> Heb. " 20 (sc. shekels) of silver," the price of a male slave between the ages of 5 and 20 (Lev. xxvii. 5) : LXX " 20 (pieces) of gold." Josephus, in naming the mina, like the LXX in another fashion, greatly magnifies the sum.

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xxxvii. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Amplification.

Jacob's  
grief.  
Gen. xxxvii.  
31.

## JOSEPHUS

- ἀπολωλέναι, εἶγε τοῦτον ἐνδεδυμένος οἴκοθεν  
 37 ἐστάλη. Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπὶ κουφοτέραις ὦν ἐλπίσιν  
 ὡς ἠνδραποδισμένου δῆθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδός,  
 τοῦτον μὲν ἀφίησι τὸν λογισμόν, πίστιν δ' αὐτοῦ  
 τῆς τελευτῆς ἐναργῆ τὸν χιτῶνα ὑπολαβών, καὶ  
 γὰρ ἐγνώρισεν [ὡς]<sup>1</sup> ἐκείνον αὐτὸν ὃν ἐνδεδυμένον  
 ἐκπέμποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς, ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ τὸ  
 λοιπὸν οὕτω διέκειτο ἐπὶ τῷ μειρακίῳ πενθῶν.  
 38 καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς πατῆρ ὦν καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἄλλων παραμυθίας  
 ἐστερημένος οὕτως ἦν παρὰ τῷ κακῷ, πρὶν ἢ τοῖς  
 ἀδελφοῖς συμβαλεῖν εἰκάζων ὑπὸ θηρίων Ἰώσηπον  
 ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. ἐκαθέζετο δὲ σακκίον ἐξαψά-  
 μενος καὶ τῇ λύπῃ βαρύς, ὡς μῆθ' ὑπὸ παίδων  
 παρηγορούντων αὐτὸν ῥάονα γενέσθαι μῆτε κάμ-  
 νοντα τοῖς πόνοις ἀπαγορεύειν.  
 39 (iv. 1) Ἰώσηπον δὲ πωλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων  
 ὠνησάμενος Πεντεφρῆς,<sup>2</sup> ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος ἐπὶ τῶν  
 Φαραώθου μαγεύρων τοῦ βασιλέως, εἶχεν ἐν ἀπάσῃ  
 τιμῇ καὶ παιδείᾳ τε τὴν ἐλευθέριον ἐπαίδευε καὶ  
 διαίτῃ χρῆσθαι κρείττονι τῆς ἐπὶ δούλῳ τύχης  
 ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐγχειρίζει τε τὴν τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον  
 40 αὐτῷ πρόνοϊαν. ὁ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπέλαυε καὶ τὴν  
 ἀρετὴν, ἣτις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς μετα-  
 βολῆς ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ διέδειξε τὸ φρόνημα  
 κρατεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσκόλων δυνάμενον, οἷς  
 ἂν παρῆ γνησίως καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας τὰς  
 κατὰ καιρὸν μόνον ἤρμοσμένον.  
 41 (2) Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότητος γυναικὸς διὰ τε τὴν

<sup>1</sup> om. RO.

<sup>2</sup> v.l. Πετεφρῆς (and so below).

at least if that was the garment he was wearing when dispatched from home. Jacob, who was cherishing the more tolerable hope that his boy had been kidnapped, now abandoned that thought and, regarding the tunic as manifest evidence of his death—for he recognized it as that which he wore when he sent him off to his brethren—thenceforward acted even as though he were dead, in his mourning for the lad. And such was his affliction that he appeared to be the father of but one son and deprived of all consolation from the rest, imagining that Joseph, or ever he joined his brethren, had been annihilated by wild beasts. There he sat with sackcloth about him and heavy with grief—grief such that neither his sons could comfort and bring him ease, nor he himself tire and weary of his woes.

(iv. 1) But Joseph had been sold by the merchants and bought by Pentephres,<sup>a</sup> an Egyptian and chief of the cooks<sup>b</sup> of king Pharaohes; this man held him in the highest esteem, gave him a liberal education,<sup>c</sup> accorded him better fare than falls to the lot of a slave, and committed the charge of his household into his hands. Yet, while enjoying these privileges, he even under this change of fortune abandoned not that virtue that enveloped him, but displayed how a noble spirit can surmount the trials of life, where it is genuine and does not simply accommodate itself to passing prosperity.

(2) For his master's wife, by reason both of his vary between Petephres and Pentephres, a slightly more Hellenized form.

<sup>b</sup> So LXX ἀρχιμάγειρος: the Hebrew word (literally "slaughterers") means "apparently the royal cooks or butchers, who had come to be the bodyguard" (Skinner).

<sup>c</sup> Amplification.

Joseph and Potiphar (Pentephres). Gen. xxxix. 1.

Joseph and Potiphar's wife. Gen. xxxix. 6.

- εὐμορφίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα  
 ἐρωτικῶς διατεθείσης καὶ νομιζούσης, εἰ ποιήσειεν  
 αὐτῷ τοῦτο φανερόν, ῥαδίως πείσειν αὐτὸν εἰς  
 ὁμιλίαν ἔλθειν εὐτύχημα ἡγησάμενον τὸ τὴν  
 42 δέσποιναν αὐτοῦ δεηθῆναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς  
 τότε δουλείας ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἀφορώσης  
 τὸν καὶ παρὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν παραμένοντα, τὴν  
 τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῷ ποιησάσης καταφανῆ καὶ  
 λόγους προσφερούσης περὶ μίξεως, παρέπεμπε  
 τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐ κρίνας ὅσιον εἶναι τοιαύτην αὐτῇ  
 δίδόναι χάριν, ἐν ἧ τοῦ πριαμένου καὶ τοσαύτης  
 ἡξιωκότος τιμῆς ἀδικίαν συνέβαινε εἶναι καὶ  
 43 ὕβριν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν τε τοῦ πάθους κακείνην  
 παρεκάλει τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ τεύξεσθαι τῆς  
 ἐπιθυμίας προβαλλόμενος, σταλήσεσθαι γάρ [τε]  
 αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὴ παρούσης ἐλπίδος, αὐτὸς τε πάντα  
 μᾶλλον ὑπομενεῖν<sup>1</sup> ἔλεγεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο κατα-  
 πειθῆς ἔσεσθαι· καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῇ δεσποίνῃ δούλον  
 ὄντα δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἐναντίον, ἢ πρὸς τὰ τοιαῦτα  
 τῶν προσταγμάτων ἀντιλογία πολλὴν ἂν ἔχοι  
 44 παραίτησιν. τῆς δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτειε τὸν  
 ἔρωτα τὸ μὴ προσδοκῶση τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀντισχεῖν  
 καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ πολιορκουμένη δευτέρα  
 πάλιν πείρα προεθυμεῖτο κατεργάσασθαι.
- 45 (3) Δημοτελοῦς οὖν ἐορτῆς ἐπιστάσης, καθ' ἣν  
 εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ γυναῖξι φοιτᾶν νόμιμον ἦν,  
 σκήπτεται νόσον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα θηρωμένη μόνωσιν  
 καὶ σχολὴν εἰς τὸ δεηθῆναι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, καὶ  
 γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτης λιπαρεστέρους ἔτι τῶν

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: ὑπομένειν codd.

comely appearance<sup>a</sup> and his dexterity in affairs, became enamoured of him. She thought that if she disclosed this passion to him, she would easily persuade him to have intercourse with her, since he would deem it a stroke of fortune to be solicited by his mistress: she was looking but at the outward guise of his present servitude, but not at his character, which notwithstanding his change of fortune stood firm. So, when she declared her passion and proposed an illicit union,<sup>b</sup> Joseph scouted her overtures, deeming it impious to afford her such gratification as would be an iniquity and outrage to the master who had bought him and deigned to honour him so highly. Nay, he besought her to govern her passions, representing the hopelessness of satisfying her lust, which would shrink and die when she saw no prospect of gratifying it, while for his part, he would endure anything rather than be obedient to this behest; for although as a slave he ought never to defy his mistress, contradiction to orders such as these would have abundant excuse. But the woman's love was only the more intensified by this unexpected opposition of Joseph, and being sorely beset by her wicked passion, she determined by a renewed assault to subdue him.

(3) So, on the approach of a public festival,<sup>c</sup> when it was customary for women also to join the general assembly, she made illness an excuse to her husband, in quest of solitude and leisure to solicit Joseph; and, having obtained her opportunity, she addressed

Her renewed solicitation of Joseph.

<sup>a</sup> εὐμορφία: Philo, *De Jos.* 9 § 40, uses the same word.

<sup>b</sup> Phrase taken from Philo, *loc. cit.* (περὶ μίξεως λόγους προσέφερον).

<sup>c</sup> A legendary addition, for which there are Rabbinical parallels (quoted by Weill), invented to explain why "there was none of the men of the house within" (Gen. xxxix. 11).

## JOSEPHUS

- 46 πρώτων αὐτῷ προσηνέγκατο λόγους, ὡς καλῶς μὲν εἶχεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς δέησιν εἶξαι καὶ μηδὲν ἀντειρηκέσαι κατὰ τε τὴν τῆς παρακαλούσης ἐντροπήν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολήν, ὑφ' οὗ βιασθείη δέσποινα οὔσα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν<sup>1</sup> ἀξιώματος ταπεινότερα γενέσθαι, φρονήσει δέ<sup>2</sup> καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον ἐνδοῦς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν
- 47 ἄγνωμον διορθώσεται· εἴτε γὰρ δευτέραν δέησιν ἐξεδέχεται, ταύτην γεγονέναι καὶ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς· νόσον τε γὰρ προφασίσασθαι καὶ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαν προτιμῆσαι· εἴτε τοῖς πρώτοις ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας ἀντέκρουσε λογισμοῖς, τοῦ μηδεμίαν κακουργίαν εἶναι κρίνειν σύμβολον τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν.
- 48 προσδοκᾶν τε τῶν παρόντων ἀγαθῶν ὄνησιν, ὧν ἤδη μετέχειν,<sup>3</sup> προσθέμενον αὐτῆς τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ μειζόνων ἀπόλαυσιν<sup>4</sup> ὑπήκοον γενόμενον, ἄμυναν δὲ καὶ μῖσος παρ' αὐτῆς ἀποστραφέντα τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τῇ δεσποίνῃ τὴν τῆς
- 49 σωφροσύνης δόκησιν ἐπίπροσθε θέμενον. οὐ γὰρ αὐτὸν τοῦτο ὠφελήσκειν τραπέισης εἰς κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταψευσαμένης πείραν ἐπὶ τάνδρῃ, προσέξειν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς αὐτῆς λόγοις Πεντεφρῆῃ ἢ τοῖς ἐκείνου, κἄν ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φέρωνται.
- 50 (4) Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ δακρυούσης οὔτε οἶκτος αὐτὸν μὴ σωφροεῖν ἔπεισεν οὔτ' ἠνάγκασε φόβος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δεήσεσιν ἀντέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς οὐκ ἐνέδωκε, καὶ<sup>5</sup> παθεῖν ἀδίκως καὶ

<sup>1</sup> κατὸ ταύτην ROE.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf witā Lat. : τε codd.



him even more importunately than before. It had been well for him, she said, to have yielded to her first request and in no wise gainsaid her, both out of respect for his petitioner and because of the excess of the passion which constrained a mistress to abase herself beneath her dignity; but even now by a better surrender to discretion he might repair his folly in the past. Were he awaiting a second invitation, here it was, made with yet greater ardour, for she had feigned sickness and preferred to the feast and the assembly an interview with him; was it from mistrust that he had repulsed her first overtures, he should take it as a token of her lack of guile that she still persisted in them. Again, he might look not only for the enjoyment of those present privileges that were already his, by responding to her love, but for benefits yet greater, would he only submit; but for vengeance and hatred on her part, should he reject her suit and set more store on a reputation for chastity than on gratifying his mistress. For that would serve him nought, were she to turn his accuser and charge him falsely to her husband of an assault upon her; and Pentephres would listen to her words, however wide of the truth, rather than to his.<sup>a</sup>

(4) So spake the woman, weeping withal; yet neither pity could induce him to unchastity nor fear compel: he resisted her entreaties and yielded not to her threats, choosing to suffer unjustly and to

His chaste  
reply.

<sup>a</sup> Or perhaps "rather than to his, however truthful they might be"; so previous translators. The phrase "to be carried away (or "proceed") from the truth" is ambiguous.

<sup>3</sup> μετέχει Niese.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: ἀπολαύσειν (-λαύειν) codd.

<sup>5</sup> O: δείσας (δείσας και) rell.

- ὑπομένειν<sup>1</sup> τι τῶν χαλεπωτέρων εἴλετο μᾶλλον  
 ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαύειν χαρισάμενος ἐφ' οἷς  
 51 ἂν αὐτῷ συνειδῆ δικαίως ἀπολουμένῳ. γάμου τε  
 αὐτὴν ὑπεμίμησκε καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα συμ-  
 βιώσεως καὶ τούτοις τὸ πλεόν νέμειν ἢ προσκαίρω  
 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἡδονῆ παρεκάλει, τῆς μὲν καὶ μετά-  
 νοιαν ἐξούσης αὐθις ἐπ' ὀδύνη γενησομένην οὐκ  
 ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ φόβον τοῦ  
 μὴ κατάφωρον γενέσθαι [καὶ<sup>2</sup> χάριν τοῦ λαθεῖν  
 52 ἀγνοουμένου τοῦ κακοῦ], τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα  
 κοινωνίας ἀπόλαυσιν ἐχούσης ἀκίνδυνον καὶ προσ-  
 ἔτι πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ πρὸς τὸν  
 θεὸν παρρησίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ ὡς αὐτοῦ  
 δεσπόσει μᾶλλον μείνασα καθαρὰ καὶ δεσποίνης  
 ἐξουσία χρήσεται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐ συνεξ-  
 αμαρτάνοντος αἰδοῦ· πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον εἶναι θαρρεῖν  
 ἐπὶ γνωσκομένοις τοῖς εὖ βεβιωμένοις ἢ ἐπὶ  
 λαιθανούσῃ κακοπραγίᾳ.
- 53 (5) Ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτοις ὅμοια  
 τὴν τῆς γυναικὸς ὄρμην ἐπέχειν ἐπειράτο καὶ τὸ  
 πάθος αὐτῆς εἰς λογισμὸν ἐπιστρέφειν, ἢ δὲ  
 βιαίτερον ἐχρήτο τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιβαλοῦσα τὰς  
 χεῖρας ἀναγκάζειν ἀπογνοῦσα τοῦ πείθειν ἠθελεν.
- 54 ὡς δ' ἐξέφυγεν ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ὁ Ἰώσηπος προσκατα-  
 λιπὼν καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, κατεχούσης καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν  
 ἐκ τούτου μεθεὶς ἐξεπήδησε τοῦ δωματίου, περι-  
 δεῆς γενομένη, μὴ κατείπη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς,  
 καὶ τῆς ὕβρεως περιαλγῶς ἔχουσα φθάσαι κατα-  
 ψεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Πεντεφρὴν ἔγνω τοῦ Ἰωσήπου,  
 καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τιμωρῆσαι μὲν αὐτῇ δεινῶς

<sup>1</sup> κἂν (sic RO) ὑπομένη Niese,

<sup>2</sup> v.l. ἀλλά.

endure even the severest penalty, rather than take advantage of the moment<sup>a</sup> by an indulgence for which he was conscious that he would justly deserve to die. He recalled to her mind her marriage and wedded life with her husband and besought her to pay more regard to these than to the transient pleasure of lust: that would bring subsequent remorse, which would make her suffer for her sins without correcting them, and also fear of detection,<sup>b</sup> whereas union with her husband afforded enjoyment without danger, and moreover that perfect confidence before God and man arising from a good conscience. He added that by remaining chaste she would have more command over him and exercise authority as his mistress, as she could not with the guilty feeling of being his partner in sin; and it was far better to put faith in a known reputation for a well-spent life than in the secrecy of crime.

(5) By these words and yet more to like effect he endeavoured to curb the woman's impulse and to turn her passion into the path of reason; but she displayed only a more violent ardour and, flinging her arms about him, despairing of persuasion she would have had resort to force. Joseph fled from her in indignation, leaving with her his cloak, by which she had held him and which he abandoned when he leapt from the chamber; then, terrified lest he should inform her husband, and smarting under this affront, she resolved to forestall Joseph by falsely accusing him to Pentephres: this method of avenging

The woman's vengeance, Gen. xxxix. 12.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Heb. xi. 25, "choosing rather to be evil entreated . . . than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season" (of Moses).

<sup>b</sup> I follow Reinach in rejecting the obscure words in brackets as a gloss.

## JOSEPHUS

ὑπερηφανημένη, προλαβεῖν δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν σοφὸν  
 55 ἅμα καὶ γυναικεῖον ἠγήσατο. καὶ καθῆστο μὲν  
 κατηφῆς καὶ συγκεχυμένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ διαμαρτεῖν  
 τῆς ἐπιθυμίας λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ πείρα διαφθορᾶς  
 πλασαμένη μετ' ὀργῆς, ἐλθόντι δὲ τάνδρι καὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν ὄψιν ταραχθέντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τὴν αἰτίαν  
 τῆς κατηγορίας τῆς Ἰωσήπου κατήρξατο καὶ  
 "τεθναίης," εἶπεν, "ἄνερ, ἢ πονηρὸν δούλον  
 56 κοίτην μιᾶναι τὴν σὴν ἐβελήσαντα κόλασον, ὃς  
 οὔθ' οἶος ὦν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον ἀφίκται  
 μνησθεὶς ἐσωφρόνησεν οὔθ' ὦν ἐκ τῆς σῆς χρη-  
 στοσύτητος ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ' ἀχάριστος ὦν ἄν, εἰ μὴ  
 πάντα παρείχεν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἐπεβού-  
 λευσεν ὑβρίσαι γάμον τὸν σὸν καὶ ταῦτ' ἐν ἑορτῇ  
 τὴν σὴν ἀπουσίαν παραφυλάξας· ὡς ὅσα καὶ  
 μέτριος ἐδόκει πρότερον διὰ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον  
 57 ἠρέμει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει χρηστὸς ἦν. τοιοῦτον δ'  
 ἄρα τὸ παρ' ἀξίαν αὐτὸν καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδας εἰς  
 τιμὴν παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡς δέον ᾧ τὴν τῆς  
 κτήσεως τῆς σῆς πίστιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λαβεῖν  
 ἐξεγένετο καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἰκετῶν προ-  
 τιμηθῆναι τούτῳ καὶ τῆς σῆς ψαύειν γυναικός."  
 58 παυσαμένη δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπεδείκνυνεν αὐτῷ τὸ  
 ἱμάτιον, ὡς ὅτ' ἐπεχείρει βιάσασθαι καταλιπόντος  
 αὐτό. Πεντεφρῆς δὲ μήτε δακρυούση τῇ γυναικὶ  
 μήθ' οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ εἶδεν<sup>1</sup> ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων, τῷ τε  
 πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι πλέον νέμων, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς  
 59 ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν οὐκ ἐτρέπετο, δούς δὲ σωφρονεῖν  
 τῇ γυναικὶ πονηρὸν δ' εἶναι κατακρίνας τὸν  
 Ἰωσήπου τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν κακούργων εἰρκτὴν

<sup>1</sup> + ipse Lat. : αὐτὸς has perhaps dropped out.

herself for so grievous a slight and of accusing him in advance seemed to her alike wise and womanly. So she sat with downcast eyes and in confusion, feigning in her wrath to attribute her grief at the disappointment of her lust to an attempt at violation; and when her husband arrived and, distressed at her appearance, asked her for the reason, she began her accusation of Joseph. "Mayest thou die, my husband," said she, "or else chastise this wicked slave who would fain have defiled thy bed. For neither the memory of what he was when he entered our house nor of the benefits which he has received of thy bounty has sufficed to chasten him; no, this fellow, who would have been ungrateful had he in any wise failed to show exemplary conduct towards us, has designed to abuse thy wedlock, and that on a festival, watching for thy absence. So, for all that seeming modesty in the past, it was fear of thee that restrained him and no virtuous disposition. To such a pass, it seems, has his unmerited and unlooked for promotion brought him, as to suppose that one who had succeeded in obtaining the charge and administration of thy estate and in being preferred to senior menials, had the right to lay hands even on thy wife." Having ceased speaking, she showed him the cloak, pretending that he had left it when he essayed to violate her. To Pentephres his wife's tears, her story, and what he saw himself left no room for incredulity, and unduly influenced by his love for her he was not careful to investigate the truth. Giving his wife the credit of innocence and condemning Joseph as a scoundrel, he cast him into

## JOSEPHUS

ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐφρόνει κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην αὐτῇ μαρτυρῶν.

- 60 (v. 1) Ἰώσηπος μὲν οὖν πάντ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ποιησάμενος τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδ' εἰς ἀπολογίαὶν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀκριβῆ τῶν γεγονότων δήλωσιν ἐτράπη, τὰ δεσμὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην σιγῶν ὑπήλθεν, ἀμείνονα ἔσσεσθαι τῶν δεδεκότων θαρρῶν τὸν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδότα θεόν,
- 61 οὗ πείραν τῆς προνοίας εὐθύς ἐλάμβανεν· ὁ γὰρ δεσμοφύλαξ τὴν τε ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσας ἐν οἷς τάξειεν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς μορφῆς ὑπανίει τε τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐλαφρότερον αὐτῷ καὶ κοῦφον ἐποίει, διαίτη δὲ χρῆσθαι κρείττονι δεσμωτῶν ἐπέτρεπε.
- 62 τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄντων εἶποτε παύσαιντο τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔργα τλαιπωρίας εἰς ὀμιλίαν, οἷα φιλεῖ κατὰ κοινωνίαν τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς, τρεπομένων καὶ παρ' ἀλλήλων τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς κατακριθεῖεν
- 63 ἀναπνιθανομένων, οἰνοχόος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σφόδρα δ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενος κατ' ὀργὴν δεδεμένος καὶ συνδιαφέρων τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰς πέδας συνηθέστερος αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο καί, συνέσει γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτὸν προύχειν, ὄναρ ἰδὼν ἐξέθετο παρακαλῶν δηλοῦν εἴ τι<sup>1</sup> σημαίνει, μεμφόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κακοῖς ἔτι τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων φροντίδας προστίθησιν.
- 64 (2) Ἔλεγε δ' οὖν ἰδεῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους τριῶν κλημάτων πεφυκυίας ἀμπέλου βότρυς ἐξ ἐκάστου

<sup>1</sup> εἴ τι] ὅ τι O (Lat. quid).

<sup>a</sup> The same phrase κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην is used of Joseph in Philo, *De Jos.* 9 § 40.

<sup>b</sup> Amplification; cf. the Roman fashion of coupling a

the malefactors' prison, while of his wife he was yet prouder than before, testifying to her decorum and sobriety.<sup>a</sup>

(v. 1) Joseph, on his side, committing his cause entirely to God, sought neither to defend himself nor yet to render a strict account of what had passed, but silently underwent his bonds and confinement, confident that God, who knew the cause of his calamity and the truth, would prove stronger than those who had bound him; and of His providence he had proof forthwith. For the keeper of the prison, noting his diligence and fidelity in the tasks committed to him, along with the dignity of his features, gave him some relief from his chains and rendered his cruel fate lighter and more tolerable, allowing him moreover rations superior to prisoners' fare. Now his fellow-prisoners, during any cessation of their hard labours, used, as is the way with partners in misfortune, to fall into conversation and ask each other the reasons for their several condemnations. Among them was the king's cupbearer, once held by him in high esteem and then in a fit of anger imprisoned: this man, wearing the same fetters as Joseph,<sup>b</sup> became the more intimately acquainted with him, and, forming a high opinion of his sagacity, recounted to him a dream which he had seen and asked him to explain whatever meaning it had, complaining that to the injuries inflicted by the king the Deity added this further burden of vexatious dreams.

(2) He said that he had seen in his sleep a full-grown vine with three branches, from each of which

Joseph in prison.  
Gen. xxxix.  
21.

The butler's dream.  
Gen. xl. 9

prisoner to his guard, *A.* xviii. 196 τὸν συνδεδεμένον αὐτῷ (Agrippa) στρατιώτην.

## JOSEPHUS

ἀποκρέμασθαι μεγάλους ἤδη καὶ πρὸς τρύγητον  
 ὠραίους, καὶ τούτους αὐτὸς ἀποθλίβειν εἰς φιάλην  
 ὑπέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διηθήσας τε τὸ γλεῦκος  
 δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ πιεῖν, κάκεινον δέξασθαι κεχαρι-  
 65 σμένως. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἑωραμένον ἐδήλου τοιοῦτον  
 ὄν, ἡξίου δ' εἶ τι μεμοίραται συνέσεως φράζειν  
 αὐτῷ τὴν πρόρρησιν τῆς ὄψεως. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε  
 παρεκάλει καὶ προσδοκᾶν ἐν τρισὶν ἡμέραις ἀπο-  
 λυθήσεσθαι τῶν δεσμῶν, τοῦ βασιλέως ποθήσαντος  
 αὐτοῦ τὴν διακονίαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸν  
 66 ἐπανάξοντος· καρπὸν γὰρ ἐσήμαιεν ἀμπέλινον ἐπ'  
 ἀγαθῷ τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν, ὃς αὐτῷ  
 τε ἐκείνῳ σπένδεται καὶ πίστιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ  
 φιλίαν ὀμηρεῖ, διαλύων μὲν ἔχθρας τὰ πάθη δὲ  
 καὶ τὰς λύπας ἐξαιρῶν τοῖς προσφερομένοις αὐτὸν  
 67 καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑποφέρων. “ τοῦτον οὖν φῆς ἐκ  
 τριῶν ἀποθλιβέντα βοτρύων χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς  
 προσέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα· καλὴν τοίνυν ἴσθι σοι τὴν  
 ὄψιν γεγεννημένην καὶ προμηνύουσαν ἄφεσιν τῆς  
 παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις, ἐξ ὧσων  
 κλημάτων τὸν καρπὸν ἐτρύγησας κατὰ τοὺς  
 68 ὕπνους. μέμνησο μέντοι τούτων πειραθεὶς τοῦ  
 προκαταγγείλαντός σοι τὰ ἀγαθὰ, καὶ γενόμενος  
 ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μὴ περιίδης ἡμᾶς ἐν οἷς καταλείψεις  
 πρὸς ἃ δεδηλώκαμεν ἀπερχόμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ  
 69 ἐξαμαρτόντες ἐν δεσμοῖς γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς  
 ἕνεκα καὶ σωφροσύνης τὰ τῶν κακούργων ὑπο-  
 μένειν κατεκρίθημεν, οὐδέ γε μετ' οἰκείας ἡδονῆς  
 τὸν ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενον ὑβρίσαι θελήσαντες.”  
 τῷ μὲν οὖν οἰνοχόῳ χαίρειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀκού-  
 σαντι τοιαύτης τῆς τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἐξηγήσεως



hung clusters of grapes, already large and ripe for the vintage, and that he had pressed these into a cup held out by the king, and having let the must run through he had given it to the king to drink and he had received it graciously. Such, he declared, was what he saw, and he desired Joseph, if he was gifted with any understanding, to tell him what the vision portended. And Joseph bade him be of good cheer and to expect within three days to be released from his bonds, since the king needed his service and would recall him to his office. For he explained how the fruit of the vine was given by God to men as a blessing, seeing that it is offered in libation to Himself and serves men as a pledge of fidelity and friendship, terminating feuds, banishing the sufferings and sorrows of those who take it to their lips, and wafting them down into delight.<sup>a</sup> "This juice, thou sayest, pressed from three clusters by thy hands, was accepted by the king. Well, it is a fine vision, be sure, that thou hast had, and one betokening release from thy present confinement within as many days as were the branches from which thou gatheredst the fruit in thy sleep. Howbeit, when these things befall thee, remember him who predicted thy felicity, and, once at liberty, do not neglect me in the state wherein thou wilt leave me when thou departest to that lot which I have foretold. For it was no crime that brought me into these bonds: nay, it was for virtue's sake and for sobriety that I was condemned to undergo a malefactor's fate, and because even the lure of my own pleasure would not induce me to dishonour him who has thus treated me." The butler, as may well be imagined, could but rejoice to hear such an inter-

<sup>a</sup> Cf. the praise of wine in 1 Esdras iii. 18 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

ὑπῆρχε καὶ περιμένειν τῶν δεδηλωμένων τὴν τελευτήν.

- 70 (3) Δοῦλος δέ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν τεταγμένος τοῦ βασιλέως συνδεδεμένος τῷ οἰνοχόῳ, τοιαύτην ποιησαμένου τοῦ Ἰωσήπου περὶ τῆς ὄψεως ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἀπόφασιν, εὐελπισ ὢν, καὶ γὰρ καὐτὸς ὄναρ ἦν τεθραμένος, ἠξίωσε τὸν Ἰώσηπον φράσαι, τί κακείνῳ δηλοῦν βούλεται τὰ διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης
- 71 νυκτὸς ὀφθέντα. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα· “τρία,” φησί, “κανᾶ φέρειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔδοξα, δύο μὲν ἄρτων πλέα, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὄψου τε καὶ ποικίλων βρωμάτων οἷα βασιλεῦσι σκευάζεται· καταπταμένους δ’ οἰωνοὺς ἅπαντα δαπανῆσαι μηδένα λόγον
- 72 αὐτοῦ ποιουμένους ἀποσοβοῦντος.” καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁμοίαν τὴν πρόρρησιν ἔσεσθαι τῇ τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσεδόκα· ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος συλλαβὼν<sup>1</sup> τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ ὄναρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν, ὡς ἐβούλετ’ ἂν ἀγαθῶν ἐρμηνευτῆς αὐτῷ γεγονέναι καὶ οὐχ οἶων τὸ ὄναρ αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, λέγει δύο τὰς πάσας ἔτι τοῦ ζῆν αὐτὸν ἔχειν ἡμέρας· τὰ γὰρ κανᾶ τοῦτο
- 73 σημαίνειν· τῇ τρίτῃ δ’ αὐτὸν ἀνασταυρωθέντα βορὰν ἔσεσθαι πετεινοῖς οὐδὲν ἀμύνειν αὐτῷ δυνάμενον. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα τέλος ὁμοιον οἷς ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἶπεν ἀμφοτέροις ἔλαβε· τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ προειρημένῃ γενέθλιον τεθυκῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν ἀνεσταύρωσε, τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόον τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπηρεσίας κατέστησεν.

- 74 (4) Ἰώσηπον δὲ διετῆ χρόνον τοῖς δεσμοῖς

<sup>1</sup> RO Lat. (cf. ii. 15): συμβαλῶν rell.

<sup>a</sup> Philo has a similar preface, *De Jos.* 18 § 94 ἐβουλόμην

pretation of his dream and eagerly await the accomplishment of these disclosures.

(3) But another slave, once chief of the king's bakers and now imprisoned along with the butler, after Joseph had thus explained the other's vision, was full of hope—for he too had had a dream—and besought Joseph to tell him also what might be the signification of his visions of the night past. These were as follows: "Methought," said he, "that I was carrying three baskets upon my head, two filled with loaves, and the third with dainties and divers meats such as are prepared for kings, when birds flew down and devoured them all, heedless of my efforts to scare them away." He was expecting a prediction similar to that made to the butler; but Joseph, grasping on reflexion the import of the dream, after assuring him that he could have wished to have good news to interpret to him <sup>a</sup> and not such as the dream disclosed to his mind, told him that he had in all but two days yet to live (the baskets indicated that), and that on the third day he would be crucified <sup>b</sup> and become food for the fowls, utterly powerless to defend himself. And in fact this all fell out just as Joseph had declared to both of them; for on the day predicted the king, celebrating his birthday with a sacrifice, crucified the chief baker but released the butler from his bonds and restored him to his former office.

The baker's dream.  
Gen. xl. 16.

(4) Joseph, however, for two full years endured the

Joseph's liberation.  
Gen. xli. 1.

μὲν μὴ παραστήναι σοι τὴν φαντασίαν . . . ὀκνῶ τε γάρ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, εἶναι κακῶν ἄγγελος.

<sup>b</sup> Or "impaled." Gen. xl. 19 ("lift thy head from off thee and hang thee on a tree") implies decapitation and subsequent impalement of the corpse; Josephus, omitting the former, appears to introduce the *Roman* penalty.

- κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰνοχόου κατὰ  
 μνήμην τῶν προειρημένων ὠφελούμενον ὁ θεὸς  
 ἀπέλυσε τῆς εἰρκτῆς τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπαλ-  
 75 λαγὴν μηχανησάμενος· Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσπέραν ὄψεις ἐνυπνίων θεασάμενος δύο  
 καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν ἑκατέρας ἐξήγησιν ταύτης μὲν  
 ἡμνημόνησε, τῶν δὲ ὄνειράτων κατέσχευεν. ἀχθό-  
 μενος οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἑωραμένοις, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει  
 σκυθρωπὰ ταῦτ' αὐτῷ, συνεκάλει μεθ' ἡμέραν  
 Αἰγυπτίων τοὺς λογιωτάτους χρήζων μαθεῖν τῶν  
 76 ὄνειράτων τὴν κρίσιν. ἀπορούντων δ' ἐκείνων ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράττετο. τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόον  
 ὄρωντα τοῦ Φαραώθου τὴν σύγχυσιν ὑπέρχεται  
 μνήμη τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὄνειράτων  
 77 συνέσεως, καὶ προσελθὼν ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸν  
 Ἰώσηπον τὴν τε ὄψιν, ἣν αὐτὸς εἶδεν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ,  
 καὶ τὸ ἀποβὰν ἐκείνου φράσαντος, ὅτι τε σταυρω-  
 θεῖη κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν  
 κάκείνω τοῦτο συμβαίη κατ' ἐξήγησιν ὄνειράτος  
 78 Ἰωσήπου προειπόντος. δεδέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον μὲν  
 ὑπὸ Πεντεφροῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μαγείρων ὡς δούλον,  
 λέγειν δ' αὐτὸν Ἑβραίων ἐν ὀλίγοις εἶναι γένους  
 ἄμα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δόξης. “ τοῦτον οὖν  
 μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἄρτι κακοπραγίαν  
 αὐτοῦ καταγνοὺς μαθήσῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ὄνειράτων  
 79 σοι δηλούμενα.” κελεύσαντος οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως  
 εἰς ὄψιν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰώσηπον παραγαγεῖν τὸν μὲν  
 ἤκουσιν ἄγοντες οἱ κεκελευσμένοι τημελήσαντες  
 κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως.  
 80 (5) Ὁ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος “ ὦ  
 νεανία,” φησί, “ σὺ γάρ μοι νῦν ἄριστος καὶ

miserics of bondage, without receiving any aid from the butler in memory of his predictions, until God released him from prison, devising the following means for his deliverance. King Pharaohes on one and the same evening saw in his dreams two visions together with the explanation of each of them<sup>a</sup>; he forgot the explanation, but retained the dreams. Oppressed by these sights, which to him seemed of evil aspect, he summoned on the morrow the sagest of the Egyptians, desiring to learn the interpretation of the dreams; and finding them baffled, the king was yet more disturbed. But into the mind of the butler, watching the monarch's perplexity, there stole the memory of Joseph and his skill in dreams; he approached, spoke to him of Joseph, recounted the vision which he himself had seen in prison and the issue as foretold by him, and how on the same day the chief baker had been crucified and how his fate too had befallen him in accordance with Joseph's prophetic interpretation of a dream. He added that the man had been imprisoned by Pentephres, the chief cook, as a slave, but that, according to his own account, he ranked, alike by birth and by his father's fame, among the foremost of the Hebrews. "Send then for him," he said, "nor spurn him for his present miserable state, and thou wilt learn the meaning of thy dreams." So the king commanded to bring Joseph into his presence, and the appointed officers returned bringing him with them, after giving him their attentions in accordance with the orders of royalty.

(5) The king took him by the hand and said: Pharaoh's dreams.  
 "Young man, forasmuch as thy excellence and ex- Gen. xli. 15.

\* Amplification of Scripture.

- σύνεσιν ἰκανώτατος ὑπὸ οἰκέτου τοῦμοῦ μεμαρ-  
 τύρησαι τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν καὶ τούτῳ μετ-  
 ἔδωκας, ἀξίωσον καὶ με φράσας ὅσα μοι κατὰ τοὺς  
 ὕπνους ὄνειράτων ὄψεις προδηλοῦσι· βούλομαι δέ  
 σε μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον φόβῳ κολακεῦσαι ψευδεῖ  
 λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἂν τάληθές σκυθρω-  
 81 πότερον ἦ. ἔδοξα γὰρ παρὰ ποταμὸν βαδίζων  
 βόας ἰδεῖν εὐτραφεῖς ἅμα καὶ μεγέθει διαφερούσας,  
 ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 ἔλος, ἄλλας δὲ ταύταις τὸν ἀριθμὸν παραπλησίας  
 ἐκ τοῦ ἔλους ὑπαντῆσαι λίαν κατισχνωμένας καὶ  
 δεινὰς ὄραθῆναι, αἱ κατεσθίουσαι τὰς εὐτραφεῖς  
 καὶ μεγάλας οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦντο χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 82 λιμοῦ τετρυχωμένοι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν  
 διεγερθεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τεταραγμένος<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 τί ποτ' εἶη τὸ φάντασμα παρ' ἑμαυτῷ σκοπῶν  
 καταφέρομαι πάλιν εἰς ὕπνον καὶ δεύτερον ὄναρ  
 ὄρω πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου θαυμασιώτερον, ὃ με  
 83 καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκφοβεῖ καὶ ταραττει. στάχνας ἑπτὰ  
 ἑώρων ἀπὸ μιᾶς ρίζης ἐκφυέντας καρηβαροῦντας  
 ἤδη καὶ κεκλιμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς  
 ἄμητον ὥρας καὶ τούτοις ἑτέρους ἑπτὰ στάχνας  
 πλησίον λιφεροῦντας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ ἀδροσίας,  
 οἱ δαπανᾶν καὶ κατεσθίειν τοὺς ὠραίους τραπέντες  
 ἔκπληξίν μοι παρέσχον.”
- 84 (6) Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, “ὄνειρος μὲν οὗτος,”  
 εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, καίπερ ἐν δυσὶ μορφαῖς ὀφ-  
 θεῖς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποσημαίνει τελευτήν  
 τῶν ἐσομένων. τό τε γὰρ τὰς βοῦς ἰδεῖν, ζῶων  
 ἐπ' ἀρότρῳ πονεῖν γεγενημένον, ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων  
 85 κατεσθιομένας, καὶ οἱ στάχνες ὑπὸ τῶν ἐλαττόνων  
 δαπανώμενοι λιμὸν Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ ἀκαρπῖαν ἐπὶ  
 202

treme sagacity have but now been attested to me by my servant, vouchsafe to me also the same good offices as thou hast rendered to him, by telling me what is foreshadowed by these dreams which I have seen in my sleep; and I would have thee suppress nothing through fear nor flatter me with lying speech designed to please, however grim the truth may be. Methought that, as I walked by the river, I saw kine well-fed and exceeding large, seven in number, faring from the stream to the marsh-land, and others of like number came from the marshes to meet them, sorely emaciated and fearful to behold, which devoured the fat and large kine but were nothing bettered, so grievously wasted were they with famine. After this vision I awoke from sleep and, being disquieted and pondering in my mind what this apparition might be, I sank once more asleep and saw a second dream far more wondrous than the first, which terrified and disquieted me yet more. I saw seven ears of corn, sprung from a single root, their heads already toppling and bent beneath the load of grain and its ripeness for harvest, and beside them seven other ears forlorn and weak from want of dew, which fell to consuming and devouring the ripe ears, causing me consternation."

(6) To this Joseph replied: "This dream, O king, albeit seen under two forms, denotes but one and the same event to come. For these kine, creatures born to labour at the plough, that thou sawest being devoured by those inferior to them, these ears of corn consumed by lesser ears, alike foretell for Egypt

Joseph's  
interpretation.  
Gen. xli. 25.

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<sup>1</sup> + ὦν ROE.

## JOSEPHUS

τοσαῦτα προκαταγγέλλουσιν ἔτη τοῖς ἴσοις πρό-  
 τερον εὐδαιμονησάση, ὡς τὴν τούτων εὐφορίαν  
 τῶν ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμὸν  
 ἴσων ἀφορίας ὑπαναλωθῆναι. γενήσεται δ' ἡ  
 σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφόδρα δυσκατόρθωτος.  
 86 σημεῖον δέ· αἱ γὰρ κατισχνωμένοι βόες δαπανή-  
 σασαι τὰς κρείττονας οὐκ ἴσχυσαν κορεσθῆναι. ὁ  
 μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ λυπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις προδείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως προυγνωκότες  
 κουφοτέρας συνέσει ποιῶνται τὰς πείρας τῶν  
 κατηγγελεμένων. σὺ τοίνυν ταμιευσάμενος τὰ-  
 γαθὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον γενησόμενα  
 ποιήσεις ἀνεπαίσθητον Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἐπελευσο-  
 μένην συμφορὰν."

87 (7) Θαυμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν φρόνησιν  
 καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ πυθομένου, τίνα  
 καὶ τρόπον ἂν προοικονομήσειεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐ-  
 ετηρίας καιροῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν μετὰ ταύτην, ὡς ἂν  
 88 ἐλαφρότερα γένοιτο τὰ τῆς ἀφορίας, ὑπετίθετο καὶ  
 συνεβούλευε φειδῶ [ποιεῖσθαι] τῶν ἀγαθῶν καὶ  
 μὴ κατὰ περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς χρῆσθαι τοῖς Αἰγυπ-  
 τίοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἂν κατὰ τρυφήν ἀνα-  
 λώσωσιν ἐκ περισσοῦ, ταῦτα τηρεῖν εἰς τὸν τῆς  
 ἐνδείας καιρὸν, ἀποτίθεσθαι τε παρῆνει λαμβά-  
 νοντα τὸν σῖτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ διαρκῆ  
 89 μόνον εἰς διατροφήν χορηγοῦντα. Φαραώθης δ'  
 ἀμφοτέρων θαυμάσας Ἰώσηπον, τῆς τε κρίσεως  
 τοῦ ὀνειράτος καὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, αὐτῷ τὴν  
 οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν, ὥστε πράττειν ἅ καὶ  
 τῷ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ συμ-  
 φέροντα ὑπολαμβάνει, τὸν ἐξευρόντα τὴν τοῦ πράγ-  
 ματος ὁδὸν καὶ προστάτην ἄριστον αὐτῆς ὑπο-



famine and dearth for as many years as the period of plenty preceding them, so that the fertility of the former years will be stealthily consumed by the sterility of those that follow in equal number. To provide relief for the dearth of provisions will, moreover, prove a task of exceeding difficulty : in token whereof the emaciated kine after devouring their betters could not be satisfied. Howbeit, it is not to distress men that God foreshows to them that which is to come, but that forewarned they may use their sagacity to alleviate the trials announced when they befall. Do thou then husband the bounties that the first period will bring, and thou wilt make the Egyptians unconscious of the ensuing disaster."

(7) Marvelling at the discernment and wisdom of Joseph, the king asked him how he should make provision beforehand during the seasons of plenty for those that were to follow, in order to render more tolerable the period of barrenness. In reply Joseph suggested and counselled him to be sparing of the gifts of earth and not to permit the Egyptians to use them extravagantly, but that all that surplus which they might expend on luxury should be reserved against the time of want. He further exhorted him to take the corn from the cultivators and store it, supplying them only with enough to suffice for their subsistence. Pharaohes, now doubly admiring Joseph, alike for the interpretation of the dream and for his counsel, entrusted the administration of this office to him, with power to act as he thought meet both for the people of Egypt and for their sovereign, deeming that he who had discovered the course to

Joseph as  
Pharaoh's  
minister.

Gen. xli. 39.

## JOSEPHUS

90 λαβὼν γενήσεσθαι. ὁ δέ, ταύτης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δοθείσης σφραγίδι τε χρῆσθαι τῇ αὐτοῦ καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι, διὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης ἐλαύνων ἐφ' ἄρματος ἦγε τὸν σῖτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὸν ἀρκούντα πρὸς τε σπόρον καὶ διατροφήν ἐκάστοις ἀπομετρῶν, μηδενὶ σημαίνων τὴν αἰτίαν, ὑφ' ἧς ταῦτα ἔπραττε.

91 (vi. 1) Τριακοστὸν δ' ἔτος ἦδη τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διεληλύθει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἀπέλαυε [παρὰ] τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν Ψονθομφάνηχον ἀπιδὼν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς συνέσεως· σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κρυπτῶν εὔρετήν. γαμεί δὲ καὶ γάμον ἀξιολογώτατον· ἄγεται γὰρ καὶ Πεντεφροῦ θυγατέρα τῶν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερέων, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἔτι

92 παρθένον Ἀσέννηθιν ὀνόματι. ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται πρὸ τῆς ἀκαρπίας, Μανασσης μὲν πρεσβύτερος, σημαίνει δ' ἐπίληθον, διὰ τὸ εὐδαιμονήσαντα λήθην εὔρασθαι τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἐφραίμης,<sup>1</sup> ἀποδιδούς δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει, διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθῆναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν

93 προγόνων. τῆς δ' Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν Ἰωσήπου τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐξήγησιν μακαριστῶς ἔτη ἑπτὰ διαγαγούσης<sup>2</sup> ὁ λιμὸς ἦπτετο τῷ ὀγδῶ ἔτει καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προησθημένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ κακὸν πονούμενοι χαλεπῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Ἐφράδης R, Εὐφράης M, Ἐφράνης Niese.

<sup>2</sup> διαγούσης codd.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xli. 42 mentions only its frequent concomitant "fine linen."

<sup>b</sup> So LXX: Heb. Zaphenath-paneah. The interpretation here given of the Hebrew form of the name (the first half of which was connected with Heb. *zāphan*, "to hide") recurs

pursue would also prove its best director. Empowered by the king with this authority and withal to use his seal and to be robed in purple,<sup>a</sup> Joseph now drove in a chariot throughout all the land, gathering in the corn from the farmers, meting out to each such as would suffice for sowing and sustenance, and revealing to none for what reason he so acted.

(vi. 1) He had now completed his thirtieth year and was in the enjoyment of every honour at the hand of the king, who called him Psonthomphanêch(os)<sup>b</sup> in view of his amazing intelligence, that name signifying "Discoverer of Secrets." He contracted moreover a most distinguished marriage, espousing in fact the daughter of Pentephres,<sup>c</sup> one of the priests of Heliopolis, the king assisting to bring about the match: she was yet a virgin and was named Asenêthis.<sup>d</sup> By her he had sons before the dearth: the elder Manasses, signifying "cause of forgetfulness,"<sup>e</sup> because in his prosperity his father had found oblivion of his misfortunes, and the younger Ephraim, meaning "Restorer,"<sup>f</sup> because he had been restored to the liberty of his forefathers. Now when Egypt, in accordance with Joseph's interpretation of the dreams, had passed seven years of blissful prosperity, in the eighth year the famine gripped it, and, since the blow had been unforeseen by those upon whom it fell, they felt it heavily and all flocked to the

Joseph's marriage and children. The famine. Gen. xli. 45f.

xli. 51.

in the Syriac version and in the Targum of Onkelos. The meaning of the underlying Egyptian name is uncertain.

<sup>c</sup> Or Petephres: Heb. Potiphera.

<sup>d</sup> Heb. Asenath.

<sup>e</sup> The Biblical and correct interpretation.

<sup>f</sup> Here Josephus departs from the Biblical derivation from root *prh* (= "fruitful") and apparently connects the name with the root *pr'*, with final guttural (= in Heb. "let loose," in Aramaic "repay").

- 94 [του] βασιλέως θύρας συνέρρεον. ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήπον ἐκάλει, κακείνος τὸν σίτον αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδοτο γεγενημένος σωτήρ ὁμολογουμένως τοῦ πλήθους, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προὔτιθει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ξένοις ὠνεῖσθαι παρῆν πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατὰ συγγένειαν ἀξιοῦντος ἐπικουρίας τυγχάνειν Ἰωσήπου παρὰ τῶν εὐδαιμονία χρωμένων.
- 95 (2) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος τῆς Χαναναίας δεινῶς ἐκτετρυχωμένης, πάσης γὰρ ἤψατο τῆς ἠπείρου τὸ δεινόν, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἅπαντας εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὠνησομένους σίτον πεπυσμένος ἐφέϊσθαι τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ξένοις· μόνον δὲ κατέσχε Βενιαμὲν ἐκ Ῥαχίλας αὐτῷ γεγονότα ὁμομήτριον δὲ
- 96 Ἰωσήπῳ. οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐλθόντες ἐνετύγχανον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χρήζοντες ἀγορᾶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὃ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης ἐπράττετο τῆς ἐκείνου· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεραπεῦσαι τὸν βασιλέα τότε χρήσιμον ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου
- 97 τιμῆς ἐπιμεληθεῖεν. ὁ δὲ γνωρίσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμουμένους περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μειράκιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλαγῆναι, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προελθεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας, ὡς<sup>1</sup> τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐνηλλαγμένων<sup>2</sup> ἀγνώριστος αὐτοῖς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τοῦ ἀξιώματος οὐδ' εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἐλθεῖν αὐτοῖς δυνάμενος<sup>3</sup> διεπείραζεν, ὡς ἔχοιεν γνώμης περὶ τῶν ὄλων.
- 98 τόν τε γὰρ σίτον αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπεδίδοτο κατασκόπους τε τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν ἤκειν καὶ πολλαχόθεν μὲν αὐτοὺς συνεληλυθέναι, προφασίζεσθαι δὲ συγγένειαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἀνδρὶ ἰδιώτῃ τοιοῦτους παῖδας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς οὕτως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκτραφῆναι, δυσκόλου καὶ βασι-
- 99 λεῦσιν οὔσης [τῆς] τοιαύτης παιδοτροφίας. ὑπὲρ

king's gates. The king summoned Joseph, and he sold them corn, proving himself by common consent the saviour of the people. Nor did he open the market to the natives only: strangers also were permitted to buy, for Joseph held that all men, in virtue of their kinship, should receive succour from those in prosperity.

(2) And so, since Canaan was sorely wasted, the scourge having stricken the whole continent, Jacob too sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, having learnt that the market was open also to foreigners: he retained only Benjamin, his child by Rachel, born of the same mother as Joseph. The brethren, then, on reaching Egypt, waited upon Joseph desiring leave to buy; for nothing was done without his sanction, insomuch that to pay court to the king was profitable only to such as took heed to do homage likewise to Joseph. He recognized his brothers, but they had no thought of him, for he was but a lad when he parted from them and had reached an age when his features had so changed as to make him unrecognizable to them; moreover his exalted rank prevented any possibility of his even entering their minds. So he proceeded to test their feelings on affairs in general. Corn he would sell them none, declaring that it was to spy upon the king's realm that they were come, that they had banded together from various quarters, and that their kinship was but a feint; for it was impossible for any commoner to have reared such sons with figures so distinguished, when even kings found it hard to raise the like. It

Jacob's sons  
visit Egypt.  
Gen. xlii. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Lat. (ut): *καὶ* codd.

<sup>2</sup> ἡλλαγμένων ROE.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: *δυναμένους* codd.

## JOSEPHUS

δὲ τοῦ γινῶναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταύτ' ἔπραττε μαθεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὰ περὶ Βενιαμείν τὸν ἀδελφόν· ἐδεδίει γάρ, μὴ κάκεινον ὁμοίως οἷς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησαν εἶεν ἀπεσκευασμένοι τοῦ γένους.

- 100 (3) Οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐπηρτήσθαι νομίζοντες καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τὰδελφοῦ κατὰ νοῦν λαμβάνοντες, καταστάντες τε πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἀπελογοῦντο Ῥουβήλου προηγοροῦντος, ὃς ἦν πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν.
- 101 “ ἡμεῖς,” γὰρ εἶπεν, “ οὐ κατ' ἀδικίαν δεῦρο ἤλθομεν οὐδὲ κακουργήσοντες τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα, σωθῆναι δὲ ζητοῦντες<sup>1</sup> καὶ καταφυγὴν τῶν ἐπεχόντων τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑπολαβόντες, οὓς οὐχὶ πολίταις μόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ξένοις ἠκούομεν τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου προτεθεικέναι, πᾶσι τὸ σώζε-
- 102 σθαι τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχειν διεγνωκότας. ὅτι δ' ἐσμὲν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ κοινὸν ἡμῖν αἷμα, φανερὸν μὲν καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μὴ πολὺ παρηλλαγμένον ποιεῖ, πατὴρ δ' ἐστὶν ἡμῖν Ἰάκωβος ἀνὴρ Ἑβραῖος, ᾧ γινόμεθα δώδεκα παῖδες ἐκ γυναικῶν τεσσάρων, ὧν πάντων περιόντων ἡμεν
- 103 εὐδαίμονες. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰωσήπου τὰ πράγματα ἡμῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν· ὃ τε γὰρ πατὴρ μακρὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ πένθος ἦρται<sup>2</sup> καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ τεθνηκότι συμφορᾶς καὶ τῆς τοῦ πρεσβύτου ταλαιπωρίας
- 104 κακοπαθοῦμεν. ἠκομέν τε νῦν ἐπ' ἀγορὰν σίτου τὴν τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πρόνοιαν Βενιαμεί τῷ νεωτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν

<sup>1</sup> χρήζοντες MSPL.

<sup>2</sup> Ernesti: ἤρηται (ἤρκειαι) codd.

was but to discover news of his father and what had become of him after his own departure that he so acted ; he moreover desired to learn the fate of his brother Benjamin, for he feared that, by such a ruse as they had practised on himself, they might have rid the family of him also.

(3) For their part, they were in trepidation and alarm, believing the gravest danger to be hanging over their heads and entertaining no thought whatever of their brother ; and they set themselves to meet these charges with Rubel, as the eldest of them, for spokesman.<sup>a</sup> “ We,” said he, “ are come hither with no nefarious intent nor to do mischief to the king’s realm, but seeking to save our lives and in the belief that we should find a refuge from the ills that beset our country in your humanity, who, as we heard, had thrown open your corn-market not only to your fellow-citizens but also to foreigners, having resolved to provide the means of subsistence to all in need. That we are brethren and of one blood is evident from the marked features of each of us, differing but little ; our father is Jacob, a Hebrew, and we, his twelve sons, were born to him by four wives. While we all lived, we were happy ; but since the death of one brother, Joseph, our lot has changed for the worse, for our father has raised a long lamentation over him and we, alike from the misfortune of this death<sup>b</sup> and the old man’s misery, are in evil case. And now we are come to buy corn, having entrusted the care of our father and the charge of the household to Benjamin, the youngest

Speech of  
Rubel.  
Cf. Gen. xlii.  
10.

<sup>a</sup> Reuben is not mentioned here in Genesis.

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps. “ the ill fortune that followed his (Joseph’s) death.”

## JOSEPHUS

πεπιστευκότες· δύνασαι δὲ πέμψας εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον μαθεῖν, εἴ τι ψευδὲς ἐστὶ τῶν λεγομένων.”

- 105 (4) Καὶ Ῥουβήλος μὲν τοιούτοις ἐπειρᾶτο πείθειν τὸν Ἰώσηπον περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ ἀμείνω φρονῆσαι, ὁ δὲ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ζῶντα μαθὼν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐκ ἀπολωλότα τότε μὲν εἰς τὴν εἰρκτὴν αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ σχολῆς βασανίσων ἐνέβαλε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ
- 106 τῶν ἡμερῶν προαγαγὼν αὐτούς, “ ἐπεὶ,” φησί, “ διυσχυρίζεσθε μήτ’ ἐπὶ κακουργίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως ἦκειν πραγμάτων εἶναί τε ἀδελφοὶ καὶ πατὴρ οὐ λέγετε, πείσαιτ’ ἄν με ταῦθ’ οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰ καταλίποιτε μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἓνα παρ’ ἐμοὶ μηδὲν ὑβριστικὸν πεισόμενον, ἀποκομίσαντες δὲ τὸν σίτον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν ἔλθοιτε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὃν καταλιπεῖν ἐκεῖ φατέ, μεθ’ ἑαυτῶν ἄγοντες· τοῦτο
- 107 γὰρ ἔσται πίστωμα τῆς ἀληθείας.” οἱ δ’ ἐν μείζουσι κακοῖς ἦσαν ἔκλαιόν τε καὶ συνεχῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνωλοφύροντο τὴν Ἰωσήπου συμφορὰν, ὡς διὰ τὰ κατ’ ἐκείνου βουλευθέντα τιμωροῦντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτοις περιπέσοιεν· Ῥουβήλος δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἐπιπλήττων αὐτοῖς τῆς μετανοίας, ἐξ ἧς ὄφελος οὐδὲν Ἰωσήπῳ γίνεται, φέρειν δ’ αὐτοὺς πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ πάθοιεν κατ’ ἐκδικίαν ἐκείνου δρώντος
- 108 αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καρτερώς ἠξίου. ταῦτα δ’ ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἠγούμενοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον γλώσσης τῆς αὐτῶν συνιέναι. κατήφεια δὲ πάντας εἶχε πρὸς τοὺς Ῥουβήλου λόγους καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μετὰμελος, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ τῶν<sup>1</sup> ταῦτα

<sup>1</sup> ROE: ὥσπερ οὐκ αὐτῶν *rell.*



of us brothers. Thou hast but to send to our house to learn whether aught of these statements is false."

(4) Thus did Rubel essay to persuade Joseph to think better of them; but he, having learnt that Jacob was alive and that his brother had not perished, for the present cast them into prison as though to interrogate them at leisure. Then on the third day he brought them forth and said: "Seeing that ye asseverate that ye are come with no mischievous designs upon the king's realm, and that ye are brothers born of that father of whom ye speak, ye may convince me that it is even so by leaving with me one of your number, who shall undergo no violence, and, after carrying the corn to your father, returning to me, bringing with you the brother whom ye assert that ye left yonder; that shall serve as a guarantee of the truth." They, thus involved in yet greater troubles, wept and continued to deplore to each other the unfortunate fate of Joseph, saying that it was God's chastisement for their plots against him which had brought them to this pass. But Rubel roundly rebuked them for these regrets which could profit Joseph nothing, and strongly besought them to bear all that they might have to suffer, since it was God who inflicted it to avenge him. Thus they spoke with one another, never imagining that Joseph understood their language. But dejection now possessed them all at Rubel's words, and remorse for the deeds, aye and for the men who had decreed those deeds,<sup>a</sup> for which they

Detention  
of Symeon  
in Egypt.  
Gen. xlii. 17.

<sup>a</sup> Text and meaning uncertain. Other mss. read ". . . for the deeds, as if they had not themselves decreed those deeds."

## JOSEPHUS

- ψηφισαμένων, ἐφ' οἷς δίκαιον ἔκρινον τὸν θεὸν  
 109 κολαζόμενοι. βλέπων δ' οὕτως ἀμνηχανοῦντας [αὐ-  
 τοὺς ὁ] Ἰώσηπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς δάκρυα  
 προύπιπτε καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γενέ-  
 σθαι καταφανῆς ὑπεχώρει καὶ διαλιπὼν πάλιν ἦκε  
 110 πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ Συμεῶνα κατασχὼν ὄμηρον  
 τῆς ἐπανόδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν γενησόμενον ἐκείνους  
 μεταλαβόντας τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοῦ σίτου προσέταξεν  
 ἀπιέναι, κελεύσας τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ τὰργύριον, ὃ πρὸς  
 τὴν ὠνὴν εἶεν τοῦ σίτου κεκομικότες, κρύφα τοῖς  
 φορτίοις ἐνθέντι ἀπολύειν κακείμενον κομίζοντας. καὶ  
 ὁ μὲν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἔπραττεν.
- 111 (5) Οἱ δὲ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν  
 Χαναναίαν ἀπήγγελλον τῷ πατρὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν  
 Αἴγυπτον αὐτοῖς συμπεσόντα, καὶ ὅτι κατάσκοποι  
 δόξειαν ἀφίχθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγοντες  
 ἀδελφοί τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐνδέκατον οἴκοι καταλιπεῖν  
 παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπιστηθεῖεν, ὡς καταλίποιέν τε  
 Συμεῶνα παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ μέχρι Βενιαμείς  
 ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπιὼν πίστις αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰρημένων παρ'  
 112 αὐτῷ γένοιτο· ἠξίουν τε τὸν πατέρα μηδὲν φοβη-  
 θέντα πέμπειν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν νεανίσκον. Ἰακώβω  
 δ' οὐδὲν ἤρεσκε τῶν τοῖς υἱοῖς πεπραγμένων, καὶ  
 πρὸς τὴν Συμεῶνος δὲ κατοχὴν λυπηρῶς φέρων  
 ἀνόητον ἠγείτο προστιθέναι καὶ τὸν Βενιαμείν.
- 113 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ Ῥουβήλου δεομένου καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ  
 παῖδας ἀντιδιδόντος, ἵνα εἴ τι πάθοι Βενιαμείς  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀποκτείνειεν αὐτούς ὁ πάππος,  
 πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις. οἱ δ' ἠπόρουν ἐπὶ τοῖς  
 κακοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτούς ἐτάραττε τὰργύριον ἐν  
 τοῖς σακκίοις τοῦ σίτου κατακεκρυμμένον εὔρεθέν.
- 114 τοῦ δὲ σίτου τοῦ κομισθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλιπόν-

now judged that they were justly punished by God. Seeing them thus distraught, Joseph from emotion broke into tears, and not wishing to be visible to his brethren withdrew, and after a while came back to them again. Then, retaining Symeon as a hostage to ensure the return of his brethren, he bade them make their purchase of corn and be gone, having previously instructed the officer secretly to deposit in their packs the purchase-money which they had brought and to let them take it also along with them. These orders he duly executed.

(5) The sons of Jacob, on their return to Canaan, told their father what had befallen them in Egypt, how they were taken for persons come to spy upon the king, how when they said that they were brothers and had left the eleventh at home with their father, they were not believed, and how they had left Symeon behind with the governor until Benjamin should come to him to attest the truth of their statements; and they besought their father to have no fear and to send the youth along with them. But Jacob was in no wise pleased with his sons' doings, and, aggrieved at the detention of Symeon, he thought it folly to send Benjamin also to share his fate. Vainly did Rubel entreat him, offering his own sons in exchange, in order that, if any harm should befall Benjamin on the journey, their grandfather should put them to death: he remained unmoved by his words. In perplexity over their troubles, they were still more disquieted by the discovery of the money concealed in their sacks of corn. But when the corn which they had brought failed them and the

Second  
journey of  
the brothers  
to Egypt.  
Gen. xlii. 29

xliii. 1.

## JOSEPHUS

- τος καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἀπτομένου βιαζομένης  
 αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἰάκωβος ἐκπέμπειν ἐγίνωσκε  
 115 τὸν Βενιαμὲν μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς  
 εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπελθεῖν μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελιῶν<sup>1</sup>  
 ἀπερχομένοις, καὶ τοῦ πάθους οὖν χείρονος καθ'  
 ἐκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν δεομένων  
 116 οὐκ εἶχεν ὃ τι χρήσαιτο τοῖς παροῦσιν. Ἰούδα  
 δὲ τολμηροῦ τᾶλλα τὴν φύσιν ἀνδρὸς χρησαμένου  
 πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησία, ὡς οὐ προσήκε μὲν αὐτὸν  
 περὶ τὰδελφοῦ δεδιέναι οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δι'  
 ὑποψίας λαμβάνειν, πραχθήσεται γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 περὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν, ὧ μὴ παρέσται θεός, τοῦτο δὲ  
 συμβήσεσθαι πάντως καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ μένοντι·  
 117 φανεράν δ' οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν μὴ καταδικάζειν  
 μηδὲ τὴν ἐκ Φαραώθου τῆς τροφῆς [αὐτῶν]  
 εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς ἀφαιρεῖσθαι ἀλόγως περὶ τοῦ  
 παιδὸς δεδιότα, φροντίζειν δὲ καὶ τῆς Συμεῶνος  
 σωτηρίας, μὴ φειδοῖ τῆς Βενιαμει ἀποδημίας  
 ἐκεῖνος ἀπόληται· πιστεῦσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ  
 θεῷ παραινούντος καὶ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ σῶον ἐπαν-  
 άξοντος αὐτῷ τὸν υἱὸν ἢ συγκαταστρέψοντος<sup>3</sup> ἅμα  
 118 ἐκείνῳ τὸν βίον, πεισθεῖς Ἰάκωβος παρεδίδου τὸν  
 Βενιαμὲν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σίτου διπλασίονα τῶν  
 τε παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις γεννωμένων τό τε τῆς  
 βαλάνου μύρον καὶ στακτὴν τερέβινθόν τε καὶ  
 μέλι δωρεὰς Ἰωσήπῳ κομίζειν. πολλὰ δὲ ἦν  
 παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παιδῶν ἐξόδῳ δάκρυα  
 119 κἀκείνων αὐτῶν· ὁ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς υἱοὺς εἰ κομιεῖται  
 σώους ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἐφρόντιζεν, οἱ δ' εἰ τὸν

<sup>1</sup> RO: ἐπηγγελμένων rell.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: αὐτῶν codd.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr.: -στρέψαντος codd.

famine was tightening its grip, under pressure of necessity Jacob decided to send Benjamin away with his brethren ; for it was impossible for them to return to Egypt if they left without fulfilling their promises, and, as the infliction daily grew worse and his sons persisted in their entreaties, he had no other course to take. Judas, ever of a hardy nature, frankly told him that he ought not to be alarmed for their brother nor harbour suspicions of dangers that did not exist, for nothing could be done to him save what God might send, and that was bound to befall even if he stayed with his father. Jacob should not then condemn them to manifest destruction nor deprive them of the abundance of provisions with which Pharaoh could furnish them through unreasonable fears for his child. Moreover, he should give some thought also to Symeon's safety, lest his hesitation to let Benjamin go should prove the other's ruin. As for Benjamin, he exhorted him to trust to God and to himself, for either he would bring his son back safe and sound or he would lay down his life along with him.<sup>a</sup> Thus persuaded, Jacob delivered Benjamin to them, together with double the price of the corn and some of the products of Canaan—balsam,<sup>b</sup> myrrh,<sup>c</sup> terebinth,<sup>d</sup> and honey—to take with them as presents for Joseph. Many were the tears shed by the father over his children's departure and by them also ; he anxiously wondering whether his sons would be restored to him in safety after this journey, they whether they should find their father in

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xliii. 9, " If I bring him not unto thee . . . I shall have sinned against thee for ever."

<sup>b</sup> Meaning doubtful.

<sup>c</sup> Or " oil of cinnamon."

<sup>d</sup> Probably pistachio nuts.

πατέρα καταλάβοιεν ἔρρωμένον καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λύπης κακωθέντα. ἡμερήσιον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἡνύσθη τὸ πένθος, καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτης κοπωθεὶς ὑπέμεινε, οἱ δὲ ἐχώρουν εἰς Αἴγυπτον μετὰ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι λύπην ἰώμενοι.

- 120 (6) Ὡς δ' ἦλθον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατάγονται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον, φόβος δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁ τυχῶν διετάραττε, μὴ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σίτου τιμῆς ἐγκλήματα λάβωσι ὡς αὐτοί τι κεκακουρηγῆκοτες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πολλὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο κατ' οἶκόν τε φάσκοντες εὐρεῖν ἐν τοῖς σάκκοις τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ νῦν ἤκειν ἐπαν-  
 121 ἄγοντες αὐτό. τοῦ δὲ μηδ' ὅ τι λέγουσιν εἰδέναί φησαντος ἀνείθησαν τοῦ δέους. λύσας τε τὸν Συμεῶνα ἐτημέλει συνεσόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς.<sup>1</sup> ἐλθόντος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰωσήπου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως, τά τε δῶρα παρήγαγον<sup>2</sup> αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένῳ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἔλεγον ὅτι  
 122 καταλάβοιεν αὐτὸν ἔρρωμένον. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν περιόντα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Βενιαμὲι εἰ οὗτος ὁ νεώτερος ἀδελφὸς εἶη, καὶ γὰρ ἦν αὐτὸν ἑωρακώς, ἀνέκρινε. τῶν δὲ φησάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι<sup>3</sup> θεὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι  
 123 προστάτην εἶπεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πάθους προαγόμενος εἰς δάκρυα μεθίστατο μὴ βουλόμενος καταφανῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπὶ δεῖπνόν τε αὐτοὺς παραλαμβάνει καὶ κατακλίνονται οὕτως ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρί. πάντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος δεξιούμενος

<sup>1</sup> λύσας τε . . . ἀδελφοῖς om. ROE.

<sup>2</sup> παρήγον RO.

<sup>3</sup> + οἰκέτην αὐτοῦ ROE.

health and in no wise stricken down by his sorrow on their behalf. A whole day was thus passed by them in mourning; then the old man was left broken-hearted behind, while they set forth for Egypt, healing their present grief with hopes of a better future.

(6) On reaching Egypt, they were conducted to Joseph's presence. But they were tormented with grave fear that they would be accused in the matter of the corn-money as guilty of some fraud, and they made profuse apology to Joseph's steward, assuring him that only on reaching home had they found the money in their sacks and that they were now come to bring it back. However, as he said that he had no idea what they meant, they were relieved from that alarm; moreover, he released Symeon and made him presentable<sup>a</sup> to rejoin his brothers. Meanwhile Joseph having come from his attendance upon the king, they offered him their gifts and when he asked them about their father they replied that they had found him in good health. Having learnt that he was still alive, he further inquired about Benjamin—for he had espied him—whether this was their younger brother; and when they replied that he was,<sup>b</sup> he exclaimed that God presided over all,<sup>c</sup> whereupon being reduced by his emotion to tears he withdrew, unwilling to betray himself to his brethren. He then invited them to supper, where couches were set for them in the same order as at their father's table. But Joseph, while entertaining them all with

Their  
reception  
by Joseph.  
Gen. xliii.  
15.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 79 for similar attention to Joseph on release from prison.

<sup>b</sup> Or, as in other mss., "he was his (humble) servant."

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xliii. 29, "God be gracious unto thee, my son." It seems hardly possible to interpret the text as a similar blessing, "prayed God to be his constant protector."

## JOSEPHUS

διπλασίοσι μοίραις τῶν αὐτῶ παρακειμένων τὸν Βενιαμὲν ἑτίμα.

- 124 (7) Ἐπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰς ὕπνον ἐτράποντο, κελεύει τὸν ταμίαν<sup>1</sup> τὸν τε σῖτον αὐτοῖς δοῦναι μεμετρημένον καὶ τὴν τιμὴν πάλιν ἐγκρύψαι τοῖς σακκίοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὲϊ φορτίον καὶ σκύφον ἀργυροῦν, ᾧ πίνων ἔχαιρε, βαλόντα κατα-
- 125 λιπεῖν. ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα διάπειραν βουλόμενος τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβεῖν, πότερόν ποτε βοηθήσουσι τῷ Βενιαμὲϊ κλοπῆς ἀγομένῳ καὶ δοκοῦντι κινδυνεύειν, ἢ καταλιπόντες ὡς οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ κεκακουρ-
- 126 γηκότες ἀπίασι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκέτου τὰ ἐντεταλμένα μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἀπήεσαν, ἀπειληφότες τὸν Συμεῶνα καὶ διπλὴν χαρὰν χαίροντες ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ καὶ πὶ τῷ Βενιαμὲϊ ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί, καθὼς ὑπέσχοντο. περιελαύνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἵππεῖς ἄγοντες τὸν οἰκέτην, ὃς ἐναπέθετο
- 127 τῷ τοῦ Βενιαμὲϊ φορτίῳ τὸν σκύφον. ταραχθέντας δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδοκῆτου τῶν ἵππέων ἐφόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυθομένους δι' ἣν ἐπ' ἄνδρας ἐληλύθασιν,
- 128 οἱ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν τιμῆς καὶ ξενίας τετυχήκασι αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου, κακίστους ἀπεκάλουν, οἱ μὴδ' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν φιλοφροσύνην τὴν Ἰωσήπου διὰ μνήμης λαβόντες οὐκ ὤκνησαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἄδικοι γενέσθαι, σκύφον δέ, ᾧ φιλοτησίας αὐτοῖς προύπιεν, ἀράμενοι φέροειν

<sup>1</sup> τῷ ταμίᾳ Ο.

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<sup>a</sup> Gen. xliii. 34, "But Benjamin's mess was *five times* so much as any of theirs." The usual translation of Josephus, 220



cordiality, honoured Benjamin with double portions of the dishes before him.<sup>a</sup>

(7) But after the supper, when they had retired to rest, he ordered his steward to give them their measures of corn, and again to conceal the purchase-money in their sacks, but also to leave deposited in Benjamin's pack his own favourite silver drinking-cup. This he did to prove his brethren<sup>b</sup> and see whether they would assist Benjamin, when arrested for theft and in apparent danger, or would abandon him, assured of their own innocence, and return to their father. The servant executed his orders and, at daybreak, all unaware of these proceedings, the sons of Jacob departed along with Symeon, doubly delighted both at having recovered him and at bringing back Benjamin to their father in accordance with their promise. But suddenly they were surrounded by a troop of horsemen, bringing with them the servant who had deposited the cup in Benjamin's pack. Confounded by this unexpected attack of horse, they asked for what reason they assailed men who had but now enjoyed the honour and hospitality of their master. Their pursuers retorted by calling them scoundrels, who, unmindful of that very hospitality and benevolence of Joseph, had not scrupled to treat him ill, carrying off that loving-cup in which he had pledged their healths,<sup>c</sup> and setting more store

Discovery of Joseph's cup in Benjamin's sack. Gen. xliv. 1.

"with portions double *those of his neighbours*" would require παραλατακειμένων (not παρακειμένων).

<sup>b</sup> So Philo, *De Jos.* 39 § 232 (quoted by Weill) πάντα δ' ἦσαν ἀπόπειρα καὶ ταῦτα . . . πῶς ἔχουσι . . . εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν ὁμομήτριον ἀδελφόν.

<sup>c</sup> So Philo, *De Jos.* 36 § 213 ἐν ᾧ προπόσεις προὔπινεν ὑμῖν. The parallel in Gen. xliv. 5 has "whereby he indeed divineth."

## JOSEPHUS

- κέρδους ἀδίκου τὴν τε πρὸς Ἰώσηπον φιλίαν τὸν  
 τε ἑαυτῶν εἰ φωραθεῖεν κίνδυνον ἐν δευτέρῳ  
 129 θέμενοι· τιμωρίαν τε αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> ὑφέξειν ἠπειλοῦν οὐ  
 λαιθάνοντας τὸν θεὸν οὐδ' ἀποδράντας μετὰ τῆς  
 κλοπῆς, εἰ καὶ τὸν διακονούμενον οἰκέτην διέλαθον.  
 πυιθάνεσθαι τε νῦν, τί παρόντες εἶημεν, ὡς οὐκ  
 εἰδότας<sup>2</sup>· γινώσεσθαι μέντοι κολαζομένους αὐτίκα.  
 καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέρα τούτων ὁ οἰκέτης εἰς αὐτοὺς  
 130 λέγων ἐνύβριζεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας τῶν περὶ  
 αὐτοὺς ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ τῆς  
 κουφολογίας τὸν οἰκέτην ἐθαύμαζον τολμῶντα  
 αἰτίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἀνδράσιν, οἳ μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ σίτου  
 τιμὴν ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις αὐτῶν εὔρεθείσαν κατέσχον,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκόμισαν μηδενὸς εἰδότος τὸ πραχθέν· τοσοῦ-  
 131 τον ἀποδεῖν τοῦ γνώμη κακουργῆσαι. τῆς μέντοι  
 γε ἀρνήσεως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ὑπολαβόντες τὴν  
 ἔρευναν ἐκέλευον ταύτη χρῆσθαι, κὰν εὔρεθῆ τις  
 ὑψηρημένος ἅπαντας κολάζειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς  
 συνειδότες ἦγον παρρησίαν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἀκίνδυνον.  
 οἱ<sup>3</sup> δὲ τὴν ἔρευναν μὲν ἠξίωσαν ποιήσασθαι, τὴν  
 μέντοι τιμωρίαν ἐνὸς ἔφασκον εἶναι τοῦ τὴν  
 132 κλοπῆν εὔρεθέντος πεποιημένου. τὴν δὲ ζήτησιν  
 ποιούμενοι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπεριελθόντες  
 κατὰ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταῖον Βενιαμειν  
 ἦκον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου σακκίον  
 τὸν σκύφον εἶεν ἀποκεκρυφότες, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῆ τὴν  
 133 ζήτησιν βουλόμενοι ποιεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν  
 ἄλλοι τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέους ἐν  
 τῇ περὶ τὸν Βενιαμειν φροντίδι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν,  
 ἐθάρρουν δ' ὡς οὐδ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῆς κακουργίας  
 εὔρεθησομένης, ἐκάκιζόν τε τοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντας

<sup>1</sup> αὐτοὺς OE.

<sup>2</sup> εἰδότες codd.

on unrighteous gain than on the affection which they owed to Joseph and their own risk if detected ; and they threatened them with instant penalty, for, notwithstanding their flight with the stolen property, they had not escaped the eye of God, even though they had eluded the ministering attendant. " And now you ask," they said, " why we are here, as though you did not know : well, chastisement will soon teach you." With such taunts and yet more did the servant too assail them. But they, ignorant how they stood, mocked at these speeches and expressed their astonishment at the levity with which this servant dared to bring an accusation against persons who had not kept the corn-money found in their sacks, but had brought it back, although no one knew anything of the affair : so far were they from committing a deliberate fraud. However, believing that a search would justify them better than denial, they bade them institute this and, were any individual convicted of pilfering, to punish them all ; for, being conscious of no crime, they spoke boldly, supposing that they ran no risk. The Egyptians required search to be made, but declared that punishment should fall only on the individual convicted of the theft. So they proceeded to the investigation and, having passed all the others under review, came last of all to Benjamin ; they knew well enough that it was in his sack that they had hidden the cup, but they wished to give their scrutiny a show of thoroughness. The rest, relieved from anxiety on their own account, were now only concerned with regard to Benjamin, but felt confident that he too would not be found in fault ; and they abused their pursuers for

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<sup>3</sup> ὁ ROE with sing. verbs following (ἤξιωσε, ἔφασκεν).

## JOSEPHUS

- ὡς ἐμποδίσαντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ὁδὸν δυναμένοι ἤδη  
 134 προκεκοφέναι. ὡς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμὶν φορτίον  
 ἐρευνῶντες λαμβάνουσι τὸν σκύφον εἰς οἰμωγὰς  
 καὶ θρήνους εὐθὺς ἐτράπησαν καὶ τὰς στολὰς  
 ἐπικαταρρήξαντες ἔκλαιόν τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 μελλούσῃ κολάσει τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτοῦς τε διαψευσο-  
 μένους<sup>1</sup> τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς Βενιαμὶν σωτηρίας.  
 135 ἐπέτεινε δὲ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ δόξαντας ἤδη  
 διαφυγεῖν τὰ σκυθρωπὰ διαφθονηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ  
 περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν κακῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπ'  
 αὐτῷ λύπης ἐσομένους αὐτοῦς αἰτίους ἔλεγον  
 βιασαμένους ἄκοντα τὸν πατέρα συναποστεῖλαι.  
 136 (8) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἰππεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸν Βεν-  
 ιαμὶν ἤγον πρὸς Ἰώσηπον καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν  
 ἐπομένων· ὁ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰδὼν ἐν φυλακῇ, τοὺς  
 δ' ἐν πενθίμοις σχήμασι, “ τί δή,” φησὶν, “ ὦ  
 κάκιστοι, φρονήσαντες ἢ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλαν-  
 θρωπίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προνοίας τοιαῦτα  
 πράττειν εἰς εὐεργέτην καὶ ξένον ἐτολμήσατε;”  
 137 τῶν δὲ παραδιδόντων αὐτοῦς εἰς κόλασιν ἐπὶ τῷ  
 σώζεσθαι Βενιαμὶν καὶ πάλιν ἀναμιμνησκομένων  
 τῶν εἰς Ἰώσηπον τετολμημένων κάκεινον ἀπο-  
 καλούντων μακαριώτερον, εἰ μὲν τέθηκεν ὅτι τῶν  
 κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπήλλακται σκυθρωπῶν, εἰ δὲ  
 περίεστιν ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ' αὐτῶν  
 ἐκδικίας τυγχάνει, λεγόντων δ' αὐτοῦς ἀλιτηρίους  
 τοῦ πατρὸς, ὅτι τῇ λύπῃ ἦν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ μέχρι νῦν  
 ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Βενιαμεῖ προσθήσουσι, πολὺς  
 ἦν κἀνταῦθ' ὁ Ῥουβῆλος αὐτῶν καθαπτόμενος.  
 138 Ἰωσήπου δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύοντος, οὐδὲν γὰρ  
 αὐτοῦς<sup>2</sup> ἀδικεῖν, ἀρκείσθαι δὲ μόνη τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς

<sup>1</sup> RO: διαψευσαμένους rell.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸν RO Lat.

impeding their journey, on which they might by now have advanced far. But when Benjamin's pack was searched and the eup was found, they forthwith gave way to groans and lamentation and, rending their clothes, they mourned both for their brother and the impending punishment for his theft, and for themselves as like to prove deceivers of their father touching Benjamin's safety. What aggravated their misery was to find themselves baulked by jealous fortune just when they seemed to be quit of their tragedies; and alike for their brother's misfortunes and for the grief which it was to bring to their father they confessed themselves responsible, having constrained their father against his will to send him with them.

(8) So the horsemen arrested Benjamin and led him off to Joseph, the brothers following. But Joseph, seeing Benjamin in custody and his comrades in mourners' guise,<sup>a</sup> exclaimed, "What thought ye then, ye miscreants, of my generosity or of God's watchful eye, that ye dared thus to act towards your benefactor and host?" They, on their side, offered themselves for punishment to save Benjamin; and again they recalled that outrage upon Joseph, pronouncing him to be happier than they, for, if dead, he was released from the miseries of life, if living yet, God had now avenged him upon his persecutors; they denounced themselves as sinners against their father, for to that grief which he felt to this day for Joseph they would now add this sorrow for Benjamin; while Rubel, on this occasion also,<sup>b</sup> roundly rebuked them. But Joseph acquitted them, saying that they were guiltless and that he would be content merely

Arrest of  
Benjamin.  
Gen. xliv.  
14.

<sup>a</sup> With clothes rent.

<sup>b</sup> As before, § 107.

## JOSEPHUS

- τιμωρία λέγοντος, οὔτε γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπολύειν διὰ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἔξαμαρτόντας σῶφρον ἔλεγεν οὔτε συγκολάζειν ἐκείνους τῷ τὴν κλοπὴν εἰργασμένῳ, βαδιουσι δὲ παρέξειν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένου,
- 139 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἔκπληξίς ἔλαβε καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἀφωνία, Ἰούδας δὲ ὁ καὶ τὸν πατέρα πείσας ἐκπέμψαι τὸ μεираκιον καὶ τὰλλα δραστηρίως ὢν ἀνὴρ ὑπὲρ τῆς τἀδελφοῦ σωτηρίας
- 140 ἔκρινε παραβάλλεσθαι, καὶ “δεινὰ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ στρατηγέ, τετολμήκαμεν εἰς σέ καὶ τιμωρίας ἄξια καὶ τοῦ κόλασιν ὑποσχεῖν ἅπαντας ἡμᾶς δικαίως, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημα μὴ ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλ’ ἐνὸς τοῦ νεωτάτου γέγονεν. ὅμως δὲ ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἡμῖν τὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίς ὑπολέλειπται παρὰ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ἐγγνωμένη τὴν τοῦ
- 141 κινδύνου διαφυγῆν. καὶ νῦν μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀφορῶν μηδὲ τὸ κακούργημα σκοπῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν σύμβουλον ποιησάμενος ἀντὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἣν οἱ τὰλλα μικροὶ πρὸς ἰσχύος λαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς τυχοῦσιν αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, γενοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν μεγαλόφρων καὶ μὴ νικηθῆς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ὥστε ἀποκτεῖναι τοὺς οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδίας ἔτι τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιποιουμένους, ἀλλὰ
- 142 παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἀξιοῦντας. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ νῦν πρῶτον ἡμῖν αὐτὴν παρέξεις, ἀλλὰ [καὶ] τάχιον ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐχαρίσω δούς ἀποκομίζειν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὅσα κινδυνεύοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ
- 143 διαφθαρῆναι περιέσωσε. διαφέρει δ’ οὐδὲν ἢ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους ὑπ’ ἐνδείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἢ μὴ κολάσαι δόξαντας ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ περὶ τὴν
- 226

to punish the child : it would be no more reasonable to release him for the sake of his innocent comrades than to make them share the penalty of the guilty thief : they could go and he promised them a safeguard. Thereat the rest were in consternation and speechless from emotion, but Judas, the one who had persuaded his father to send the lad and who was ever a man of energy, to save his brother resolved to brave the risk.

“ Grave indeed, my lord governor,” said he, “ is this crime which we have perpetrated upon thee and deserving of a punishment, which it is but just that we should all undergo, even though the guilt rests with no other than one, the youngest of us. Nevertheless, though we despair of his salvation on his own merits, one hope is left to us in thy generosity, a hope that vouches for his escape from peril. And now look not at our position or the crime : look rather at thine own nature, make virtue thy counsellor in place of that wrath, which mean men take for strength, having recourse to it not in great matters only but in trivial : show thyself magnanimously its master and be not so far overcome by it as to slay such as make no claim on their own behalf, as though their lives were yet their own, but who crave them of thy hand. Ay, and it is not the first time that thou wilt have conferred this boon : already, when we came erstwhile to purchase corn, thou didst both graciously grant us abundance of provisions and permit us to carry to those of our households also the means of their salvation, when like to die of hunger. Yet the difference is naught between refusing to leave men to perish of starvation and refusing to punish apparent sinners who have been

*Speech of  
Judah,  
Cf. Gen. xliv,  
18-34.*

## JOSEPHUS

εὐεργεσίαν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ λαμπρὰν γενομένην  
 φθονηθέντας, ἣ δ' αὐτὴ χάρις ἄλλω μέντοι τρόπῳ  
 144 διδομένη· σώσεις γὰρ οὓς εἰς τοῦτο καὶ ἔτρεφες  
 καὶ ψυχάς, ἃς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καμεῖν οὐκ εἴασας, τηρή-  
 σεις ταῖς σαυτοῦ δωρεαῖς, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἅμα καὶ  
 μέγα δοῦναί τε ψυχὰς ἡμῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν δι' ὧν  
 145 αὐταὶ μενοῦσιν ἀπορουμένοις. οἶμαί τε τὸν θεόν,  
 αἰτίαν παρασκευάσαι βουλόμενον εἰς ἐπίδειξιν τοῦ  
 κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιόντος, ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο περι-  
 στῆσαι συμφορᾶς, ἵνα καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικη-  
 μάτων συγγινώσκων φανῆς τοῖς ἐπταικόσι, ἀλλὰ  
 μὴ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν δεο-  
 146 μένους ἐπικουρίας φιλόανθρωπος δοκοίης. ὡς μέγα  
 μὲν καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαί τινος εὖ καταστάντας εἰς  
 χρείαν, ἡγεμονικώτερον δὲ σῶσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν  
 εἰς ἑαυτὸν τετολμημένων δίκην ὀφείλοντας· εἰ γὰρ  
 τὸ περὶ μικρῶν ζημιωμάτων ἀφεῖναι τοὺς πλημ-  
 μελήσαντας ἔπαινον ἤνεγκε τοῖς ὑπεριδοῦσι, τό γε  
 περὶ τούτων ἀόργητον, ὑπὲρ ὧν τὸ ζῆν ὑπεύθυνον  
 τῇ κολάσει γίνεται τῶν ἡδίκηκότων, θεοῦ φύσει  
 147 προσετέθη. καὶ ἔγωγε, εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἡμῖν ἦν  
 πῶς<sup>1</sup> ἐπὶ παίδων ἀποβολῇ ταλαιπωρεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ  
 Ἰωσήπῳ λύπης<sup>2</sup> ἐπιδεδειγμένος, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γε  
 καθ' ἡμᾶς ἕνεκα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας λόγους ἐποιη-  
 σάμην, εἰ μὴ ὅσον τῷ σῶ χαριζόμενος ἦθει σώζειν  
 αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχον,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τούτους οἱ λυπήσονται  
 τεθνηκότων οὐκ ἔχοντες παρείχομεν ἂν αὐτοὺς  
 148 πεισομένους ὅ τι καὶ θελήσειας· νῦν δ', οὐ γὰρ  
 αὐτοὺς ἐλεοῦντες, εἰ καὶ νέοι καὶ μήπω τῶν κατὰ  
 τὸν βίον ἀπολελαυκότες τεθνηξόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> M Lat.: δς rell.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: τελευτῆς codd.

<sup>3</sup> edd.: ἔχοντι codd.



grudged that splendid beneficence which thou hast shown them : it is but the same favour accorded in another fashion ; for thou wilt be saving those whom thou hast nurtured to this end and preserving by thy bounties souls which thou wouldest not suffer to succumb to hunger, thus achieving the end, alike wonderful and great, of both giving us our lives and affording the means of their continuance in this our distress. Nay, I believe that it was God's good pleasure to provide occasion for a display of virtue in a surpassing form that has brought us to this depth of misery, that so it might be seen that thou pardonest offenders even the injuries done to thyself, and it might not be thought that thy humanity is reserved only for those who on other grounds stand in need of succour. For great though it be to benefit the needy, yet more princely is it to save those who have incurred righteous penalty for crimes perpetrated upon oneself ; for if the pardoning of transgressors for light offences redounds to the credit of the indulgent judge, to refrain from wrath in the ease of crimes which expose the culprit's life to his victim's vengeance is an attribute of the nature of God.

“ For my own part, had not our father let us see by his grief for Joseph how deeply he feels the loss of children, I should never, on our own account, have made this plea for acquittal—save perchance to gratify thy natural and honourable instinct for clemency—and having none to mourn our loss we should have surrendered ourselves to suffer whatsoever penalty might seem good to thee. But now, it is from no pity for ourselves, young though we be and to die ere we have yet enjoyed what life has to

## JOSEPHUS

πατρός λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὸ γῆρας οἰκτείροντες τὸ  
ἐκείνου ταύτας σοι τὰς δεήσεις προσφέρομεν καὶ  
παραιτούμεθα ψυχὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, ἃς σοι τὸ ἡμέ-  
τερον κακούργημα πρὸς τιμωρίαν παρέδωκεν.

- 149 ὃς οὔτε πονηρὸς αὐτὸς οὔτε τοιούτους ἐσομένους  
ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς ὢν καὶ πειραθῆναι  
τοιούτων οὐχὶ δίκαιος καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀποδημούντων  
ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φροντίσι κακοπαθεῖ, πυθόμενος  
δὲ ἀπολωλότας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ ἀλλὰ  
διὰ ταύτην πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸν βίον καταλείψει,<sup>1</sup>
- 150 καὶ τὸ ἄδοξον αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας καταστροφῆς  
φθήσεται διαχρησάμενον καὶ κακὴν αὐτῷ ποιήσει  
τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγὴν, πρὶν εἰς ἄλλους  
φοιτῆσαι τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς σπεύσαντος αὐτὸν εἰς
- 151 ἀναισθησίαν μεταγαγεῖν. γενόμενος οὖν ἐν τούτῳ  
τὸν λογισμόν,<sup>2</sup> εἰ καὶ ἡ κακία σε παροξύνει νῦν  
ἢ ἡμετέρα, τὸ κατ' αὐτῆς δίκαιον χάρισαι τῷ  
πατρὶ καὶ δυνηθῆτω πλεονόμοιο πρὸς ἐκείνον ἔλεος  
τῆς ἡμετέρας πονηρίας, καὶ γῆρας ἐν ἐρημίᾳ  
βιωσόμενον καὶ τεθνηξόμενον ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων<sup>3</sup>  
αἰδεσθαι, τῷ πατέρων ὀνόματι ταύτην χαριζόμενος
- 152 τὴν δωρεάν. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σὲ φύσαντα  
τιμᾶς καὶ σαντῷ δίδως, ἀπολαύων μὲν ἤδη τῆς  
προσηγορίας, ἀπαθῆς δ' ἐπ' αὐτῇ φυλαχθησόμενος  
ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρός, εἰς ὃν κατὰ  
κοινωνίαν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ὀνόματος εὐσεβεῖν δόξεις  
τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρός οἰκτον λαβὼν ἐφ' οἷς πείσεται
- 153 τῶν παίδων στερούμενος. σὸν οὖν, ἃ παρέσχεν  
ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ταῦτ' ἔχοντ' ἐξουσίαν ἀφελέσθαι,  
δοῦναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνου διενεγκεῖν τῇ χάριτι·  
τῆς γὰρ ἐπαμφοτέρον δυνάμειος τετυχηκότα καλὸν

<sup>1</sup> Lat.: καταλείπει, etc., codd.

give ; it is from consideration for our father and compassion for his old age that we present this petition to thee and plead for our lives, which our misdeed has delivered into thine avenging hands. He is no knave, nor did he beget sons like to be knavish : no, he is an honest man, undeserving of such trials ; at this moment in our absence he is tortured with anxiety for us, and if he learns of our ruin and the cause of it, he will endure no more : that news far more than all will speed his departure, the ignominy of our end will precipitate his own and make his exit from this world miserable, for ere our story reaches other ears he will have hastened to render himself insensible. Bear, then, these considerations in mind, and, however much *our* wrong-doing provokes thee now, graciously give up to our father that retribution which justice demands, and let pity for him outweigh our crime : respect the old age of one who must live and die in solitude in losing us, and grant this boon in the name of fatherhood. For in this name thou wilt alike be doing honour to thy sire and granting a favour to thyself, seeing that thou already rejoicest in that title and wilt be preserved in unimpaired possession of it by God, who is the Father of all ; since, in virtue of that name that thou thyself sharest with Him, it will be deemed an act of piety towards *Him* to take pity on our father and the sufferings that he will endure if bereaved of his children. While, then, thou hast authority to take from us that which God has granted us, thy part rather is to give and in no whit to come behind Him in charity ; for it beseems the possessor of such two-

<sup>2</sup> Lat. in hac ratione (= ? ἐν τοίτῳ τοῦ λογισμοῦ).

<sup>3</sup> codd. : ἀπολουμένων codd.

## JOSEPHUS

ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ παρὸν  
 καὶ ἀπολλύειν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοῦτο ἐξουσίας ὡς  
 μηδ' ὑπαρχούσης ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, μόνον δ' ἐπι-  
 τετράφθαι τὸ σώζειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ ὅσω τις  
 154 πλείοσι τοῦτο παρέξει μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι  
 διδόντα. σὺ δὲ πάντας ἡμᾶς σώσεις τὰδελφῶ  
 συγγνοὺς ὑπὲρ ὧν ἠτύχηκεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν  
 βιώσιμα τούτου κολασθέντος, οἷς γε πρὸς τὸν  
 πατέρα μὴ ἔξεστιν ἀνασωθῆναι μόνοις, ἀλλ' ἐνθά-  
 155 δε δεῖ κοινωνῆσαι τούτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καταστροφῆς  
 τοῦ βίου. καὶ δεησόμεθά σου, στρατηγέ, κατα-  
 κρίναντος τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖν συγκολάσαι  
 καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς τοῦ ἀδικήματος κεκοινωνηκότας· οὐ  
 γὰρ ἀξιόσομεν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπὶ λύπη τεθνηκότος  
 156 αὐτοὺς ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλ' ὡς ὁμοίως αὐτῷ πονηροὶ  
 γεγονότες οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν καὶ νέος  
 ὢν ἤμαρτε καὶ μήπω τὸ φρονεῖν ἐρηρυσμένος καὶ  
 ὡς ἀνθρώπινον τοῖς τοιούτοις συγγνώμην νέμειν,  
 σοὶ καταλιπὼν παύομαι περαιτέρω λέγειν, ἵν' εἰ  
 μὲν κατακρίνειας ἡμῶν, τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα δόξῃ  
 157 βεβλαφέναι πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἡμᾶς, εἰ δ'  
 ἀπολύσεις, κἀκεῖνα τῇ σαυτοῦ χρηστότητι συνιδῶν  
 ἀπεψηφίσθαι νομισθῆς, οὐ σώσας μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ δι' οὗ δικαιότεροι μᾶλλον φανούμεθα τυχεῖν  
 χαριζόμενος καὶ πλέον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς  
 158 ἡμετέρας νοήσας σωτηρίας. εἴτ' οὖν κτείνειν  
 αὐτὸν θέλεις, ἐμὲ τιμωρησάμενος ἀντὶ τούτου τῷ  
 πατρὶ τοῦτον ἀπόπεμψον, εἴτε καὶ κατέχειν σοι  
 δοκεῖ δοῦλον, ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰς χρεῖας σοι ὑπηρετι-  
 κώτερος, ἀμείνων ὡς ὄρας πρὸς ἑκάτερον τῶν  
 159 παθῶν ὑπάρχων." Ἰούδας μὲν οὖν πάντα ὑπομένειν  
 ὑπὲρ τῆς τὰδελφοῦ σωτηρίας ἠδέως ἔχων ρίπτει

fold power to display it in acts of generosity, and, though at liberty to destroy, to forget his rights in this regard as though they existed not, and to believe that he is only empowered to save, and that the more numerous the persons to whom he extends this favour the greater the distinction that he confers upon himself. But thou wilt be the saviour of us all in pardoning our brother his unfortunate error ; for life to us would be intolerable were he punished, since we cannot return in safety to our father alone, but must stay here to share his fate. And we shall entreat thee, my lord, shouldest thou condemn our brother to death, to punish us along with him as accomplices in the crime ; for we shall claim, not in grief for his death to make away with ourselves, but as equally guilty with him to die in like manner.

“ That the culprit is a youth whose judgment is not yet firm, and that it is human in such cases to accord indulgence, I leave to thee and forbear to say more ; in order that, shouldest thou condemn us, it may be my omissions which may appear to have brought this severer injury upon us, and, shouldest thou absolve, our acquittal may be attributed to thy gracious and enlightened grasp of those further arguments ; for thou wilt not only have saved us, but have presented us with what will show us to have been even more deserving of success and taken more thought than ourselves for our salvation. If, then, thou wouldest slay him, punish me in his stead and send him back to his father, or, if it please thee to detain him as a slave, I am more serviceable for thy offices, being, as thou seest, better fitted for either fate.”

Thereupon Judas, glad to endure anything to save his brother, flung himself at Joseph's feet, striving

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πρὸ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ποδῶν ἑαυτὸν, εἴ πως ἐκμαλάξει  
τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπραῦνειεν ἀγωνιζόμενος,  
προύπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες δακρύοντες  
καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βενιαμὶν  
ψυχῆς ἀπολουμένους.

- 160 (9) Ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους  
καὶ μηκέτι δυνάμενος τὴν τῆς ὀργῆς φέρειν  
ὑπόκρισιν κελεύει μὲν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας,  
ἵνα μόνοις αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ποιήσῃ φανερόν,  
ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ποιεῖ γνώριμον αὐτὸν τοῖς  
161 ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φησι· “ τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς ὑμᾶς καὶ  
τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἐπαινῶ  
καὶ κρείττονας ἢ προσεδόκων ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ  
βεβουλευμένων εὐρίσκω, ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας  
ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλαδελφίας· φύσει δὲ  
οὐδὲ περὶ ἐμὲ νομίζω πονηροὺς γεγονέναι, θεοῦ  
δὲ βουλήσει τὴν τε νῦν πραγματευομένου τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τὴν ἐς ὕστερον, ἂν εὐμενῆς  
162 ἡμῖν παραμείνῃ. πατρός τε οὖν σωτηρίαν ἐγνωκῶς  
οὐδ’ ἐλπισθεῖσαν καὶ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὀρῶν περὶ  
τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐδ’ ὦν εἰς ἐμὲ δοκεῖτε ἀμαρτεῖν ἔτι  
μνημονεύω, παύσομαι δὲ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς μισο-  
πονηρίας καὶ ὡς συναιτίους τῶν τῷ θεῷ βεβου-  
λευμένων εἰς τὰ παρόντα χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ.  
163 ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι καὶ αὐτοὺς λήθην ἐκείνων  
λαβόντας ἠδεσθαι μᾶλλον, τῆς τότε ἀβουλίας εἰς  
τοιούτον ἐπελθούσης τέλος, ἢ δυσφορεῖν αἰσχνο-  
μένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις. μὴ οὖν δόξῃ λυπεῖν  
ὑμᾶς τὸ κατ’ ἐμοῦ ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν πονηρὰν καὶ ἢ  
ἐπ’ αὐτῇ μετάνοια τῷ γε μὴ προχωρῆσαι τὰ  
164 βεβουλευμένα. χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ θεοῦ  
γεγενημένοις ἄπιτε ταῦτα δηλώσοντες τῷ πατρί,

by any means to mollify and appease his wrath ; and all the brethren fell down before him, weeping and offering themselves as victims to save the life of Benjamin.

(9) Joseph, now betrayed by his emotion and unable longer to maintain that simulation of wrath, bade those present retire, in order to reveal himself to his brethren alone. Then, the rest having withdrawn, he made himself known to his brethren and said : “ I commend you for your virtue and that affection for our brother and find you better men than I had expected from your plots against me ; for all this that I have done was to test your brotherly love. Nor yet, I think, was it through your own nature that ye did me ill, but by the will of God, working out that happiness that we now enjoy and that shall be ours hereafter, if He continue to be gracious to us. Having, then, learnt beyond all hope that my father lives, and seeing you thus devoted to our brother, I remember no more those sins against me of which ye think yourselves guilty ; I shall cease to bear you malice for them as the culprits ; and as assistants in bringing God’s purposes to the present issue I tender you my thanks. And for your part, I would have you too forget the past and rejoice that that old imprudence has resulted in such an end, rather than be afflicted with shame for your faults. Let it not appear, then, that ye are grieved by a wicked sentence passed upon me and by remorse thereat, seeing that your designs did not succeed. Go, therefore, rejoicing at what God has wrought, to tell these things to our father, lest haply

Joseph reveals himself. Gen. xlv. 1.

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<sup>1</sup> SP: τε rell.

## JOSEPHUS

- μὴ καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φροντίσιν ἀναλωθεὶς  
 ζημιώσῃ μου τὸ κάλλιστον τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, πρὶν  
 εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν  
 165 παρόντων ἀποθανῶν. αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ γυναῖκας  
 ὑμετέρας καὶ [τὰ] τέκνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν  
 ὑμῶν ἀναλαβόντες ἐνθάδε μετοικίξεσθε· οὐδὲ γὰρ  
 ἀποδήμους εἶναι δεῖ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων  
 τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ  
 166 λοιπὴν ἔτι πενταετίαν περιμενοῦντος.” ταῦτ’  
 εἰπὼν Ἰώσηπος περιβάλλει τοὺς ἀδελφούς· οἱ δ’  
 ἐν δάκρυσιν ἦσαν καὶ λύπη τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτῷ βεβου-  
 λευμένων τιμωρίας τ’ οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν  
 ἐδόκει τεύγνωνμον τὰδελφοῦ. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦσαν  
 167 ἐν εὐωχίᾳ· βασιλεὺς δ’ ἀκούσας ἤκοντας πρὸς τὸν  
 Ἰώσηπον τοὺς ἀδελφούς ἦσθη τε μεγάλως καὶ  
 ὡς ἐπ’ οἰκείῳ διατεθεὶς ἀγαθῷ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀμάξας σίτου πλήρεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον  
 ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρὶ. λαβόντες δὲ πλείω παρὰ  
 τὰδελφοῦ τὰ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ φέρειν τὰ δὲ αὐτοὶ  
 δωρεὰς ἔχειν ἕκαστος ἰδίας, πλειόνων ἡξιωμένου  
 Βενιαμὴν παρ’ αὐτούς, ἀπήεσαν.
- 168 (vii. 1) Ὡς δ’ ἀφικομένων τῶν παίδων Ἰάκωβος  
 τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον εἶη  
 τὸν θάνατον διαπεφευγὼς ἐφ’ ᾧ πενθῶν διῆγεν,  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῆ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς εὐδαιμονίας βασιλεῖ  
 συνδιέπων τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἅπασαν σχεδὸν  
 169 ἐγκεχειρισμένος αὐτῆς ἐπιμέλειαν, ἄπιστον μὲν  
 οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τῶν ἠγγελμένων λογιζόμενος τοῦ  
 θεοῦ τὴν μεγαλουργίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐ-  
 νοϊαν, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ διέλιπεν, ὥρμητο  
 δ’ εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον.



he be consumed with brooding over you and rob me of the best of my felicity, by dying ere he come into my sight and partake of our present bliss. Do ye bring him, him and your wives and children and all your kinsfolk, and migrate hither; for those whom I cherish most must not be exiled from the prosperity that is ours, above all when the famine has still five years to continue." Having spoken thus Joseph embraced his brethren. But they were plunged in tears and grief for those designs upon him and found no lack of chastisement in this forbearance of their brother. They then resorted to festivity. But the king, hearing that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was highly delighted, and, moved as though some fortune had befallen himself, offered them wagons laden with corn, and gold and silver, to carry to their father. Then, after receiving further presents from their brother, some to take to their father, others for each to keep as his own, Benjamin being favoured with more than the rest, they went on their way.

(vii. 1) Now when on the arrival of his sons Jacob learnt the story of Joseph, how that he had not only escaped that death which he had mourned so long, but was living in splendid fortune, sharing with the king the government of Egypt and having well-nigh the whole charge of it in his hands, he could deem none of these reports incredible,<sup>a</sup> when he reflected on God's mighty power and His benevolence towards him, albeit for a while suspended; and he straightway sped forth to go to Joseph.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus omits, or deliberately contradicts, the mention of his first incredulity: "his heart fainted, for he believed them not," Gen. xlv. 26.

Gen. xlv. 1a.

Jacob  
departs  
for Egypt.  
ib. 25.

- 170 (2) Ὡς δὲ κατέσχευεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ὀρκιον φρέαρ,  
 θύσας αὐτόθι τῷ θεῷ καὶ φοβούμενος διὰ τὴν  
 εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ τῶν παίδων ἐμφιλο-  
 χωρησάντων τῇ οἰκῆσει τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ οὐκ ἐτ'  
 171 εἰς τὴν Χαναanaίαν οἱ ἔγγονοι μετελθόντες κατὰ  
 σχωσιν αὐτήν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὑπεσχημένος, ἅμα τε  
 μὴ δίχα θεοῦ βουλήσεως γενομένης τῆς εἰς Αἴ-  
 γυπτον ἀφόδου<sup>1</sup> διαφθαρῆ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς  
 δὲ τούτοις δεδιώς, μὴ προεξέλθῃ τοῦ βίου πρὶν εἰς  
 ὄψιν Ἰωσήπου παραγενέσθαι, καταφέρεται στρέφων  
 ἐν ἑαυτῷ τοῦτον τὸν λογισμὸν εἰς ὕπνον.
- 172 (3) Ἐπιστάς δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ καὶ δις ὀνομαστὶ  
 καλέσας πυνθανομένῳ τίς ἐστίν, “ ἄλλ’ οὐ δίκαιον,”  
 εἶπεν, “ Ἰακώβῳ θεὸν ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸν αἰεὶ παρα-  
 στάτην καὶ βοηθὸν προγόνοις τε τοῖς σοῖς καὶ  
 173 μετ’ αὐτοὺς σοὶ γενόμενον. στερουμένῳ τε γάρ  
 σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην ἐγὼ παρ-  
 ἔσχον, καὶ κατ’ ἐμὴν εὐνοίαν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν  
 μόνος σταλεῖς γάμων τε ἀγαθῶν ἔτυχες καὶ παί-  
 δων ἐπαγόμενος πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων ἐνόστησας.
- 174 παρέμεινέ τέ σοι γενεὰ πᾶσα προνοία τῇ ἐμῇ, καὶ  
 ὄν ἀπολωλέναι τῶν υἱῶν ἐδόκεις Ἰώσηπον [τοῦτον]  
 εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν μειζόνων ἀγαθῶν ἤγαγον καὶ τῆς  
 Αἰγύπτου κύριον, ὡς ὀλίγῳ διαφέρειν τοῦ βα-  
 175 σιλέως, ἐποίησα. ἦκω τε νῦν ὁδοῦ τε ταύτης  
 ἡγεμὼν ἐσόμενος καὶ βίου σου τελευτὴν ἐν ταῖς  
 Ἰωσήπου χερσὶ γενησομένην προδηλῶν καὶ μα-  
 κρὸν αἰῶνα τῶν σῶν ἐγγόνων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ  
 καταγγέλλων καταστήσων τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν  
 ἣν ὑπέσχημαι.”

<sup>1</sup> ἐφόδου ROI. (Lat. adventus).

(2) Halting at the Well of the Oath<sup>a</sup> he there offered sacrifice to God ; and fearing that by reason of the prosperity prevalent in Egypt his sons would become so greatly enamoured of settling there, that their descendants would never more return to Canaan to take possession of it, as God had promised ; and furthermore that having taken this departure into Egypt without God's sanction his race might be annihilated ; yet terrified withal that he might quit this life before setting eyes on Joseph—these were the thoughts which he was revolving in his mind when he sank to sleep.

His vision  
at Beer-  
sheba.  
Gen. xlv. 1.

(3) Then God appeared to him and called him twice by name, and when Jacob asked who he was, "Nay," He said, "it were not right that Jacob should be ignorant of God, who has ever been a protector and helper alike to thy forefathers and afterward to thee. For when thou wast like to be deprived of the principedom by thy father, it was I who gave it thee ; through my favour was it that, when sent all alone to Mesopotamia, thou wast blessed in wedlock and brought with thee an abundance of children and of riches on thy return. And if that progeny has all been preserved to thee, it is through my providence : ay, that son of thine whom thou thoughtest to have lost, even Joseph, him have I led to yet greater felicity, and made him lord of Egypt, hardly differing from its king. And now am I come to be thy guide upon this journey and to foreshew to thee that thou wilt end thy days in Joseph's arms, to announce a long era of dominion and glory for thy posterity, and that I will establish them in the land which I have promised."

<sup>a</sup> Beer-sheba.

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- 176 (4) Τούτῳ θαρρήσας τῷ ὀνείρατι προθυμότερον εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ παισὶν τοῖς τούτων ἀπηλλάττετο. ἦσαν δ' οἱ πάντες<sup>1</sup> ἑβδομήκοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὀνόματα δηλῶσαι τούτων οὐκ ἔδοκίμαζον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν
- 177 αὐτῶν· ἵνα μέντοι παραστήσω τοῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀλλ' Αἰγυπτίους εἶναι, ἀναγκαῖον ἠγησάμην μνησθῆναι τῶν ὀνομάτων. Ἰακώβου μὲν οὖν παῖδες ἦσαν δώδεκα· τούτων Ἰώσηπος ἤδη προαφίκτο· τοὺς οὖν μετ' αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγονότας δηλώσομεν.
- 178 Ῥουβήλου μὲν ἦσαν παῖδες τέσσαρες, Ἀνώχης Φαλοῦς Ἐσσαρῶν Χάρμιος· Συμεῶνος δ' ἕξ, Ἰούμηλος Ἰάμειος Πούθοδος Ἰαχίνος Σόαρος Σααρᾶς· τρεῖς δὲ Λευὶ γεγόνασιν υἱοί, Γολγόμης Κάαθος Μαράιρος· Ἰούδα δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν τρεῖς, Σάλας Φάρεσος Ἐζελεός, υἱωνοὶ δὲ δύο γεγονότες ἐκ Φαρέσου, Ἐσρῶν καὶ Ἄμουρος. Ἰσακχάρου δὲ τέσσαρες, Θούλας Φρουρᾶς Ἰωβος Σαμάρων.
- 179 τρεῖς δὲ Ζαβουλῶν ἠγεν υἱούς, Σάραδον Ἥλωνα Ἰάνηλον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐκ Λείας γένος· καὶ αὐτῇ συνανήει καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Δεῖνα. τρεῖς οὗτοι
- 180 καὶ τριάκοντα. Ῥαχῆλας δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν δύο· τούτων Ἰωσήπῳ μὲν γεγόνησαν υἱοὶ Μανασσῆς καὶ Ἐφραίμης. Βενιαμεί δὲ τῷ ἐτέρῳ δέκα,

<sup>1</sup> + πέντε καὶ RO (after LXX).

<sup>a</sup> So the Hebrew text of Genesis : LXX, including further descendants born in Egypt, raises the total to 75.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus, like Strabo and other Hellenistic writers, commonly omits lists of uncouth names contained in his sources : see Cadbury, *Making of Luke-Acts*, p. 124 with note.

<sup>c</sup> So LXX (some mss.) : Heb. Pallu.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Hezron (Ἀσρών).

<sup>e</sup> Carmi.

<sup>f</sup> Jemuel.

(4) Encouraged by this dream, Jacob with greater ardour departed for Egypt along with his sons and his sons' children : there were in all seventy <sup>a</sup> of them. I was inclined not to recount their names, mainly on account of their difficulty ; however, to confute those persons who imagine us to be not of Mesopotamian origin but Egyptians, I have thought it necessary to mention them.<sup>b</sup> Well, Jacob had twelve sons, of whom Joseph had already departed in advance : we proceed, then, to enumerate those who followed him and their descendants. Rubel had four sons, Anoch(es), Phalus,<sup>c</sup> Essaron,<sup>d</sup> Charmis(os) <sup>e</sup> ; Symeon six, Jumel(os),<sup>f</sup> Jamîn(os), Pouthod(os),<sup>g</sup> Jachîn(os), Soar(os),<sup>h</sup> Saar(as) <sup>i</sup> ; Levi had three sons, Gologom(es),<sup>j</sup> Kaath(os),<sup>k</sup> Marair(os) <sup>l</sup> ; Judas three sons, Salas,<sup>m</sup> Phares(os),<sup>n</sup> Ezele(os),<sup>o</sup> and two grandsons, born of Phares, Esron <sup>p</sup> and Amour(os) <sup>q</sup> ; Issachar had four, 'Thoulas,<sup>r</sup> Phrouras,<sup>s</sup> Job(os), Samaron <sup>t</sup> while Zabulon brought with him three, Sarad(os),<sup>u</sup> Elon, Janel(os).<sup>v</sup> Such was the progeny of Leah, who was also accompanied by her daughter Dinah — in all thirty-three souls. Rachel had two sons : to the one, Joseph, were born Manasses and Ephraim ; to the other, Benjamin, ten sons, Bol(os),<sup>w</sup>

The seventy descendants of Jacob. Gen. xlv. 8.

<sup>a</sup> Ohad ('Αώδ).

<sup>h</sup> Zohar (Σάαρ).

<sup>i</sup> Shaul.

<sup>j</sup> Gershon.

<sup>k</sup> So LXX Καάθ : Heb. Kohath.

<sup>l</sup> Merari.

<sup>m</sup> Shelah (Σηλώμ).

<sup>n</sup> So LXX : Heb. Perez.

<sup>o</sup> Zerah (Ζαρά) ; Josephus here properly omits the two sons, Er and Onan, who died in Canaan (Gen. xlv. 12).

<sup>p</sup> Hezron.

<sup>q</sup> Hamul ('Ιεμουήλ).

<sup>r</sup> Tola (Θωλά).

<sup>s</sup> Puvah (Φουά).

<sup>t</sup> Shimron (Σαμβράν).

<sup>u</sup> Sered.

<sup>v</sup> Jahleel ('Αλοήλ or 'Ιαήλ).

<sup>w</sup> Bela (Βαλά)

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- Βόλος Βάκχαρις Ἄσαβηλος Γήλας Νεεμάνης Ἴησ  
 Ἄρωσ Νομφθῆς Ὀππαῖς Ἄροδος.<sup>1</sup> οὗτοι τέσ-  
 σαρρες καὶ δέκα πρὸς τοῖς πρότερον κατειλεγ-  
 μένοις εἰς ἑπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γίνονται τὸν  
 181 ἀριθμὸν. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνήσιον γένος τῷ Ἰακώβῳ  
 τοῦτο ἦν, ἐκ Βάλλας δὲ αὐτῷ γίνονται τῆς Ῥαχί-  
 λας θεραπαινίδος Δάνος καὶ Νεφθαλῖς, ᾧ τέσ-  
 σαρρες εἶποντο παῖδες, Ἐλίηλος Γοῦνις Σάρης τε  
 καὶ Σέλλιμος, Δάνῳ δὲ μονογενὲς ἦν παιδίον  
 182 Οὔσις. τούτων προσγινομένων τοῖς προειρημένοις  
 πεντήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων πληροῦσιν ἀριθμὸν.  
 Γάδης δὲ καὶ Ἀσῆρος ἐκ Ζελφᾶς μὲν ἦσαν, ἦν  
 Λείας δὲ αὕτη θεραπαινίς, παῖδας δ' ἐπήγοντο  
 Γάδης μὲν ἑπτὰ, Ζοφωνίαν Οὔγιν Σοῦνιν Ζάβρωνα  
 183 Εἰρήνην Ἐρωίδην Ἀριήλην, Ἀσήρῳ δὲ ἦν θυγάτηρ  
 καὶ ἄρσενες ἀριθμὸν ἕξ, οἷς ὀνόματα Ἰώμνης Ἰσού-  
 σιος Ἡϊούβης Βάρης Ἀβαρόσ τε καὶ Μελχίηλος.  
 τούτων ἑκκαίδεκα ὄντων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς  
 πεντήκοντα τέσσαρσιν ὁ προειρημένος ἀριθμὸς πλη-  
 ροῦται μὴ συγκαταλεγέντος αὐτοῖς Ἰακώβου.  
 184 (5) Μαθὼν δὲ Ἰώσηπος παραγινόμενον<sup>2</sup> τὸν  
 πατέρα, καὶ γὰρ προλαβὼν Ἰούδας ὁ ἀδελφὸς  
 ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἄφιξιν, ἀπαντησόμενος ἕξεισι  
 καὶ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν αὐτῷ συνέβαλεν. ὁ δ'

<sup>1</sup> Σάροδος codd.

<sup>2</sup> RO: παραγενόμενον rell.

<sup>a</sup> Becher (Βοχώρ with variants).

<sup>b</sup> Ashbel.

<sup>c</sup> Gera; Josephus follows the Hebrew in reckoning him and the five following persons as sons (not, as in LXX, grandsons) of Benjamin.

<sup>d</sup> So LXX (some mss.): Heb. Naaman. <sup>e</sup> Ehi (Ἀγχεῖς).

<sup>f</sup> Rosh. <sup>g</sup> Muppim (Μαμφεῖν). <sup>h</sup> Huppim (Ὀφμῖν).

<sup>i</sup> Ard (Ἀράδ); LXX makes him a great-grandson of Benjamin.

<sup>j</sup> Jahzeel (Ἰασιήλ with variants).

Baechar(is),<sup>a</sup> Asabel(os),<sup>b</sup> Gêlas,<sup>c</sup> Neeman(es),<sup>d</sup> Iês,<sup>e</sup> Gen. xlvii. 21.  
 Arôs,<sup>f</sup> Nomphtes,<sup>g</sup> Oppais,<sup>h</sup> Arod(os).<sup>i</sup> These four-  
 teen, added to the previous list, amount to a total  
 of forty-seven. Such was the offspring of Jacob born  
 in wedlock. He had moreover by Balla, the hand-  
 maid of Rachel, Dan and Nephthali(s): the latter  
 was accompanied by four children, Eliêl(os),<sup>j</sup> Gounis,  
 Sares,<sup>k</sup> and Sellim(os)<sup>l</sup>; Dan had but one infant,  
 Ousis.<sup>m</sup> These, added to the foregoing, make up a  
 total of fifty-four. Gad and Asêr were sons of Zel-<sup>1b. 16.</sup>  
 pha, the handmaid of Leah: Gad brought with him  
 seven sons, Zophônias,<sup>n</sup> Ougis,<sup>o</sup> Sounis,<sup>p</sup> Zabron,<sup>q</sup>  
 Irênês, Erôidês, Arieles<sup>r</sup>; Asêr had one daughter<sup>s</sup>  
 and six sons, whose names were Jômnes,<sup>t</sup> Isousi(os),<sup>u</sup>  
 Êioubes,<sup>v</sup> Bares,<sup>w</sup> Abar(os),<sup>x</sup> and Melihiêl(os).<sup>y</sup>  
 Adding these sixteen to the fifty-four, we obtain  
 the sum total afore-mentioned, Jacob not being  
 included.

(5) Joseph had learnt of the approach of his father, <sup>Jacob in Egypt. 1b. 23.</sup>  
 for his brother Judas had gone on before to announce  
 his coming; and he went out to meet him and joined  
 him at Heroopolis.<sup>z</sup> Jacob from joy, so unlooked-for

<sup>k</sup> Jezer (Ι(σ)σαάρ). <sup>l</sup> Shillem (Σελλήμ some mss. of LXX).

<sup>m</sup> Hushim (Ασύμ). <sup>n</sup> Ziphion (Σαφών).

<sup>o</sup> Haggi (Αγγείς). <sup>p</sup> Shuni (Σαυνίς).

<sup>q</sup> Ezbon (Οασοβάν). <sup>r</sup> Eri, Arodi, Areli.

<sup>s</sup> Named Serah in Genesis. <sup>t</sup> Imnah (Ιεμνά).

<sup>u</sup> Ishvah. <sup>v</sup> Ishvi (Ιεούλ). <sup>w</sup> Beriah (Βαριά).

<sup>x</sup> Heber (Χοβώρ); he and the next are in Genesis grand-  
 sons of Aser. <sup>y</sup> So LXX: Heb. Malchiel.

<sup>z</sup> Josephus takes over this name from the LXX: the  
 Hebrew text mentions "the land of Goshen." Heroopolis  
 has been identified as the Egyptian Pithom (Ex. i. 11), and  
 Goshen, in which it lay, as the region extending from the  
 eastern arm of the Delta to the Valley of Suez and the Salt  
 Lakes.

## JOSEPHUS

- ὑπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἀπροσδοκήτου τε καὶ μεγάλης  
 γενομένης μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξέλιπεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεζωπύρησεν  
 αὐτὸν Ἰώσηπος οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν κρατῆσαι δυνηθεὶς  
 ὡς μὴ ταῦτὸ παθεῖν ὑφ' ἡδονῆς, οὐ μέντοι τὸν  
 αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ πατρὶ γενόμενος ἤττων τοῦ  
 185 πάθους. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν ἡρέμα κελεύσας ὁδεύειν  
 αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πέντε τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἠπείγετο  
 πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φράσων αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον  
 μετὰ τοῦ γένους τὸν Ἰάκωβον. ὁ δὲ τοῦτο χαίρων  
 ἤκουσε καὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ λέγειν  
 τίνι βίῳ τερπόμενοι διατελοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτοῖς τοῦτον  
 186 ἐπιτρέψειε διάγειν. ὁ δὲ ποιμένας αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοὺς  
 ἔλεγε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσ-  
 ανέχει, τοῦ τε μὴ διαζευγνυμένου ἀλλ' ἐν  
 ταύτῳ τυγχάνοντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρὸς  
 προνοούμενος τοῦ τε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἶναι προσ-  
 φιλεῖς μηδὲν πράττοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνοις·  
 Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἦν περὶ νομᾶς ἀνα-  
 στρέφεισθαι.
- 187 (6) Τοῦ δ' Ἰακώβου παραγενομένου πρὸς τὸν  
 βασιλέα καὶ ἀσπαζομένου τε καὶ κατευχομένου  
 περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῷ ὁ Φαραώθης ἐπυνθάνετο,  
 188 πόσον ἤδη βεβιωκῶς εἶη χρόνον. τοῦ δ' ἑκατὸν  
 ἔτη καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονέναι φήσαντος ἐθαύμασε  
 τοῦ μήκους τῆς ζωῆς τὸν Ἰάκωβον. εἰπόντος δ'  
 ὡς ἦττονα τῶν προγόνων εἶη βεβιωκῶς ἔτη συν-  
 εχώρησεν αὐτῷ ζῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἡλίου  
 πόλει· ἐν ἐκείνῃ γὰρ καὶ οἱ ποιμένες αὐτοῦ τὰς  
 νομὰς εἶχον.

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<sup>a</sup> After Gen. xlv. 34 "for every shepherd is an abomina-  
 tion unto the Egyptians." "While there is evidence that  
 244



and so great, was like to die, but Joseph revived him; he too was not master enough of himself to resist the same emotion of delight, but was not, like his father, overcome by it. Then, bidding his father journey gently on, he with five of his brethren sped to the king to tell him of Jacob's arrival with his family. The king rejoiced at the news and bade Joseph tell him what kind of life it was their pleasure to pursue, so that he might permit them to follow the same. Joseph replied that they were good shepherds and devoted themselves to no other calling save that, being anxious both that they should not be separated but, living together, should look after their father, and also that they should ingratiate themselves with the Egyptians by not following any of their pursuits, for the Egyptians were forbidden to occupy themselves with pasturage.<sup>a</sup>

(6) When Jacob came into the king's presence and had saluted him and offered his felicitations for his reign,<sup>b</sup> Pharaoh asked him how long he had lived. He replied that he was one hundred and thirty years old, whereat the king marvelled at his great age. To that he answered that his years were fewer than those of his forefathers; the king then permitted him to live with his children in Heliopolis,<sup>c</sup> for it was there that his own shepherds had their pasturage.<sup>d</sup>

Jacob before  
Pharaoh.  
Gen. xlvii. 7.

swine-herds and cow-herds were looked down on by the Egyptians, the statement that shepherds were held in special abhorrence has not been confirmed" (Skinner).

<sup>b</sup> Or "realm."

<sup>c</sup> Gen. xlvii. 11, "in the land of Rameses": Heliopolis or On lay near the south end of the Delta, east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile.

<sup>d</sup> This addition of Josephus appears, as it stands, a little inconsistent with the last words of the previous paragraph.

## JOSEPHUS

- 189 (7) Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπετείνετο καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπορώτερον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο μήτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ [τὴν γῆν] ἐπάρδοντος, οὐ γὰρ ἠϋξανε, μήτε ὕοντος τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιάν τε μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας πεποιημένων. καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου τὸν σίτον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοῖς διδόντος, ὡς<sup>1</sup> ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς ἐπέλιπε, τῶν βοσκημάτων
- 190 ἑωνοῦντο τὸν σίτον καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων· οἷς δὲ καὶ γῆς τις ἦν μοῖρα ταύτην<sup>2</sup> παρεχώρουν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τροφῆς. οὕτως τε τοῦ βασιλέως πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιουσίας κυρίου γεγενημένου, μετωκίσθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλαχοῦ,<sup>3</sup> ὅπως βεβαία γένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας τούτων ἢ κτήσις, πλὴν τῶν
- 191 ἱερέων· τούτοις γὰρ ἔμενεν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. ἐδούλου τ' αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τὸ δεινὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀσχήμονα τῆς τροφῆς εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκαζε. λωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβάντος καὶ ταύτης τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως
- 192 ἐκφερούσης, ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἰς ἐκάστην παραγενόμενος πόλιν καὶ συλλέγων ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ πλῆθος τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐκείνων παραχωρούντων βασιλεὺς ἔχειν ἠδύνατο καὶ καρποῦσθαι μόνος, εἰς ἅπαν ἐχαρίζετο καὶ κτήμα ἴδιον ἠγουμένους φιλεργεῖν παρεκάλει τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν τῷ βασιλεῖ τελοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, ἦν δίδωσιν
- 193 αὐτοῖς οὖσαν αὐτοῦ. τοὺς δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδας κυρίους τῆς γῆς καθισταμένους χαρὰ τε ἐλάμβανε καὶ ὑφίσταντο τὰ προστάγματα. καὶ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τό τε ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτοῦ μεῖζον

<sup>1</sup> So Lat.: + δὲ codd.

<sup>2</sup> ταύτης E Zon.

<sup>3</sup> RO: ἀλλαχόσε rell.

(7) But the famine was now tightening its hold upon the Egyptians and the scourge reducing them to ever increasing straits : the river no more watered the land, for it had ceased to rise, nor did God send rain,<sup>a</sup> and they in their ignorance had taken no precautions. Joseph still granted them corn for their money, and, when money failed, they bought the corn with their flocks and their slaves ; any who moreover had a parcel of ground surrendered it to purchase food. And thus it befell that the king became owner of all their substance, and they were transported from place to place, in order to assure to the king the possession of their territory, save only the priests, for these kept their domains. Furthermore, this scourge enslaved not only their bodies but their minds <sup>b</sup> and drove them thereafter to degrading means of subsistence. But when the evil abated and the river overflowed the land and the land yielded its fruits in abundance, Joseph repaired to each city and, convening the inhabitants, bestowed upon them in perpetuity the land which they had ceded to the king and which he might have held and reserved for his sole benefit ; this he exhorted them to regard as their own property and to cultivate assiduously, while paying the fifth of the produce to the king in return for the ground which he had given them, being really his. And they, thus unexpectedly become proprietors of the soil, were delighted and undertook to comply with these injunctions. By these means Joseph increased at once his own reputation

New law of  
land tenure  
in Egypt.  
Gen. xvii.  
13.

<sup>a</sup> This remark, as Reland observed, ignores the fact that Egypt is practically a rainless country.

<sup>b</sup> Based on Thuc. ii. 61 *δουλοῖ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον* κτλ. (Pericles on the plague of Athens); a favourite phrase of Josephus or his assistant ; cf. iii. 56, xix. 42.

Ἰώσηπος ἀπεργάζεται<sup>1</sup> πλείω τε τὴν εὐνοίαν τῷ βασιλεῖ παρ' αὐτῶν, ὃ τε τοῦ τελεῖν τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν νόμος ἔμεινε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὕστερον βασιλέων.

- 194 (viii. 1) Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἑπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατρίψας καὶ νόσῳ χρησάμενος παρόντων αὐτῷ τῶν υἱῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἐπευξάμενος τοῖς μὲν κτήσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ προειπῶν αὐτοῖς κατὰ προφητείαν, πῶς μέλλει τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτῶν ἕκαστος κατοικεῖν τὴν Χανααίαν, ὃ<sup>2</sup> δὴ καὶ πολ-
- 195 λοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις ἐγένετο, Ἰωσήπου δ' ἐγκώμιον διεξελθῶν, ὅτι μὴ μνησικακήσειε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτου πλέον χρηστὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς οὐδὲ εὐεργέτας τινὲς ἠμεύσαντο, προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίῳις παισί, ἵνα τοὺς Ἰωσήπου παῖδας Ἐφραΐμην καὶ Μανασσῆν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν προσῶνται διαιρούμενοι μετ' αὐτῶν τὴν Χανααίαν, περιὼν
- 196 ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν. ἡξίου μέντοι καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Νεβρῶνι τυγχάνειν· τελευτᾶ δὲ βιοῦς ἔτη τὰ πάντα τριῶν δέοντα πενήκοντα καὶ ἑκατόν, μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἀπολειφθεῖς ἐπ' εὐσεβεία τοῦ θεοῦ, τυχῶν δὲ ἀμοιβῆς ἧς δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς οὕτως ἀγαθοὺς γεγονότας. Ἰώσηπος δὲ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τὸν τοῦ πατρὸς νεκρὸν εἰς
- 197 Νεβρῶνα κομίσας ἐκεῖ θάπτει πολυτελῶς. τῶν δ' ἀδελφῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῷ συνυποστρέφειν, δέος γὰρ αὐτοὺς εἶχε μὴ τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐκέτ' ὄντος ᾧ χαρίζοιτο τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετριότητα, πείθει μὴδὲν ὑφορᾶσθαι μὴδ' ἔχειν αὐτὸν δι' ὑποψίας, ἀγαγῶν δὲ μεθ' αὐτοῦ κτήσιν πολλὴν

with the Egyptians and their loyalty to the king. The law imposing payment of the fifth of the produce remained in force under the later kings. Gen. xlvii. 26.

(viii. 1) After passing seventeen years in Egypt, Jacob fell sick and died. His sons were present at his end, and he offered prayers that they might attain to felicity and foretold to them in prophetic words how each of their descendants was destined to find a habitation in Canaan, as in fact long after came to pass. Upon Joseph he lavished praises, for that he had borne no malice against his brethren, nay, more than that, had been generous to them in loading them with presents such as some would not have given even to requite their benefactors; and he charged his own sons to reckon among their number Joseph's sons, Ephraim and Manasses, and to let them share in the division of Canaan—of which events we shall speak hereafter. Furthermore he desired to be buried at Hebron. So he died, having lived in all but three years short of one hundred and fifty, having come behind none of his forefathers in piety towards God and having met with the recompense which such virtue deserved. Joseph, with the sanction of the king, conveyed his father's corpse to Hebron and there gave it sumptuous burial. His brethren thereafter were loth to return with him, fearing that, now their father was dead, he would avenge himself for that plot upon his life, seeing that there was no longer any to thank him for showing forbearance towards them; but he persuaded them to have no misgivings nor to regard him with suspicion, and, taking them with him, he granted them Death and burial of Jacob. *Ib.* 28, xlviij 1, xlix. 1. *Ib.* xlvii. 23. *Ib.* l. 4.

<sup>1</sup> + *kai* codd.

<sup>2</sup> Lat. *· τοῦτο* codd.

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ἐχαρίσατο καὶ πάσῃ περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδῇ χρώ-  
μενος οὐκ ἀπέλιπε.

- 198 (2) Τελευτᾶ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἔτη βιώσας ἑκατὸν  
καὶ δέκα θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀρετὴν γενόμενος καὶ  
λογισμῶ πάντα διοικῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταμιευό-  
μενος, ὃ δὴ καὶ τῆς τοιαύτης εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον  
αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἀλλαχόθεν ἤκοντι καὶ  
μετὰ τοιαύτης κακοπραγίας, μεθ' ἧς προειρήκαμεν,  
199 ὑπῆρχε. τελευτῶσι δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ  
ζήσαντες εὐδαιμόνως ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ  
τούτων μὲν τὰ σώματα κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον  
οἱ ἀπόγονοι [καὶ οἱ παῖδες]<sup>1</sup> ἔθαψαν ἐν Νεβρῶνι,  
200 τὰ δὲ Ἰωσήπου ὅσα ὕστερον, ὅτε μετανέστησαν  
ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν  
ἐκόμισαν· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐξώρκισε.  
τούτων οὖν ἕκαστος ὡς ἔσχε καὶ τίσι πόνοις ἐκρά-  
τησαν τῆς Χαναναίας σημανῶ προδιηγησάμενος  
τὴν αἰτίαν δι' ἣν τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον.

- 201 (ix. 1) Αἰγυπτίοις τρυφεροῖς καὶ ῥαθύμοις πρὸς  
πόνους οὔσι καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἡδονῶν ἤττοσι καὶ  
δὴ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φιλοκέρδειαν συνέβη δεινῶς πρὸς  
τοὺς Ἑβραίους διατεθῆναι κατὰ φθόνον τῆς εὐ-  
202 δαιμονίας. ὁρῶντες γὰρ τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένος  
ἀκμάζον καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν  
εὐφυΐαν πλήθει χρημάτων ἤδη λαμπρούς, καθ'  
αὐτῶν αὐξεσθαι τούτους ὑπελάμβανον, ὧν τ' ἦσαν  
[εὐ] ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τετυχηκότες διὰ χρόνου μῆκος  
λήθην λαβόντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλον οἶκον

<sup>1</sup> om. E Lat.

great possessions and never ceased to hold them in highest regard.

(2) Then he too died, at the age of one hundred and ten years, a man of admirable virtue, who directed all affairs by the dictates of reason and made but sparing use of his authority; to which fact he owed that great prosperity of his among the Egyptians, albeit he had come as a stranger and in such pitiful circumstances as we have previously described. His brethren also died after sojourning happily in Egypt. Their bodies were carried some time afterwards by their descendants [and their sons] to Hebron and buried there.<sup>a</sup> But as for Joseph's bones, it was only later, when the Hebrews migrated from Egypt, that they conveyed them to Canaan, in accordance with the oath which Joseph had laid upon them. How it fared with each of them and by what efforts they conquered Canaan I shall recount, after first relating the reason for which they left Egypt.

Death of Joseph.  
Gen. l. 22.

Ex. i. 6.

Gen. l. 25.

(ix. 1) The Egyptians, being a voluptuous people and slack to labour, slaves to pleasure in general and to a love of lucre in particular, eventually became bitterly disposed towards the Hebrews through envy of their prosperity. For seeing the race of the Israelites flourishing and that their virtues and aptitude for labour had already gained them the distinction of abundant wealth, they believed that their growth in power was to their own detriment. Those benefits which they had received from Joseph being through lapse of time forgotten, and the kingdom having now passed to another dynasty,

Oppression of the Israelites.  
Ex. i. 7.

<sup>a</sup> Not mentioned in the Old Testament narrative, but cf Acts vii. 16.

## JOSEPHUS

μετεληλυθυίας δεινῶς ἐνύβριζόν τε τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις  
 203 καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτοῖς ποικίλας ἐπενόουν. τὸν  
 τε γὰρ ποταμὸν εἰς διώρυχας αὐτοῖς πολλὰς προσ-  
 ἔταξαν διατεμεῖν τείχη τε οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῖς πόλεσι  
 καὶ χώματα, ὅπως ἂν εἴργοι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ  
 λιμνάζειν [ἕως ἐκείνων]<sup>1</sup> ἐπεκβαίνοντα, πυραμίδας  
 τε ἀνοικοδομοῦντες ἐξετρύχουν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος, ὡς  
 τέχνας τε παντοίας ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πόνοις  
 204 γενέσθαι συνήθεις. καὶ τετρακοσίων μὲν ἐτῶν  
 χρόνον διήνυσαν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις· ἀντεφιλονίκουν  
 γὰρ οἱ μὲν Αἰγύπτιοι τοῖς πόνοις ἕξαπολέσαι τοὺς  
 Ἰσραηλίτας θέλοντες, οἱ δ' αἰεὶ κρείττους φαίνεσθαι  
 τῶν ἐπιταγμάτων.

205 (2) Ἐν τούτοις δ' ὄντων αὐτῶν τοῖς πράγμασι  
 αἰτία τοῦ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαι περὶ τὸν ἀφανισμόν  
 τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις προσεγένετο  
 τοιαύτη· τῶν ἱερογραμματέων τις, καὶ γὰρ εἰσι  
 δεινοὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπεῖν,  
 ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ τεχθήσεσθαι τινα κατ'  
 ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις, ὃς ταπεινώσει  
 μὲν τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἡγεμονίαν, ἀξήσει δὲ τοὺς  
 Ἰσραηλίτας τραφεῖς ἀρετῇ τε πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖ  
 206 καὶ δόξαν αἰμίμηστον κτήσεται. δέισας δ' ὁ  
 βασιλεὺς κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐκείνου κελεύει πᾶν  
 τὸ γεννηθὲν ἄρσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν εἰς τὸν  
 ποταμὸν ῥιπτοῦντας διαφθεῖρειν, παραφυλάσσειν  
 τε τὰς ὠδῖνας τῶν Ἑβραίων γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς  
 τοκετοὺς αὐτῶν παρατηρεῖν τὰς Αἰγυπτίων μαίας·

<sup>1</sup> om. ROE Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Amplification of Scripture, which specifies only the building of "store cities, Pithom and Raamses," Ex. i. 11.

<sup>b</sup> A round number, found also in Gen. xv. 13, but inconsistent with other statements of Josephus. In Ex. xii. 40, 252



they grossly maltreated the Israelites and devised for them all manner of hardships. Thus they ordered them to divide the river into numerous canals, to build ramparts for the cities and dikes to hold the waters of the river and to prevent them from forming marshes when they overflowed its banks; and with the rearing of pyramid after pyramid they exhausted our race,<sup>a</sup> which was thus apprenticed to all manner of crafts and became inured to toil. For full four hundred years<sup>b</sup> they endured these hardships: it was indeed a contest between them, the Egyptians striving to kill off the Israelites with drudgery, and these ever to show themselves superior to their tasks.

(2) While they were in this plight, a further incident had the effect of stimulating the Egyptians yet more to exterminate our race. One of the sacred scribes<sup>c</sup>—persons with considerable skill in accurately predicting the future—announced to the king that there would be born to the Israelites at that time one who would abase the sovereignty of the Egyptians and exalt the Israelites, were he reared to manhood, and would surpass all men in virtue and win everlasting renown. Alarmed thereat, the king, on this sage's advice, ordered that every male child born to the Israelites should be destroyed by being cast into the river, and that the labours of Hebrew women with child should be observed and watch kept for their delivery by the Egyptian midwives:

Egyptian prediction of birth of Moses: orders to destroy the Israelite infants. Cf. Ex. i. 15.

where the sojourn in Egypt is reckoned as 430 years, Josephus, following the LXX, includes in that period the previous sojourn in Canaan and reduces the stay in Egypt by one-half (to 215 years).

<sup>c</sup> Egyptian priests, keepers and interpreters of the sacred records. A Rabbinic allusion to a similar prediction of the Egyptian astrologers is quoted by Weill.

## JOSEPHUS

- 207 ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε μαιουῖσθαι, αἱ διὰ συγγένειαν ἔμελλον μὴ παραβῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν· τοὺς μέντοι καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ προστάγματος καὶ σώζειν λάθρα τολμήσαντας τὸ τεχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναιρεῖσθαι σὺν τῇ γενεᾷ προσ-
- 208 ἔταξεν. δεινὸν οὖν τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὸ πάθος, οὐ<sup>1</sup> καθὸ παίδων ἀπεστεροῦντο καὶ γονεῖς ὄντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ὑπουργοῦν τῶν γεννωμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐπιλείψεως, φθειρομένων μὲν τῶν τικτομένων, αὐτῶν δὲ διαλυθησομένων, χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ
- 209 δυσπαραμύθητον ἐποίει τὴν συμφορὰν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ· κρατήσκει δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης οὐδὲ μυρίας τέχνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ μηχανησάμενος· ὃ τε γὰρ παῖς, ὃν προεῖπεν ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς, τρέφεται λαθῶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φυλακὴν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενησομένοις ὁ προειπὼν εὐρέθη. γίνεται δ' οὕτως.
- 210 (3) Ἀμαράμης τῶν εὖ γεγονότων παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ὡς δεδιὼς ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἔθνους, μὴ σπᾶνει τῆς ἐπιτραφησομένης νεότητος ἐπιλείπη, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐφ' αὐτῷ φέρων, ἐκύει γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ
- 211 γύναιον, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἦν, καὶ πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ τρέπεται παρακαλῶν οἶκτον ἤδη τινὰ λαβεῖν αὐτὸν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρησκείας παραβεβηκότων δοῦναί τ' ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν παρ' ἐκείνον ἐκακοπάθουν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπ'
- 212 ἀπωλείᾳ τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐλπίδος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλέησας αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἱκεσίαν ἐπικλασθεῖς

<sup>1</sup> non tantum Lat.

for this office was, by his orders, to be performed by women who, as compatriots of the king, were not likely to transgress his will<sup>a</sup>: those who notwithstanding defied this decree and ventured stealthily to save their offspring he ordered to be put to death along with their progeny. Terrible then was the calamity confronting the victims: not only were they to be bereft of their children, not only must the parents themselves be accessories to the destruction of their offspring, but the design of extinguishing their race by the massacre of the infants and their own approaching dissolution rendered their lot cruel and inconsolable. Such was their miserable situation; but no man can defeat the will of God, whatever countless devices he may contrive to that end. For this child, whose birth the sacred scribe had foretold, was reared, eluding the king's vigilance, and the prophet's words concerning all that was to be wrought through him proved true; and this is how it happened.

(3) Amaram(es),<sup>b</sup> a Hebrew of noble birth, fearing that the whole race would be extinguished through lack of the succeeding generation, and seriously anxious on his own account because his wife was with child, was in grievous perplexity. He accordingly had recourse to prayer to God, beseeching Him to take some pity at length on men who had in no wise transgressed in their worship of Him, and to grant them deliverance from the tribulations of the present time and from the prospect of the extermination of their race. And God had compassion on him and, moved by his supplication, appeared to him in his

God's  
prediction  
to Amram.

<sup>a</sup> Contrary to Ex. i. 15 ff., which states that the orders were given to the Hebrew midwives.

<sup>b</sup> The name Amram, omitted in Ex. ii. 1, is mentioned later (vi. 20).

## JOSEPHUS

- ἐφίσταται κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ἀπογινώσκειν αὐτὸν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων παρεκάλει τὴν τε εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἔλεγε διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἀμοιβὴν αἰεὶ παρέξει, ἤδη μὲν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν δωρησάμενος τὸ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αὐτοὺς ἐξ ὀλίγων·
- 213 καὶ Ἄβραμον μὲν μόνον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας εἰς τὴν Χαναanaίαν παραγενόμενον εὐδαιμονῆσαι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς γονὴν ἀκάρπως ἐχούσης πρότερον, ἔπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀγαθῆς πρὸς τοῦτο γενομένης, τεκνῶσαι παῖδας καὶ καταλιπεῖν μὲν Ἰσμαήλῳ καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀράβων χώραν, τοῖς δ' ἐκ Κατούρας τὴν Τρωγλοδύτιν, Ἰσάκῳ δὲ τὴν
- 214 Χαναanaίαν. “ ὅσα τε πολεμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν,” φησί, “ συμμαχίαν ἠνδραγάθησε κἂν ἀσεβεῖς εἶναι δόξαίτε<sup>1</sup> μὴ διὰ μνήμης ἔχοντες. Ἰάκωβον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οὐχ ὁμοφύλοις γνώριμον εἶναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τε μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας μεθ' ἧς ἐβίωσε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὗ μετὰ ἐβδομήκοντα τῶν πάντων εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφικομένου ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντά που μυριάδες<sup>2</sup> ἤδη γεγόνατε.
- 215 νῦν δ' ἐμὲ τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ὑμῶν ἴστε προνοούμενον καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐκλείας· ὁ παῖς γὰρ οὗτος, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν Αἰγύπτιοι δεδιότες κατέκριναν ἀπολλύναι τὰ ἐξ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τικτόμενα, σὸς ἔσται, καὶ λήσεται μὲν τοὺς ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ παρα-
- 216 φυλάσσοντας, τραφεῖς δὲ παραδόξως τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἀνάγκης ἀπολύσει, μνήμης δὲ ἐφ' ὅσον μενεῖ χρόνον τὰ

<sup>1</sup> edd.: δόξητε καὶ codd.

<sup>2</sup> μυριάδας E.

sleep,<sup>a</sup> exhorted him not to despair of the future, and told him that He had their piety in remembrance and would ever give them its due recompense, even as He had already granted their forefathers to grow from a few souls into so great a multitude. He recalled how Abraham, departing alone from Mesopotamia on his journey to Canaan, had in every way been blessed and above all how his wife, once barren, had thereafter, thanks to His will, been rendered fertile; how he had begotten sons and had bequeathed to Ishmael and his descendants the land of Arabia, to his children by Katura Troglodytis,<sup>b</sup> to Isaac Canaan. "Aye," He said, "and all that prowess that he displayed in war under my auspices,<sup>c</sup> ye would indeed be deemed impious not to hold in remembrance. Jacob too became famous even among an alien people for the height of that prosperity to which he attained in his lifetime and which he left to his children; with but seventy souls in all he arrived in Egypt, and already ye are become upwards of six hundred thousand.<sup>d</sup> And now be it known to you that I am watching over the common welfare of you all and thine own renown. This child, whose birth has filled the Egyptians with such dread that they have condemned to destruction all the offspring of the Israelites, shall indeed be thine; he shall escape those who are watching to destroy him, and, reared in marvellous wise, he shall deliver the Hebrew race from their bondage in Egypt, and be remem-

<sup>a</sup> Aniram's dream, an amplification of the Biblical narrative, is mentioned in the oldest Rabbinic commentary on Exodus, known as *Mechilta* (Weill).

<sup>b</sup> i. 238 f.

<sup>c</sup> In the rescue of Lot.

<sup>d</sup> The traditional exaggerated figure of the adult males who left Egypt (Ex. xii. 37, Numb. xi. 21).

σύμπαντα τεύξεται παρ' ἀνθρώποις οὐχ Ἑβραίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοφύλοις, ἐμοῦ τοῦτο χαριζομένου σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ σοῦ γενησομένοις. ἔσται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιοῦτος, ὥστε τὴν ἐμὴν ἕξειν ἱερωσύνην αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου."

- 217 (4) Ταῦτα τῆς ὄψεως αὐτῷ δηλωσάσης περι-  
εγερθεὶς<sup>1</sup> ὁ Ἀμαράμης ἐδήλου τῇ Ἰωχαβέλλῃ, γυνὴ  
δ' ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ δέος ἔτι μείζον διὰ τὴν τοῦ  
ὄνειρου πρόρρησιν αὐτοῖς συνίστατο· οὐ γὰρ ὡς  
περὶ παιδὸς μόνον εὐλαβεῖς ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς  
218 ἐπὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτης εὐδαιμονίας ἐσομένου. τοῖς  
μέντοι προκατηγγελημένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ὁ  
τοκετὸς τῆς γυναικὸς παρέιχε λαθούσης τοὺς  
φύλακας διὰ τὴν τῶν ὠδίνων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τῷ μὴ  
βιαίας αὐτῇ προσπεσεῖν τὰς ἀλγηδόνας. καὶ τρεῖς  
μὲν μῆνας παρ' αὐτοῖς τρέφουσι λανθάνοντες·  
219 ἔπειτα δὲ δεῖσας Ἀμαράμης, μὴ κατάφωρος  
γένηται καὶ πεσῶν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργὴν  
αὐτὸς τε ἀπόληται<sup>2</sup> μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀφανίσειεν, ἔγνω μᾶλλον ἐπὶ  
τούτῳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ  
πρόνοιαν ἢ τῷ λήσεσθαι πεπιστευκῶς, τοῦτο δ'  
ἦν ἄδηλον, ἐναποκινδυνεύειν οὐ τῷ παιδί μόνον  
220 κρυφαίως τρεφομένῳ ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ· τὸν δὲ θεὸν  
ἠγείτο πᾶσαν ἐμποριεῖν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν  
ψευδὲς γενέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων. ταῦτα κρίναντες  
μηχανῶνται πλέγμα βίβλινον, ἐμφορὲς τῇ κατα-  
σκευῇ κοιτίδι, μεγέθους αὐτὸ ποιήσαντες αὐ-  
τάρκους εἰς τὸ μετ' εὐρυχωρίας ἐναποκεῖσθαι τὸ

<sup>1</sup> περιχαρῆς ἐγερθεὶς RO.

<sup>2</sup> ἀπολείται codd.

bered, so long as the universe shall endure, not by Hebrews alone but even by alien nations ; that favour do I bestow upon thee and upon thy posterity. Furthermore, he shall have a brother so blessed as to hold my priesthood, he and his descendants, throughout all ages."

(4) These things revealed to him in vision, Amaram on awaking disclosed to Jochabel(e),<sup>a</sup> his wife ; and their fears were only the more intensified by the prediction in the dream. For it was not merely for a child that they were anxious, but for that high felicity for which he was destined. However, their belief in the promises of God was confirmed by the manner of the woman's delivery, since she escaped the vigilance of the watch, thanks to the gentleness of her travail, which spared her any violent throes.<sup>b</sup> For three months they reared the child in secret ; and then Amaram, fearing that he would be detected and, incurring the king's wrath, would perish himself along with the young child and thus bring God's promise to nought, resolved to commit the salvation and protection of the child to Him, rather than to trust to the uncertain chance of concealment and thereby endanger not only the child, clandestinely reared, but himself also ; assured that God would provide complete security that nothing should be falsified of that which He had spoken. Having so determined, they constructed a basket of papyrus reeds, fashioned in the form of a cradle, spacious enough to give the infant ample room for repose ;

Birth of  
Moses: his  
exposure on  
the Nile.

Ex. ii. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Jochebed (LXX Ἰωχαβέδ) Ex. vi. 20 : the final consonant in the form above comes from confusion of the Greek letters Δ and Λ and is perhaps attributable to later scribes.

<sup>b</sup> Amplification, with Rabbinic parallel (Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

- 221 βρέφος, ἔπειτα χρίσαντες ἀσφάλτῳ, τῷ γὰρ ὕδατι τὴν διὰ τῶν πλεγμάτων ἀποφράττειν εἴσοδον ἢ ἀσφαλτος πέφυκεν, ἐντιθέασι τὸ παιδίον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαλόντες εἶσαν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς παραλαβὼν ἔφερε, Μαριάμη δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδελφὴ
- 222 κελευσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀντιπαρεξήει φερόμενον ὅποι χωρήσει ὀψομένη τὸ πλέγμα. ἔνθα καὶ διέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς μηδὲν μὲν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν, πᾶν δ' ὅ τι καὶ βουληθεῖη πράττειν αὐτὸ<sup>1</sup> τέλους ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνον, καὶ διαμαρτάνοντας μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας ἀσφαλείας ἄλλων κατακρίνοντας ὄλεθρον καὶ πολλῇ περὶ τοῦτο<sup>2</sup> χρησαμένους
- 223 σπουδῇ, σωζομένους δ' ἐκ παραδόξου καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν κακῶν εὕρισκομένους τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοὺς κινδυνεύοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ. τοιοῦτον δέ τι καὶ περὶ τὸν παῖδα τοῦτον γενόμενον ἐμφανίζει τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 224 (5) Θέρμουθις ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως. αὕτη παίζουσα παρὰ τὰς ἡόνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ φερόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ρεύματος θεασαμένη τὸ πλέγμα κολυμβητὰς ἐπιπέμπει κελεύσασα τὴν κοιτίδα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκκομίσαι. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτῳ σταλέντων μετὰ τῆς κοιτίδος ἰδοῦσα
- 225 κάλλους· τοσαύτη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς περὶ Μωυσῆν ἐχρήσατο σπουδῇ, ὡς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τῶν ψηφισαμένων διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους ἀπώλειαν ποιῆσαι τροφῆς καὶ

<sup>1</sup> αὐτὸς (ipse) Lat.

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: τοῦτου (τούτους) codd.

<sup>4</sup> Miriam (LXX Μαριάμ) Ex. xv. 20.



then, having daubed it with bitumen, that substance serving to prevent the water from penetrating through the wicker-work, they placed the young child within and, launching it on the river, committed his salvation to God. The river received its charge and bore it on, while Marian(e),<sup>a</sup> the sister of the child, at her mother's bidding, kept pace with it along the bank to see whither the basket would go. Then once again did God plainly show that human intelligence is nothing worth, but that all that He wills to accomplish reaches its perfect end, and that they who, to save themselves, condemn others to destruction utterly fail, whatever diligence they may employ, while those are saved by a miracle and attain success almost from the very jaws of disaster, who hazard all by divine decree. Even so did the fate that befell this child display the power of God.

(5) The king had a daughter, Thermuthis.<sup>b</sup> Playing by the river bank and spying the basket being borne down the stream, she sent off some swimmers<sup>c</sup> with orders to bring that cot to her. When these returned from their errand with the cot, she, at sight of the little child, was enchanted at its size and beauty; for such was the tender care which God showed for Moses, that the very persons who by reason of his birth had decreed the destruction of all children of Hebrew parentage were made to con-

His rescue  
by the  
princess.  
Cf. Ex. ii. 5.

<sup>b</sup> Unnamed in Scripture, this princess bore various names in tradition. That in the text recurs in the *Book of Jubilees* (xlvi. 5, "Tharmuth"), a Jewish work of c. 100 B.C. with which Josephus elsewhere agrees. Syncellus (i. 227, quoted by Charles) adds a second, *Θέρμωνθις ἢ καὶ Φαρίη* (alias Isis). Artapanus (2nd cent. B.C., *ap. Eus. Praep. Ev.* ix. 27) calls her Merris; the Talmud, after 1 Chron. iv. 18, Bithiah.

<sup>c</sup> Ex. ii. 5 "her handmaid" (LXX τὴν ἄβραν).

## JOSEPHUS

ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι. κελεύει τε γύναιον ἢ Θέρ  
 226 μουθις ἀχθῆναι παρέξον θηλήν τῷ παιδίῳ. μὴ  
 προσεμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θηλήν ἀλλ' ἀποστρα-  
 φέντος καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν ποιήσαντος γυναικῶν,  
 ἢ Μαριάμη παρατυγχάνουσα τοῖς γινομένοις οὐχ  
 ὥστε ἐκ παρασκευῆς δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεωρίαν,  
 "μάτην," εἶπεν, "ὦ βασιλίσσα, ταύτας ἐπὶ  
 τροφῇ τοῦ παιδὸς μετακαλῆ τὰς γυναῖκας, αἱ  
 μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ συγγενὲς ἔχουσιν. εἰ μέντοι  
 227 τινὰ τῶν Ἑβραϊδῶν γυναικῶν ἀχθῆναι ποιήσεις,  
 τάχα ἂν προσοῖτο θηλήν ὁμοφύλου." δόξασαν δὲ  
 λέγειν εὖ κελεύει τοῦτ' αὐτὴν ἐκπορίσαι καὶ τῶν  
 γαλουχουσῶν τινὰ μεταθεῖν.<sup>1</sup> ἢ δὲ τοιαύτης ἐξ-  
 ουσίας λαβομένη παρῆν ἄγουσα τὴν μητέρα μηδενὶ  
 γινωσκομένην. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀσμενίσαν πως  
 προσφύεται τῇ θηλῇ, καὶ δεηθείσης τε τῆς βασι-  
 λίδος πιστεύεται τὴν τροφήν τοῦ παιδίου πρὸς τὸ  
 πᾶν.<sup>2</sup>

228 (6) Καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῶν συμ-  
 βεβηκότων ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντι· τὸ  
 γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν Αἰγύπτιοι καλοῦσιν, ἐσῆς δὲ τοὺς<sup>3</sup>  
 σωθέντας· συνθέντες οὖν ἐξ ἀμφοτέρων τὴν προσ-  
 229 ηγορίαν αὐτῷ ταύτην τίθενται. καὶ ἦν ὁμολογου-  
 μένως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν φρονήματός  
 τε μεγέθει καὶ πόνων καταφρονήσει Ἑβραίων  
 ἄριστος. Ἀβραμος γὰρ αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἕβδομος·  
 Ἀμαράμου γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν παῖς τοῦ Καάθου,  
 Καάθου δὲ πατὴρ Λεῖσις ὁ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, ὃς

<sup>1</sup> RO: μετελθεῖν rell.

<sup>2</sup> Niese suspects a lacuna.

<sup>3</sup> Lat., Eustath.: + ἐξ ὕδατος codd.

descend to nourish and tend him. And so Thermuthis ordered a woman to be brought to suckle the infant. But when, instead of taking the breast, it spurned it, and then repeated this action with several women, Mariam, who had come upon the scene, apparently without design and from mere curiosity, said, "It is lost labour, my royal lady, to summon to feed the child these women who have no ties of kinship with it. Wert thou now to have one of the Hebrew women fetched, maybe it would take the breast of one of its own race." Her advice seemed sound, and the princess bade her do this service herself and run for a foster-mother. Availing herself of such permission, the girl returned bringing the mother, whom no one knew. Thereupon the infant, gleefully as it were, fastened upon the breast, and, by request of the princess, the mother was permanently entrusted with its nurture.

(6) It was indeed from this very incident that the princess gave him the name recalling his immersion in the river, for the Egyptians call water *môu* and those who are saved *esês*<sup>a</sup>; so they conferred on him this name compounded of both words. And all agree that, in accordance with the prediction of God, for grandeur of intellect and contempt of toils he was the noblest Hebrew of them all. [He was the seventh from Abraham, being the son of Amaram, who was the son of Caath, whose father was Levi,

His name  
and beauty.  
*Cf.* Ex. ii. 10.

10, "because I *drew* him out of the water," Heb. *mashah*, "draw out") for one professedly Egyptian. The first half of his interpretation recurs in *Ap.* i. 286, and in Philo, *De vit. Mos.* i. 4, § 17 τὸ γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν ὀνομάζουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι. But "the Coptic etymology, *mo* 'water' and *use* 'rescued,'" "which for a time obtained general currency," is now in turn abandoned (*Enc. Bibl.* art. Moses).

## JOSEPHUS

- ἦν Ἰσαάκῳ γενόμενος, Ἀβράμου δὲ οὗτος ἦν.  
 230 σύνεσις δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐφύετ' αὐτῷ τοῦ  
 δὲ ταύτης μέτρον πολὺ κρείττων, καὶ πρεσβυτέραν  
 διεδείκνυεν ταύτης τὴν περιουσίαν ἐν<sup>1</sup> ταῖς παιδιαῖς,  
 καὶ μειζόνων τῶν ὑπ' ἀνδρὸς γενησομένων ἐπ-  
 αγγελίαν εἶχε τὰ τότε πραττόμενα. καὶ τριετεί μὲν  
 αὐτῷ γεγενημένῳ θαυμαστὸν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τῆς  
 231 ἡλικίας ἐξῆρεν ἀνάστημα, πρὸς δὲ κάλλος οὐδεὶς  
 ἀφιλότιμος ἦν οὕτως, ὡς Μωυσῆν θεασάμενος μὴ  
 ἐκπλαγῆναι τῆς εὐμορφίας, πολλοῖς τε συνέβαινε  
 καθ' ὁδὸν φερομένῳ συντυγχάνουσιν ἐπιστρέφε-  
 σθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ παιδός, ἀφιέναι δὲ τὰ  
 σπουδαζόμενα καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ προσευσχολεῖν αὐτοῦ.  
 καὶ γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἡ παιδικὴ πολλὴ καὶ ἄκρατος περὶ  
 αὐτὸν οὔσα κατεῖχε τοὺς ὁρῶντας.  
 232 (7) Ὅντα δ' αὐτὸν τοιοῦτον ἡ Θέρμουθις παῖδα  
 ποιεῖται γονῆς γνησίας οὐ μεμοιραμένη, καὶ ποτε  
 κομίσασα τὸν Μωυσῆν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐπεδείκνυε  
 τοῦτον καὶ ὡς φροντίσειε διαδοχῆς, εἰ καὶ βουλήσει  
 θεοῦ μὴ τύχοι παιδὸς γνησίου, πρὸς αὐτὸν<sup>2</sup> ἔλεγεν,  
 ἀναθρεψαμένη παῖδα μορφῇ τε θείον καὶ φρονή-  
 ματι γενναῖον, θαυμασίως δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς  
 τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβοῦσα χάριτος "ἐμαυτῆς μὲν  
 ἡγησάμην παῖδα ποιήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ σῆς βασιλείας  
 233 διάδοχον." ταῦτα λέγουσα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς χερσὶν

<sup>1</sup> Read perhaps *κάν*.

<sup>2</sup> + *τε* codd.

<sup>a</sup> The sentence, condemned by some editors as an interruption of the narrative, may be a postscript of the author. The statement, in accordance with Scripture, that Moses was in the fourth generation from Jacob, conflicts with the 400 years' stay in Egypt (§ 204).

<sup>b</sup> Or "age"; cf. and contrast Lk. ii. 52.

the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham.]<sup>a</sup> His growth in understanding was not in line with his growth in stature,<sup>b</sup> but far outran the measure of his years: its maturer excellence was displayed in his very games, and his actions then gave promise of the greater deeds to be wrought by him on reaching manhood. When he was three years old, God gave wondrous increase to his stature; and none was so indifferent to beauty as not, on seeing Moses, to be amazed at his comeliness. And it often happened that persons meeting him as he was borne along the highway turned, attracted by the child's appearance, and neglected their serious affairs to gaze at leisure upon him: indeed childish charm so perfect and pure as his held the beholders spell-bound.<sup>c</sup>

(7) Such was the child whom Thermuthis adopted as her son,<sup>d</sup> being blessed with no offspring of her own. Now one day she brought Moses to her father and showed him to him, and told him how she had been mindful for the succession, were it God's will to grant her no child of her own, by bringing up a boy of divine beauty and generous spirit, and by what a miracle she had received him of the river's bounty, "and methought," she said, "to make him my child and heir to thy kingdom." With these words she

The infant  
Moses and  
Pharaoh.

<sup>a</sup> S. Stephen's phrase, ἦν ἀστέριος τῷ θεῷ (Acts vii. 20), is the only Biblical allusion to the child's beauty, attested by Rabbinical tradition. Cf. the Midrash on Ex. ii. 10 (ed. Wünsche), "Pharaoh's daughter . . . let him no more leave the king's palace; because he was beautiful all wished to see him, and whoever saw him could not turn away from him."

<sup>d</sup> Ex. ii. 10; the rest of this section and the chapter following it are amplification of the Scripture narrative.

ἐντίθησι τὸ βρέφος, ὁ δὲ λαβὼν καὶ προσστερνισά-  
 μενος κατὰ φιλοφρόνησιν χάριν τῆς θυγατρὸς  
 ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα· καταφέρει δ' ὁ  
 Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν γῆν περιελόμενος αὐτὸ κατὰ  
 234 νηπιότητα δῆθεν ἐπέβαινέ τε αὐτῷ τοῖς ποσί. καὶ  
 τοῦτο ἔδοξεν οἰωνὸν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρειν.  
 θεασάμενος δ' ὁ ἱερογραμματεὺς ὁ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν  
 αὐτοῦ προειπὼν ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων  
 ἀρχῆς ἐσομένην ὤρμησεν ἀποκτείνειν, καὶ δεινὸν  
 235 ἀνακραγῶν, "οὗτος," εἶπε, "βασιλεῦ, ὁ παῖς  
 ἐκεῖνος, ὃν κτείνασιν ἡμῖν ἐδήλωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀφόβοις  
 εἶναι, μαρτυρεῖ τῇ προαγορεύσει <διὰ><sup>1</sup> τοῦ γεγονό-  
 τος ἐπιβεβηκῶς ἡγεμονία τῇ σῇ καὶ πατῶν τὸ  
 διάδημα. τοῦτον οὖν ἀνελὼν Αἰγυπτίοις μὲν τὸ  
 ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος ἄνες, Ἑβραίοις δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ  
 236 δι' αὐτὸν θάρσους ἀφελού." φθάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἡ  
 Θέρμουθις ἐξαρπάσασα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν φόνον ὀκνη-  
 ρὸς ἦν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρα-  
 σκευάσαντος, ᾧ πρόνοια τῆς Μωυσέος σωτηρίας  
 ἦν. ἐτρέφετο οὖν πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνων,  
 καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἑβραίοις ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρῆν ἐλπίς<sup>2</sup> περὶ  
 237 τῶν ὄλων, δι' ὑποψίας δ' εἶχον Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν  
 ἀνατροφὴν αὐτοῦ· μηδενὸς δ' ὄντος φανεροῦ, δι'  
 ὄν<sup>3</sup> κὰν ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς [μηδὲν ὄντα]<sup>4</sup>  
 ἢ συγγενοῦς<sup>5</sup> διὰ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἢ τῶν ἄλλων  
 τινός,<sup>6</sup> ᾧ πλέον ὑπὲρ ὠφελείας τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ

<sup>1</sup> ins. Ernesti.<sup>2</sup> ROE: εὐέλπισιν εἶναι rell.<sup>3</sup> RO: ὁ rell.<sup>4</sup> μηδὲ ὄντος O: the words have perhaps come in from the previous line.<sup>5</sup> μηδὲν . . . συγγενοῦς] v.l. ἢ μηδὲν ὄντα καὶ συγγενῆ.<sup>6</sup> v.l. τις.

laid the babe in her father's arms ; and he took and clasped him affectionately to his breast and, to please his daughter, placed his diadem upon his head. But Moses tore it off and flung it to the ground, in mere childishness, and trampled it underfoot <sup>a</sup> ; and this was taken as an omen of evil import to the kingdom. At that spectacle the sacred scribe who had foretold that this child's birth would lead to the abasement of the Egyptian empire rushed forward to kill him with a fearful shout : " This," he cried, " O king, this is that child whom God declared that we must kill to allay our terrors ; he bears out the prediction by that act of insulting thy dominion and trampling the diadem under foot. Kill him then and at one stroke relieve the Egyptians of their fear of him and deprive the Hebrews of the courageous hopes that he inspires." But Thermuthis was too quick for him and snatched the child away ; the king too delayed to slay him, from a hesitation induced by God, whose providence watched over Moses' life. He was accordingly educated with the utmost care, the Hebrews resting the highest hopes upon him for their future, while the Egyptians viewed his upbringing with misgiving. However, since even if the king slew him, there was no one else in sight, whether relative by adoption or any other, in whom they could put more confidence to act in the interest

<sup>a</sup> The Midrash on Ex. ii. 10 already quoted gives the legend in another form, " Pharaoh kissed and embraced him and took him to his breast, and he [Moses] took the crown from Pharaoh's head and set it upon his own, as he was once to do, when grown to manhood." Another Midrash, *Tanchuma* quoted by Weill, agrees with Josephus, except that the child seizes the crown from the king's head.

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τοῦ προειδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα θαρρεῖν παρῆν, ἀπείχοντο τῆς ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ.

- 238 (x. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν [οὖν] τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ γεννηθεὶς τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν φανεράν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει μὲν τῇ ἐκείνων, ἐπ' αὐξήσει δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων γεγονέναι τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος· Αἰθίοπες, πρόσκοικοι δ' εἰσὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς χώραν αὐτῶν ἔφερον καὶ ἦγον τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. οἱ δ' ὑπ' ὀργῆς στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀμνυόμενοι<sup>1</sup> τῆς καταφρονήσεως, καὶ τῇ μάχῃ κρατηθέντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔπεσον οἱ δ' αἰσχροῦς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθησαν φυγόντες.
- 240 ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ διώκοντες Αἰθίοπες καί, μαλακίας ὑπολαβόντες τὸ μὴ κρατεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πλείον ἤπτοντο καὶ γευσάμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκέτ' αὐτῶν ἀπείχοντο· ὡς δὲ τὰ γειννιώντα μέρη πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένων οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἀντιστρατεύειν, προύβησαν ἄχρι Μέμφεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πόλεων ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθείσης. τῷ δὲ κακῷ πιεζόμενοι πρὸς χρησμούς Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ μαντείας τρέπονται· συμβουλεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συμμάχῳ χρῆσασθαι τῷ Ἑβραίῳ κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα παρασχεῖν τὸν Μωυσῆν στρατηγὸν αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. ἡ δὲ ὄρκους ποιησα-
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<sup>1</sup> Lat.: ἀμνυόμενοι codd.

<sup>a</sup> Text corrupt and meaning obscure. I take it to mean that there was no other heir apparent. With the reading δι' ὃ (for δι' ὃν) and other changes found in the "inferior" type of mss., we might translate (with Weill) "But since there was no apparent motive why he should be killed

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of the Egyptians through his foreknowledge of the future,<sup>a</sup> they refrained from slaying him.

(x. 1) Moses then, born and brought up in the manner already described, on coming of age gave the Egyptians signal proof of his merits and that he was born for their humiliation and for the advancement of the Hebrews; here is the occasion which he seized.<sup>b</sup> The Ethiopians, who are neighbours of the Egyptians, invaded their territory and pillaged their possessions; the Egyptians in indignation made a campaign against them to avenge the affront and, being beaten in battle, some fell and the rest ingloriously escaped to their own land by flight. But the Ethiopians followed in hot pursuit, and, deeming it feebleness not to subdue the whole of Egypt, they assailed the country far and wide and, having tasted of its riches, refused to relinquish their hold; and, since the neighbouring districts exposed to their first incursions did not venture to oppose them, they advanced as far as Memphis and to the sea, none of the cities being able to withstand them. Oppressed by this calamity, the Egyptians had recourse to oracles and divinations; and when counsel came to them from God to take the Hebrew for their ally, the king bade his daughter give up Moses to serve as his general. And she, after her father had sworn

Ethiopian invasion of Egypt: Moses selected as general of Egyptian army.

whether by the king, whose relative he was by adoption, or by any other who had greater hardihood in the interests," etc.

<sup>b</sup> The following legend, an invention of the Jewish colony at Alexandria, doubtless grew out of the obscure allusion in Numb. xii. 1 to the "Cushite woman" whom Moses "had married"; the existence of this Ethiopian wife called for explanation. A collateral form of the legend appears in Artapanus (2nd cent. *n.c.*, *ap. Ens. Praep. Ev.* ix. 27. 432 d); the narrative of Josephus is more detailed and cannot be derived directly from Artapanus.

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μένω, ὥστε μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακόν, παραδίδωσιν ἀντὶ μεγάλης μὲν εὐεργεσίας κρίνουσα τὴν συμμαχίαν, κακίζουσα δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰ κτεῖναι προαγορεύσαντες αὐτὸν ὡς πολέμιον οὐκ ἠδουῦντο νῦν χρῆζοντες αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπικουρίας.

- 243 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς Θερμούθιδος παρακληθεὶς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἠδέως προσδέχεται τὸ ἔργον· ἔχαιρον δ' οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἐθνῶν, Αἰγυπτίων μὲν ὡς τοὺς τε πολεμίους τῇ ἐκείνου κρατήσοντες ἀρετῇ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν [ἐν]<sup>1</sup> ταύτῳ δόλῳ κατεργασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὡς φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς στρατηγεῖν. ὁ δὲ φθάσας πρὶν ἢ καὶ πυθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἦγεν, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἑλασίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ γῆς. ἔνθα τῆς αὐτοῦ συνέσεως θαυμαστὴν ἐπίδειξιν ἐποίησατο· τῆς γὰρ γῆς οὕσης χαλεπῆς ὄδευθῆναι διὰ πλῆθος ἐρπετῶν, παμφορωτάτη γὰρ ἐστὶ τούτων, ὡς καὶ τὰ παρ' ἄλλοις οὐκ ὄντα μόνη τρέφειν δυνάμει τε καὶ κακία καὶ τῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἀσυνήθει διαφέροντα, τινὰ δ' αὐτῶν ἐστὶ καὶ πετεινὰ ὡς λανθάνοντα μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς κακουργεῖν καὶ μὴ προῖδομένους ἀδικεῖν ὑπερπετῇ γενόμενα, νοεῖ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀβλαβῆ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος
- 246 στρατήγημα θαυμαστόν· πλέγματα γὰρ ἐμπερῆ κιβωτοῖς ἐκ βίβλου<sup>2</sup> κατασκευάσας καὶ πληρώσας ἴβρων ἐκόμιζε. πολεμιώτατον δ' ἐστὶν ὄφεισι τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον· φεύγουσί τε γὰρ ἐπερχομένας καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι καθάπερ ὑπ' ἐλάφων ἀρπαζόμενοι κατα-

<sup>1</sup> RO: om. rell.

<sup>2</sup> βύβλου Dindorf.

to do him no injury, surrendered him, judging that great benefit would come of such an alliance, while reproaching the knavish priests who, after having spoken of putting him to death as an enemy, were now not ashamed to crave his succour.

(2) Moses, thus summoned both by Thermuthis and by the king,<sup>a</sup> gladly accepted the task, to the delight of the sacred scribes of both nations; for the Egyptians hoped through his valour both to defeat their foes and at the same time to make away with Moses by guile, while the Hebrew hierarchy foresaw the possibility of escape from the Egyptians with Moses as their general. He thereupon, to surprise the enemy before they had even learnt of his approach, mustered and marched off his army, taking the route not by way of the river but through the interior. There he gave a wonderful proof of his sagacity. For the route is rendered difficult for a march by reason of a multitude of serpents, which the region produces in abundant varieties, insomuch that there are some found nowhere else and bred here alone, remarkable for their power, their malignity, and their strange aspect; and among them are some which are actually winged, so that they can attack one from their hiding-place in the ground or inflict unforeseen injury by rising into the air. Moses, then, to provide security and an innocuous passage for his troops, devised a marvellous stratagem: he had baskets, resembling chests,<sup>b</sup> made of the bark of papyrus, and took these with him full of ibises. Now this animal is the serpents' deadliest enemy: they flee before its onset and in making off are caught, just as they are by

His  
victorious  
campaign.

Desert  
march and  
circumven-  
tion of the  
serpents.

<sup>a</sup> Called Chenephres by Artapanus.

<sup>b</sup> Or "arks."

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πίνονται· χειροθήεις δ' εἰσὶν αἱ ἴβεις καὶ πρὸς μόνον  
 247 τὸ τῶν ὄφειων γένος ἄγριοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων  
 παρήμι νῦν γράφειν οὐκ ἀγνοούντων τῶν Ἑλ-  
 λήνων τῆς ἰβίδος τὸ εἶδος. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν  
 ἐνέβαλε τὴν θηριοτρόφον, ταύταις ἀπεμάχετο τὴν  
 τῶν ἔρπετῶν φύσιν ἐπαφεῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ προ-  
 πολεμούσαις χρώμενος. τοῦτον οὖν ὀδεύσας τὸν  
 248 τρόπον οὐδὲ προμαθοῦσι παρῆν τοῖς Αἰθίοψι, καὶ  
 συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων,  
 ἃς εἶχον ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, ἀφαιρεῖται τὰς τε  
 πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπήει καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ φόνος  
 πολὺς τῶν Αἰθίοπων ἐπράττετο. καὶ τῆς διὰ  
 Μωσῆν εὐπραγίας γευσάμενον τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
 στράτευμα πονεῖν οὐκ ἔκαμνεν, ὡς περὶ ἀνδρα-  
 ποδισμοῦ καὶ παντελοῦς ἀναστάσεως τὸν κίνδυνον  
 249 εἶναι τοῖς Αἰθίοψι· καὶ τέλος συνελαθέντες εἰς  
 Σαβὰν πόλιν βασιλείου οὔσαν τῆς Αἰθιοπίας, ἦν  
 ὕστερον Καμβύσης Μερόην ἐπωνόμασεν ἀδελφῆς  
 ἰδίας τοῦτο καλουμένης, ἐπολιορκοῦντο. ἦν δὲ  
 δυσπολιορκητον σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον τοῦ τε Νείλου  
 περιέχοντος αὐτὴν καὶ κυκλουμένου ποταμῶν τε  
 ἄλλων Ἀσταπού καὶ Ἀσταβόρα δύσμαχον τοῖς  
 250 πειρωμένοις διαβαίνειν τὸ ρεῦμα ποιούντων· ἢ  
 γὰρ πόλις ἐντὸς οὔσα ὡς νῆσος οἰκεῖται τείχους  
 τε αὐτῇ καρτεροῦ περιηγμένου καὶ πρὸς μὲν

<sup>a</sup> I was tempted to read ἐπ' ἐλαφροτέρων "by their nimbler adversaries": but no emendation is needed. Bochart, *Hierozoicon*, i. 885 f. (1675), quotes an array of classical allusions to serpent-eating stags, who, according to one scholiast, derived their very name ἐλαφος from the habit: εἶρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐλεῖν τὰς ὄφεις, οἰοεὶ ἐλοφίς τις ὦν! See Mair's Oppian (L.C.L.), *ad Cyn.* ii. 233, *Hal.* ii. 289.

<sup>b</sup> All that Artapanus tells us is that the war lasted ten years and that on account of the size of his army Moses

stags,<sup>a</sup> and swallowed up. The ibis is otherwise a tame creature and ferocious only to the serpent tribe; but I refrain from further words on this subject, for Greeks are not unacquainted with the nature of the ibis. When, therefore, he entered the infested region, he by means of these birds beat off the vermin, letting them loose upon them and using these auxiliaries to clear the ground.<sup>b</sup> Having thus accomplished the march, he came wholly unexpected upon the Ethiopians, joined battle with them and defeated them, crushing their cherished hopes of mastering the Egyptians, and then proceeded to attack and overthrow their cities, great carnage of the Ethiopians ensuing. After tasting of this success which Moses had brought them, the Egyptian army showed such indefatigable energy that the Ethiopians were menaced with servitude and complete extirpation. In the end they were all driven into Saba, the capital of the Ethiopian realm, which Cambyses later called Meroe after the name of his sister,<sup>c</sup> and were there besieged. But the place offered extreme obstacles to a besieger, for the Nile enclosed it in a circle and other rivers, the Astapus<sup>d</sup> and the Astabaras,<sup>e</sup> added to the difficulty of the attack for any who attempted to cross the current. The city which lies within in fact resembles an island: strong walls encompass it and as a bulwark against its enemies built a city, called Hermopolis, in which he consecrated the ibis because it slays the creatures that injure men (καὶ τὴν ἰβιν ἐν αὐτῇ καθιερώσαι διὰ τὸ ταύτην τὰ βλάπτοντα ζῆα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὀναιρεῖν).

<sup>a</sup> Who died there: according to another account, she was his wife (Strabo, xvii. 5. 790).

<sup>d</sup> The *Bahr-el-Azrek* or Blue Nile.

<sup>e</sup> A minor tributary; *Tacazzé* is the name given to it in Smith's *Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography*.

## JOSEPHUS

τοὺς πολεμίους πρόβλημα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα  
 χώματά τε μεγάλα μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους, ὥστε ἀν-  
 επικλυστον εἶναι βιαιότερον ὑπὸ πληθώρας<sup>1</sup> φερο-  
 μένων, ἅπερ καὶ τοῖς περαιωσαμένοις τοὺς ποτα-  
 μούς ἄπορον ἐποίει τῆς πόλεως τὴν ἄλωσιν.  
 251 φέροντι τοίνυν ἀηδῶς τῷ Μωυσεῖ τὴν τοῦ στρατεύ-  
 ματος ἀργίαν, εἰς χεῖρας γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἀπαντᾶν  
 252 οἱ πολέμιοι, συνέτυχέ τι τοιοῦτον. Θάρβις θυγά-  
 τηρ ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιοπίων βασιλέως. αὕτη τὸν Μωυσῆν  
 πλησίον τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ  
 μαχόμενον γενναίως ἀποσκοποῦσα καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας  
 τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων θαυμάζουσα, καὶ τοῖς τε Αἰγυπ-  
 τίοις αἴτιον ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἤδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς  
 εὐπραγίας ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοψιν ἀν-  
 χοῦσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν κατωρθωμένοις τοῦ  
 περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κινδύνου, εἰς ἔρωτα δεινὸν  
 ὤλισθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιόντος τοῦ πάθους πέμπει  
 253 λεγομένη περὶ γάμου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον  
 ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιησαμένου  
 πίστεις ἐνόρκους ἢ μὴν ἄξεσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ  
 κρατήσαντα τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραβήσεσθαι τὰς συν-  
 θήκας, φθάνει τὸ ἔργον τοὺς λόγους. καὶ μετὰ τὴν  
 ἀναίρεσιν τῶν Αἰθιοπίων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ  
 συνετέλει τὸν γάμον Μωυσῆς καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους  
 ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.  
 254 (xi. 1) Οἱ δ' ἐξ ὧν ἐσώζοντο ὑπὸ Μωυσεός  
 μῖσος ἐκ τούτων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀνελάμβανον καὶ  
 θερμότερον ἄπτεσθαι τῶν κατ' αὐτοῦ βουλευμάτων  
 ἠξίουσαν, ὑπονοοῦντες μὲν μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν  
 νεωτερίσειε κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, διδάσκοντες δὲ  
 255 τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. ὁ δὲ καὶ καθ'

it has the rivers, besides great dikes within the ramparts to protect it from inundation when the force of the swollen streams is unusually violent ; and it is these which made the capture of the town so difficult even to those who had crossed the rivers.

Moses, then, was chafing at the inaction of his army, for the enemy would not venture upon an engagement, when he met with the following adventure. Tharbis, the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians, watching Moses bringing his troops close beneath the ramparts and fighting valiantly, marvelled at the ingenuity of his manœuvres and, understanding that it was to him that the Egyptians, who but now despaired of their independence, owed all their success, and through him that the Ethiopians, so boastful of their feats against them, were reduced to the last straits, fell madly in love with him ; and under the mastery of this passion she sent to him the most trusty of her menials to make him an offer of marriage. He accepted the proposal on condition that she would surrender the town, pledged himself by oath verily to take her to wife and, once master of the town, not to violate the pact, whereupon action outstripped parley. After chastisement of the Ethiopians, Moses rendered thanks to God, celebrated the nuptials, and led the Egyptians back to their own land.

(xi. 1) But the Egyptians, thus saved by Moses, conceived from their very deliverance a hatred for him and thought good to pursue with greater ardour their plots upon his life, suspecting that he would take advantage of his success to revolutionize Egypt, and suggesting to the king that he should be put to death. He on his own part was harbouring thoughts

Moses  
marries  
the Ethiop-  
ian princess.

Flight of  
Moses to  
Madian.  
Cf. Ex. ii. 15.

<sup>1</sup> ROE: *πλημύρας* rell.

## JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸν μὲν εἶχε τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπίνοιαν ὑπὸ τε  
 φθόνου τῆς Μωυσέος στρατηγίας καὶ ὑπὸ δέους  
 ταπεινώσεως, ἐπειχθεὶς δ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερογραμμα-  
 τέων οἴος τε ἦν ἐγχειρεῖν τῇ Μωυσέος ἀναιρέσει.  
 256 φθάσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καταμαθεῖν λαθῶν  
 ὑπέξεισι· καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν φυλαττομένων ποιεῖται  
 διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τὸν δρασμὸν καὶ ὅθεν ἦν ὑπόνοια  
 μὴ λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθρούς,<sup>1</sup> ἄπορός τε ὢν τροφῆς  
 257 ἀπηλλάττετο τῇ καρτερίᾳ καταφρονῶν, εἰς τε  
 πόλιν Μαδιανὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς μὲν τῇ Ἐρυθρᾷ  
 θαλάσῃ κειμένην ἐπώνυμον δ' ἐνὸς τῶν Ἀβράμω  
 γενομένων ἐκ Κατούρας υἱῶν, καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τινος  
 φρέατος ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἡρέμει  
 μεσημβρίας οὔσης οὐ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως. ἐνταῦθ'  
 αὐτῷ συνέβη καὶ πρᾶξις ἐκ διαίτης τῶν αὐτόθι  
 συστήσασα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρεῖττον  
 ἀφορμὴν παρασχούσα.  
 258 (2) Τῶν γὰρ χωρίων δυσύδρων ὄντων προκατ-  
 ελάμβανον οἱ ποιμένες τὰ φρέατα, ὅπως μὴ προ-  
 εξαναλωμένου τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σπανίζοι  
 ποτοῦ τὰ θρέμματα. παραγίνονται οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ  
 φρέαρ ἐπτὰ παρθένοι ἀδελφαί, Ῥαγουήλου θυγατέ-  
 ρες ἱερέως καὶ πολλῆς ἡξιωμένου τιμῆς παρὰ τοῖς  
 259 ἐπιχωρίοις, αἱ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμνίων ἐπι-  
 μελούμεναι, διὰ τὸ ταύτην ὑπουργίαν εἶναι καὶ  
 γυναιξὶν ἐπιχώριον παρὰ τοῖς Τρωγλοδύταις, φθάσα-  
 σαι τὸ αὐτάρκες ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ἀνέσπασαν ὕδωρ

<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὅθεν . . ἐχθρούς om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus omits the Biblical motive for Pharaoh's wrath, viz. the murder of an Egyptian by Moses.

<sup>b</sup> Such seems to be the meaning: ὅθεν = ἐκεῖσε ὅθεν.

<sup>c</sup> Ex. ii. 15, "the land of Midian" (LXX Μαδιάμ). Ptolemy and Arabic geographers mention a place *Μοδιάνα*, Madyan,



of so doing, alike from envy of Moses' generalship and from fear of seeing himself abased, and so, when instigated by the hierarchy, was prepared to lend a hand in the murder of Moses.<sup>a</sup> Their victim, however, informed betimes of the plot, secretly escaped, and, since the roads were guarded, directed his flight across the desert and to where he had no fear of being caught by his foes<sup>b</sup>; he left without provisions, proudly confident of his powers of endurance. On reaching the town of Madian(e),<sup>c</sup> situated by the Red Sea and named after one of Abraham's sons by Katura,<sup>d</sup> he sat down on the brink of a well and there rested after his toil and hardships, at midday, not far from the town. Here he was destined to play a part, arising out of the customs of the inhabitants, which exhibited his merits and proved the opening of better fortune.

(2) For, those regions being scant of water, the shepherds used to make a first claim on the wells, for fear that, the water being exhausted by others beforehand, there should be nothing for their flocks to drink. Now there came to this well seven sisters, virgin daughters of Raguel,<sup>e</sup> a priest held in high veneration by the people of the country; they were in charge of their father's flocks, for this function is customarily undertaken by women also among the Troglodytes,<sup>f</sup> and, arriving first, they drew from the

Moses at  
the well.  
Ex. ii. 16

on the *east* of the Gulf of Akabah, opposite the southern extremity of the Sinaitic peninsula (Driver *in loc.*); but, if the traditional identification of Sinai is correct, the context requires a place on the west of the gulf.

<sup>a</sup> Gen. xxv. 2.

<sup>c</sup> So LXX (Ex. ii. 18), Heb. Reuel, alias Jethro.

<sup>f</sup> "Cave-dwellers" inhabiting the region on either shore of the Red Sea (*A. i.* 239, *ii.* 213).

## JOSEPHUS

- τοῖς ποιμνίοις εἰς δεξαμενάς, αἱ πρὸς ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ  
 260 ὕδατος ἐγεγόνεισαν. ἐπιστάντων δὲ ποιμένων ταῖς  
 παρθένοις, ὥστ' αὐτοὶ τοῦ ὕδατος κρατεῖν, Μω-  
 σῆς δεινὸν ἠγησάμενος εἶναι περιδεῖν ἀδικου-  
 μένας τὰς κόρας καὶ τὴν βίαν τὴν τῶν ἀν-  
 δρῶν ἔασαι κρείττονα γενέσθαι τοῦ τῶν παρθένων  
 δικαίου, τοὺς μὲν εἴρξε πλεονεκτεῖν ἐθέλοντας,  
 261 ταῖς δὲ παρέσχε τὴν πρέπουσαν<sup>1</sup> βοήθειαν. αἱ δ'  
 εὐεργετηθεῖσαι παρήσαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὴν τε  
 ὕβριν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτῷ διηγούμεναι καὶ τὴν  
 ἐπικουρίαν τοῦ ξένου, παρεκάλουν τε μὴ ματαίαν  
 αὐτῷ γενέσθαι τὴν εὐποιίαν μηδ' ἀμοιβῆς ὑστεροῦ-  
 σαν. ὁ δὲ τὰς τε παῖδας ἀπεδέξατο τῆς περὶ τὸν  
 εὐεργετηκότα σπουδῆς καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν εἰς ὄψιν  
 ἐκέλευεν ἄγειν αὐτῷ τευξόμενον χάριτος δικαίας.  
 262 ὡς δ' ἦκε, τὴν τε τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῷ ἀπ-  
 εσήμαινε μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ βοηθείᾳ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 αὐτὸν θαυμάζων οὐκ εἰς ἀναισθήτους εὐεργεσιῶν  
 καταθέσθαι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἔλεγεν, ἀλλ' ἰκανοὺς  
 ἐκτίσαι χάριν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ὑπερ-  
 263 βαλεῖν τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐποιίας. ποιεῖται δ' αὐτὸν  
 υἱὸν καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων πρὸς γάμον δίδωσι  
 τῶν τε θρεμμάτων, ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἢ πᾶσα κτήσις  
 τὸ παλαιὸν ἦν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀποδείκνυσιν  
 ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ δεσπότην.  
 264 (xii. 1) Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτων τυχὼν τῶν  
 παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεθελγαίου,<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ ἦν ἐπὶ κλημα τῷ  
 Ῥαγουήλῳ, διῆγεν αὐτόθι ποιμαίνων τὰ βοσκή-  
 ματα. χρόνῳ δ' ὕστερον νέμων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον

<sup>1</sup> ROE: δέουσαν rell.

<sup>2</sup> RM: Ἰοθολγαίου O: Getheglech Lat.: Ἰεθόρου (Ἰοθόρου)  
rell.

well sufficient water for their flocks into troughs constructed to receive it. But when shepherds appearing set upon the young women, in order to appropriate the water for themselves, Moses, deeming it monstrous to overlook this injury to the girls and to suffer these men's violence to triumph over the maidens' rights, beat off the arrogant intruders, and afforded the others opportune aid. And they, after this beneficent act, went to their father, and, recounting the shepherds' insolence and the succour which the stranger had lent them, besought him not to let such charity go for nought or unrewarded. The father commended his children for their zeal for their benefactor and bade them bring Moses to his presence to receive the gratitude that was his due. On his arrival, he told him of his daughters' testimony to the help which he had rendered, and, expressing admiration for his gallantry, added that he had not bestowed this service upon those who had no sense of gratitude, but on persons well able to requite a favour, indeed to outdo by the amplitude of the reward the measure of the benefit. He therewith adopted him as his son, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and appointed him keeper and master of his flocks, for in those consisted of yore all the wealth of the barbarian races.

(xii. 1) So Moses, having received these benefits from Ietheglæus<sup>a</sup>—such was the surname of Raguel—abode there feeding the cattle. And some while afterward he led the flocks to graze on the mount called Sinai; it is the highest of the mountains

Moses at  
the burning  
bush.  
Ex. iii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> So the *ms.* followed by Niese; but the form may be a mere conglomerate of the names Ἰόθρορος and Ῥαγούηλος.

## JOSEPHUS

- 265 καλούμενον ὄρος ἄγει τὰ ποιμνία· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτη ὄρων καὶ πρὸς νομὰς ἄριστον, ἀγαθῆς φυομένης πόας καὶ διὰ τὸ δόξαν ἔχειν ἐνδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν οὐ κατανεμηθείσης πρότερον, οὐ τολμώντων ἐμβατεύειν εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποιμένων· ἔνθα δὴ καὶ τέρας αὐτῷ
- 266 συντυγχάνει θαυμάσιον. πῦρ γὰρ θάμνου βάτον νεμόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν χλόην τό τε ἄνθος αὐτοῦ παρήλθεν ἀβλαβές καὶ τῶν ἐγκάρπων κλάδων οὐδὲν ἠφάνισε καὶ ταῦτα τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς καὶ
- 267 ὀξύτατης ὑπαρχούσης. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἔδεισε τὴν ὄψιν παράδοξον γενομένην, κατεπλάγη δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον φωνὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἀφέντος καὶ ὀνομαστὶ καλέσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ ποιησαμένου λόγους, οἷς τό τε θάρσος αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντος παρελθεῖν εἰς χωρίον, εἰς ὃ μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἀφίκτο διὰ τὸ εἶναι θεῖον, ἐσήμαινε καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς φλογὸς<sup>1</sup> πορρωτάτω χωρεῖν καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι μὲν οἷς ἐώρακεν ἀγαθὸν ὄντα καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ἔγγονον,
- 268 πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μηδέν· τούτοις περισσότερον προηγόρευέν τε τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος, καὶ θαρροῦντα ἐκέλευεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἀπιέναι στρατηγὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἑβραίων πληθύος ἐσόμενον καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως τῆς ἐκεῖ τοὺς συγγενεῖς
- 269 ἀπαλλάξοντα· “καὶ γὰρ γῆν οἰκήσουσι,” φησί, “ταύτην εὐδαίμονα, ἣν Ἀβραμος ὤκησεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πρόγονος καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀπολαύσουσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς ταῦτα σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῖς ἡγουμένης.” ἐξαγαγόντα μέντοι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου θυσίας ἐκέλευε χαριστηρίου

<sup>1</sup> + ὡς SP.

in this region and the best for pasturage, for it produces excellent turf and, owing to a belief that the Deity sojourned there, had not hitherto been cropped, the shepherds not venturing to invade it. Here it was that he witnessed an amazing prodigy : a fire was ablaze on a bramble-bush, yet had left its vesture of green and its bloom intact, nor had one of its fruit-laden branches been consumed, albeit the flame was great and exceeding fierce. Moses was terrified at this strange spectacle, but was amazed yet more when this fire found a tongue, called him by name, and communed with him, signifying to him his hardihood in venturing to approach a spot whither no man had penetrated before by reason of its divinity, and admonishing him to withdraw as far as might be from the flame, to be content with what he, as a man of virtue sprung from illustrious ancestors, had seen, but to pry no further. The voice furthermore predicted the glory and honour that he would win from men, under God's auspices, and bade him courageously return to Egypt, to act as commander and leader of the Hebrew hosts, and to deliver his kinsmen from the outrage that they there endured. "For indeed," continued the voice, "they shall inhabit this favoured land wherein Abraham dwelt, the forefather of your race, and shall enjoy all its blessings, and it is thou, aye and thy sagacity, that shall conduct them thither." Howbeit He charged him, after he had brought the Hebrews out of Egypt, to come to that

## JOSEPHUS

ἀφικόμενον εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκτελέσαι τὸν τόπον. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς θεοκλυτεῖται.

- 270 (2) Μωυσῆς δ' ἐκπεπληγμένος οἷς τ' εἶδε καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἷς ἤκουσε, “δυνάμει μὲν ἀπιστεῖν,” ἔφη, “τῇ σῆ, δέσποτα, ἦν αὐτός τε θρησκεύω καὶ προγόνοις οἶδα φανεράν γενομένην, μανιωδέστερον
- 271 ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἑμαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἡγοῦμαι. πλὴν ἀπορῶ, πῶς ἂν ἰδιώτης ἀνὴρ καὶ μηδεμιᾶς ἰσχύος εὐπορῶν ἢ πείσω λόγους τοὺς οἰκείους ἀφέντας ἦν ἄρτι κατοικοῦσι γῆν ἔπεσθαί μοι πρὸς ἦν αὐτὸς ἡγοῦμαι, ἢ κἂν ἐκεῖνοι πεισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν βιασαίμην Φαραώθην ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον τούτοις, ὧν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν οἰκείαν αὐξουσιν εὐδαιμονίαν.”
- 272 (3) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῷ περὶ πάντων συνεβούλευε θαρρεῖν ὑπισχνούμενος αὐτὸς παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὐ μὲν ἂν δέῃ λόγων, πειθῶ παρέξει, οὐ δ' ἂν ἔργων, ἰσχὺν χορηγήσει, ἐκέλευέ τε τὴν βακτηρίαν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντα πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖται λαμβάνειν. καὶ ποιήσαντος δράκων εἶρπε καὶ συνειλούμενος σπειρηδὸν ὡς διώκουσιν ἐπ' ἀμύνη τὴν κεφαλὴν
- 273 ἐπανέτεινεν· εἶτα πάλιν βάκτρον ἦν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καθεῖναι τὴν δεξιὰν εἰς τὸν κόλπον προσέταξεν· ὑπακούσας δὲ λευκὴν καὶ τιτάνω τὴν χροάν ὁμοίαν προεκόμισεν· εἴτ' εἰς τὸ σύνηθες κατέστη. κελυσθεῖς δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλησίον ὕδατος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν
- 274 ἐκχέαι ὄρα τὴν χροάν αἱματώδη γενομένην. θαυμάζοντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις θαρρεῖν παρεκελεύετο καὶ βοηθὸν εἰδέναι μέγιστον αὐτῷ συνεσόμενον καὶ σημείοις πρὸς τὸ πιστεῦεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι χρῆσθαι, “ὅτι πεμφθεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντα κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς

<sup>a</sup> Ex. iv. 6, “leprous, as (white as) snow.”

spot and there offer sacrifices of thanksgiving. Such were the divine oracles that issued from the fire.

(2) Moses, in consternation at that which he had seen and much more at that which he had heard, replied: "To mistrust, O Lord, thy power, which I venerate myself and know to have been manifested to my forefathers, were madness too gross, I trow, for my mind to conceive. Yet am I at a loss to know how I, a mere commoner, blest with no strength, could either find words to persuade my people to quit that land that they now inhabit and follow me to that whereunto I would lead them, or even should they be persuaded, how I should constrain Pharaohes to permit the exodus of those to whose toils and tasks his subjects look to swell their own prosperity."

He shrinks from his commission, Ex. iii. 11 (cf. iv. 10),

(3) But God exhorted him to have perfect confidence, promising Himself to assist him and, when words were needed, to lend persuasion, when action was called for, to furnish strength; and He bade him cast his staff to the ground and to have faith in His promises. Moses did so, and, lo, there was a serpent crawling and coiling itself in spiral fashion and rearing its head as in defence against assailants; then once more it became a stick. Next He bade him put his right hand into his bosom: he obeyed and drew it forth white, of a colour resembling chalk<sup>a</sup>; then it resumed its ordinary aspect. Receiving a further command to take of the water of a neighbouring brook and pour it on the ground, he beheld it turned to the colour of blood. And while he marvelled at these wonders, God exhorted him to be of good courage, to be assured that His mighty aid would be ever with him, and to use miracles to convince all men (said He) "that thou art sent by me and doest all at

but is reassured by miracles. Ex. iv. 1.

## JOSEPHUS

ἐντολὰς ποιεῖς. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲν ἔτι μελλήσαντα σπεύδειν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπειγόμενον καὶ μὴ τρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον πλείω ποιεῖν τοῦτον Ἑβραίοις ἐν δουλείᾳ κακοπαθοῦσι."

275 (4) Μωσῆς δ' οὐκ ἔχων ἀπιστεῖν οἷς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὸ θεῖον θεατῆς γε τοιούτων βεβαιωμάτων καὶ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος, εὐξάμενος αὐτῷ καὶ πειραθῆναι ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δεηθεὶς<sup>1</sup> ἠντιβόλει μὴδὲ ὀνόματος αὐτῷ γνώσιν τοῦ ἰδίου φθονῆσαι, φωνῆς δ' αὐτῷ μετεσχηκότι καὶ ὄψεως ἔτι καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἶπεν, ἵνα θύων ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτὸν παρεῖναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς<sup>2</sup> παρακαλῆ.

276 καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ σημαίνει τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν οὐ πρότερον εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρελθοῦσαν, περὶ ἧς οὐ μοι θεμιτὸν εἶπεν. Μωυσεῖ μέντοι τὰ σημεῖα ταῦτα οὐ τότε μόνον, διὰ παντὸς δε ὁπότε δεηθείη συνετύγχανεν· ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων πλέον περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῷ πυρὶ νέμων καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ παραστάτην ἔξειν πιστεύων τοὺς τε οἰκείους σώσειν<sup>3</sup> ἠλπιζε καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κακοῖς περιβαλεῖν.

277 (xiii. 1) Καὶ πυθόμενος τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τεθνήναι βασιλέα Φαραώθην, ἐφ' οὐπερ αὐτὸς ἔφυγε, δεῖται Ῥαγουήλου συγχωρῆσαι κατὰ ὠφέλειαν αὐτῷ τῶν συγγενῶν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἐλθεῖν, καὶ παραλαβὼν τὴν Σαπφώραν ἣν γεγαμήκει, τοῦ Ῥαγουήλου θυγατέρα, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας

<sup>1</sup> δοθείσης SPLA.

<sup>2</sup> ME: ἱερείους rell.

<sup>3</sup> σώξειν codd.

<sup>a</sup> The ineffable tetragrammaton, viz. the four consonants JHWH, which only the high priest was permitted to pronounce. To safeguard and hallow the Name, the surrogate



my command. And I bid thee without more delay make speed to Egypt, pressing forward by night and day, and by no dallying to prolong the time for the Hebrews, now suffering in servitude."

(4) Moses, unable to doubt the promises of the Deity, after having seen and heard such confirmation of them, prayed and entreated that he might be vouchsafed this power in Egypt; he also besought Him not to deny him the knowledge of His name, but, since he had been granted speech with Him and vision of Him, further to tell him how He should be addressed, so that, when sacrificing, he might invoke Him by name to be present at the sacred rites. Then God revealed to him His name, which ere then had not come to men's ears, and of which I am forbidden to speak.<sup>a</sup> Moreover, Moses found those miracles at his service not on that occasion only but at all times whensoever there was need of them; from all which tokens he came to trust more firmly in the oracle from the fire, to believe that God would be his gracious protector, and to hope to be able to deliver his people and to bring disaster upon the Egyptians.

Revelation  
of the  
divine name  
Ex. iii. 13.

(xiii. 1) Accordingly, on learning that the king of Egypt, the Pharaohes under whom he had fled the country, was dead, he besought Raguel to permit him for the welfare of his countrymen to go to Egypt; and, taking with him Sapphora,<sup>b</sup> his wife, daughter of Raguel, and the children whom he had by her, Gersos

Moses  
returns to  
Egypt.  
Ex. iv. 18.

Adonai (LXX Κύριος) was employed, and JHWH in Hebrew MSS. was written with the vowels of the latter, to indicate "Read Adonai"; hence, through later neglect of the intention of the scribes, arose the form Jehovah, which has acquired a sacredness of its own, but in its origin is a hybrid.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Zipporah (LXX Σεπφώρα).

## JOSEPHUS

- Γῆρσον καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ὥρμησεν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον·  
 278 τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τούτων Γῆρσος μὲν σημαίνει  
 κατὰ Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον, ὅτι εἰς ξένην γῆν,  
 Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ συμμάχῳ τῷ πατρώῳ θεῷ χρησά-  
 279 μενον αὐτὸν Αἴγυπτίους διαφυγεῖν. γενομένῳ δ'  
 αὐτῷ πλησίον τῶν ὄρων ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἁαρὼν  
 ὑπήντησε τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, πρὸς ὃν ἀπο-  
 σημαίνει τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρει συντυχόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 τὰς ἐντολάς. προϊούσι δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπηγνιάζον  
 Ἑβραίων οἱ ἀξιολογώτατοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ  
 280 μεμαθηκότες, οἷς Μωυσῆς τὰ σημεῖα διηγούμενος  
 ἐπεὶ πιθανὸς οὐκ ἦν παρέσχεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὄψιν. οἱ  
 δ' ὑπ' ἐκπλήξεως τῶν παρὰ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὀρω-  
 μένων ἀνεθάρσουν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἦσαν  
 εὐέλπιδες, ὡς θεοῦ προνοουμένου τῆς ἀσφαλείας  
 αὐτῶν.  
 281 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπειθεῖς εἶχεν ἤδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους  
 [ὁ] Μωυσῆς καὶ οἷς ἂν κελεύσῃ τούτοις ἀκολου-  
 θῆσειν ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐρῶντας,  
 παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν  
 282 νεωστὶ παρεληφῶτα, καὶ ὅσα τε ὠφελήσειεν  
 Αἴγυπτίους ὑπὸ Αἰθιόπων καταφρονουμένους καὶ  
 διαρπαζομένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐδήλου, στρατηγία  
 καὶ πόνοις χρησάμενος ὡς περὶ οἰκείων, ὅτι δέ'  
 κινδυνεύσειεν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀμοιβὰς οὐ  
 283 δικαίας κομιζόμενος ἀνεδίδασκεν, τά τε κατὰ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> v.l. ὅτι δὴ, ὅτι τε: should perhaps be transposed before στρατηγία with Lat. "et quia militia."

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Gershom (Γηρσάμ).

<sup>b</sup> Josephus takes over this etymology from Ex. ii. 22 (xviii. 3), "For he said, I have been a sojourner (Heb. *gér*) in a strange land." The Biblical writer interpreted the name

and Eleazar, he hastened thither. Of these two names, the one, Gêrsos,<sup>a</sup> means in the Hebrew tongue that he had come to "a foreign land"<sup>b</sup>; the other, Eleazar,<sup>c</sup> that it was with the assistance of the God of his fathers that he had escaped from the Egyptians. On approaching the frontier he was met, at God's bidding, by his brother Aaron, to whom he revealed what had befallen him on the mount and the commandments of God. And they, as they proceeded on their way, were met by the most distinguished of the Hebrews, who had learnt of his coming<sup>d</sup>: Moses, failing to convince these by a mere description of the miracles, performed them before their eyes. Amazed at this astonishing spectacle, they took courage and were in hopes that all would go well, since God was caring for their safety.

Ex. ii. 22,  
xviii. 3 f.

iv. 27.

(2) Now that he was assured of the allegiance of the Hebrews, of their agreement to follow his orders, and of their love of liberty, Moses betook himself to the king, recently promoted to the throne, and represented to him what services he had rendered to the Egyptians, when they were humiliated and their country was ravaged by the Ethiopians, giving him to know how he had commanded and laboured and imperilled himself for the troops, as for his own people, and how for these services he had received from them no due reward. Furthermore, what had befallen him

Moses before  
Pharaoh.  
Ex. v. 1.

as *gêr shâm*, "a sojourner there"; according to a sounder etymology (from the verb *gârash*) it would mean "expulsion" (Driver).

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Eliezer (so lxx), from *El* (God) and *ezer* (help); Ex. xviii. 4, "For (he said) the God of my father was my help and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh."

<sup>d</sup> In Ex. iv. 29 the elders of Israel are called together by Moses and Aaron.

Σιναιῶν ὄρος αὐτῷ συντυχόντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πίστιν ὧν οὗτος αὐτῷ προστάξειεν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ δειχθέντα σημεῖα καθ' ἕκαστον ἐξετίθετο, παρεκάλει τε μὴ ἀπιστοῦντα τούτοις ἐμποδῶν ἴστασθαι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ.

- 284 (3) Χλευάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Μωυσῆς ἔργω παρείχεν αὐτῷ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα τὰ κατὰ τὸ Σιναιῶν ὄρος γεγόμενα· ὁ δ' ἀγανακτήσας πονηρὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλει καὶ πρότερον φυγόντα τὴν παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις δουλείαν καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄφιξιν πεποιημένον καὶ τερατουργίαις καὶ  
 285 μαγείαις καταπλήξαι<sup>1</sup> ἐπικεχειρηκότα. καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμα λέγων κελεύει τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ὄψεις αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ὁρᾶν, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν ὄντων καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ὅτι μὴ μόνος αὐτὸς ἔμπειρος ὧν εἰς θεὸν δύναται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παράδοξον ἀναφέρων πιθανὸς ὡς παρ'<sup>2</sup> ἀπαιδεύτοις ὑπάρχειν. καὶ μεθεμένων ἐκείνων τὰς  
 286 βακτηρίας δράκοντες ἦσαν. Μωυσῆς δ' οὐ καταπλαγείς, “οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὦ βασιλεῦ, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καταφρονῶ, τοσῶδε μέντοι κρείττονα τὰ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πραττόμενα τῆς τούτων μαγείας καὶ τέχνης φημί, ὅσω τὰ θεῖα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαφέρει. δείξω δὲ οὐ κατὰ γοητείαν καὶ πλάνην τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης τὰμά, κατὰ δὲ θεοῦ  
 287 πρόνοιαν καὶ δύναμιν φαινόμενα.” καὶ ταῦτ' εἰπὼν μεθήισιν ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τὴν βακτηρίαν κελεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς ὄφιν μεταβαλεῖν· ἣ δ' ἐπέιθετο καὶ τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βακτηρίας, αἱ δράκοντες ἐδόκουν,

<sup>1</sup> καταπλήξειν codd.

<sup>2</sup> ὡς παρ] ὡσπερ RO.

<sup>a</sup> The “magicians” or rather “sacred scribes” of Ex. vii. 11.

on Mount Sinai, the utterances of God and the miraculous signs which He had shown him to inspire confidence in His injunctions, all this he rehearsed in detail and besought him by no incredulity to obstruct God's purpose.

(3) When the king mocked, Moses caused him to see with his own eyes the signs that had been wrought on the mount of Sinai. But the king was wroth and dubbed him a criminal, who had once escaped from servitude in Egypt and had now effected his return by fraud and was trying to impose on him by juggleries and magic. With these words he ordered the priests<sup>a</sup> to give him an exhibition of the same spectacles, and show that the Egyptians were skilled in these arts also, and that Moses could not, by posing as the only expert and pretending that he owed his marvellous gifts to God, expect them, as simpletons, to believe him.<sup>b</sup> The priests thereupon dropped their staves, which became pythons. But Moses, nothing daunted, said, "Indeed, O king, I too disdain not the cunning of the Egyptians, but I assert that the deeds wrought by me so far surpass their magic and their art as things divine are remote from what is human. And I will show that it is from no witchcraft or deception of true judgement, but from God's providence and power that my miracles proceed." With that he dropped his staff to earth, bidding it be transformed into a serpent. It obeyed and, making the circuit of the Egyptians' staves, which looked like pythons, de-

Moses  
and the  
magicians.  
Ex. vii. 10.

<sup>b</sup> There seems no reason, with Reinach and Dindorf, to reject this clause (beginning "and that Moses . . ."), though the text may be a little confused: the language betrays the hand of an assistant.

## JOSEPHUS

περιουσα κατήσθιε μέχρι πάσας ἀνήλωσεν· εἴτ' εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς σχῆμα μεταπεσοῦσαν κομίζεται Μωυσῆς.

- 288 (2) Ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν τούτῳ μᾶλλον πραχθέντι καταπλήττεται, προσοργισθεὶς δὲ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προχωρήσειν εἰπὼν ἐκ τῆς κατ' Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καὶ δεινότητος κελεύει τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τεταγμένον μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἄνεσιν παρέχειν τοῦ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλείοσι τῶν πρότερον κακοῖς αὐτοὺς  
 289 καταναγκάζειν. ὁ δὲ ἄχυρον αὐτοῖς παρέχων εἰς τὴν πλινθείαν πρότερον οὐκέτι παρείχεν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐποίει, νυκτὸς δὲ συνάγειν τὸ ἄχυρον. καὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ διπλασίου ὄντος αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰτίαις Μωυσῆν εἶχον, ὡς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας δι'  
 290 ἐκεῖνον χαλεπωτέρας γεγεννημένης. ὁ δ' οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἀπειλὰς ἔκαμνεν οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἑβραίων μέμψεις ἐνεδίδου, τὴν τε ψυχὴν παραστησάμενος πρὸς ἑκάτερον ἐπὶ τῷ πονεῖν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐκπορίζειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπῆρχε.  
 291 καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ θύσοντας τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν κεκελευκέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν οἷς ἐκεῖνος βούλεται, τὴν δ' εὐμένειαν αὐτοῦ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενον συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔξοδον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ τούτων κωλυτῆς γενόμενος αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι πάσων ὅσα παθεῖν εἰκὸς τὸν ἀντιπράττοντα θεοῦ προστάγμασι.  
 292 τοῖς γὰρ χόλον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς κινήσασι θεῖον ἐξ ἀπάντων φύεσθαι τὰ δεινὰ καὶ οὔτε γῆ τούτοις οὔτε ἀῆρ φίλος οὔτε γοναὶ τέκνων κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὰ πάντα καὶ πολέμια. πειραθήσεσθαι  
 290

voured them until it had consumed them all ; then it reverted to its own shape and was recovered by Moses.

(4) Howbeit the king was no more dumbfounded by this performance, but only indignant thereat, and, telling Moses that it would profit him nothing to practise his cunning and craft upon the Egyptians, he ordered the overseer of the Hebrews to grant them no relaxation from their labours, but to subject them to hardships yet more oppressive than before. Accordingly that officer, who had heretofore provided them with straw for their brick-making, provided it no more, but constrained them in the daytime to toil at their tasks and at night to collect the straw. Their affliction being thus doubled, they held Moses to account for this increased severity of their labours and pains. But he, neither wavering before the king's threats, nor yielding to the recriminations of the Hebrews, steeled his soul against both and devoted all his efforts to procuring his people's liberty. So he went to the king and urged him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai to sacrifice there to God, for so He had commanded, and in no wise to oppose His will, but to esteem His gracious favour above all else and permit them exit ; lest haply, in hindering them, he should unwittingly have but himself to blame for suffering such a fate as was like to befall him who opposed the commands of God ; for to them that rouse the divine ire dread calamities arise from all around them : to them neither earth nor air is friendly, to them no progeny is born after nature's laws, but all things are hostile and at enmity ; and

Pharaoh's  
obstinacy  
and further  
oppression  
of Israel.  
Ex. v. 5.

v. 21.

v. 1.

τε τούτων Αἰγυπτίους ἔφασκε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων.

- 293 (xiv. 1) Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκφραυλίζοντας τοὺς Μωυσέος λόγους καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν ἔτι ποιουμένου πάθη δεινὰ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους κατελάμβανεν, ὧν ἕκαστον ἐκθήσομαι διὰ τε τὸ μὴ πρότερόν τισι συμβάντα τότε [τοῖς] Αἰγυπτίοις εἰς πείραν ἐλθεῖν καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι Μωυσῆν μηδὲν ὧν προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ψευσάμενον ἐπιδείξαι, καὶ ὅτι συμφέροι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαθοῦσι φυλάττεσθαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐφ' οἷς μὴ δυσαρεστήσει<sup>1</sup> τὸ θεῖον μηδ' εἰς ὄργην τραπέν<sup>2</sup> ἀμυνεῖται<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἀδικίας
- 294 αὐτοῦς. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς αἱματώδης θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐρρῦη πίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος, καὶ πηγὴν ἑτέραν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐχὶ τὴν χροῶν μόνον ἦν τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πειρωμένοις
- 295 ἀλγήματα καὶ πικρὰν ὀδύνην προσέφερεν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος μὲν Αἰγυπτίους, Ἑβραίοις δὲ γλυκὺς καὶ πότιμος καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν παρηλλαγμένος. πρὸς οὖν τὸ παράδοξον ἀμηχανήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων συνεχώρει τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπιέναι· καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ λωφήσαντος πάλιν τὴν γνώμην μετέβαλεν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων τὴν ἄφοδον αὐτοῖς.

- 296 (2) Ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκέτι σωφρονεῖν ἐθέλωντος ἄλλην τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπιφέρει πληγὴν· βατράχων πλῆθος ἄπειρον τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπεβόσκετο, μεστὸς δὲ τούτων καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν,

<sup>1</sup> O: δυσαρεστήση rell.

<sup>2</sup> ROE: περιτραπέν rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἀμύνεται codd.



such trials, he affirmed, would the Egyptians undergo and withal would see the people of the Hebrews quit their country despite their will.

(xiv. 1). But, since the king disdained these words of Moses and paid no more heed to them, dire plagues descended upon the Egyptians. I shall recount them all,<sup>a</sup> first because no such plagues as the Egyptians then experienced ever befell any nation before, next from a desire to show that Moses in not one of his predictions to them was mistaken, and further because it behoves mankind to learn to restrict themselves to such action as shall not offend the Deity nor provoke Him in wrath to punish them for their iniquities.

The plagues of Egypt, why narrated in full.

To begin with, their river, at God's command, ran with a blood-red stream, impossible to drink : other source of water they had none, nor was it only the colour which rendered it so repugnant, but whoever sought to drink of it was seized with tortures and excruciating pain. Such were its effects upon the Egyptians, but for the Hebrews it remained sweet and drinkable and suffered no change from its natural state. Perplexed, therefore, at this prodigy and apprehensive for the Egyptians, the king permitted the Hebrews to depart ; and then, when the plague abated, he again changed his mind and denied them exit.

The blood-red Nile. Cf. Ex. vii. 15.

(2) But God, seeing that the graceless king after deliverance from this calamity was no longer willing to be wise, brought another plague upon the Egyptians. An endless multitude of frogs now devoured their land, while the river was full of them,

The frogs. Ex. viii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> He omits one, the fifth.

## JOSEPHUS

ὡς διαμωμένους τὸ ποτὸν τῷ τῶν ζώων ἰχώρι  
 κεκακωμένον λαμβάνειν ἐναποθνησκόντων καὶ συν-  
 297 διαφθειρομένων τῷ ὕδατι, ἣ τε χώρα μεστή  
 κακῆς ἦν ἰλύος γεννωμένων τε καὶ ἀποθνησκόντων,  
 τὰς τε κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν διαίτας ἠφάνιζον ἐν  
 βρωτοῖς εὕρισκόμενοι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐναῖς  
 αὐτῶν ἐπιπολάζοντες, ὁσμή τε χαλεπή ἦν καὶ  
 δυσώδης ἀποθνησκόντων τῶν βατράχων καὶ ζών-  
 298 των καὶ διεφθαρμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν κα-  
 κῶν ἐλαυνομένων τῶν Αἰγυπτίων τὸν Μωυσὴν  
 ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οἴχεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους  
 λαβόντα, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῦτ' εἰπόντος ἠφάνιστο  
 τῶν βατράχων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἣ τε γῆ καὶ ὁ  
 299 ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν κατέστησαν. Φαραώ-  
 θης δὲ ἅμα τοῦ τε πάθους ἀπήλλακτο [ἠ γῆ]<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 τῆς αἰτίας ἐπελέληστο καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους κατέιχε,  
 καὶ ὥσπερ πλειόνων παθημάτων φύσεις βουλό-  
 μενος μαθεῖν οὐκέτ' ἠφίει τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μωυσὴν  
 ἐξιέναι, φόβῳ μᾶλλον ἢ φρονήσει ταύτην αὐτοῖς  
 ἐπιτρέπων.

300 (3) Πάλιν οὖν ἄλλου κακοῦ προσβολῆ μετῆει τὸ  
 θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπάτην· φθειρῶν γὰρ τοῖς Αἰγυπ-  
 τίοις ἐξήνθησεν ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος ἔνδοθεν ἀνα-  
 διδομένων, ὑφ' ὧν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλλυντο μήτε  
 λουτροῖς μήτε χρίσεσι φαρμάκων διαφθεῖραι τὸ  
 301 γένος αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν  
 ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλεὺς παραχθεῖς καὶ δείσας  
 ὁμοῦ τὸν ὄλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην δὲ  
 τῆς ἀπωλείας λογισάμενος ἐξ ἡμίσεως ὑπὸ φαυλό-

<sup>1</sup> Probably a gloss.

<sup>a</sup> Or "scraped (the soil)," cf. iii. 10 διαμωμένοις τὴν ψάμμον. The word is drawn from Thuc. iv. 26, "the soldiers were in 294

insomuch that when they delved<sup>a</sup> they found their drinking-water befouled with the juices of these creatures dying and putrefying in it: the country was saturated with their horrible slime as they bred and died: all articles<sup>b</sup> of the household they ruined, being found in their meat and drink and swarming over their beds: a stench, intolerable and foul, was everywhere, of frogs dying, living, and dead. Seeing the Egyptians harassed by these pests, the king bade Moses be gone and the Hebrews with him, and no sooner had he said this than the mass of frogs disappeared and land and river returned to their natural state. But Pharaohes, on the instant that he was quit of this plague, forgot the reason of it and retained the Hebrews: and, as though desirous to learn the nature of further inflictions, withdrew that permission to the followers of Moses to depart, which fear rather than wisdom had extorted from him.

(3) Again therefore the Deity sent a fresh plague to punish him for his deceit. A vast multitude of lice<sup>c</sup> broke out on the persons of the Egyptians, issuing from their bodies, whereby the miserable wretches miserably perished, neither lotions nor unguents availing them to destroy these vermin. Confounded by this scourge, dreading the destruction of his people, and withal reflecting on the ignominy of such an end, the king of Egypt was forced to listen to reason, though, in his depravity, still only in half

The lice.  
Ex. viii. 16.

the habit of scraping away the shingle (*διαμώμενοι τὸν κάχληκα*) and drinking any water which they could get" (Jowett): the detail is taken over from the Biblical account of the *first* plague, Ex. vii. 24. "And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink."

<sup>b</sup> Or "stores," "comforts," including food and dress.

<sup>c</sup> LXX reads *σκηλίφες* (= "gnats," rather than "fleas").

## JOSEPHUS

- 302 τητος ἠναγκάζετο σωφρονεῖν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο λωφήσαντος τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὄμηρα τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτῶν καταλιπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίου. προσεξαγριαίνει δὴ τὸν θεὸν νομίσας ἀπατήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὥσπερ Μωυσέος ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνου τιμωροῦντος τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑβραίων·
- 303 θηρίων γὰρ παντοίων καὶ πολυτρόπων, ὧν εἰς ὄψιν οὐδεὶς ἀπηντήκει πρότερον, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐγέμισεν, ὑφ' ὧν αὐτοὶ τε ἀπώλλυντο καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀπεστερεῖτο, εἰ δέ τι καὶ διέφυγε τὴν ὑπ' ἐκείνοις ἀπώλειαν, νόσω τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπομερόντων ἔδαπανᾶτο.
- 304 (†) Τοῦ δὲ Φαραώθου μὴδ' οὕτως εἶκοντος τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναῖκας συναπαίρειν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀξιοῦντος καταλείπεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, οὐκ ἠπόρει τὸ θεῖον τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ ποικίλοις κακοῖς καὶ μείζοσι τῶν προενδεδημηκότων μετερχόμενον βασανίσαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοῖς ἐξήλκοῦτο τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθειρομένων, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων
- 305 οὕτως ἀπώλλυτο. μὴδ' ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς πληγῆς σωφρονιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως χάλαζα, μήτε πρότερον τοῦ κατ' Αἴγυπτον ἀέρος τοῦτο πεπονθότος μῆθ' ὁμοία τῇ παρ' ἄλλοις ὥρα χειμῶνος κατιούση, μείζων δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βόρεια καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον

<sup>a</sup> Detail attached in Ex. x. 10 f. to a later plague.

<sup>b</sup> These "beasts of every sort and kind" are the equivalent of the fourth plague in the Biblical narrative, the "swarms of flies" (LXX the "dog-fly," *κυνόμυια*) of Ex. viii. 21. The single Heb. word translated "swarms-of-flies," viz. *'arōb*, 296

measure ; for he offered egress to the Hebrews themselves, and when thereupon the plague ceased he required them to leave their wives and children behind as hostages for their return.<sup>a</sup> Thus he did but exasperate God the more, in thinking to impose upon His providence, as though it were Moses and not He who was punishing Egypt on the Hebrews' behalf ; for He now sent wild beasts <sup>b</sup> of every species and kind, the like of which no man had ever encountered before, to infest their country, whereby the people perished and the land was deprived of the care of its labourers, while all that escaped their ravages was wasted by disease even though the men stood their ground.<sup>c</sup>

Wild beasts.  
Cf. Ex. viii.  
21.

(4) Yet since even so Pharaohes would not yield to the will of God, but, while permitting the wives to accompany their husbands, required the children to be left behind,<sup>d</sup> the Deity lacked not the means to pursue and torment the sinner with divers chastisements yet mightier than those prevalent heretofore ; for now their bodies were smitten with horrible ulcers and their intestines wasted away, and the greater part of the Egyptians perished thus. But when even this plague failed to sober the king, hail, till then unknown to the climate of Egypt, nor yet like that which in other countries falls in winter, but hail larger than that known to the dwellers in northern, polar

Ulcers.  
Ex. ix. 8.

Hail.  
Ex. ix. 18.

might mean a "*mixture*" and is actually so rendered in the Syriac and later Greek versions. Hence this menagerie of Josephus. The fifth plague, the murrain on cattle (Ex. ix. 1), he omits altogether.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* the labourers in the fields. But the meaning is doubtful ; perhaps " even though the population survived it."

<sup>d</sup> Detail not in Scripture ; in Ex. x. 10 f. wives and children are to remain.

- νεμομένοις, ἔαρος ἀκμάζοντος κατενεχθεῖσα τοὺς  
 306 καρποὺς αὐτῶν κατέκλασεν. ἔπειτα φύλον ἀκρί-  
 δων ἐπινέμεται τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χαλάζης μὴ κατα-  
 βλαβεῖσαν σποράν, ὥστε πρὸς τὰκριβές<sup>1</sup> πάσας  
 τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῶν καρπῶν  
 ἐλπίδας διολέσαι.
- 307 (5) Ἦρκει μὲν οὖν τὸν δίχα πονηρίας ἀνόητον  
 καὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν κακῶν εἰς σύνεσιν καὶ τοῦ  
 συμφέροντος τὴν ἐπίνοιαν ὠφελῆσαι, Φαραώθης  
 δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης ὅσον ὑπὸ κακίας  
 ὅμως αἰσθόμενος<sup>2</sup> τῆς αἰτίας ἀντεφιλονίκηκε τῷ  
 θεῷ καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο,  
 καὶ κελεύει μὲν τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τε γυναικῶν  
 καὶ παίδων ἀπάγειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους, τὴν δὲ λείαν  
 αὐτοῖς καταλιπεῖν ἐφθαρμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας.
- 308 τοῦ δὲ Μωυσέος οὐχὶ δίκαια φήσαντος αὐτὸν  
 ἀξιοῦν, δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῆς  
 λείας ἐπενεγκεῖν, καὶ τριβομένου διὰ ταύτην τὴν  
 αἰτίαν τοῦ χρόνου σκότος βαθὺ καὶ φέγγους  
 ἄμοιρον περιχεῖται τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ὑφ' οὗ τὰς  
 τε ὄψεις ἀποκλειομένοις καὶ τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἐμφρατ-  
 τομένοις ὑπὸ παχύτητος οἰκτρῶς τε ἀποθνήσκειν  
 συνέβαινε καὶ δεδιέναι μὴ καταποθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ
- 309 νέφους. εἶτα τούτου διασκεδασθέντος μετὰ τρεῖς  
 ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας, ὡς οὐ μετενόει πρὸς  
 τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ Φαραώθης, προσελθὼν  
 ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν “ ἄχρι πότε ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ γνώμῃ; κελεύει γὰρ οὗτος ἀπολύειν τοὺς  
 Ἑβραίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐτέρως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν
- 310 κακῶν ὑμᾶς μὴ ταῦτα ποιήσαντας.” ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς  
 ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἠπειλήσεν αὐτοῦ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἀκριβές codd.

regions, descended when spring was at its prime and beat down their crops. Thereafter a horde of locusts devoured whatever seed had not been ruined by the hail, thus literally destroying all hopes that the Egyptians may have cherished of a harvest from the soil. Locusts.  
Ex. x. 1.

(5) The calamities already named might indeed have sufficed to recall to reason and a sense of his own interests a mere imbecile devoid of malice. But Pharaohes, less fool than knave, though alive to the cause of it all, was matching himself against God as a deliberate traitor to the cause of virtue ; and now <sup>a</sup> he ordered Moses to take off the Hebrews, women and children included, but to leave their live stock <sup>b</sup> to the Egyptians, who had lost their own. Moses replied that this demand was inequitable, since they needed their cattle to offer sacrifices to God, and while time in consequence dragged on, dense darkness, without a particle of light, enveloped the Egyptians—darkness so thick that their eyes were blinded by it and their breath choked, and they either met with a miserable end or lived in terror of being swallowed up by the fog. This dispersed after three days and as many nights and then, since Pharaohes was still impenitent regarding the departure of the Hebrews, Moses went to him and said : “ How long wilt thou disobey the will of God ? For the command is His, to let the Hebrews go ; and by no other means can thy people be quit of these ills save by acting thus.” Infuriated by this speech, the king threatened Darkness.  
Ex. x. 24.  
x. 21.  
Cf. Ex. x. 3  
x. 28.

<sup>a</sup> In Exodus these orders *follow* the plague of darkness.

<sup>b</sup> *λεία*, constantly used of cattle.

<sup>2</sup> Lat., ed. pr. : + γὰρ coddl.

κεφαλὴν ἀποτεμεῖν, εἰ πάλιν περὶ τούτων ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῷ προσέλθοι. Μωυσῆς δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι ποιήσεται περὶ τούτων λόγους ἔφησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκείνους σὺν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Αἰγυπτίων παρακαλέσειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

- 311 (6) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς δηλώσας ἔτι μιᾷ πληγῇ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους καταναγκάσειν ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευσε<sup>1</sup> Μωυσῆν παραγγεῖλαι τῷ λαῷ θυσίαν ἐτοιμίην ἔχειν, παρασκευασαμένους τῇ δεκάτῃ<sup>2</sup> τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτην, ὃς παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις Φαρμουθὶ καλεῖται, Νισὰν δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις, Μακεδόνες δ' αὐτὸν Ξανθικὸν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀπάγειν τε τοὺς Ἑβραίους
- 312 πάντα ἐπικομιζομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτοιμοὺς ἔχων ἤδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ διατάξας εἰς φατρίας ἐν ταύτῳ συνεῖχεν, ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαίδεκάτης πάντες πρὸς ἄφθοδον ἔχοντες ἔθνον καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὰς οἰκίας ἠγνίζον ὑσώπου κόμαις ἀναλαβόντες, καὶ δειπνήσαντες τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἔκαυσαν ὡς ἐξελε-
- 313 σόμενοι. ὅθεν νῦν ἔτι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οὕτως θύομεν τὴν ἑορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες, σημαίνει δ' ὑπερβασία, διότι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερβὰς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐναπέσκηψε τὴν νόσον. ἡ γὰρ φθορὰ τῶν πρωτοτόκων κατ' ἐκείνην ἔπεισι τὴν νύκτα τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ὡς συνελθόντας πολλοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ἐκέλευε RO.

<sup>2</sup> τρισκαίδεκάτη ME.

<sup>a</sup> Not tribes; the Attic φ(ρ)ατρία was a subdivision of the φυλή, and the use of the word in *B.J.* vi. 423 (*cf.* *A.* iii. 248) with reference to contemporary Passover practice shows that little companies of between ten and twenty persons are intended.



to behead him, should he ever again come and pester him on this matter. Moses replied that for his part he would speak thereon no more, but that it was the king himself, along with the chief of the Egyptians, who would implore the Hebrews to depart. And with those words he left him.

(6) God, having revealed that by yet one more plague he would constrain the Egyptians to release the Hebrews, now bade Moses instruct the people to have ready a sacrifice, making preparations on the tenth of the month Xanthicus over against the fourteenth day (this is the month called by the Egyptians Pharmuthi, by the Hebrews Nisan, and by the Macedonians termed Xanthicus) and then to lead off the Hebrews, taking all their possessions with them. He accordingly had the Hebrews ready betimes for departure, and ranging them in fraternities<sup>a</sup> kept them assembled together; then when the fourteenth day was come the whole body, in readiness to start, sacrificed, purified the houses with the blood, using bunches of hyssop to sprinkle it,<sup>b</sup> and after the repast burnt the remnants of the meat as persons on the eve of departure. Hence comes it that to this day we keep this sacrifice in the same customary manner, calling the feast *Pascha*, which signifies "passing over," because on that day God passed over our people when he smote the Egyptians with plague.<sup>c</sup> For on that selfsame night destruction visited the firstborn of Egypt, insomuch that multitudes of

The  
Passover.  
Death of  
the first-  
born.  
Ex. xi. 1.  
xii. 3.

xii. 27.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "refreshing them (the houses) with bunches of hyssop": ἀναλαμβάνειν, elsewhere = "refresh," "recover" (e.g. A. xv. 312), is here synonymous with ἀγνίζειν, "purify."

<sup>c</sup> ἐναπέσκηψε τὴν νόσον ("launched the plague upon") after Thuc. ii. 47 (of the plague of Athens).

## JOSEPHUS

- τῶν περὶ τὸ βασιλείον διαιτωμένων τῷ Φαραώθῃ  
 314 συμβουλεύειν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. καὶ Μωυ-  
 σῆν καλέσας ἐκείνος ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν, εἰ τῆς  
 χώρας ἐξέλθοιεν παύσεσθαι<sup>1</sup> τὴν Αἴγυπτον κακο-  
 παθοῦσαν ὑπολαβῶν, δώροις τε τοὺς Ἑβραίους  
 ἐτίμων, οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάχιον ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ  
 καὶ κατὰ γειννιακὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν.  
 315 (xv. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξήεσαν κλαιόντων καὶ μετα-  
 νοούντων ὅτι χρήσαιντο χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς τῶν  
 Αἴγυπτίων, τὴν δὲ πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ Λητοῦς  
 πόλιν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε· Βαβυλῶν γὰρ  
 ὕστερον ἐκεῖ κτίζεται Καμβύσου καταστρεφομένου  
 τὴν Αἴγυπτον. συντόμως δὲ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄφοδον  
 εἰς Βεελσεφῶντα χωρίον τριταῖοι παραγίνονται  
 316 τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς  
 γῆς εὐποροῦντες διὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πεφυραμένοις  
 τοῖς ἀλεύροις καὶ πεπηγόσι μόνον ὑπὸ βραχείας  
 θερμότητος τοῖς ἀπ' αὐτῶν ἄρτοις διετρέφοντο,  
 καὶ τούτοις ἐπὶ τριάκονθ' ἡμέρας ἐχρήσαντο· πρὸς  
 πλείονα γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε χρόνον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἐκ  
 τῆς Αἰγύπτου ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τροφὴν  
 ταμειομένοις καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ πρὸς  
 317 κόρον αὐτῇ χρωμένοις· ὅθεν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε

<sup>1</sup> παύσασθαι codd.

° In the year 525 B.C. Strabo (xvii. 807) mentions the Egyptian Babylon as a strong fortress, in or near "the Letopolite nome," founded by certain Babylonian emigrants and in his day the camp of one of the three Roman legions in Egypt. Modern explorers have identified the two places

those whose dwellings surrounded the palæe trooped to Pharaohes to urge him to let the Hebrews go. And he, summoning Moses, ordered him to depart, supposing that, once his people were quit of the country, Egypt's sufferings would cease. They even honoured the Hebrews with gifts, some to speed their departure, others from neighbourly feelings towards old acquaintanees. xii. 35 f.

(xv. 1) So they departed, amid the lamentation and regrets of the Egyptians for having treated them so hardly. They took the road for Letopolis, at that time desert, afterwards the site of Babylon, founded by Cambyses when he subjugated Egypt.<sup>a</sup> Quitting the country by the shortest route they arrived on the third day at Beelsephon,<sup>b</sup> a place beside the Red Sea. Being bereft of any sustenance from the barren soil, they kneaded flour, baked it with merely a slight heating, and subsisted on the bread so made; on this they lived for thirty days,<sup>c</sup> for they could make what they had brought from Egypt last no longer, notwithstanding that they rationed the food, limiting the portions to bare needs without eating to satiety. Hence it is that, in memory of that time of searcity, The exodus.  
Ex. xii. 37.

named, Babylon (*Fostat*) near Old Cairo, and Letopolis (*Usim*) some ten miles north of it, on the opposite (western) bank of the Nile. On the other hand, the Biblical "Succoth" (Ex. xii. 37), has been identified as the *Thukke* of Egyptian inscriptions, and the "Pithom" of Ex. i. 11, lying far to the N.E. of Babylon on the eastern confines of "the land of Goshen." Josephus thus indicates a more southerly desert route as the "shortest route" to the Red Sea. xiv. 2.  
xii. 39.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Baal-zephon, not identified.

<sup>c</sup> Inferred from Ex. xvi. 1, where we read that the Israelites reached the wilderness of Sin "on the 15th day of the second month," *i.e.* a month after leaving Egypt on the 15th Nisan, and there first began to eat manna.

ἐνδείας ἑορτὴν ἄγομεν ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτῶ τὴν τῶν ἀζύμων λεγομένην. τὸ μὲν οὖν πᾶν πλῆθος τῶν μετανισταμένων γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις σκοποῦσιν οὐκ εὐαρίθμητον ἦν, οἱ δὲ στρατεύσιμον ἔχοντες τὴν ἡλικίαν περὶ ἑξήκοντα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

318 (2) Κατέλιπον δὲ τὴν Αἴγυπτον μηνὶ Ξανθικῶ πεντεκαίδεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην μετὰ ἔτη τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια ἢ τὸν πρόγονον ἡμῶν Ἀβραμὸν εἰς τὴν Χαναanaίαν ἐλθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰακώβου μεταναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον γενομένης διακοσίους  
319 πρὸς τοῖς δεκαπέντε ἐνιαυτοῖς ὕστερον. Μωυσῆς<sup>1</sup> δ' ἐγεγόνει μὲν ἔτος ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἤδη, ὁ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀαρὼν τρισὶ πλείοσιν.<sup>2</sup> ἐπεκομίζοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου ὄστα, ταῦτ' ἐκείνου τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος.

320 (3) Αἰγύπτιοι δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐξελθοῦσι μετενόουν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως δεινῶς φέροντος ὡς κατὰ γοητείαν τὴν Μωυσέος τούτων γεγονότων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐγνώκεσαν ἀπιέναι. καὶ λαβόντες ὄπλα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐδίωκον ὡς ἐπαναξόντες αὐτοὺς εἰ καταλάβοιεν· καὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' αὐτοὺς ἐνέχεσθαι<sup>3</sup> τῷ θεῷ· τὴν γὰρ ἔξοδον αὐτοῖς γε-  
321 γονέναι· κρατήσειν δὲ ραδίως αὐτῶν ὑπέλαβον ἀνόπλων τε ὄντων καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς ὁδοιπορίας κεκο-

<sup>1</sup> RO: Μωυσῆ (-σει) rell.

<sup>2</sup> πλείων Niese.

<sup>3</sup> ROE: ἐντεύξεσθαι rell.

<sup>a</sup> Originally seven days, Nisan 15-21 (Lev. xxiii. 6, cf. Ex. xii. 18 f., and so Josephus himself *A.* iii. 249), "but from time immemorial the Jews outside of Palestine have added a day to their principal festivals" (Oesterley-Box, *Religion and Worship of Synagogue*, ed. 2, 385).

<sup>b</sup> The Macedonian month (approximately April) equated by Josephus with the Hebrew Nisan.

<sup>c</sup> These dates conflict with other statements in Josephus (*e.g.*

we keep for eight<sup>a</sup> days a feast called the feast of unleavened bread. To estimate the total number of emigrants, including women and children, were no easy task, but those of military age numbered about six hundred thousand.

Origin of feast of unleavened bread.

Ex. xii. 37.

(2) They left Egypt in the month of Xanthicus,<sup>b</sup> on the fifteenth by lunar reckoning, 430 years after the coming of our forefather Abraham to Canaan, Jacob's migration to Egypt having taken place 215 years later.<sup>c</sup> Moses had already reached his eightieth year; his brother Aaron was three years older. They were bringing with them the bones of Joseph in accordance with that patriarch's injunctions to his sons.

Date of the exodus.

Ex. xii. 40.

vii. 7.

xiii. 19.

(3) But the Egyptians repented of having let the Hebrews go and, their king being mortified at the thought that it was the jugglery of Moses that had brought this about, they resolved to set out after them. So with arms and full equipment they started in pursuit, determined to bring them back could they overtake them; for no longer (they deemed) were they accountable to God, now that these people had had their exodus, and they looked for an easy victory over unarmed<sup>d</sup> folk, exhausted by their march. Inquiring,

Pursuit of the Egyptians.

Ex. xiv. 5.

ii. 204 note). The figure 430 comes from Exodus: the other figure (dividing the whole period from Abraham's migration to Canaan to the emigration from Egypt into two equal parts) is perhaps taken over from the Jewish historian Demetrius (Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien*, 49 note, quoted by Weill).

<sup>d</sup> Opposed to Ex. xiii. 18 Heb. "went up armed out of Egypt" (a rare verb misinterpreted by LXX). Weill appositely quotes the extract, apparently from Demetrius, in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 29 fin.: ἐπιζητεῖν δὲ τινα πῶς οἱ Ἰσραηλῖται ὄπλα ἔσχον, ἀνοπλοὶ ἐξελθόντες . . . φαίνεται οὖν τοὺς μὴ κατακλυθέντας τοῖς ἐκείνων ὄπλοις χρήσασθαι (precisely as stated by Josephus below, § 349).

πωμένων. παρ' ἐκάστων τε ἀναπυθανόμενοι ἢ  
 χωρήσειαν ἐπέσπενδον τὴν δίωξιν, καίτοι χαλεπῆς  
 οὔσης ὄδευθῆναι τῆς γῆς οὐ στρατοπέδοις μόνον  
 322 ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἓνα. Μωυσῆς δὲ ταύτῃ τοὺς  
 Ἑβραίους ἀπήγαγεν, ἵν' εἰ μετανοήσαντες οἱ  
 Αἰγύπτιοι διώκειν ἐθέλοιεν τιμωρίαν τῆς πονηρίας  
 καὶ παραβάσεως τῶν ὠμολογημένων ὑπόσχοιεν,  
 καὶ διὰ Παλαιστίνους, <οὓς><sup>1</sup> δυσμενῶς ἔχοντας  
 κατὰ παλαιὰν ἀπέχθειαν οὖσαν ὅπως οὖν ἐβούλετο<sup>2</sup>  
 λαιθάνειν ἀπερχόμενος· ὁμορος γάρ ἐστι τῇ τῶν  
 323 Αἰγυπτίων χώρα· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἄγουσαν  
 εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην οὐκ ἀνήγαγε τὸν λαόν, ἀλλὰ  
 διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν καὶ κακο-  
 παθήσας ἠθέλησεν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν·  
 ἔτι τε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος  
 ἄγειν τὸν λαόν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ ποιήσοντας  
 324 τὰς θυσίας. καταλαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ  
 Αἰγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ συν-  
 ελαύνουσι αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας εἰς ὀλίγον  
 χωρίον· ἑξακόσια γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἄρματα εἶπετο σὺν  
 ἵππευσι πεντακισμυρίοις καὶ ὀπλιτῶν μυριάδες  
 ἦσαν εἴκοσι. τὰς δὲ ὁδοὺς ἀπεφράγνυσαν, αἷς  
 φεύξεσθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὑπελάμβανον, μεταξὺ  
 κρημνῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσβάτων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης  
 325 ἀπολαμβάνοντες· τελευτᾷ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὄρος ὑπὸ  
 τραχύτητος ὁδῶν ἄπορον καὶ φυγῆς ἀπολαμβανό-

<sup>1</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> LE Lat. : ἐβουλεύετο rell.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. "For God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt."

<sup>b</sup> Josephus is replying to anti-Semite objections raised at 306

therefore, on all hands which route the fugitives had taken, they vigorously pushed the pursuit, albeit the ground was difficult to traverse not only for great armies but even for a solitary traveller. Now Moses had led the Hebrews out by this route in order that, if the Egyptians changed their minds and wished to pursue them, they should be punished for this malicious breach of the pact; partly also on account of the Philistines, a people hostile in virtue of an ancient feud, from whom he wished at all costs to conceal his departure, for their country was coterminal with that of the Egyptians.<sup>a</sup> That was why<sup>b</sup> he did not conduct his people by the direct route to Palestine, but chose to accomplish a long and arduous march through the desert in order to invade Canaan. Furthermore he was influenced by the behests of God, who had commanded him to lead His people to Mount Sinai, there to do Him sacrifice. However the Egyptians, having overtaken the Hebrews, prepared for battle and, thanks to their multitudinous forces, cooped them into a narrow space: they were, in fact, being pursued by 600 chariots along with 50,000 horsemen and heavy infantry to the number of 200,000.<sup>c</sup> Barring all routes by which they expected the Hebrews to attempt escape,<sup>d</sup> they confined them between inaccessible cliffs and the sea; for it was the sea in which terminated a mountain whose rugged face was destitute of tracks<sup>e</sup> and prohibitive for retreat.

Three reasons for the route taken by Moses.

Ex. xiii. 17.

xiv. 9.

xiv. 7

Alexandria: Why this route? Whence did they get their arms? etc.

<sup>c</sup> The 600 chariots are Biblical, the other figures imaginary.

<sup>d</sup> The retreat from Syracuse is in mind: *τὰς τε ὁδοὺς τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ἣ εἰκὸς ἦν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις ἕναι, ἀπεφράγμυσαν* Thuc. vii. 74.

<sup>e</sup> Or perhaps "whose rugged tracks made it impracticable."

μενον. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ<sup>1</sup> τῇ πρὸς θάλατταν τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπέφραττον τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ στόμα τοῦτο ἰδρυσάμενοι, ὅπως τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ἔξοδον ὦσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφηρημένοι.

326 (4) Μήτ' οὖν ὑπομένειν πολιορκουμένων τρόπῳ διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνάμενοι μήτε φυγῆς εὐπορίαν ὀρώντες, ὅπλων τε σπανίζοντες εἰ καὶ μάχεσθαι δόξειεν αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἀπολείσθαι<sup>2</sup> καθειστήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ παραδώσουσιν ἑαυτοὺς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐβελουσίως.

327 καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἠτιῶντο πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς σημείων γεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τὸν προφήτην παρορμῶντα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας λίθοις ἐβελῆσαι βαλεῖν παραδιδόναι τε  
328 σφᾶς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διεγνωκέσαι. πένθος τε ἦν καὶ ὄδυρμοὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παίδων πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχόντων τὸν ὄλεθρον, ὄρεσι καὶ θαλάττῃ περικεκλεισμένων καὶ πολεμίους καὶ φυγὴν οὐδαμόθεν ἐκ τούτων ἐπινοούντων.

329 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ καίπερ ἀγριαίνοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὗτ' αὐτὸς ἐνέκαμνε τῇ περὶ αὐτοὺς προνοία καὶ τῷ θεῷ κατεφρόνει, τά τε ἄλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ὅσα προεῖπε παρεσχηκότος καὶ μηδὲ τότε αὐτοὺς εἰσάοντος ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς  
330 γενομένους ἢ δουλεύειν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ στὰς ἐν μέσοις "οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις," εἶπε, "καλῶς τὰ παρόντα πεπολιτευμένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς<sup>3</sup> δίκαιον ἦν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίοις ἔσομένοισι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νῦν ἀπογινώσκειν ὑμᾶς

<sup>1</sup> ROE: προσβολῇ M: συμβολῇ rell.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ἀπολέσθαι codd.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: ἡμᾶς codd.



Accordingly, occupying the pass where the mountain abuts upon the sea, they blocked the passage of the Hebrews, pitching their camp at its mouth, to prevent their escape to the plain.<sup>a</sup>

(4) Thus, unable, for lack of supplies, to hold out in the manner of the beleaguered, seeing no opportunity for flight, and destitute of arms even should they decide to give battle, the Hebrews were left with no prospect but that of utter destruction, failing deliberate surrender to the Egyptians. And now they turned to accusing Moses, forgetful of all those miracles wrought by God in token of their liberation, insomuch that the words of the prophet, who cheered them and promised them salvation, were met with incredulity and they wished to stone him and resolved to give themselves up to the Egyptians. Then there were the wailings and lamentations of women and children, with death before their eyes, hemmed in by mountains, sea, and enemy, and seeing nowhere from these any imaginable escape.

(5) But Moses, for all that enragement of the multitude against him, relaxed not his forethought on their behalf, and proudly trusted in God, who, having done all that He had promised towards their deliverance, would not now suffer them to fall into their enemies' hands whether for servitude or destruction. Standing up, then, in their midst, he said: "Were they but men who till now have happily directed your affairs, it were an injustice to doubt that even they would prove themselves alike in future; but to despair at this moment of the providence of God were an act of madness, seeing that from Him

The Hebrews distress. Cf. Ex. xiv. 10.

Exhortation of Moses. Cf. Ex. xiv. 13.

<sup>a</sup> Or "table-land."

## JOSEPHUS

- 331 προνοίας μανίας ἔργον ἂν εἶη, παρ' οὐ πάνθ' ὑμῖν ἀπήντηκεν ὅσα δι' ἐμοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς δουλείας οὐδὲ προσδοκῶσιν ὑπέσχετο. μᾶλλον δ' ἐχρῆν ἀπόρους,<sup>1</sup> ὡς δοκεῖτε, γεγενημένους βοηθὸν ἐλπίζειν τὸν θεόν, οὗ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰς ταύτην ὑμᾶς περικεκλείσθαι
- 332 τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔργον, ἢν' ἐξ ἀμηχάνων ὅθεν οὐτ' αὐτοὶ νομίζετε σωτηρίαν ἔξειν οὐθ' οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐκ τούτων ῥυσάμενος τὴν τε ἰσχὺν ἐπιδείξεται τὴν ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς πρόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικροῖς τὸ θεῖον τὴν ἑαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν οἷς ἂν εὖνουν ἢ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλπίδα μὴ βλέπει πρὸς τὸ κρείττον παροῦσαν.
- 333 ὅθεν τοιούτῳ βοηθῷ πεπιστευκότες, ᾧ δύναμις καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ποιῆσαι μεγάλα καὶ τῶν τηλικούτων ἀσθένειαν καταψηφίσασθαι, μὴ καταπέπληχθε τὴν Αἰγυπτίων παρασκευήν, μηδ' ὅτι θάλασσα καὶ κατόπιν ὑμῖν ὄρη φυγῆς ὁδὸν οὐ παρέχοντα διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπογινώσκετε τὴν σωτηρίαν· γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ταῦθ' ὑμῖν πεδία τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος καὶ γῆ τὸ πέλαγος."
- 334 (xvi. 1) Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἤγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὀρώντων· ἐν ᾧψει γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῆς διώξεως εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν μάχην ὑπερβαλέσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ πρὸς τῷ αἰγιαλῷ Μωυσῆς ἐγεγόνει, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευε καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθὸν ἐκάλει λέγων·
- 335 "οὐδ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀγνοεῖς, ὅτι φυγεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐτε κατὰ ῥώμην οὐτε κατ' ἐπίνοιάν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τι πάντως σωτήριον στρατῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν σὴν βούλησιν ἀφέντι τὴν
- 310

there has come to you everything that He promised to perform through me for your salvation and deliverance from bondage, though far beyond your expectations. Rather ought ye, in straits such as ye deem hopeless, to expect help from God, who has even now caused you to be compassed about on this difficult ground, to the end that, in extricating you from extremities, whence neither ye nor the enemy think ye can escape, He may display both His own power and His tender care for you. For it is not in trivial circumstances that the Deity lends His own aid to whom He favours, but where He sees men have lost all hope of ameliorating their lot. Wherefore, have faith in such a defender, who has power alike to make the little great and to sentence such mighty hosts as these to impotence. Be not dismayed at the Egyptians' array, nor, because yonder sea and the mountains behind you offer no means of escape, for that reason despair of your salvation; for ye may see these hills levelled to a plain, should God so will, or land emerge from the deep."

(xvi. 1) Having spoken thus far, he led them towards the sea under the eyes of the Egyptians; for these were in view but, exhausted with the fatigue of the pursuit, judged it well to defer battle until the morrow. Then, when he reached the shore, Moses took his staff and made supplication to God, invoking His alliance and aid in these words: "Thou thyself knowest full well that escape from our present plight passes alike the might and the wit of man; nay, if there be any means of salvation at all for this host which at thy will has left Egypt, thine it is to

Prayer of  
Moses.

<sup>1</sup> ROE: *ἐν ἀπόροις* rell.

<sup>2</sup> + *ἀν* Bekker.

- 336 Αἴγυπτον, σὸν ἔστιν ἐκπορίζειν. ἡμεῖς τε ἄλλην ἀπεγνωκότες ἐλπίδα καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ μόνου καταφεύγομεν, καὶ εἴ τι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἔλθοι προνοίας ἐξαρπάσαι τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ὀργῆς ἡμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀφορῶμεν. ἀφίκοιτο δὲ τοῦτο ταχέως τὴν σὴν ἐμφανίσουν ἡμῖν δύναμιν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑπὸ ἀνελπιστίας καταπεπτωκότα πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀναστήσουν εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς
- 337 σωτηρίας θάρσος. ἐν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις δ' ἔσμεν τοῖς ἀπόροις, ἀλλὰ σὴ μὲν ἢ θάλασσα, σὸν δὲ τὸ περι- κλείον ἡμᾶς ὄρος, ὡς ἀνοιγῆναι μὲν τοῦτο σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἡπειρωθῆναι δὲ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶναι δὲ ἡμῖν ἀποδρᾶναι καὶ δι' ἀέρος δόξαν ἰσχύι τῆ σῆ τοῦτον ἡμᾶς σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπον."
- 338 (2) Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας τύπτει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν θάλατταν. ἢ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνεκόπη καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποχωρήσασα γυμνὴν ἀφήισι τὴν
- 339 γῆν ὁδὸν Ἑβραίοις εἶναι καὶ φυγῆν. Μωυσῆς δὲ ὄρων τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐκκεχωρηκὸς αὐτοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἡπίρου πρῶτος ἐνέβαινεν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευεν ἔπεσθαι διὰ θείας ὁδοῦ ποιουμένους τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ τῶν παρόντων πολεμίων ἠδο- μένους καὶ χάριν ἔχοντας διὰ τὴν παράλογον οὕτως ἐξ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀναφανείσαν.
- 340 (3) Τῶν δ' οὐκέτ' ὀκνούντων, ἀλλ' ἰεμένων μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς συμπαρόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μαίνε- σθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὸ πρῶτον Αἰγύπτιοι ἐδόκουν ὡς ἐπὶ πρόδηλον ὄλεθρον ὀρμωμένους, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων ἀβλαβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προκεκοφώτας καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντήσαν, διώκειν ὠρμήκεσαν αὐτοὺς ὡς κάκεινοις ἡρεμήσοντος τοῦ

provide it. For our part, despairing of other hope or resource, we fling ourselves upon thy protection alone, and expectantly, if aught be forthcoming from thy providence of might to snatch us from the wrath of the Egyptians, we look to thee. May it come quickly, this aid that shall manifest to us thy power ; raise the hearts of this people, whom hopelessness has sunk into the depths of woe, to serenity and confidence of salvation. Nor are these straits in which we find ourselves without thy domain ; nay, thine is the sea, thine the mountain that encompasseth us : this then can open at thy command, or the deep become dry land, or we might e'en find escape through the air, should it please thine almighty power that after this manner we should be saved."

(2) After this solemn appeal to God, he smote the sea with his staff. And at that stroke it recoiled and, retreating into itself, left bare the soil, affording passage and flight for the Hebrews. Moses, beholding this clear manifestation of God and the sea withdrawn from its own bed to give them place, set the first foot upon it and bade the Hebrews follow him and pursue their way by this God-sent road, rejoicing at the peril awaiting their advancing foes and rendering thanks to God for the salvation thus miraculously brought by Him to light.

Miraculous  
passage of  
the Red Sea,  
Ex. xiv. 21.

(3) They, without more ado, sped forth with zest, assured of God's attendant presence; whereupon the Egyptians at first deemed them mad, thus rushing to a certain death, but when they saw them far advanced unscathed, unchecked by obstacle or discomfiture, they made speed to pursue them, imagining that the sea would remain motionless for them also, and with

Destruction  
of the  
Egyptians,  
Ex. xiv. 23.

- πελάγους, καὶ προτάξαντες τὴν ἵππον κατέβαινον.  
 341 Ἐβραῖοι δὲ καθοπλιζομένους καὶ τὸν χρόνον εἰς  
 τοῦτο τρίβοντας ἔφθασαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν γῆν  
 ἀπαθεῖς ἐκφυγόντες, ὅθεν καὶ θαρσαλευτέροις συν-  
 ἔβαινε πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδ' αὐτῶν  
 342 πεισομένων εἶναι. Αἰγύπτιοι δ' ἐλάνθανον ἰδίαν  
 ὁδὸν Ἐβραίοις γεγενημένην, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ κοινὴν  
 ἐπεμβαίνοντες καὶ μέχρι σωτηρίας τῶν κекινδυν-  
 νευκότων πεποιημένην, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ'  
 ἀπωλείᾳ τῇ τούτων ὠρμημένοις χρῆσθαι θέλουσιν.  
 343 ὡς οὖν ὁ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων στρατὸς ἅπας ἐντὸς ἦν,  
 ἐπιχειρεῖται πάλιν ἡ θάλασσα καὶ περικαταλαμβάνει  
 ῥοώδης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων κατιοῦσα τοὺς Αἰγυ-  
 πτίους, ὄμβροι τ' ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ κατέβαινον καὶ  
 βρονταὶ σκληραὶ προσεξαπτομένης ἀστραπῆς καὶ  
 344 κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηνέχθησαν. ὅλως δ' οὐδὲν ἦν  
 τῶν ἐπ' ἀπωλείᾳ κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ συμπιπτόντων  
 ἀνθρώποις, ὃ μὴ τότε συνῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ νύξ αὐτοὺς  
 ζοφώδης καὶ σκοτεινὴ κατέλαβε. καὶ οἱ μὲν  
 οὕτως ἀπώλοντο πάντες, ὡς μηδ' ἄγγελον τῆς  
 συμφορᾶς τοῖς ὑπολελειμμένοις ὑποστρέψαι.  
 345 (4) Τοὺς δ' Ἐβραίους οὐδὲ κατασχεῖν ἦν ἐπὶ  
 τῇ χαρᾷ τῆς παραδόξου σωτηρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν  
 πολεμίων ἀπωλείᾳ, βεβαίως νομίζοντας ἠλευ-  
 θερῶσθαι τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων δουλεύειν διεφθαρ-  
 μένων καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἐναργῶς ἔχοντας βοη-  
 346 θοῦντα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ τε τὸν κίνδυνον οὕτως  
 ἐκφυγόντες καὶ προσέτι τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιδόντες  
 κεκολασμένους, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοι τινὲς μνημονεύονται

<sup>1</sup> eis R.

the cavalry leading they proceeded to descend. But the Hebrews, while their enemies were arming and wasting time over that, had outstripped them and emerged unharmed on the opposite shore; this, however, but stimulated the ardour of the Egyptians for the pursuit, in the belief that they too would suffer nothing. Little dreamed they that it was a road reserved for the Hebrews, no public highway, whereon they were setting foot, a road created solely for the salvation of those in jeopardy, not for the use of them that were bent upon their destruction. When, therefore, the entire army of the Egyptians was once within it, back poured the sea, enveloping and with swelling wind-swept billows descending upon the Egyptians: rain fell in torrents from heaven, crashing thunder accompanied the flash of lightning, aye and thunderbolts were hurled.<sup>a</sup> In short, there was not one of those destructive forces which in token of God's wrath combine to smite mankind that failed to assemble then; for withal a night of gloom and darkness overwhelmed them. Thus perished they to a man, without a single one remaining to return with tidings of the disaster to those whom they had left at home.

(4) As for the Hebrews, they could scarce contain themselves for joy at this miraculous deliverance and the destruction of their foes, believing themselves assuredly at liberty, now that the tyrants that would have enslaved them had perished and that God had so manifestly befriended them. After having themselves thus escaped from peril and furthermore beheld their enemies punished in such wise as within

Exultation  
of the  
Hebrews  
and the  
song of  
Moses.  
Ex. xv. 1-21.

<sup>a</sup> For these added details *cf.* Ps. lxxvii. 16-20 ("The waters saw thee," etc., quoted by Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

τῶν πρόσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὕμνοις ἦσαν καὶ παι-  
 διαῖς ὄλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ Μωυσῆς ᾠδὴν εἰς τὸν  
 θεὸν ἐγκώμιόν τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν  
 περιέχουσιν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνῳ συντίθησιν.

- 347 (5) Ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν ὡς εὗρον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βί-  
 βλοῖς οὕτως ἕκαστον τούτων παραδέδωκα· θαυ-  
 μάση δὲ μηδεὶς τοῦ λόγου τὸ παράδοξον,  
 εἰ ἀρχαίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ πονηρίας ἀπίροις  
 εὐρέθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης εἴτε κατὰ  
 348 βούλησιν θεοῦ εἴτε κατὰ ταυτόματον, ὅποτε καὶ  
 τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακε-  
 δονίας χθὲς καὶ πρῶην γεγονόσιν ὑπεχώρησε τὸ  
 Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι  
 παρέσχε τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ, καταλῦσαι τὴν Περσῶν  
 ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο πάντες  
 ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ἀλεξάνδρου πράξεις συγ-  
 γραφάμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὡς ἑκάστῳ  
 δοκεῖ διαλαμβανέτω.

- 349 (6) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὰ ὄπλα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων  
 προσενεχθέντα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὑπὸ  
 τοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπ' ἐκείνο  
 ἐκδιδούσης<sup>1</sup> ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ τοῦτο εἰκάσας τῇ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ME: εἰσδιδούσης rell.

<sup>a</sup> A classical metre, to which there is no known analogy in Hebrew poetry: cf. *Ant.* iv. 303, where another ποίησις ἑξαμέτρος is attributed to Moses.



men's memory no others had ever been before, they passed that whole night in melody and mirth, Moses himself composing in hexameter verse <sup>a</sup> a song to God to enshrine His praises and their thankfulness for His gracious favour.

(5) For my part, I have recounted each detail here told just as I found it in the sacred books. Nor let anyone marvel at the astonishing nature of the narrative or doubt that it was given to men of old, innocent of crime, to find a road of salvation through the sea itself, whether by the will of God or maybe by accident, seeing that the hosts of Alexander king of Macedon, men born but the other day, beheld the Pamphylian Sea retire before them and, when other road there was none, offer a passage through itself, what time it pleased God to overthrow the Persian empire; and on that all are agreed who have recorded Alexander's exploits.<sup>b</sup> However on these matters everyone is welcome to his own opinion.<sup>c</sup>

Parallel event in the history of Alexander the Great.

(6) On the morrow, the arms of the Egyptians having been carried up to the Hebrews' camp by the tide and the force of the wind setting in that direction, Moses, surmising that this too was due to the providence of God, to ensure that even in weapons they

How the Hebrews got their arms.

<sup>b</sup> The story is told by Arrian i. 26 (αὐτὸς δὲ παρὰ τὴν θάλασσαν διὰ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἤγε τοὺς ἀμφ' αὐτόν. ἔστι δὲ ταύτη ἡ ὁδὸς οὐκ ἄλλως, ὅτι μὴ τῶν ἀπ' ἄρκτου ἀνέμων πνεόντων . . . τότε δ' ἐκ νότων σκληρῶν βορέαι ἐπιπνεύσαντες οὐκ ἄνευ τοῦ θείου, ὡς αὐτὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀμφ' αὐτὸν ἐξηγοῦντο, εἰμαρῇ καὶ ταχείαν τὴν πάροδον παρέσχον), by Strabo xiv. 666 f. (who says that Alexander trusted mainly to luck and that the troops were immersed μεχρὶ ὀμφαλοῦ) and by others. The scene was near Phaselis, on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia.

<sup>c</sup> For this formula see i. 108 note.

## JOSEPHUS

θεοῦ προνοία γεγονέναι, ὅπως μηδὲ ὄπλων ὡσιν ἄποροι, συναγαγὼν καὶ τούτοις σκεπάσας τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος θύσων ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ σῶστρα τῆς πληθύος ἀποδώσων, καθὼς αὐτῷ καὶ προείρητο.

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<sup>a</sup> For these added details, perhaps derived from Demetrius, see § 321 note.

should not be wanting, collected them and, having accoutred the Hebrews therein,<sup>a</sup> led them forward for Mount Sinai, with intent there to sacrifice to God and to render to Him the thank-offerings of the people for their deliverance, even as he had received commandment.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>b</sup> § 269.

## BIBAIION Γ

(i. 1) Παραδόξου δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οὕτως γενομένης δεινῶς ἐλύπει πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἀγομένους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἢ χώρα τελείως οὐσα ἔρημος καὶ τῶν τε πρὸς τροφήν αὐτοῖς ἄπορος, σπανίζουσα δὲ καὶ ὕδατος εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις τι παρασχεῖν ἐνδεής, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδ' ἄλλο τι τῶν ζώων ἰκανὴ βόσκειν· ψαφάρὰ γάρ ἐστι καὶ νοτερόν ἐξ αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ φύσαι καρπὸν δύναίτο. τοιαύτην δὲ οὐσαν τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὠδεον ἐτέραν  
2 ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες. ἐπέφεροντο δ' ἐκ τῆς προωδοιπορημένης ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κεκελευκότος, καὶ τούτου δαπανηθέντος ἐκ φρεάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὑδρείαν ἐπιπόνως διὰ σκληρότητα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ εὕρισκόμενον δὲ πικρὸν ἄλλ' οὐ  
3 πόσιμον ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σπάνιον. ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ τοῦτον ὠδεύοντες τὸν τρόπον περὶ δειλὴν ὀψίαν εἰς Μὰρ τόπον οὕτως διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὕδατος κακίαν ὀνομάσαντες· μὰρ γὰρ ἢ πικρία λέγεται. καὶ αὐτόθι τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῷ τε συνεχεῖ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίᾳ, καὶ γὰρ τότ' αὐτοὺς τελείως ἐπιλελοίπει, κατὰγονται·  
4 φρέαρ γὰρ ἦν, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμειναν, οὐδ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἐξαρκεῖν δυνάμενον τοσοῦτῳ στρατῷ, βραχεῖαν  
320

### BOOK III

(i. 1) The Hebrews, thus miraculously saved, were again in sore distress when led onward to Mount Sinai. The country was absolute desert, devoid of anything for their sustenance, while the scarcity of water was extreme; not only could the soil furnish nothing for man but it was even incapable of supporting any species of beast, being in fact sandy and without a particle of moisture propitious to vegetation. Such was the country which they were constrained to travel, no other route being open to them. They had brought with them some water from the district already traversed, by order of their chief, and when this was exhausted <sup>a</sup> they sought to draw more from wells: it was a laborious task owing to the hardness of the soil, and what they found was bitter, undrinkable, and withal scanty. Journeying thus, they arrived towards evening at Mar,<sup>b</sup> a place which they so named from the vileness of its water, *mar* meaning "bitterness"; and there, worn out with ceaseless marching and lack of food, which had now completely failed them, they halted. There was a well—a further reason for stopping there—doubtless by itself insufficient for so large an army, yet a source

Sufferings  
on march  
through the  
desert.  
Ex. xv. 22.

The waters  
of Mar.  
Ex. xv. 23.

<sup>a</sup> Amplification of Biblical narrative.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Marah, LXX Μερρά translated, as by Josephus, πικρία: Heb. *Mar* = "bitter" or "bitterness."

## JOSEPHUS

μέντοι παρέχον αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίαν ἐν ἐκείνοις  
 εὐρεθὲν τοῖς χωρίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἤκουον παρὰ τῶν  
 ἐξερευνόντων μηδὲν ἔμπροσθεν βαδίζουσιν εἶναι.  
 πικρὸν δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἄποτον ἦν, οὐκ ἀν-  
 θρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀφόρητον.

5 (2) Ὅρων δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀθύμως διακειμένους  
 καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ἀναντίλεκτον, οὐ γὰρ  
 καθαρὸς ἦν στρατὸς ὥστε τῷ βιαζομένῳ τῆς  
 ἀνάγκης ἀντιτάξαι τὸ ἀνδρείον, ἀλλὰ διέφθειρε τὸ  
 κατ' ἐκείνους γενναῖον παίδων<sup>1</sup> τε καὶ γυναικῶν  
 ὄχλος ἀσθενέστερος τῆς ἐκ λόγων <ῶν><sup>2</sup> διδασκα-  
 λίας, ἐν χαλεπωτέροις ἦν τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν ἀπάν-

6 τῶν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' ἐπ'  
 ἄλλον τινὰ συνέτρεχον ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀντι-  
 βολοῦντες γύναια μὲν ὑπὲρ νηπίων οἱ δ' ἄνδρες  
 ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορίζειν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀφορμὴν τινα σωτηρίας. ἰκετεύειν οὖν τρέπεται  
 τὸν θεὸν μεταβαλεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς παρούσης

7 κακίας καὶ πότιμον αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. καὶ κατα-  
 νεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάριν λαβὼν ἀποτομάδος<sup>3</sup>  
 τὸ ἄκρον ἐν ποσὶν ἐρριμμένης διαιρεῖ μέσην καὶ  
 κατὰ [τὸ] μῆκος τὴν τομὴν ποιησάμενος, ἔπειτα  
 μεθεὶς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἑβραίους τὸν  
 θεὸν ἐπήκουσεν αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐχῶν γεγονέναι καὶ  
 ὑπεσχησθαι τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς παρέξειν οἶον ἐπι-  
 θυμοῦσιν, ἂν πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελευόμενα μὴ

8 ὀκνηρῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως ὑπουργῶσιν. ἐρομένων  
 δ' αὐτῶν, τί καὶ ποιούντων ἂν μεταβάλῃ τὸ ὕδωρ

<sup>1</sup> Lat. (infantum): παῖδες codd.

<sup>2</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> τομάδος RO.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III. 4-8

of slight encouragement to them when found in those regions ; for they had heard from their scouts that none was to be had by proceeding further. That water, however, proved bitter, and not only could the men not drink it, but even the beasts of burden found it intolerable.

(2) Moses, seeing their despondency and the indisputable gravity of the case—for this was no sound army, capable of meeting the stress of necessity with manly fortitude, but one whose nobler instincts were vitiated by a rabble of women and children, too feeble to respond to oral admonition—Moses, I say, was in yet more serious straits, in that he made the sufferings of all his own. For it was to no other than to him that they all flocked, imploring him, wives for their infants, husbands for their wives, not to neglect them, but to procure them some means of salvation. He therefore betook himself to prayer, entreating God to change that present evil property of the water and to render it drinkable. And, God having consented to grant that favour, he picked up the end of a stick that lay at his feet, cleft it in twain, lengthwise,<sup>a</sup> and then, flinging it into the well, impressed upon the Hebrews that God had lent an ear to his prayers and had promised to render the water such as they desired, provided that they executed His orders with no remissness, but with alacrity.<sup>b</sup> On their asking what they must do to procure the

*Cf. Ex. xv.  
25.*

<sup>a</sup> These details, with the sequel, have no parallel in Exodus, which merely states that "the Lord shewed him a tree, and he cast it into the waters, and the waters were made sweet."

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xv. 26 appends to the miracle a "proviso" of another character, viz. that Israel would be spared the plagues of Egypt "if thou wilt diligently hearken," etc.

## JOSEPHUS

ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, κελεύει τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ περιστά-  
 τας ἐξαντλεῖν λέγων τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἔσεσθαι  
 πότιμον αὐτοῖς προεκκενωθέντος τοῦ πλείονος.  
 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπόνουν, τὸ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πληγῶν  
 γεγυμνασμένον καὶ κεκαθαρμένον ἤδη πότιμον ἦν.

- 9 (3) Ἄρανες δ' ἐκέειθεν εἰς Ἥλιον ἀφικνοῦνται  
 πόρρωθεν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὄραθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ φοινικό-  
 φυτος ἦν, πλησιάζουσα<sup>1</sup> δ' ἀπηλέγχετο πονηρά·  
 καὶ γὰρ οἱ φοίνικες ὄντες οὐ πλείους ἑβδομήκοντα  
 δυσαυξεῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ χαμαίζηλοι δι' ὕδατος  
 10 ἀπορίαν ψαφαροῦ τοῦ παντὸς ὄντος χωρίου· οὔτε  
 γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, δώδεκα οὐσῶν τὸν ἀριθμόν,  
 νοτερόν τι καὶ πρὸς ἄρδουσιν<sup>2</sup> αὐτοῖς διεπίδα<sup>3</sup>  
 χρήσιμον, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυναμένων ἐκβλύσαι μηδ'  
 ἀνασχεῖν ἰκμάδες ἦσαν ὀλίγαι, καὶ διαμωμένοις  
 τὴν ψάμμον οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, κὰν εἴ τι δὲ στάζον  
 ἔλαβον εἰς χεῖρας, ἄχρηστον ἠῦρισκον ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 11 θολερὸν εἶναι· καρπὸν τε φέρειν ἦν ἀσθενῆ τὰ  
 δένδρα διὰ σπάνιν τῆς ἐξ ὕδατος εἰς τοῦτο ἀφορ-  
 μῆς καὶ παρακλήσεως. εἶχον οὖν ἐν αἰτία τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν  
 καὶ τὴν πείραν τῶν κακῶν δι' αὐτὸν πάσχειν  
 λέγοντες· τριακοστὴν γὰρ ἐκείνην ὀδεύοντες ἡμέραν  
 ὅσα μὲν ἐπεφέροντο πάντ' ἦσαν ἀναλωκότες,  
 μηδενὶ δὲ περιτυγχάνοντες δυσέλπιδες ἦσαν περὶ  
 12 τῶν ὄλων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ παρόντι κακῷ τὴν διά-

<sup>1</sup> v.l. πλησιάζουσι.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ πρὸς ἄρδ.] προσαρδεῖον RO.

<sup>3</sup> conj. after Dindorf (διεπήδα): δι' ἐλπίδα codd.

<sup>a</sup> A rationalistic explanation of the miracle: cf. *B.J.* iv. 8. 3 (quoted by Weill).

<sup>b</sup> *Bibl. Elim*, lxx Αἰλίμ.

<sup>c</sup> After *Thuc.* iv. 26 (Pylos): cf. *Ant.* ii. 296.



amelioration of the water, he bade those in the prime of life stand in a ring and draw, declaring that what remained, after they had drained off the larger part, would be drinkable. So they set to work, and the water, belaboured and purified by these incessant blows, at length became good to drink.<sup>a</sup>

(3) Departing thence, they reached Elis,<sup>b</sup> a spot which from a distance made a good show, being planted with palm-trees, but on approach proved bad ; for the palms, numbering no more than seventy, were dwarfed and stunted through lack of water, the whole place being sandy. For from the springs which existed, to the number of twelve, there oozed no liquid sufficient to water them : impotent to gush forth or rise to the surface these yielded but a few drops ; and persons scraping the sand <sup>c</sup> encountered nothing, even such dribbles as they received into their hands being found useless, so foul their nature. And the trees were too feeble to bear fruit for lack of water to give them the needful stimulus and encouragement. So they fell to accusing and denouncing their general, declaring that this misery and experience of woe which they were undergoing were all due to him. For it was now their thirtieth day on the march,<sup>d</sup> the provisions which they had brought with them were all exhausted,<sup>e</sup> and, lighting upon nothing whatever, they were in utter despair. With minds obsessed with their present woes, precluding

The climax  
at Elim.  
Ex. xv. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Ex. xvi. 1, which states that the Israelites left Elim "on the 15th day of the second month," reckoning from the exodus, which had taken place on the 15th of the first month (cf. Ex. xii. 18).

<sup>e</sup> So the Palestinian Targum on Ex. xvi. 2: "On that day the bread which they had brought out of Egypt was finished" (Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

νοϊαν ὄντες καὶ ἐν μνήμῃ εἶναι τῶν ὑπηργμένων αὐτοῖς ἕκ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέως ἀρετῆς καὶ συνέσεως κωλυόμενοι, δι' ὀργῆς τὸν στρατηγὸν εἶχον καὶ βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὠρμήκεσαν ὡς αἰτιώτατον τῆς ἐν ποσὶ συμφορᾶς.

- 13 (4) Ὁ δ' οὕτως ἀνηρεθισμένου τοῦ πλήθους καὶ πικρῶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν κεκινημένου, τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν καὶ τῷ συνειδότι τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους προνοίας, πάρεισιν εἰς μέσους καὶ καταβοώντων καὶ κατὰ χεῖρας ἔτι τοὺς λίθους ἐχόντων, ὄραθηναί τε κεχαρισμένος ὢν καὶ πλήθεσιν ὀμιλεῖν πιθάνωτατος, καταπαύειν ἤρξατο τῆς ὀργῆς, μὴ τῶν παρόντων αὐτοὺς δυσκόλων μεμνημένους λήθην ἔχειν τῶν ἔμπροσθεν εὐεργεσιῶν παρακαλῶν, μηδ' ὅτι νῦν πονοῦσι τῆς διανοίας ἐκβάλλειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν μεγάλων καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου ἔτυχον γενομένων, προσδοκᾶν δὲ καὶ τῆς παρούσης ἀπαλλαγῆν<sup>1</sup> ἀμηχανίας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίας, ὃν εἰκὸς δοκιμάζοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν πῶς τε καρτερίας ἔχουσι καὶ μνήμης τῶν προὔπηργμένων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκεῖνα γίνοντο διὰ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ κακά, γυμνάζειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρτι χαλεποῖς. ἐλέγχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς οὔτε περὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν οὔτε περὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν εὖ γεγονότων, οὕτως μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθ' ἣν ἐκλελοίπασιν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καταφρονούντας, οὕτως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπηρέτην αὐτοῦ διατεθέντας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαψευσάμενον περὶ ὧν εἶποι τε καὶ πράττειν κατ'

<sup>1</sup> ἀπαλλαγῆν edd.: ἀπαλλαγῆναι codd.

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<sup>a</sup> In Exodus the murmuring against Moses begins after 326

### JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III. 12-16

all memory of past blessings which they owed to God on the one hand, to the virtue and sagacity of Moses on the other, they viewed their general with indignation and were eager to stone him, as the man most answerable for their instant distress.<sup>a</sup>

(4) But he, before this mob so excited and embittered against him, confident in God and in the consciousness of his own care for his countrymen, advanced into their midst and, as they clamoured upon him and still held the stones in their hands, he, with that winning presence of his and that extraordinary influence in addressing a crowd, began to pacify their wrath. He exhorted them not, with present discomforts engrossing all their thoughts, to forget the benefits of the past, nor because they suffered now to banish from their minds the favours and bounties, so great and unlooked for, which they had received from God. Rather ought they to expect relief also from their present straits to come from God's solicitude, for it was probably to test their manhood, to see what fortitude they possessed, what memory of past services, and whether their thoughts would not revert to those services because of the troubles now in their path, that He was exercising them with these trials of the moment. But now they were convicted of failure, both in endurance and in recollection of benefits received, by showing at once such contempt of God and of His purpose, in accordance with which they had left Egypt, and such demeanour towards himself, God's minister, albeit he had never proved false to them in aught that he had said or in any order that he had given them at

Moses  
calms the  
angry mob.

the departure from Elim (xvi. 2) and the allusion to stoning comes still later, at Rephidim (xvii. 4).

## JOSEPHUS

- 17 ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσειε. κατηρίθμει τε πάντα, πῶς τε φθαρεῖεν Αἰγύπτιοι κατέχειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην βιαζόμενοι, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὁ αὐτὸς ποταμὸς ἐκείνοις μὲν αἶμα ἦν καὶ ἄποτος
- 18 αὐτοῖς δὲ πότιμος καὶ γλυκὺς, πῶς τε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναφυγούσης αὐτοῖς<sup>1</sup> πορρωτάτῳ καινὴν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες αὐτῇ ταύτῃ σωθείησαν μὲν αὐτοί, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐπίδοιεν ἀπολωλότας, ὅτι τε σπανίζοντας ὄπλων εἰς εὐπορίαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τούτων καταστήσειε, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διαφθαρήσεσθαι δόξαντας γεγονέναι καὶ σώσειεν
- 19 ὁ θεὸς ἐκ παραλόγου καὶ ὡς δύναμις αὐτῷ· μὴ ἀπογινώσκειν δὲ μηδὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἀοργήτως περιμένειν λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν μηδὲ βραδεῖαν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ παρ-  
αυτίκα καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὶν τινος πειραθῆναι δυσκόλου πάρεστιν, ἡγουμένους δὲ οὐ κατὰ ὀλιγωρίαν μέλλειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν
- 20 καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡδονῆς, ἵνα μάθοι πότερόν ποτε καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίαν καὶ σπάνιν ὕδατος ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐστ' ἐνεγκεῖν γενναῖοι, ἢ δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἀγαπᾶτε καθάπερ τὰ βοσκήματα τοῖς κρατοῦσι καὶ τοῖς πρὸς τὰς ἐκείνων ὑπηρεσίας
- 21 ἀφθόνως τρεφομένοις· δεδιέναι δ' εἰπὼν οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, πείσεσθαι γὰρ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἀδίκως ἀποθανών, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μὴ δι' ὧνπερ αὐτὸν βάλλουσι λίθων τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρίνειν
- 22 νομισθῶσιν, (5) ἐπράννεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μὲν τοῦ βάλλειν ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχε καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ὧν ἔμελλον δρᾶν ἔτρεψε. παθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ML: αὐτῆς **rell.**

God's command. He then enumerated everything, how the Egyptians had been destroyed in attempting to detain them by force in opposition to the will of God, how the selfsame river had for those become bloody and undrinkable while remaining for themselves drinkable and sweet, how through the waters of the sea retiring far before them they had departed by a new road, finding therein salvation for themselves while seeing their enemies perish, how, when they lacked arms, God had abundantly provided them even with these; further recounting all the other occasions on which, when they seemed on the verge of destruction, God had delivered them by ways unlooked for, such as lay within His power. So they should not despair even now of His providence, but should await it without anger, not deeming His succour tardy, even if it came not forthwith and before they had had some experience of discomfort, but rather believing that it was not from negligence that God thus tarried, but to test their manhood and their delight in liberty, "that He may learn (said he) whether for once ye have the spirit to endure for its sake both deprivation of food and lack of water, or prefer slavery, like the beasts which slave for the masters who feed them lavishly in view of their services." He added that, if he feared anything, it was not so much for his own safety—for it would be no misfortune to him to be unjustly done to death—as for them, lest in flinging those stones at him they should be thought to be pronouncing sentence upon God.

(5) Thus he calmed them, restraining that impulse to stone him and moving them to repent of their intended action. But, holding those feelings

Miraculous  
gift of  
quails.

## JOSEPHUS

- διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦτο νομίσας ἔγνω δεῖν ἐφ' ἱκετεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παράκλησιν ἐλθεῖν, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τινα σκοπὴν ἤτει πόρον τινὰ τῷ λαῷ
- 23 καὶ τῆς ἔνδειας ἀπαλλαγὴν· ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ· συγγινώσκειν δὲ τοῖς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις, φύσει δυσαρέστου καὶ φιλαιτίου τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν οἷς ἂν ἀτυχῆ γένους ὄντος. ὁ θεὸς δὲ προνοήσῃ τε ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ παρέξειν
- 24 ἀφορμὴν ἣν ποθοῦσι. Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτ' ἀκούσας καταβαίνει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος· οἱ δ' ὡς ἐώρων καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγηθότα μετέβαλον ἐκ τῆς κατηφείας πρὸς τὸ ἰλαρώτερον, καὶ στὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν μέσοις ἤκειν ἔλεγε φέρων αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν [περὶ] τῶν
- 25 ἐνεστηκότων ἀπόρων ἀπαλλαγὴν. καὶ μετ' ὀλίγον ὀρτύγων πλῆθος, τρέφει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον ὡς οὐδὲν ἕτερον ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος, ἐφίπταται τὴν μεταξὺ θάλατταν ὑπερελθὸν καὶ ὑπὸ κόπου τε ἅμα τῆς πτήσεως καὶ πρόσγαιον μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλλων ὃν καταφέρεται εἰς τοὺς Ἑβραίους· οἱ δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ὡς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην μηχανησαμένου τὴν ἔνδειαν ἰῶνται, καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ ταχεῖαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησαμένου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν.
- 26 (6) Εὐθύς δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀφορμὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ δευτέραν αὐτοῖς κατέπεμπεν ὁ θεός· ἀνέχοντος γὰρ τοῦ Μωυσέος τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς δρόσος κατηρέχθη, καὶ περιπηγνυμένης ταῖς

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<sup>a</sup> Josephus, *more suo*, explains the miracle by natural causes; cf. § 8.

of theirs induced by stress to be not unreasonable, he concluded that he ought to approach God with supplication and entreaty; and, mounting a certain eminence, he besought Him to grant some succour to His people and relief from their distress—for it was upon Him and on no other that their lives depended—and to pardon the people what they would but now have done under stress of necessity, seeing that the race of men was by nature morose and censorious in misfortune. God thereon promised to take care of them and to provide the resources which they craved. Having received this response from God, Moses descended to the multitude; and they, on seeing him all radiant at the divine promises, passed from dejection into a gayer mood, while he, standing in their midst, told them that he had come to bring them from God deliverance from their present straits. And, not long after, a flock of quails—a species of bird abundant, above all others, in the Arabian gulf—came flying over this stretch of sea, and, alike wearied by their flight and withal accustomed more than other birds to skim the ground,<sup>a</sup> settled in the Hebrews' camp. And they, collecting them as the food devised for them by God, assuaged their hunger; while Moses addressed his thankful prayers to God for sending succour so prompt and in keeping with <sup>b</sup> His promise.

(6) Immediately after this first supply of food God sent down to them a second. For, while Moses raised his hands in prayer, a dew descended, and, as this congealed about his hands,<sup>c</sup> Moses, surmising

<sup>b</sup> Or, possibly, "even beyond (even prompter than) His promise."

<sup>c</sup> Midrashic addition to the Biblical narrative.

*Cf. Ex. xvi. 11 f.*

*Ib. 13.*

*The manna. Ib. 13 ff.*

## JOSEPHUS

χερσὶ Μωυσῆς ὑπονοήσας καὶ ταύτην εἰς τροφήν  
 ἦκειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεύεται τε καὶ ἤσθεις,  
 27 τοῦ πλήθους ἀγνοοῦντος καὶ νομίζοντος νίφεισθαι  
 καὶ τῆς ὥρας εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους<sup>1</sup> τὸ γινόμενον, ἀν-  
 εδίδασκεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόληψιν ἀπ' οὐρα-  
 νοῦ καταφέρεσθαι τὴν δρόσον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆ  
 αὐτῶν καὶ διατροφῇ, καὶ γευόμενος<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο αὐτοῖς  
 28 παρεῖχε πιστεύειν. οἱ δὲ μιμούμενοι τὸν στρα-  
 τηγὸν ἦδοντο τῷ βρώματι· μέλιτι γὰρ ἦν τὴν  
 γλυκύτητα καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐμφερές, ὅμοιον δὲ  
 τῇ τῶν ἀρωμάτων βδέλλῃ, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῷ κο-  
 ριάννου σπέρματι· καὶ περὶ συλλογὴν λίαν αὐτοῦ  
 29 ἐσπουδάκεσαν. παρηγγέλλετο δ' ἐξ ἴσου πᾶσιν  
 ἄσσαρῶνα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μέτρον, εἰς ἐκάστην  
 ἡμέραν συλλέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιλείψοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ  
 βρώματος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνατοῖς ἄπορον ἦ τὸ  
 λαμβάνειν δι' ἀλκὴν τῶν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκ-  
 30 τούντων περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. οἱ μέντοι πλέον τοῦ  
 προστεταγμένου μέτρου συναγαγόντες οὐδὲν περισ-  
 σότερον εἶχον τοῦ κακοπαθῆσαι, ἄσσαρῶνος γὰρ  
 οὐδὲν πλέον εὔρισκον, τοῦ δ' ὑπολειφθέντος εἰς  
 τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὄνησις οὐδ' ἦτις ἦν διεφθαρμένου  
 ὑπὸ τε σκωλήκων καὶ πικρίας· οὕτω θεῖον ἦν τὸ  
 31 βρῶμα καὶ παράδοξον. ἀμύνει δὲ τοῖς ταύτην  
 νεμομένοις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν, ἔτι δὲ

<sup>1</sup> ME: ὑετοῦ rell.

<sup>2</sup> γενομένοις ROE (perhaps rightly).

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<sup>a</sup> Exodus (xvi. 14) merely speaks of the manna as "small as the hoar frost on the ground"; the comparison to snow, as M. Weill points out, occurs already in Artapanus (c. 332



that this too was a nutriment come to them from God, tasted it and was delighted; and, whereas the multitude in their ignorance took this for snow<sup>a</sup> and attributed the phenomenon to the season of the year, he instructed them that this heaven-descending dew was not as they supposed, but was sent for their salvation and sustenance, and, tasting it, he bade them thus too to convince themselves. They then, imitating their leader, were delighted with what they ate, for it had the sweet and delicious taste of honey and resembled the spicy herb called *bdellium*, its size being that of a coriander seed; and they fell to collecting it with the keenest ardour. Orders, however, were issued to all alike to collect each day but an *assarôn*<sup>b</sup> (that being the name of a measure), since this food would never fail them; this was to ensure that the weak should not be prevented from obtaining anything, should their stronger brethren avail themselves of their vigour to amass a larger harvest. Those who nevertheless collected more than the prescribed measure reaped therefrom nothing further than their pains, for they found no more than an *assarôn*; while anything left over for the morrow was of no service whatever, being polluted by worms and bitterness, so divine and miraculous was this food. It is a mainstay to dwellers in these parts against their dearth of other

Ex. xvi. 31;  
Numb. xi. 7.

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Ex. xvi. 16.

100 B.C.), χιόνι παραπλήσιον τὴν χροάν (ap. Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* ix. 436 c). "The season of the year" was apparently the spring (§ 11); and snow at any season in the Arabian desert is practically unknown.

<sup>b</sup> In Exodus an *ômer* (LXX γόμορ). Josephus substitutes for this, here and elsewhere, the word *assarôn*, a Hellenized form of the Hebrew 'issarôn, meaning "a tenth part" sc. of an *ephah*, in other words an *omer* (Ex. xvi. 36).

- καὶ νῦν ὕεται πᾶς ἐκείνος ὁ τόπος, καθάπερ καὶ τότε Μωυσεὶ χαριζόμενον τὸ θεῖον κατέπεμψε τὴν  
 32 διατροφήν. καλοῦσι δὲ Ἑβραῖοι τὸ βρῶμα τοῦτο μάννα· τὸ γὰρ μάν ἐπερώτησις κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον τί τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀνακρίνουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν χαίροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταπεμφθεῖσιν αὐτοῖς διετέλουν, τῇ δὲ τροφῇ ταύτῃ τεσσαράκοντα ἔτεσιν ἐχρήσαντο ἐφ' ὅσον χρόνον ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.
- 33 (7) Ὡς δ' ἐκείθεν ἄραντες εἰς Ῥαφιδεῖν ἦκον, τάλαιπωρηθέντες ὑπὸ δίψους εἰς ἔσχατον, ἐν ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις πίδαξιν ὀλίγαις ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀνδρον εὐρόντες τὴν γῆν, ἐν κακοῖς ἦσαν καὶ πάλιν δι' ὀργῆς τὸν
- 34 Μωυσῆν ἐποιοῦντο. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὀρμὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς μικρὸν ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ λιτὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ, παρακαλῶν ὡς τροφήν ἔδωκεν ἀπορουμένοις οὕτως καὶ ποτὸν παρασχεῖν, διαφθειρομένης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ
- 35 τροφῇ χάριτος ποτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ὁ δ' οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν δωρεὰν ἀνεβάλλετο, τῷ δὲ Μωυσεὶ παρέξειν ὑπισχνεῖται πηγὴν καὶ πλήθος ὕδατος ὅθεν οὐ προσδοκήσειαν, καὶ κελεύει τῷ βάρτρῳ πλήξαντα τὴν πέτραν, ἣν ἐώρων αὐτόθι παρα-

<sup>a</sup> I hesitate to depart from the rendering of all previous translators from Hudson, " *Qui vero eo vescebantur alio non egebant victu* " to M. Weill, " *Il remplaçait pour ceux qui en mangeaient tous les autres aliments absents* " ; the latter traces here an allusion to the widespread Rabbinical tradition, found already in the Book of Wisdom (xvi. 20 f.), that the manna assumed the taste that was most pleasant to the eater. But (1) *νέεσθαι* in Josephus usually means "inhabit" (*A. v.* 262 etc.), or occasionally "graze" (of cattle), but never "eat" (of men); (2) the fem. *ταύτην* cannot refer to the neuter word for food, *βρῶμα*, whereas the ellipse of *γῆν* is

provisions,<sup>a</sup> and to this very day<sup>b</sup> all that region is watered by a rain like to that which then, as a favour to Moses, the Deity sent down for men's sustenance. The Hebrews call this food *manna*<sup>c</sup>; for the word *man* is an interrogative in our language, asking the question "What is this?"<sup>d</sup> So they continued to rejoice in their heaven-sent gift, living on this food for forty years, all the time that they were in the desert. Ex. xvi. 15.

(7) When, departing thence, they reached Raphidin,<sup>e</sup> in extreme agony from thirst—for having on the earlier days lit upon some scanty springs, they then found themselves in an absolutely waterless region—they were in sore distress and again vented their wrath on Moses. But he, shunning for a while the onset of the crowd, had recourse to prayer, beseeching God, as He had given meat to them in their need, so now to afford them drink, for their gratitude for the meat would perish were drink withheld. Nor did God long defer this boon, but promised Moses that He would provide a spring with abundance of water whence they looked not for it; He then bade him strike with his staff the rock which stood there Water from  
the rock.  
Jh. xvii. 1.

frequent: (3) the second half of the sentence ("all that region") supports the rendering above. There *may* be an allusion to the Rabbinical tradition, but, did we not know of that tradition from other sources, it would hardly have been discovered from the present passage.

<sup>b</sup> Travellers in Arabia have identified the manna as an exudation of a species of the tamarisk-tree; "a fresh supply appears each night during its season (June and July)," *Encycl. Bibl. s.v.*

<sup>c</sup> Heb. *mán*, LXX *μάν* or *μάννα*.

<sup>d</sup> The same popular etymology appears in the Heb. and LXX.

<sup>e</sup> *Bibl. Rephidim*, LXX (like *Jos.*) 'Ραφιδείν.

κειμένην, παρ' αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν τὴν εὐπορίαν ὧν  
 δέονται· φροντίζειν<sup>1</sup> γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μὴ σὺν πόνῳ μὴδ'  
 36 ἔργασία τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς φανῆναι. καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 ταῦτα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν  
 λαὸν περιμένοντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορῶντα· καὶ  
 γὰρ ἤδη καθεώρων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ὀρμώ-  
 μενον. ὡς δ' ἦκεν, ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταύτης  
 τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸν θεὸν ἔλεγε καὶ κεχαρίσθαι<sup>2</sup>  
 σωτηρίαν οὐδ' ἐλπισθεῖσαν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ποταμὸν  
 37 αὐτοῖς ῥυήσεσθαι λέγων. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν  
 καταπλαγέντων, εἰ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ δίψους καὶ τῆς  
 ὁδοιπορίας τεταλαιπωρημένοι ἀνάγκη γένοιτο  
 κόπτειν τὴν πέτραν, ὁ Μωυσῆς πλήττει τῇ βακτη-  
 ρία, καὶ χανούσης ἐξέβλυσεν ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ δι-  
 38 αυγέστατον. οἱ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ γεγονότος  
 κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῖς ἤδη τὸ  
 δίψος ἔληγε, καὶ πίνουσιν ἠδὺ καὶ γλυκὴ τὸ νᾶμα  
 καὶ οἶον ἂν εἴη θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον δόντος ἐφαίμετο·  
 τὸν τε οὖν Μωυσῆν ἐθαύμαζον οὕτως ὑπὸ τοῦ  
 θεοῦ τετιμημένον, καὶ θυσίαις ἡμείβοντο τὴν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόνοιαν. δηλοῖ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ  
 ἀνακειμένη γραφῇ τὸν θεὸν προειπεῖν Μωυσεῖ  
 οὕτως ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἀναδοθήσεσθαι ὕδωρ.  
 39 (ii. 1) Τοῦ δὲ [τῶν] Ἑβραίων ὀνόματος ἤδη  
 πολλοῦ κατὰ πάντα διαβωμένου καὶ τοῦ περὶ  
 αὐτῶν λόγου φοιτῶντος ἐν φόβῳ συνέβαινε οὐ  
 μικρῷ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους εἶναι, καὶ πρεσβευόμενοι

<sup>1</sup> MSP: φροντίζει rell.

<sup>2</sup> χαρίσασθαι RO.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. other allusions to "writings deposited in the temple" in *A.* iv. 303 (the song of Moses), v. 61 (Joshua's staying of the sun). I believe that these refer not to the Scriptures  
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before their eyes, and from it accept a plenteous draught of what they needed ; for He would moreover see to it that this water should appear for them without toil or travail. Moses, having received this response from God, now approached the people, who were expectant and had their eyes fixed upon him, having already observed him hastening from the hill. When he arrived, he told them that God would deliver them from this distress also and had even vouchsafed to save them in unexpected wise : a river was to flow for them out of the rock. And while they at this news were aghast at the thought of being forced, all spent as they were with thirst and travel, to cleave the rock, Moses struck it with his staff, whereupon it opened and there gushed out a copious stream of most pellucid water. Amazed at this marvellous prodigy, the mere sight of which already slaked their thirst, they drank and found the current sweet and delicious and all that was to be looked for in a gift from God. Therefrom too they conceived an admiration for Moses, so high in God's esteem, and they offered sacrifices in return for God's care for their welfare. A writing deposited in the temple attests that God foretold to Moses that water would thus spring forth from the rock.<sup>a</sup>

(ii. 1) The fame of the Hebrews being now mightily noised abroad and talk of them being current everywhere, the inhabitants of the country came to be not a little afraid ; and sending embassies to and fro

The Amalekites prepare for war. Ex. xvii. 8.

generally but to a separate collection of chants made for the use of the temple singers, and that the allusion here is to the little song to the well in Numb. xxi. 16 ff., with the introductory promise "Gather the people together and I will give them water." See my *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929), p. 90.

- πρὸς ἀλλήλους παρεκάλουν ἀμύνειν καὶ πειρᾶσθαι  
 40 τοὺς ἄνδρας διαφθείρειν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ [οἱ] πρὸς  
 τοῦτο ἐνάγοντες οἷ τε τὴν Γοβολίτιν καὶ τὴν  
 Πέτραν κατοικοῦντες, οἱ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἀμαληκί-  
 ται, μαχιμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ἐκείσε ἐθνῶν ὑπήρχον·  
 ὧν πέμποντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἀλλήλους τε καὶ τοὺς  
 περιοίκους ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἑβραίους πόλεμον παρ-  
 εκάλουν, στρατὸν ἀλλότριον καὶ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων  
 ἀποδράντα δουλείας ἐφεδρεύειν αὐτοῖς λέγοντες,  
 41 ὃν οὐ καλῶς ἔχει περιορᾶν, ἀλλὰ πρὶν ἢ λαβεῖν  
 ἰσχὺν καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐπορίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς  
 πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατάρξαι μάχης θαρρήσαντας τῷ μηδὲν  
 αὐτοῖς παρ' ἡμῶν ἀπαντᾶν καταλύειν ἀσφαλές καὶ  
 σῶφρον, δίκην αὐτοῦς καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐρήμου<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
 τῶν ἐν αὐτῇπραχθέντων ἀπαιτοῦντας, ἀλλ' οὐχ  
 ὅταν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιβάλωσι  
 42 τὰς χεῖρας. οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένην δύναμιν ἐχθρῶν πει-  
 ρώμενοι καταλύειν ἀγαθοὶ συνεῖναι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ προ-  
 κόψασαν μείζω κωλύοντες γενέσθαι· οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ  
 περισσοῦ δοκοῦσι νεμεσᾶν, οἱ δ' οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς  
 ἀφορμὴν καθ' αὐτῶν ἐῷσι γενέσθαι. τοιαῦτα τοῖς τε  
 πλησιοχώροις καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους πρεσβευόμενοι  
 χυρεῖν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐγνώκεσαν εἰς μάχην.
- 43 (2) Μωυσεῖ δ' οὐδὲν προσδοκῶντι πολέμιον  
 ἀπορίαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνεποίει τὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων,  
 καὶ παρόντων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἤδη καὶ κινδυνεύειν  
 δέον ἐθορύβει χαλεπῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλήθος  
 ἐν ἀπορίᾳ μὲν ὃν ἀπάντων, μέλλον δὲ πολεμεῖν

<sup>1</sup> Text doubtful: Reinach's conj. ἐφόδοι does not satisfactorily account for αὐτῇ.

<sup>a</sup> Mentioned, in conjunction with Amalek, in *A.* ii. 6  
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they exhorted each other to repel and endeavour to destroy these upstarts. The instigators of this movement were those inhabitants of Gobolitis<sup>a</sup> and Petra<sup>b</sup> who are called Amalekites and were the most warlike of the peoples in those parts. It was their kings who sent messages exhorting one another and the neighbouring peoples to make war on the Hebrews.<sup>c</sup> "An army of aliens," they said, "has escaped from bondage in Egypt and is lying in wait to attack us. It behoves us not to disregard them; no, before they gain strength and obtain resources and themselves open battle upon us, emboldened by meeting with no opposition on our part, it were safer and prudent to crush them, exacting retribution for [their incursion into] the wilderness and for what they have done there, instead of waiting until they have laid hands on our cities and our goods. Those who essay to crush an enemy's power at the outset show greater sagacity than they who, when it is already far advanced, would prevent its extension; for these seem but resentful of its superabundant strength, whereas those never give it any handle against them." Addressing such messages by embassies to the neighbouring districts and to one another, they decided to engage the Hebrews in battle.

(2) To Moses, expectant of no hostility, this rising of the natives was a source of perplexity and trouble; while, since they were already advancing to battle and the peril had to be faced, there was grave agitation in the Hebrews' host, destitute of everything, (*cf.* ix. 188), and doubtless identical with the "Gebal" (also linked with Amalek) of Ps. lxxxiii. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Future capital of the Nabataeans; Josephus uses the names of a later age.

<sup>c</sup> Weill quotes a Rabbinical parallel for this invitation.

Moses  
encourages  
the  
Hebrews.

- πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πᾶσι καλῶς ἐξηρτυμένους.<sup>1</sup>  
 44 παραμυθίας οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἤρχετο καὶ θαρρεῖν  
 παρεκάλει τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ψήφῳ πεπιστευκότας, ὑφ'  
 ἧς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡρμένοι κατανικήσειαν τοὺς  
 45 περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοῖς καθισταμένους, ὑπο-  
 λαμβάνειν δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι στρατεύμα πολὺ  
 καὶ πάντων ἀπροσδεές, ὄπλων χρημάτων τροφῆς  
 τῶν ἄλλων, ὧν παρόντων ἐκ πεποιθήσεως πολε-  
 μοῦσιν ἄνθρωποι, κρίνοντας ἐν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 συμμαχία ταῦτα αὐτοῖς παρεῖναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐναν-  
 τίων ὀλίγον ἄνοπλον ἀσθενές, οἷον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ  
 τοιούτων, οἷοις αὐτοῖς σύνοιδεν οὖσιν, νικᾶσθαι  
 46 βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰδέναί δ' οἷος οὗτος ἐπί-  
 κουρος ἐκ πολλῶν πεπειραμένους καὶ δεινότερων  
 τοῦ πολέμου· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἀνθρώ-  
 πους, ἃ δ' ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψος ἄπορα  
 καὶ πρὸς ὄρη καὶ θάλασσαν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχουσι  
 φυγῆς, ταῦτ' αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν παρὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ νενικῆσθαι. νῦν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρεκάλει  
 προθυμοτάτους, ὡς τῆς ἀπάντων εὐπορίας αὐτοῖς  
 ἐν τῷ κρατῆσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κειμένης.  
 47 (3) Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτοις παρεθάρσυνε τὸ  
 πλήθος λόγοις, συγκαλῶν <τε><sup>2</sup> τοὺς τε φυλάρχους  
 καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καθ' ἐκάστους τε καὶ σὺν ἀλλήλοις  
 τοὺς μὲν νεωτέρους παρεκάλει πείθεσθαι τοῖς  
 πρεσβυτέροις, τοὺς δὲ ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ·  
 48 οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐπὶ τὸν κίνδυνον τὰς ψυχὰς ἡρμένοι  
 καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἐτοίμως ἔχοντες ἤλπιζον ἀπ-  
 αλλαγῆσεσθαι ποτε τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν  
 ἐκέλευον ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἤδη  
 καὶ μὴ μέλλειν, ὡς τῆς ἀναβολῆς ἐμποδιζούσης

<sup>1</sup> Nicse: ἐξηρτυσμένους RO: ἐξηρτισμένους (-ημένους) tell.



yet destined to contend with men at all points perfectly equipped. Moses accordingly proceeded to console them. He bade them take courage, trusting in God's decree, through which they had been promoted to liberty and triumphed over such as set themselves in battle against them to dispute it. They should regard their own army as great and lacking in nought—arms, money, provisions, all those things on the possession of which men rely in going to war—deeming that in having God as their ally they possessed them all; while that of their adversaries should appear as puny, unarmed, weak, such a force that by men so mean, as He knew them to be, God would not will to be defeated. They knew what a protector they had in Him from many experiences even more awful than war; for war was waged against men, but those hopeless straits with which they had contended were hunger and thirst, mountains and sea when they had no means of flight, and yet these through the gracious mercy of God had by them been overcome. So now he bade them show the keenest ardour, since affluence in everything would be their reward in defeating their foes.

(3) With such words did Moses embolden the multitude, and, calling up the heads of the tribes and the other officers singly and all together, he exhorted the juniors to obey their elders and these to hearken to their general. And they, with hearts elated at the peril, were ready to face the horror of it, hoping ere long to be quit of their miseries, and they urged Moses to lead them instantly and without procrastination against the enemy, since delay might damp

He puts  
Joshua in  
command.  
Ex. xvii. 9.

<sup>1</sup> ins. Niese.

## JOSEPHUS

- 49 τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τῆς πληθύος ἀποκρίνας πᾶν τὸ μάχιμον Ἰησοῦν ἐφίστησιν αὐτῷ, Ναυήκου μὲν υἱὸν φυλῆς τῆς Ἐφραιμίτιδος, ἀνδρειότατον δὲ καὶ πόνους ὑποστῆναι γενναῖον<sup>1</sup> καὶ νοῆσαί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανώτατον καὶ θρησκευόντα τὸν θεὸν ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ Μωυσῆν διδάσκαλον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείας πεποιημένον τιμώμενόν τε παρὰ τοῖς
- 50 Ἑβραίοις. βραχὺ δέ τι περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔταξε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ τε παντὸς<sup>2</sup> στρατοπέδου. καὶ νύκτα μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦσαν τῶν τε ὄπλων εἴ τι πεπονηκὸς ἦν ἀναλαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προσέχοντες, ὡς ὀρμήσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ὁπότε κελεύσειεν αὐτοὺς Μωυσῆς. διηγρῦπνει δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀναδιδάσκων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὃν τρόπον ἐκτάξειε τὸ
- 51 στρατόπεδον. ἡργμένης δὲ ὑποφαίνειν τῆς ἡμέρας αὐθις τὸν τε Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλει μηδὲν χεῖρονα φανῆναι κατὰ τὸ ἔργον τῆς οὔσης περὶ αὐτὸν ἐλπίδος δόξαν τε διὰ τῆς παρούσης κτήσασθαι στρατηγίας παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τῶν τε Ἑβραίων τοὺς ἀξιολογωτάτους ἰδία παρεκάλει καὶ σύμπαν ἤδη τὸ πλῆθος ὀπλι-
- 52 σμένον παρῶρμα. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως παραστησάμενος τὸν στρατὸν τοῖς τε λόγοις καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἔργων παρασκευῇ ἀνεχώρει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος θεῶ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦ παραδιδούς τὸ στράτευμα.
- 53 (+) Προσέμισγον δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι κὰν χερσὶν ἦν ἢ μάχῃ προθυμία τε<sup>3</sup> καὶ διακελευσμῶ τὰ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> RO: γεννικὸν rell.

<sup>2</sup> πρὸς παντὸς ML, whence πρόπαντος Dindorf.

<sup>3</sup> ὁ δὲ RO.

their ardour. Moses then, having selected from the crowd all of military efficiency, put at their head Joshua,<sup>a</sup> son of Nauêkos,<sup>b</sup> of the tribe of Ephraim,<sup>c</sup> a man of extreme courage, valiant in endurance of toil, highly gifted in intellect and speech, and withal one who worshipped God with a singular piety which he had learnt from Moses, and who was held in esteem by the Hebrews. He also posted a small force of armed men around the water as a protection for the children and women and for the camp in general. All that night they passed in preparations, repairing any damaged arms and attentive to their generals, ready to plunge into the fray so soon as Moses gave them the order. Moses too passed awakeful night, instructing Joshua how to marshal his forces. At the first streak of dawn he once more exhorted Joshua to prove himself in action no whit inferior to the hopes that were built upon him and to win through this command a reputation with his troops for his achievements; he next exhorted the most notable of the Hebrews one by one, and finally addressed stirring words to the whole host assembled in arms. For himself, having thus animated the forces by his words and by all these active preparations, he withdrew to the mountain, consigning the campaign to God and to Joshua.

(4) The adversaries met and a hand-to-hand contest ensued, fought with great spirit and with mutual

Victory of the Hebrews: the spoils. Ex. xvii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Greek "Jesus."

<sup>b</sup> The Hellenized form of *Nauê*, the LXX equivalent for the Hebrew "Nun."

<sup>c</sup> Derived from Numb. xiii. 8.

ἀλλήλους χρωμένων μέχρι μὲν . . .<sup>1</sup> οὖν Μωυσῆς  
 αὐθις<sup>2</sup> ἀνίσχει τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας  
 κατεπόνουν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι. τὸν οὖν πόνον τῆς ἀνα-  
 τάσεως τῶν χειρῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς οὐχ ὑπομένων, ὅσάκις  
 γὰρ<sup>3</sup> αὐτὰς καθίει τοσαυτάκις ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοὺς  
 54 οἰκείους αὐτοῦ συνέβαινε, κελεύει τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν  
 Ἄαρῶνα καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαριάμμης τὸν ἄνδρα  
 Οὐρον ὄνομα στάντας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ δια-  
 κρατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κάμνειν  
 βοηθοῦντας.<sup>4</sup> καὶ τούτου γενομένου κατὰ κράτος  
 ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, καὶ πάντες  
 ἂν ἀπωλώλεισαν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπ-  
 55 ἔσχοντο τοῦ κτείνειν. νίκην καλλίστην καὶ καιριωτά-  
 την <ταύτην><sup>5</sup> νικῶσιν ἡμῶν οἱ πρόγονοι· καὶ γὰρ  
 τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τοὺς περι-  
 οίκους ἐφόβησαν, μεγάλων τε καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐκ τοῦ  
 πονεῖν ἐπέτυχον ἀγαθῶν ἐλόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον  
 τῶν πολεμίων, πλούτους τε μεγάλους δημοσία καὶ  
 κατ' ἰδίαν ἔσχον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαίας<sup>6</sup> τροφῆς  
 56 πρότερον εὐποροῦντες. ὑπῆρξε δ' αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς  
 τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ εἰς τὸν αὐθις αἰῶνα τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν αἰτία κατορθωθείσα ἢ προειρημένη μάχη·  
 οὐ γὰρ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων  
 ἐδούλωσαν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ τοῖς περι-  
 οίκοις ἅπασι μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἤτταν ἐγένοντο  
 φοβεροί, αὐτοὶ τε πλούτου μεγάλου δύναμιν προσ-  
 57 ἔλαβον· πολὺς γὰρ ὁ ἄργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς  
 ἐγκατελήφθη<sup>7</sup> ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ σκεύη χαλκᾶ,

<sup>1</sup> ? lacuna (Niese).<sup>2</sup> Niese: ἂν R<sup>o</sup>, γὰρ ἂν rell.<sup>3</sup> ins. Niese.<sup>2</sup> ὀρθὰς conj. Cocceii.<sup>4</sup> βοηθοῦντα Dindorf.<sup>5</sup> ἀναγκαίου R.

shouts of encouragement.<sup>a</sup> So long as Moses held his hands erect, the Amalekites were discomfited by the Hebrews. Moses, therefore, unequal to the strain of this extension of his arms, and seeing that as often as he dropped them so often were his men worsted, bade his brother Aaron and his sister Mariamne's husband, by name Ur,<sup>b</sup> stand on either side of him to support his hands and by their aid not suffer them to flag. That done, the Hebrews inflicted a crushing defeat on the Amalekites, who would all have perished, had not night supervened to stay the carnage. A most noble victory and most timely was this that our forefathers won; for they defeated their assailants, terrified the neighbouring nations, and withal acquired by their efforts great and magnificent riches, having captured their enemy's camp and thereby obtained stores of wealth both for public and private use, they who but now had lacked even the necessaries of life. Nor was it only for the present, but also for the age to come, that their success in this battle proved productive of blessings; for they enslaved not the persons only of their assailants but also their spirit, and became to all the neighbouring races, after the defeat of those first adversaries, a source of terror, while they themselves amassed a great quantity of wealth. For abundant silver and gold was captured in the camp, as also vessels of

<sup>a</sup> With this description of the battle a new hand appears, that of the "Thucydidean" assistant (see Introduction): *κάν χερσίν ἦν ἡ μάχη* comes from Thuc. iv. 43, *προθυμία καὶ διακέλευσμός χρωμένων* from iv. 11 (with vii. 71).

<sup>b</sup> *Bibl. Hur*, lxx "Ωρ. Scripture mentions no relation-ship between him and Moses: Rabbinical tradition represents him as not the husband, but the son, of Miriam (see Weill's note).

<sup>7</sup> *ἐγκατελείφθη* most MSS.

## JOSEPHUS

οἷς ἐχρῶντο περὶ τὴν δίαιταν, πολὺ δὲ ἐπίσημον  
 πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ὅσα τε ὑφαντὰ καὶ κόσμοι περὶ  
 τὰς ὀπλίσεις ἢ τε ἄλλη θεραπεία καὶ κατασκευὴ  
 ἐκείνων λεία τε παντοία κτηνῶν καὶ ὅσα φιλεῖ  
 58 στρατοπέδοις ἐξωδευκόσιν ἔπεσθαι. φρονήματός  
 τε ὑπεπλήσθησαν ἐπ' ἀνδρεία Ἑβραῖοι καὶ πολλή  
 μεταποίησις ἦν ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τε τῷ πονεῖν  
 ἦσαν αἰεὶ τούτῳ πάντα ληπτὰ νομίζοντες εἶναι.  
 καὶ ταύτης μὲν τῆς μάχης τοῦτο τὸ πέρασ.  
 59 (5) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία Μωυσῆς νεκρούς τε ἐσκύλευε  
 τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παντευχίας τῶν φυγόντων  
 συνέλεγεν ἀριστευσί τε τιμὰς ἐδίδου καὶ τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐνεκωμιάζε μαρτυρούμενον ἐφ'  
 οἷς ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπέθανεν  
 δὲ Ἑβραίων μὲν οὐδεῖς, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅσους  
 60 οὐδ' ἀριθμῷ γνῶναι δυνατὸν ἦν. θύσας δὲ χαρι-  
 στήρια βωμὸν ἰδρύεται, νικαῖον ὀνομάσας τὸν θεόν,  
 προεφήτευέ τε πανωλεθρία τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας ἀπο-  
 λουμένους καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθισόμενον  
 εἰς αὐθις διὰ τὸ Ἑβραίοις ἐπιστρατεῦσασθαι καὶ  
 ταῦτα ἐν ἐρήμῳ τε γῆ καὶ ταλαιπωρουμένοις, τὸν  
 61 τε στρατὸν εὐωχίαις ἀνελάμβανε. καὶ ταύτην  
 μὲν τὴν μάχην πρώτην μαχεσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς  
 κατατολήσαντας αὐτῶν μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου  
 γενομένην ἕξοδον οὕτως ἐπολέμησαν· ἐπεὶ δὲ τὴν  
 τῶν ἐπινικίων ἑορτὴν ἤγαγον, ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀνα-

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<sup>a</sup> All this description of the spoil is unscriptural, but, as M. Weill suggests, may be based on tradition: it was necessary to explain how the Hebrews obtained the rich materials for the making of the tabernacle. A certain duplication in the narrative here (the double mention of the capture of the camp and its riches) and below may be due to the employment at this point of *two* assistants.

brass, which served for their meals, a mass of coins of both metals, all manner of woven fabrics, decorations for armour, with all the accompanying trappings and apparatus, spoils of all sorts of beasts of burden, and everything that is wont to accompany armies into the field.<sup>a</sup> The Hebrews now too began to plume themselves on their valour and to have high aspirations to heroism.<sup>b</sup> while they became assiduous in toil, convinced that by it all things are attainable. Such was the issue of this battle.

(5) On the morrow Moses had the corpses of the enemy stripped and all the armour shed by the fugitives collected; he presented rewards to the valiant and eulogized their general Joshua, whose exploits were attested by the whole army. Indeed of the Hebrews not a man had perished, while the enemy's dead were past numbering. Offering sacrifices of thanksgiving, he erected an altar, calling God by the name of "Giver of victory"<sup>c</sup>; and he predicted that the Amalekites were to be utterly exterminated and not one of them should survive to after ages, because they had set upon the Hebrews at a time when they were in desert country and in sore distress.<sup>d</sup> He then regaled the troops with festivity.

Celebration of the victory, and arrival at Mount Sinai.

Ex. xvii. 15.

xvii. 14.

Such was the issue of this fight, the first that they fought with daring aggressors after their exodus from Egypt. When the festival in honour of the victory had been celebrated, Moses, having rested the

<sup>b</sup> πολλή μεταποίησις ἦν ἀρετῆς after Thuc. ii. 51 οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιοῦμενοι ("those who aspired to heroism," Jowett), a phrase frequently echoed by this "Thucydidean" συνεργός.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Jehovah-nissi ("J. is my banner"), LXX Κύριος καταφυγή μου; in Exodus the name is given not to God but to the altar.

<sup>d</sup> Cf. A. iv. 304 (with Deut. xxv. 17 ff. "Remember what Amalek did").

- παύσας ἐπ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἑβραίους μετὰ  
 62 τὴν μάχην προῆγε συντεταγμένους· πολὺ δ' ἦν ἤδη  
 τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς· καὶ προῖων κατ' ὀλίγον ἐν  
 τριμήνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου κίνησιν παρῆν ἐπὶ  
 τὸ Σιναιῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τὰ τε περὶ τὸν θάμνον αὐτῶ  
 καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φαντάσματα συντυχεῖν προειρήκαμεν.
- 63 (iii) Καὶ Ῥαγούηλος ὁ πεινθερὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ  
 πυνθανόμενος εὐπραξίαν ἀσμένως ἀπήντα, τὸν τε  
 Μωυσῆν καὶ τὴν Σαπφώραν δεχόμενος καὶ τοὺς  
 παῖδας αὐτῶν. ἤδεται δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ  
 πεινθεροῦ ἀφίξει καὶ θύσας εὐωχεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ  
 θάμνου πλησίον, ὃς διαπεφεύγει τοῦ πυρὸς τὴν  
 64 φλόγῳσιν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατὰ συγγενείας<sup>1</sup>  
 ὡς ἕκαστοι τῆς εὐωχίας μετελάμβανον, Ἄαρὼν  
 δὲ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥαγούηλον προσλαβόμενος  
 ὕμνους τε ἤδον εἰς τὸν θεὸν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας  
 αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αἴτιον καὶ ποριστὴν  
 65 γεγεννημένον, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐφήμεον ὡς  
 κατὰ ἀρετὴν ἐκείνου πάντων αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν  
 ἀπηντηκότων. καὶ Ῥαγούηλος πολλὰ μὲν ἐγ-  
 κώμια τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν εὐ-  
 χαριστίᾳ διεξήει, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν  
 τῆς ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν φίλων ἀνδραγαθίας.
- 66 (iv. 1) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία θεασάμενος ὁ Ῥαγούηλος

<sup>1</sup> συγγένειαν RO.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus transposes the Biblical order of events, placing the arrival at Sinai (Ex. xix. 1) *before* the visit of Jethro (Ex. xviii). But as the Bible itself represents this visit as made when Moses "was encamped at the mount of God" (Ex. xviii. 5), it is highly probable that Josephus has only reverted to what was the original arrangement of the narrative (Driver's *Exodus, Camb. Bible*).

<sup>b</sup> A. ii. 261 ff.



Hebrews for a few days after the battle, led them forward in ordered ranks; a considerable body of them was by now armed. Advancing by short stages, within three months after the departure from Egypt, he reached Mount Sinai,<sup>a</sup> where he had met with the miracle of the bush and the other visions which we have already related.<sup>b</sup> Ex. xix. 1.

(iii.) And now Raguel,<sup>c</sup> his father-in-law, hearing of his success, went with gladness to meet him, warmly welcoming Moses and Sapphora<sup>d</sup> and their children. Moses rejoiced at this visit of his father-in-law and, having offered sacrifice, made a feast for the people,<sup>e</sup> hard by the bush which had escaped combustion in the fire. The whole multitude, ranged in family groups, partook of the banquet; while Aaron with his company, joined by Raguel, chanted hymns to God, as the author and dispenser of their salvation and their liberty. They sung too the praises of their general, to whose merit it was due that all had befallen to their hearts' content. And Raguel was profuse in eulogies of the people for their gratitude to Moses, while he admired Moses for the gallantry which he had devoted to the salvation of his friends. Visit of Raguel. Ib. xviii. 1.  
Cf. ib. 12.

(iv. 1) On the morrow Raguel watched Moses

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Jethro, *alias* Re'uel (LXX 'Ραγουήλ), as he is called in the first passage where he is mentioned (Ex. ii. 18); Josephus uses the latter name (*A.* ii. 258), except in *A.* ii. 264, v. 127.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Zipporah. In the Biblical account Jethro *brings back* Zipporah and the children to Moses, after a temporary separation; in Josephus the family had never been parted (*cf.* Ex. iv. 20).

<sup>e</sup> In Exodus Jethro offers sacrifices, and Aaron and the elders of Israel join him in the sacred meal: nothing is said about a public feast given by Moses.

## JOSEPHUS

τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐν ὄχλῳ πραγμάτων ὄντα· διέλυε γὰρ  
 τὰς δίκας τοῖς δεομένοις, πάντων ἐπ' αὐτὸν βα-  
 διζόντων καὶ μόνως ἂν τοῦ δικαίου τυχεῖν ἤγου-  
 67 μένων, εἰ διαιτητῆς αὐτοῖς οὗτος γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ  
 τοῖς ἠττωμένοις κοῦφον ἐδόκει τὸ λείπεσθαι, κατὰ  
 δικαιοσύνην οὐ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν αὐτὸ πάσχειν  
 νομίζουσι· τότε μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἤγε μὴ βουλόμενος  
 ἐμποδίζειν τοῖς ἀρετῇ χρῆσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ  
 θέλουσι, παυσάμενον δὲ τοῦ θορύβου παραλαβὼν  
 68 καὶ συμμωνωθείς ἀνεδίδασκεν ἅ δεῖ ποιεῖν· καὶ  
 συνεβούλευε τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἠττοσι ταλαιπωρίας  
 ἑτέροις ἐκστῆναι, περὶ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων καὶ τῆς  
 σωτηρίας τοῦ πλήθους ἔχειν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτόν·  
 δικάσαι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους Ἑβραίων  
 εὔρεθῆναι, φροντίσαι δὲ τοσοῦτων μυριάδων σω-  
 τηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον τινα δύνασθαι μὴ Μωυσῆν γε-  
 69 νόμενον. “ αἰσθανόμενος οὖν τῆς ἀρετῆς,” φησί,  
 “ σαυτοῦ καὶ οἷος γέγονας ἐπὶ τῷ τὸν λαὸν  
 ὑπουργῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων  
 δίαιταν ἐπίτρεψον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπ' ἄλλων,  
 σὺ δὲ πρὸς μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπεία κατέχων  
 σεαυτὸν διατέλει ζητῶν οἷς ἂν τὸ πλήθος ἀπ-  
 70 ἀλλάξειας τῆς νῦν ἀπορίας· ὑποθήκαις δὲ ταῖς  
 ἐμαῖς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων χρησάμενος τὸν στρα-  
 τὸν ἐξετάσεις ἀκριβῶς καὶ κατὰ μυρίους τούτων  
 κεκριμένους ἄρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, εἶτα κατὰ χιλίους,  
 διαιρήσεις δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ  
 71 πάλιν εἰς ἑκατόν, εἴτ' εἰς πεντήκοντα· ἄρχοντάς  
 τε ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεις, οἱ κατὰ τριάκοντα μερι-  
 σθέντας διακοσμήσουσι καὶ κατὰ εἴκοσι καὶ κατὰ

immersed in the turmoil of affairs. For he used to decide the disputes of those who sought his aid, and all came to him, thinking that only so would they obtain justice, if they had him for their arbitrator; even the unsuccessful made light of failure, convinced that it was justice and not cupidity that determined their fate. At the moment Raguel held his peace, loth to hinder any who would avail themselves of the talents of their chief; but, once quit of the tumult, he took him aside and, closeted with him, instructed him what he ought to do. He advised him to depute to others the tedium of the petty cases and to reserve his own oversight to the more important and to the welfare of the community; for other capable Hebrews could be found to sit in judgement, but to watch over the welfare of such myriads was a task which no other could perform save a Moses. "Conscious, then, of thine own merits," said he, "and what a part thou hast to play in the salvation of the people by ministering to God, suffer them to commit to others the arbitration of disputes; and do thou devote thyself solely and continuously to attendance upon God, searching by what means thou mayest deliver the people from their present straits. Follow but my advice on mundane matters, and thou wilt review thy army diligently and divide it into groups of ten thousand men, over whom thou wilt appoint selected chiefs, then into thousands; next thou wilt proceed to divide these into groups of five hundred, and these again into hundreds and fifties.<sup>a</sup> [Thou wilt moreover appoint officers over these to marshal them in sections of thirty, of twenty,

Raguel's  
advice to  
Moses.  
Ex. xviii. 13

<sup>a</sup> In Ex. xviii. 21 the division is into groups of 1000, 100, 50, and 10.

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- δέκα συναριθμουμένους, ἔστω δέ τις ἐπὶ τούτοις εἷς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀριθμοῦ λαμβάνων, δοκιμασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλή-  
 72 θους παντὸς εἶναι ἀγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, οἳ περὶ τε τῶν διαφορῶν<sup>1</sup> αὐτοῖς κρινοῦσι κἂν ἦ τι μείζον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τὴν περὶ τούτου διάγνωσιν ἐπανοίσουσιν· ἂν δὲ κάκείνους διαφύγη τὸ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος δύσκολον, ἐπὶ σέ τοῦτο ἀναπέμψουσιν. ἔσται γὰρ οὕτως ἀμφότερα· καὶ τῶν δικαίων Ἑβραῖοι τεύξονται καὶ σὺ τῷ θεῷ προσεδρεύων εὐμενέστερον ἂν ποιήσεις αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ.”
- 73 (2) Ταῦτα Ῥαγουήλου παραινέσαντος Μωυσῆς ἀσμένως προσήκατο τὴν συμβουλίαν καὶ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τὴν ἐκείνου, τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀποκρυσιάμενος οὐδὲ σφετερισάμενος αὐτήν, ἀλλὰ ποιήσας φανερόν τὸν ἐξευρηκότα τῷ  
 74 πλήθει. κἂν τοῖς βιβλίοις δὲ Ῥαγουήλον ἔγραψεν ὡς εὐρηκότα τὴν διάταξιν τὴν προειρημένην, καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγούμενος τᾶληθῆ μαρτυρεῖν τοῖς ἀξίοις, εἰ καὶ δόξαν ἔμελλε φέρειν ἐπιγραφομένῳ τὰ ὑπὸ ἄλλων εὐρημένα, ὥστε τὴν Μωυσέος ἀρετὴν κακ τούτου καταμαθεῖν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης εὐκαίρως ἐν ἄλλοις τῆς γραφῆς δηλώσομεν.
- 75 (v. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ συγκαλέσας τὴν πληθὺν αὐτὸς μὲν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀπέρχεσθαι τὸ Σιναῖον ἔλεγεν ὡς συνεσόμενος τῷ θεῷ καὶ τι λαβὼν παρ’ αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον<sup>2</sup> ἐπανήξων πρὸς αὐτούς, ἐκείνους δ’

<sup>1</sup> ML: διαφορῶν *rell.*

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τινα λαβῶν . . . χρησιμὸν SP.

<sup>a</sup> This sentence is excluded from the text by M. Weill. As he remarks, it is difficult to reconcile the groups of 30 and 352

and of ten all told.]<sup>a</sup> Let each group have its own chief, taking his title from the number of men under his command; let them be approved by the whole multitude as upright and just persons, who are to sit in judgement on their differences, and in graver cases are to refer the decision to the higher officials. Then, if these too are baffled by the difficulty of the case, they shall send it up to thee. This will secure two things: the Hebrews will obtain justice, and thou, by assiduous attendance upon God, wilt belike render Him more propitious to the army.”

(2) Raguel having tendered this advice, Moses gladly accepted it and acted in accordance with his suggestion, neither concealing the origin of the practice nor claiming it as his own, but openly avowing the inventor to the multitude. Nay, in the books too he recorded the name of Raguel, as inventor of the aforesaid system, deeming it meet to bear faithful witness to merit, whatever glory might be won by taking credit for the inventions of others. Thus even herefrom may one learn the integrity of Moses<sup>b</sup>; but of that we shall have abundant occasion to speak in other parts of this work.

Moses  
frankly  
adopts it.  
Ex. xviii. 24.

(v. 1) Moses now, having convoked the assembly, told them that he himself was departing to Mount Sinai, intending to commune with God and, after receiving from Him somewhat of profit,<sup>c</sup> to return

Moses  
ascends  
Mount  
Sinai.  
Ib. xix. 2 f.

20 with those of 50, unless we may suppose that each 50 was subdivided into smaller groups of 30 and 20. The groups of 10 alone have warrant in Scripture.

<sup>b</sup> Rabbinical tradition pays a similar tribute to Moses (*Sifré* quoted by Weill). Cf. a similar commendation on his integrity in recording, without appropriating, the prophecies of Balaam, *A. iv.* 157 f.

<sup>c</sup> Or, with the other reading, “some oracle.”

ἐκέλευσε πλησίον μετασκηῶσαι τῷ ὄρει τὴν  
 76 γεινίασιν τοῦ θεοῦ προτιμήσαντας. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν  
 ἀνῆει' πρὸς τὸ Σιναῖον, ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκεί-  
 νοῖς τοῖς χωρίοις ὄρων τυγχάνον καὶ διὰ τὴν  
 ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ  
 ἀπότομον ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀναβατὸν ἀλλ'  
 οὐδὲ ὄραθῆναι δίχα πόνου τῆς ὄψεως δυνάμενον,  
 ἄλλως τε διὰ τὸ λόγον εἶναι περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐν  
 77 αὐτῷ διατρίβειν φοβερὸν καὶ ἀπρόσιτον. Ἑβραῖ-  
 οὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς Μωυσέος ἐντολὰς μετεσκήνουν  
 καὶ τὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ ὄρους κατελαμβάνοντο,  
 ἡρμένοι ταῖς διανοίαις ὡς μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας  
 τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἣν προύτεινεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπανήξοντος  
 78 Μωυσέος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐορτάζοντες δὲ τὸν  
 στρατηγὸν περιέμενον ἀγνεύοντες τὴν τε ἄλλην  
 ἀγνείαν καὶ ἀπὸ συνουσίας τῆς γυναικῶν ἡμέρας  
 τρεῖς, καθὼς ἐκεῖνος αὐτοῖς προεῖπε, καὶ παρα-  
 καλοῦντες τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ συμβάλλοντα Μωυσεῖ  
 δοῦναι δωρεάν, ὑφ' ἧς εὖ βιώσονται. ταῖς τ' οὖν  
 διαίταις ἐχρῶντο πολυτελεστέραις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ  
 γυναιξὶν ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις ἐκπρεπῶς<sup>2</sup> ἥσκηντο.  
 79 (2) Ἐπὶ δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας εὐωχούμενοι διῆγον,  
 τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πρὶν ἢ τὸν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν νεφέλη τε  
 ὑπερίζανε<sup>3</sup> τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου τῶν Ἑβραί-  
 ων, οὐ πρότερον τοῦτο ἰδόντων γενόμενον, καὶ  
 τὸ χωρίον οὐ τὰς σκηναὶς ἦσαν πεποιημένοι περι-  
 80 ἔγραφε, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παντὸς ἐν αἰθρία τυγ-  
 χάνοντος ἄνεμοί τε σφοδροὶ λάβρον κινοῦντες  
 ὑετὸν κατήγιζον, ἀστραπαί τε ἦσαν φοβεραὶ τοῖς  
 ὄρωσι, καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατενεχθέντες ἐδήλουν τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἀνεῖσι SP.<sup>2</sup> RME: εὐπρεπῶς tell.<sup>3</sup> ὑπεράνω ἀνέσχε RO.

to them ; for their part, he bade them transfer their camp close to the mount, in honour preferring the neighbourhood of God. Having spoken thus, he went up to Sinai, which was the highest of the mountains in those regions, having proportions so massive and cliffs so precipitous as put it not only beyond men's power to scale but even to contemplate without tiring the eye ; still more did the rumour of God's sojourning thereon render it awful and unapproachable. However the Hebrews, in compliance with the behests of Moses, shifted their camp and occupied the foot of the mountain, exulting in the thought that Moses would return from God's presence with that promise of blessings which he had led them to expect. In festal fashion they awaited their leader,<sup>a</sup> practising purity in general and abstaining in particular from union with their wives for three days, as he had enjoined upon them, while beseeching God to be gracious in His converse with Moses and to grant him a gift which would promote their happiness. Withal they partook of more sumptuous fare and arrayed themselves, along with their wives and children, in splendid attire.

(2) So for two days they continued in festivity. But on the third, before the sun arose, a cloud settled down over the whole camp of the Hebrews, who had seen not the like before, enveloping the spot whereon they had pitched their tents ; and, while all the rest of heaven remained serene, blustering winds, bringing tempestuous rain, came sweeping down, lightning terrified the beholders, and thunderbolts hurled from

<sup>a</sup> In Exodus Moses descends from the mount to give instructions for this " sanctification " of the people.

παρουσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οἷς Μωυσῆς ἤθελεν<sup>1</sup> εὐμενοῦς  
 81 παρατυχόντος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς βούλεται  
 φρονεῖτω ἕκαστος τῶν ἐντευξομένων, ἐμοὶ δὲ  
 ἀνάγκη ταῦτα ἱστορεῖν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς  
 βίβλοις ἀναγράφεται. τοὺς γε μὴν<sup>2</sup> Ἑβραίους τά  
 τε ὀρώμενα καὶ ὁ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσβάλλων ψόφος  
 82 δεινῶς ἐτάραττεν, ἀήθεις τε γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ  
 ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄρους διαπεφοιτηκῶς λόγος ὡς εἰς  
 αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοιτῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ σφόδρα τὴν διά-  
 νοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέπληττε. κατεῖχον δ' αὐτοὺς πρὸς  
 ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὸν τε Μωυσῆν ἀπ-  
 ολωλέναι νομίζοντες ὑπ' ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ  
 αὐτῶν ὅμοια προσδοκῶντες.  
 83 (3) Οὕτως δ' αὐτῶν διακειμένων ἐπιφαίνεται  
 Μωυσῆς γαῦρός τε καὶ μέγα φρονῶν. ὀφθείς τε  
 οὖν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ δέους αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ  
 τῶν μελλόντων κρείττονας ὑπετίθετο τὰς ἐλπίδας,  
 αἰθριός τε καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ ἀῆρ τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου  
 84 παθῶν ἦν Μωυσέος παραγεγονότος. ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 οὖν συγκαλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀκουσόμε-  
 νον ὧν ὁ θεὸς εἶποι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ συναθροισθέν-  
 των στὰς ἐπὶ ὑψηλοῦ τινος, ὅθεν ἔμελλον πάντες  
 ἀκούσασθαι, “ὁ μὲν θεός,” εἶπεν, “ὦ Ἑβραῖοι,  
 καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εὐμενῆς προσεδέξατό με  
 καὶ βίον τε ὑμῖν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολιτείας κόσμον  
 85 πεδον. πρὸς γοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ δι'  
 ἐκείνον ἡμῖν ἤδη πέπρακται, μὴ καταφρονήσητε  
 τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν λέγοντα ἀφορῶντες  
 μηδ' ὅτι γλῶττα [ταῦτα] ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς  
 λέγει, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατανοήσαντες ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἔχαιρεν RO.

<sup>2</sup> γε μὴν E: τε (γε, δέ) rell.



aloft signified the advent of God propitious to the desires of Moses. Of these happenings each of my readers may think as he will <sup>a</sup>; for my part, I am constrained to relate them as they are recorded in the sacred books. As for the Hebrews, the sights that they saw and the din that struck their ears sorely disquieted them, for they were unaccustomed thereto and the rumour current concerning this mountain, that here was the very resort of God, deeply dismayed their minds. They kept to their tents, dispirited, imagining that Moses had perished beneath the wrath of God and expecting a like fate for themselves.

(3) Such was their mood when suddenly Moses appeared, radiant and high-hearted. The mere sight of him rid them of their terrors and prompted brighter hopes for the future; the air too became serene and purged of its recent disturbances on the arrival of Moses. Thereupon he summoned the people to assembly to hear what God had said to him, and, when all were collected, he stood on an eminence whence all might hear him and "Hebrews," said he, "God, as of yore, has received me graciously and, having dictated for you rules for a blissful life and an ordered government, is coming Himself into the camp. In His name, then, and in the name of all that through Him has already been wrought for us, scorn not the words now to be spoken, through looking only on me, the speaker, or by reason that it is a human tongue that addresses you. Nay, mark but their excellence and ye will discern the

Return of  
Moses, and  
his address  
to the  
people.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *A.* i. 108 note.

<sup>b</sup> No parallel in Scripture.

γνώσεσθε καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ νενοηκότος καὶ ἐπὶ  
 συμφέροντι τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ φθονήσαντος  
 86 εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ Μωυσῆς ὁ Ἀμαράμου καὶ Ἰω-  
 χαβάδης<sup>1</sup> υἱός, ἀλλ' ὁ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀναγκάσας  
 ἡματωμένον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ῥύηται καὶ ποικίλοις  
 δαμάσας κακοῖς τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φρόνημα, ὁ διὰ  
 θαλάσσης ὁδὸν ὑμῖν<sup>2</sup> παρασχών, ὁ καὶ τροφὴν ἐξ  
 οὐρανοῦ μηχανησάμενος ἔλθειν ἀπορουμένοις, ὁ  
 87 ποτὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀναβλύσας σπανίζουσι, δι' ὃν  
 Ἄδαμος τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς τε καρπῶν καὶ θαλάσσης  
 μεταλαμβάνει, δι' ὃν Νῶχος ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας  
 διέφυγε, δι' ὃν Ἀβραμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος ἐξ  
 ἀλήτου τὴν Χαναναίαν κατέσχε γῆν, δι' ὃν Ἰσακος  
 γηραιοῖς ἐτέχθη γονεῦσι, δι' ὃν Ἰάκωβος δώδεκα  
 παιδῶν ἀρεταῖς ἐκοσμήθη, δι' ὃν Ἰώσηπος ἐδεσπό-  
 τευσε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δυνάμεως, οὗτος ὑμῖν τού-  
 τους χαρίζεται τοὺς λόγους δι' ἔρμηνέως ἐμοῦ.  
 88 σεβάσμιμοι δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθωσαν καὶ παιδῶν περι-  
 μαχητότεροι καὶ γυναικῶν· εὐδαίμονα γὰρ διάξετε  
 βίον τούτοις ἐπόμειοι καὶ γῆς ἀπολαύοντες καρπί-  
 μου καὶ θαλάσσης ἀχειμάστου καὶ τέκνων γονῆς  
 κατὰ φύσιν τικτομένων καὶ πολεμίοις ἔσεσθε  
 φοβεροί· τῷ θεῷ γὰρ εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθων ἀκροατῆς  
 ἀφθάρτου φωνῆς ἐγενόμην· οὕτως ἐκείνῳ τοῦ  
 γένους ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς τούτου μέλει διαμονῆς.”  
 89 (†) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν προάγει τὸν λαὸν γυναιξὶν  
 ὁμοῦ καὶ τέκνοις, ὡς ἀκούσαιεν τοῦ θεοῦ δια-  
 λεγομένου πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, ἵνα  
 μὴ βλαβείῃ τῶν λεγομένων ἢ ἀρετὴ ὑπὸ ἀνθρω-  
 πίνης γλώττης ἀσθενῶς εἰς γνώσιν αὐτοῖς παρα-  
 90 διδομένη. πάντες τε ἤκουον φωνῆς ὑψόθεν παρα-  
 γενομένης<sup>3</sup> εἰς ἅπαντας, ὡς διαφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν

majesty of Him who conceived them and, for your profit, disdained not to speak them to me. For it is not Moses, son of Amaram and Jochabad, but He who constrained the Nile to flow for your sake a blood-red stream and tamed with divers plagues the pride of the Egyptians, He who opened for you a path through the sea, He who caused meat to descend from heaven when ye were destitute, water to gush from the rock when ye lacked it, He thanks to whom Adam partook of the produce of land and sea, Noah escaped the deluge, Abraham our forefather passed from wandering to settle in the land of Canaan, He who caused Isaac to be born of aged parents, Jacob to be graced by the virtues of twelve sons, Joseph to become lord of the Egyptians' might—He it is who favours you with these commandments, using me for interpreter. Let them be had by you in veneration : battle for them more jealously than for children and wives. For blissful will be your life, do ye but follow these : ye will enjoy a fruitful earth, a sea unvext by tempest, a breed of children born in nature's way, and ye will be redoubtable to your foes. For I have been admitted to a sight of God, I have listened to an immortal voice : such care hath He for our race and for its perpetuation."

(4) That said, he made the people advance with their wives and children, to hear God speak to them of their duties, to the end that the excellence of the spoken words might not be impaired by human tongue in being feebly transmitted to their knowledge. And all heard a voice which came from on high to the ears of all, in such wise that not one of those ten words

Delivery of  
the Deca-  
logue.  
Ex. xix. 17,  
xx. 1.

<sup>1</sup> Ἰωχαβέλης SPL (Lat. Iochobel).

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: ἡμῶν codd.

<sup>3</sup> παραγινομένης E.

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δέκα<sup>1</sup> λόγων οὐς Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς δύο πλαξὶ γεγραμμένους κατέλιπεν· οὐς οὐ θεμιτόν ἐστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν φανερώς πρὸς λέξιν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν δηλώσομεν.

- 91 (5) Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἐστιν εἷς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζώου ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν· ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαύλω τὸν θεὸν ὀμνύειν· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος παρατηρεῖν τὰς
- 92 ἑβδομάδας ἀναπαυομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος γονεῖς τιμᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἕκτος ἀπέχεσθαι φόνου· ὁ δὲ ἕβδομος μὴ μοιχεύειν· ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος μὴ κλοπὴν δρᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἕνατος μὴ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν· ὁ δὲ δέκατος μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιθυμίαν λαμβάνειν.
- 93 (6) Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος [ὡς] ἀκροασάμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν Μωυσῆς διελέχθη χαῖρον ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοῦ συλλόγου διελύθη, ταῖς δ' ἐφεξῆς<sup>2</sup> φοιτῶντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἤξιουν αὐτὸν
- 94 καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζειν. ὁ δὲ τούτους τε τίθεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων ὃν ἂν πραχθεῖν τρόπον ἐν τοῖς αὐθις ἀπεσήμαινε χρόνοις, ὧν μνησθήσομαι κατὰ καιρὸν οἰκεῖον. τοὺς δὲ πλείονας τῶν νόμων εἰς ἑτέραν ἀνατίθεμαι γραφὴν, ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησόμενος ἀφήγησιν.
- 95 (7) Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων ὁ Μωυσῆς πάλιν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος ἀνῆει προειπῶν
- <sup>1</sup> τῶν δέκα conj. Niese: καὶ codd. (probably through misreading of τῶν ἰ').
- <sup>2</sup> RO: ἐξῆς rell.

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<sup>a</sup> Rabbinical literature is said to furnish no parallel for this scruple (Weill).

<sup>b</sup> The introductory verse of Exodus (xx. 2, "I am the

escaped them which Moses has left inscribed on the two tables. These words it is not permitted us to state explicitly, to the letter,<sup>a</sup> but we will indicate their purport.

(5) The first word teaches us that God is one <sup>b</sup> and that He only must be worshipped. The second commands us to make no image of any living creature for adoration, the third not to swear by God on any frivolous matter, the fourth to keep every seventh day by resting from all work, the fifth to honour our parents, the sixth to refrain from murder, the seventh not to commit adultery, the eighth not to steal, the ninth not to bear false witness, the tenth to covet nothing that belongs to another.

Summary  
of the  
Decalogue.

(6) The people, having thus heard from the very mouth of God that of which Moses had told them, rejoicing in these commandments dispersed from the assembly. But on the following days, resorting oft to their leader's tent, they besought him to bring them laws also from God.<sup>c</sup> And he both established these laws and in after times indicated how they should act in all circumstances. Of these ordinances I shall make mention in due time ; the major portion of the laws, however, I reserve for another work, intending to make them the subject of a special treatise.<sup>d</sup>

The  
Hebrews  
ask for a  
code.

(7) Such was the position of affairs when Moses again went up into Mount Sinai, after forewarning

Lord thy God. . . .") is treated as part of the first commandment : *cf.* our Prayer-book version.

<sup>c</sup> This seems to correspond to Ex. xx. 19, " And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us and we will hear : but let not God speak with us, lest we die." The verb "*bring* (them laws)" is thus emphatic.

<sup>d</sup> *Cf.* A. i. 25 note.

## JOSEPHUS

- τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, βλέπόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἄνοδον. καὶ χρόνου τριβομένου, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ἡμέρας διήγαγεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, δέος εἶχε τοὺς Ἑβραίους, μή τι Μωυσῆς πάθοι, καὶ τῶν συντυχόντων δεινῶν οὐκ ἔστιν ὁ οὕτως ἐλύπησεν αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ
- 96 νομίζειν Μωυσῆν ἀπολωλέναι. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔρις, τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι λεγόντων θηρίοις περιπεσόντα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθῶς ἦσαν διακεείμενοι ταύτην τὴν ψῆφον ἔφερον,
- 97 τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνακεχωρηκένας· τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ μηδέτερον τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβάνοντας ἰδίαν, καὶ τὸ θηρίοις περιπεσόντα ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπινον ἡγουμένους καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι διὰ τὴν προσοῦσαν ἀρετὴν εἰκὸς νομίζοντας, πράως ἔχειν οὗτος
- 98 ὁ λογισμὸς ἐποίει. προστάτου δὲ ἡρημῶσθαι καὶ κηδεμόνος ὑπολαμβάνοντες, οἷου τυχεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλον δύναντο, σφόδρα λυπούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ οὔτε πενθεῖν<sup>1</sup> αὐτούς εἶα τὸ προσδοκᾶν τι χρηστὸν περὶ τὰνδρὸς οὔτε μὴ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ κατηφεῖν ἠδύναντο. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐθάρρουν μεταίγειν Μωυσέος αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παραμένειν προειρηκότος.
- 99 (8) Ἦδη δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν διεληλυθειῶν καὶ τοσοῦτων νυκτῶν παρῆν οὐδενὸς σιτίου τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις νενομισμένων γεγευμένος. χαρᾶς δ' ἐνέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφανείς, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> edd.: ὑπονοεῖν eodd.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *A.* iv. 326.

<sup>b</sup> Or (with the mss.) "suspect (any harm)."

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xxxiv. 28, "He did neither eat bread nor drink water." Josephus combines the *two* periods of forty days on the mount and deliberately omits the episode of the

the Hebrews, before whose eyes he made the ascent. Then, as time dragged on—for he was full forty days parted from them—a fear seized the Hebrews that something had befallen Moses, and of all the horrors that they had encountered none so deeply distressed them as the thought that Moses had perished. There was a conflict of opinions : some said that he had fallen a victim to wild beasts—it was principally those who were ill disposed towards him who voted for that view—others that he had been taken back to the divinity.<sup>a</sup> But the sober-minded, who found no private satisfaction in either statement—who held that to die under the fangs of beasts was a human accident, and that he should be translated by God to Himself by reason of his inherent virtue was likely enough—were moved by these reflections to retain their composure. Imagining themselves, however, to have been bereft of a patron and protector, the like of whom they could never meet again, they continued in the deepest distress ; and while their earnest expectation of some good news of their hero would not permit them to mourn,<sup>b</sup> so neither could they restrain their grief and dejection. Nor durst they break up the camp, Moses having charged them to abide there.

(8) At length, when forty days had passed and as many nights, he came, having tasted of no food of such sort as is customary with men.<sup>c</sup> His appearance filled the army with joy ; and he proceeded to dis-

golden calf (Ex. xxxii) with the sequel, in order to avoid giving any handle to the malicious fables about the Jews current in his day (their alleged cult of an ass, etc., *contra Apionem, passim*). He has promised to omit nothing (*A.* i. 17) and, as a rule, includes the discreditable incidents in his nation's history : this is the most glaring exception.

Moses' second absence for forty days creates rumours of his death. (*cf.* Ex. xxxii. 1.

Moses returns with the tables of the Law. *Ib.* 15.

## JOSEPHUS

τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἦν εἶχε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεδή-  
 λου, τὸν τε τρόπον καθ' ὃν εὐδαιμονήσουσι πολι-  
 τευόμενοι λέγων αὐτῷ κατὰ ταύτας ὑποθέσθαι τὶς  
 100 ἡμέρας, καὶ σκηνὴν ὅτι βούλεται γενέσθαι αὐτῷ,  
 εἰς ἣν κάτεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενος, "ὅπως  
 καὶ μεταβαίνοντες ἀλλαχοῦ ταύτην ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ  
 μηκέτι δεώμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ἀνόδου, ἀλλ'  
 αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τῇ σκηνῇ παρατυγχάνη ταῖς  
 101 ἡμετέραις εὐχαῖς. γενήσεται δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ μέτροις  
 τε καὶ κατασκευῇ οἷς αὐτὸς ὑπέδειξεν ὑμῶν  
 ἀόκνως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ ἔργον." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν  
 δύο πλάκας αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐγγεγραμμένους  
 ἐχούσας τοὺς δέκα λόγους, ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ πέντε.  
 καὶ χεὶρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

102 (vi. 1) Οἱ δὲ χαίροντες οἷς τε ἑώρων καὶ οἷς  
 ἤκουον τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν  
 σπουδῆς οὐκ ἀπελείποντο, ἀλλ' εἰσέφερον ἄργυρόν  
 τε καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκόν, ξύλα τε τῆς καλλίστης  
 ὕλης καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σήψεως παθεῖν δυνάμενα,  
 αἰγείου τε τρίχας καὶ δορὰς προβάτων τὰς μὲν  
 ὑακίνθῳ βεβαμμένας τὰς δὲ φοίνικι· αἱ δὲ πορ-  
 φύρας ἄνθος, ἕτεραι δὲ λευκὴν παρείχον τὴν χροάν·  
 103 ἔριά τε τοῖς προειρημένοις ἄνθεσι μεμολυσμένα  
 καὶ λίνου βύσσον λίθους τε τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένους,  
 οὓς χρυσίῳ καθειργνύντες ἄνθρωποι κόσμῳ χρῶν-  
 ται πολυτελεῖ, θυμιαμάτων τε πλήθος συνέφερον·

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<sup>a</sup> Not stated in Scripture. For the conflicting Rabbinical traditions on the subject of the arrangement of the ten commandments on the two tables see M. Weill's note: the view



close the care which God had for them, telling them that He had during these days shown him that manner of government which would promote their happiness, and that He desired that a tabernacle should be made for Him, whither He would descend whensoever He came among them, "to the intent," said he, "that when we move elsewhere we may take this with us and have no more need to ascend to Sinai, but that He himself, frequenting the tabernacle, may be present at our prayers. This tabernacle shall be fashioned of the dimensions and with the equipment which He himself has indicated, and ye are diligently to apply yourselves to the task." Having so said, he showed them two tables on which were graven the ten words, five on either of them <sup>a</sup>; and the writing thereon was from the hand of God.

EX. xxv. 8 f.

Cf. *ib.* xxxl. 18, xxxii. 15 f.

(vi. 1) And they, rejoicing alike at what they had seen and at what they had heard from their general, failed not to show all the zeal of which they were capable. They brought their silver and gold and bronze, timber of the finest quality liable to no injury from rot,<sup>b</sup> goats' hair and sheepskins, some dyed blue, others crimson,<sup>c</sup> some displaying the sheen of purple, others of a pure white hue. They brought moreover wool dyed with the selfsame colours and fine linen cloth, with precious stones worked into the fabrics, such as men set in gold and use as ornaments of costly price, along with a mass of spices.

THE TABER-  
NACLE: its  
materials.  
*ib.* xxxv. 5  
(with xxv.  
2).

expressed by Josephus was shared by R. Hanina (early 2nd cent.). For a further detail added by Josephus see § 138.

<sup>b</sup> Ex. xxv. 5, "acacia wood" (Heb. *shittim*): Josephus follows the interpretation of the LXX (ξυλα ἄσηπτα).

<sup>c</sup> In Exodus "scarlet."

- ἐκ γὰρ τοιαύτης ὕλης κατεσκεύασε τὴν σκηνὴν.  
 ἢ δ' οὐδὲν μεταφερομένου καὶ συμπερινοστούντος  
 104 ναοῦ διέφερε. τούτων οὖν κατὰ σπουδὴν συγ-  
 κομισθέντων, ἐκάστου καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν φιλο-  
 τιμησαμένου, ἀρχιτέκτονας τοῖς ἔργοις ἐφίστησι κατ'  
 ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὓς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἂν ἐπελέξατο  
 105 τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένης. τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα  
 αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις ἀναγέγρα-  
 πται, ταῦτ' ἦν· Βασάηλος [μὲν] Οὐρὶ παῖς τῆς Ἰούδα  
 φυλῆς νίωνός<sup>1</sup> δὲ Μαρριάμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ  
 στρατηγοῦ, Ἐλίβαζος δὲ Ἰσαμάχου Δάνιδος φυλῆς.  
 106 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὕτως ὑπὸ προθυμίας τοῖς ἐγχειρου-  
 μένοις ἐπῆλθεν, ὥστε Μωυσῆς ἀνεῖρξεν αὐτοὺς  
 ὑποκηρυξάμενος ἀρκεῖν τοὺς ὄντας· τοῦτο γὰρ οἱ  
 δημιουργοὶ προειρήκεσαν· ἐχώρουν οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς  
 107 σκηνῆς κατασκευὴν, καὶ Μωυσῆς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα  
 περὶ τῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν ὑπόθηκην τοῦ θεοῦ  
 καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ὅσα τε δεῖ σκευὴ χωρεῖν αὐτὴν  
 ἀνεδίδασκε πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ὑπηρετήσοντα. ἐφιλο-  
 τιμοῦντο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες περὶ τε στολὰς ἱερατικὰς  
 καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔχρηζε τὸ ἔργον κόσμου τε  
 καὶ λειτουργίας ἕνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ.
- 108 (2) Πάντων δ' ἐν ἐτοιμίῳ γεγενημένων χρυσοῦ  
 τε [καὶ ἀργύρου]<sup>2</sup> καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν ὑφαντῶν,  
 προειπῶν ἑορτὴν Μωυσῆς καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὴν  
 ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἴστη τὴν σκηνὴν, πρῶτον μὲν  
 αἶθριον διαμετρησάμενος τὸ μὲν εὖρος πεντήκοντα

<sup>1</sup> Bernard: υἱὸς codd.<sup>2</sup> ins. Lat.: om. codd.<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Bezalel.<sup>b</sup> mss. erroneously "son." Exodus mentions his grandfather Hur, and Hur according to Josephus was the husband of Miriam (§ 54).<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Oholiab (LXX Ἐλιάβ), son of Ahisamach.

For of such materials did Moses construct the tabernacle, which indeed was no other than a portable and itinerant temple. These objects, then, being promptly assembled, each having emulously contributed what he could and more, he appointed architects for the works, in accordance with the commandment of God, yet those whom the people too would have chosen had they been empowered to do so. Their names—for these are recorded also in the holy books—were Basael.<sup>a</sup> son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, grandson <sup>b</sup> of Mariamme, the sister of the chief, and Elibaz, son of Isamach,<sup>c</sup> of the tribe of Dan. The people, for their part, showed such ardour in volunteering for the task in hand, that Moses restrained them, having proclamation made that there were enough <sup>d</sup> already, for so had the craftsmen told him. They proceeded then to construct the tabernacle, while Moses, in accordance with the prompting of God, instructed them on every detail concerning its measurements, its compass, and what objects it must contain for the service of the sacrifices. Women themselves vied with one another in providing priestly vestments and all else that the work demanded for its adornment and for the ministry of God.

Ex. xxxi. 2

Ib. xxxvi. 5

Ib. xxxv. 2

(2) When all was in readiness—gold, silver, bronze, and fabrics—Moses, having first given orders for a feast and sacrifices according to every man's ability, proceeded to set up the tabernacle. He began by measuring out a court, in breadth fifty cubits and in

The court enclosing the tabernacle. Ib. xl. 17.

Ib. xxvii. 9

<sup>a</sup> In Exodus the reference is to the superabundant offerings, in Josephus to the surplus of volunteers for the work (τοὺς ἑντάς): the old Latin version of Josephus conforms to the Hebrew, "ca quae data fuissent."

- 109 πηχῶν ἑκατὸν δὲ τὸ μῆκος. κάμακας δὲ ἔστησε  
 χαλκίας πενταπήχεις τὸ ὕψος καθ' ἑκατέραν  
 πλευρὰν εἴκοσι τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων, δέκα δὲ τῶν  
 ἐν πλάτει κειμένων τῆς κατόπιν, κρίκοι δὲ τῶν  
 καμάκων ἐκάστη προσῆσαν. . . . κιονόκρανα μὲν  
 ἀργύρεα, βάσεις δὲ χρυσαῖ<sup>1</sup> σαυρωτῆρσιν ἐμφερεῖς,  
 110 χαλκαῖ δὲ ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρηρσιμέναι. ἐξ-  
 ἤπτετο δὲ τῶν κρίκων καλώδια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἤλων  
 χαλκίων πηχυαίων τὸ μέγεθος ἐκδεδεμένα, οἱ  
 καθ' ἐκάστην κάμακα παρέντες κατὰ τοῦ ἐδά-  
 φους ἀκίνητον ὑπὸ βίας ἀνέμων τὴν σκηνην ἔμελ-  
 λον παρέξειν. σινδῶν δ' ἐκ βύσσου ποικιλωτάτη<sup>2</sup>  
 διὰ πασῶν ἐπήει, ἀπὸ τοῦ κιονοκράνου κατιοῦσα  
 μέχρι τῆς βάσεως πολλὴ κεχυμένη, περιφράττουσα  
 ἅπαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ χωρίον, ὡς μηδὲν δοκεῖν τείχους  
 111 διαφέρειν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν εἶχον αἱ τρεῖς πλευραὶ  
 τοῦ περιβόλου· τῆς δὲ τετάρτης πλευρᾶς, πεντή-  
 κοντα γὰρ οὔσα πήχεων ἢ ἑτέρα μέτωπον τοῦ  
 παντὸς ἦν, εἴκοσι μὲν πήχεις ἀνεώγεσαν κατὰ  
 πύλας, ἐν αἷς ἀνὰ δύο κάμακες εἰστήκεσαν κατὰ  
 112 μίμησιν πυλώνων. ὄλαις δ' αὐταῖς ἄργυρος ἦν  
 ἐπικεχαλκευμένος<sup>3</sup> πάρεξ τῶν βάσεων· χαλκαῖ γὰρ  
 ἦσαν. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ πυλώνος τρεῖς κάμακες  
 ἦσαν ἐστῶσαι, αἱ τοῖς πυλούχοις ἐμβεβήκεσαν  
 ἐρηρσιμέναι, καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν δὲ βύσσινον ὕψος  
 113 σινδόνος ἦν περιηγμένον. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας,  
 μῆκος μὲν ὄν πήχεων εἴκοσι πέντε δὲ βάθος,<sup>4</sup> ὕψος  
 ἦν πορφύρας φοίνικος σὺν ὑακίνθῳ καὶ βύσσῳ  
 πεποιημένον πολλῶν αὐτῷ συνανθούτων καὶ

<sup>1</sup> (?) χρυσοῖς (cf. Hdt. vii. 41).

<sup>2</sup> μαλακωτάτη MSP Lat.

<sup>3</sup> ἐπικεχαλκωμένος codd.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: μῆκους μὲν ὄντος . . . βάθους codd.

length a hundred. Then he erected shafts of bronze fifty cubits high, twenty on each of the two longer sides, and ten broadwise on the rearward side, rings being attached to every shaft. Their capitals were of silver, their sockets, gilded and resembling the spikes<sup>a</sup> of lances, were of bronze and firmly planted in the soil. To the rings were attached cords, whose other end was made fast to pegs of bronze, a cubit long, which were driven into the ground over against each shaft, to render the tabernacle motionless under the pressure of the winds. A cloth of fine linen of most intricate texture<sup>b</sup> crowned all these shafts, depending from capital to base with ample sweep, compassing the whole place about in such wise that it seemed no other than a wall. Such was the aspect of the three sides of the enclosure. On the fourth side—this last, of fifty cubits length, formed the front of the whole structure—there was an opening of twenty cubits gatewise, where on the one side and on the other stood two shafts in imitation of pylons<sup>c</sup>; these shafts were entirely overlaid with silver except their bases, which were of bronze. On either side of this porch stood three shafts, which were attached<sup>d</sup> to the uprights supporting the gates and firmly secured; and from these too hung a curtain woven of fine linen wrapping them about. But before the gates, extending to a length of twenty cubits and a height of five, was a tapestry of purple and crimson, interwoven with blue and fine linen, and beautified with

Ex. xxvii.16

<sup>a</sup> Or, with emended text, "resembling the gilded spikes."

<sup>b</sup> The Biblical "fine *twined* linen," *i.e.* "made from yarn of which each thread was composed of many delicate strands" (Driver on Ex. xxv. 4).

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* (?) "gate-pillars."

<sup>d</sup> (?) by transverse beams: Greek "passed into."

## JOSEPHUS

- ποικίλων, ὅποσα μὴ ζώων ἐξετυποῦντο μορφάς.  
 114 ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν πυλῶν περιρραντήριον ἦν χάλκεον  
 ὁμοίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κρηπίδα παρεχόμενον, ἐξ οὗ  
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς χεῖρας ἀποπλύνειν καὶ τῶν ποδῶν  
 καταχεῖν παρῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ αἰθρίου περίβολος  
 τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἦν διακεκοσμημένος.  
 115 (3) Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ἴστησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέσον  
 τετραμμένην πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, ἵνα πρῶτον ὁ  
 ἥλιος ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἀνιῶν ἀφίῃ τὰς ἀκτῖνας. καὶ τὸ  
 μὲν μῆκος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πήχεις ἐγγήγερτο τριάκοντα  
 τὸ δὲ εὖρος ἐπὶ δέκα διειστήκει, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἕτερος  
 τῶν τοίχων νότιος ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἕτερος κατὰ βορέαν  
 ἐτέτραπτο, κατόπιν δ' αὐτῆς ἡ δύσις κατελείπετο.  
 116 ἀνίστασθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἐχρῆν ἐφ' ὅσον προβαῖνοι τὸ  
 εὖρος. κίονες δ' ἦσαν ξύλου πεποιημένοι κατὰ  
 πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν εἴκοσι, τετράγωνοι μὲν τὸ  
 σχῆμα εἰργασμένοι, εἰς δὲ πλάτος διειστώτες  
 πήχεώς τε καὶ ἡμίσεως, τὸ δὲ βάθος δακτύλων  
 117 τεσσάρων. λεπίδες δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπικεχαλκευ-  
 μέναι πανταχόθεν χρυσαῖ διὰ τε τῶν ἔνδοθεν καὶ  
 τῶν ἐκτὸς μερῶν. δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἑκάστῳ προσῆσαν  
 στρόφιγγες ἐλαυνόμενοι κατὰ δύο βάσεων· αὗται  
 δ' ἀργυραῖ μὲν ἦσαν, πυλῖς δ' ἑκατέρα τούτων  
 118 προσῆν δεχομένη τὴν στρόφιγγα. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ  
 δύσιν τοίχου κίονες μὲν ἐξ ἦσαν, συνήεσαν δ'  
 ἀλλήλοις ἀκριβῶς ἅπαντες, ὥστε μεμυκῶτων τῶν  
 ἀρμῶν ὡς ἓνα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοῖχον αὐτῶν τὴν  
 συνέλευσιν, χρύσειον τὰ τε ἔνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκτὸς.  
 119 ἀνηλόγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν κίωνων ἀριθμὸς· εἴκοσι γὰρ

<sup>a</sup> Added detail, not in the Bible : cf. § 126.

<sup>b</sup> Or " in the eastern portion " (not directly in the centre).

<sup>c</sup> Jos. κίονες: Bibl. *kerashim*, LXX *στάλοι*, R.V. "boards,"

many and divers designs, but with nothing representing the forms of animals.<sup>a</sup> Within the gates stood a laver of bronze, on a base of the same material, where the priests could wash their hands and sprinkle water on their feet. Such was the arrangement of the precincts of the outer court. Ex. xxx. 18.

(3) The tabernacle Moses set in the centre of this, facing eastward,<sup>b</sup> in order that the sun, at its rising, should shed its first rays upon it. Its length extended to thirty cubits and its breadth to ten; one of its walls was to the south, the other to the north, and in its rear lay the west. Its height had to be made equal to its breadth. Each of the two sides consisted of twenty pillars<sup>c</sup> of wood, wrought in rectangular form, of the breadth of a cubit and a half and a thickness of four fingers.<sup>d</sup> These were completely coated with plates of gold, on the interior as well as the exterior surfaces. Each of them was provided with two pivots fitting into two sockets; these last were of silver and had each its aperture to admit the pivot.<sup>e</sup> The western wall had six pillars, and all so perfectly united to each other that, the joints being closed up, they seemed to coalesce into a single wall, gilded both within and without. For the number of the pillars was in due proportion.<sup>f</sup> [On the long sides] there were twenty of them, each having a The tabernacle itself :  
the exterior:  
  
Ib. xxvi. 15;  
xxxvi. 20.

now explained as open *frames* with two uprights and cross-rails (A. R. S. Kennedy, art. Tabernacle in Hastings, *D.B.* iv. 660 with illustration).

<sup>a</sup> Thickness not stated in Scripture.

<sup>b</sup> These sockets or bases may be regarded "as square plinths . . . forming a continuous foundation wall round the dwelling" (Kennedy).

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* proportionate to the length of the sides. The Greek text is defective at this point.

- ἦσαν καὶ παρείχε πλάτος \* \* \*<sup>1</sup> τρίτον σπιθαμῆς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὥστε συμπληροῦσθαι τοὺς τριάκοντα πήχεις ὑπ' αὐτῶν· κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθεν τοῖχον, ἐννέα γὰρ πήχεις οἱ ἕξ κίονες παρέχονται συνελθόντες, δὴ ἑτέρους ποιοῦνται κίονας ἐκ πήχεως<sup>2</sup> τετμημένους, οὓς ἐγγωνίους ἔθεσαν ἐπ' ἴσης τοῖς μείζουσιν ἡσκημένους. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν κιόνων κρίκους εἶχε χρυσεύς κατὰ τὸ ἕξω μέτωπον προσφυεῖς ὥσπερ ρίζαις τισὶν ἐμπεπλεγμένους κατὰ στίχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένους<sup>3</sup> τὴν περιφέρειαν, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἐπίχρσοι σκυταλίδες ἐλαυνόμεναι πέντε πήχεων ἑκάστη τὸ μέγεθος σύνδεσμος ἦσαν τῶν κιόνων, ἐμβαινούσης κατὰ κεφαλὴν σκυταλίδος ἑκάστης τῇ ἑτέρα τεχνητῶ
- 121 στρόφιγγι κοχλίου τρόπον δεδημιουργημένῳ. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθεν τοῖχον μία φάλαγξ ἦν διὰ πάντων ἰοῦσα τῶν κιόνων, εἰς ἣν ἐνέβαινον πλάγαι αἱ τελευταῖαι τῶν σκυταλίδων ἐξ ἑκατέρου τοῖχου τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων καὶ κρατεῖσθαι συνέβαιεν αὐταῖς γιγλύμοις τῷ θήλει τοῦ ἄρρενος συνελθόντος. τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸς τὸ μήθ' ὑπὸ ἀνέμων κραδαίνεσθαι μήτ' ἄλλης αἰτίας τὴν σκηνὴν συνεῖχεν, ἀλλ' ἀκίνητον αὐτὴν ἐν ἡρεμίᾳ πολλῇ διαφυλάξειν ἔμελλεν.
- 122 (4) Ἐντὸς δὲ διελῶν τὸ μῆκος αὐτῆς εἰς τρία μέρη μετὰ δέκα πήχεας ἡρμοσμένους ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ

<sup>1</sup> mensuram unius et dimidii cubiti, altitudo Lat.: lacuna in Greek text.

<sup>2</sup> medio cubito Lat.: read perhaps ἐκ πήχεως <β'> τετμημένους; cf. Plato, *Symp.* 191 D τετμημένους ἐξ ἐνὸς δύο.

<sup>3</sup> Text as emended by Bernard after Lat.: κρίκων . . . χρίσειον . . . προσφυῆς . . . ἐμπεπλεγμένος . . . τετραμμένοι codd.



breadth [of one and a half cubits and a thickness] of a third of a span,<sup>a</sup> so that they filled the whole length of thirty cubits. But on the rear wall, where the six pillars conjoined covered but nine cubits, they made two extra pillars, each of half a cubit,<sup>b</sup> which they placed at the angles and adorned in the same fashion as the larger pillars.<sup>c</sup> All these pillars had rings of gold attached to their outer face, fixed to them as it were by roots, and forming a row of parallel circles; and through these passed gilt rods, five cubits long, which served to bind the pillars together, each rod at its extremity entering the next through a nut cunningly wrought in the form of a shell. The rear wall had but a single bar which passed right across all the pillars, and into which were inserted laterally the last of the rods on either of the two long walls and there held fast by screws,<sup>d</sup> the "male" piece fitting into the "female."<sup>e</sup> This secured the tabernacle against agitation by the winds or by other cause and was calculated to keep it unmoved in perfect stability.

Ex. xxvi. 22

Cf. ib. xxvi. 23.

(4) Internally, dividing its length into three portions,<sup>f</sup> at a measured distance of ten cubits from the

The interior

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the four finger-breadths of § 116.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "of a cubit cut (in two)."

<sup>c</sup> The object of these two extra pillars or frames is obscure. "Apparently they are intended to strengthen the two corners . . . the second frame forming a buttress" (Driver on Ex. xxvi. 24).

<sup>d</sup> Something in the nature of a pivot working in a socket is indicated.

<sup>e</sup> Many of these details lack Scriptural authority.

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* dividing the 30 cubits into three equal portions and assigning one portion or 10 cubits to the sanctuary and two portions or 20 cubits to the rest: there was but the one *partition*.

## JOSEPHUS

- τέσσαρας ἴστησι κίονας, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰργασμένους καὶ βάσειν ὁμοίαις ἐπικειμένους, διαλείποντας ἀλλήλων κατ' ὀλίγον. τὸ δ' ἐνδοτέρωθεν<sup>1</sup> αὐτῶν ἄδυτον ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἢ σκηνὴ
- 123 τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀνεῖτο. τὴν μέντοι διαμέτρῃσιν τὴν τοιαύτην τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως συνέβαιεν εἶναι· τὸ μὲν γὰρ τρίτον αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κίωνων, ὃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἦν ἄβατον, ὡς οὐρανὸς ἀνεῖτο τῷ θεῷ, οἱ δ' εἴκοσι πήχεις, ὥσπερ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα βᾶσιμος ἀνθρώποις, οὕτως τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ἐπετέτραπτο.
- 124 κατὰ μέτωπον δέ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν εἴσοδον ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, κίονες ἕστασαν χρύσειοι χαλκείαις βάσειν ἐφεστῶτες τὸν ἀριθμὸν πέντε. κατεπετάννυσαν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ὑφesi βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας ὑακίνθου καὶ φοίνικος βαφῆς συγκεκραμένης.<sup>2</sup>
- 125 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν<sup>3</sup> πήχεων δέκα πανταχόθεν, ᾧ κατεπετάννυσαν τοὺς κίονας, οἱ διαιροῦντες τὸν νεῶν τὸ ἄδυτον ἔνδον αὐτῶν ἀπελάμβανον· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ ποιοῦν αὐτὸ μηδενὶ κάτοπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πᾶς ναὸς ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο, τὸ δ' ἄβατον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κίωνων τοῦ ἁγίου τὸ ἅγιον.
- 126 ὠραῖον δὲ τὸ φάρσος ἀνθεσι παντοίοις, ὅσα γῆθεν ἀνέρχεται, διαπεποικιλμένον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἅπασιν ἐνυφασμένον, ὅσα κόσμον οἴσειν ἔμελλε, πλήν

<sup>1</sup> ἐνδοτέρω P: ἐνδοτέρον RO.

Niese: συγκεκραμένους (-μένοι RO) codd.

<sup>3</sup> + ἐκ RO: + ἐν SPL.

<sup>a</sup> The "inmost part," *i.e.* the east wall.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. §§ 180 ff., where this idea is expanded.

<sup>c</sup> Or (as in Exodus) "scarlet." Part was pure *byssus* or fine linen (undyed): other parts were dyed.

<sup>d</sup> Greek "Holy of Holy": the plural is used in Exodus (Heb. and LXX).

farther end <sup>a</sup> he set up four pillars, constructed like the rest and resting upon similar sockets, but placed slightly apart. The area within these pillars was the sanctuary; the rest of the tabernacle was open to the priests. Now this partitionment of the tabernacle was withal an imitation of universal nature <sup>b</sup>; for the third part of it, that within the four pillars, which was inaccessible to the priests, was like heaven devoted to God, while the twenty cubits' space, even as earth and sea are accessible to men, was in like manner assigned to the priests alone. But on the front, by which they entered, stood pillars of gold, resting on sockets of bronze, to the number of five.

Ex. xxvi. 27.

The tabernacle was covered with curtains woven of fine linen, in which the hues of purple and blue and crimson <sup>c</sup> were blended. Of these the first measured ten cubits either way and was spread over the pillars which divided the temple and screened off the sanctuary; this it was which rendered the latter invisible to the eyes of any. The whole temple was called "Holy (Place)," its inaccessible shrine within the four pillars the "Holy of Holies." <sup>d</sup> This curtain was of great beauty, being decked with every manner of flower that earth produces and interwoven with all other designs that could lend to its adornment, save only the forms of living creatures. <sup>e</sup>

The  
curtains,  
Ib. 31.

Ib. xxvi. 33.

<sup>e</sup> It is remarkable that Josephus, while introducing floral and other decorations, ignores or rather excludes the only ornament of the veil of the temple mentioned in Scripture, viz. the "cherubim." He is concerned, as apologist, to give no handle to current slanders about the Jewish worship of animals (*cf.* §§ 99 note and 113); and when later (§ 137) he cannot avoid a mention of cherubim, he is careful to note that they are unlike any creatures that man's eyes have seen.

## JOSEPHUS

- 127 ζώων μορφῆς. ἕτερον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ὑφῆ καὶ τῇ χροῇ παραπλήσιον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις πέντε κίονας περιέβαλλε, κατὰ γωνίαν ἐκάστου κίονος κρίκου κατέχοντος αὐτό, ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἄχρι ἡμίσου τοῦ κίονος. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν
- 128 εἴσοδος ἀνείτο τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὑποδουμένοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου λίνεον ἦν ἰσομέγεθες φάρσος ἐφελκόμενον ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπὶ θάτερα, τῶν κρίκων τῷ τε ὕφει καὶ τῷ κάλῳ διακονούντων πρὸς τε τὸ ἐκπετάννυσθαι καὶ συνελκόμενον ἴστασθαι κατὰ γωνίαν, ἐμποδῶν οὐκ ἐσόμενον πρὸς τὸ κατοπτεῦεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἡμέραις.
- 129 κατὰ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ μάλισθ' ὅταν ἦ νιφετώδης προπεταννύμενον στεγανὸν ἐποίει τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαμμάτων ὕφος· ὅθεν δὴ παρέμεινε τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένων ἡμῶν, ὥστε τὴν σινδόνα
- 130 τοιουτότροπον περικεῖσθαι ταῖς εἰσόδοις. δέκα<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἄλλα φάρση πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτῶ καὶ εἴκοσι, χρυσείους ἔχοντα γιγλύμους ἐπὶ συναφῇ θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενος συνείλεκτο, ὡς ἐν εἶναι δοκεῖν, εἶτα ὑπερτεινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ τό τ' ἐφύπερθεν ἐσκίαζε καὶ τῶν τοίχων τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὰν καὶ κατόπιν ἐστῶτας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς
- 131 ὅσον πῆχυν ἀνέχοντα. ἴσαι δὲ τῷ πλάτει καὶ ἄλλαι σινδόνες, μιᾶ πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπερβάλλουσαι, τριακονταπήχεις γὰρ ἦσαν, ὑφασμένοι δ' ἐκ τριχῶν ὁμοίως κατὰ λεπτοουργίαν ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων πεποιημέναι<sup>2</sup> ἐτέταντο μέχρι

<sup>1</sup> RO: δώδεκα rell.

<sup>2</sup> Lat.: πεποιημέναις codd.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III. 127-131

A second, corresponding to the first in dimensions, texture, and hue,<sup>a</sup> enveloped the five pillars that stood at the entrance; supported by rings at the corner of each pillar, it hung from the top to the middle of the pillar; the rest of the space was left as a passage for the priests entering beneath it. Above this was another covering of linen, of the same dimensions, which was drawn by cords to either side, the rings serving alike for curtain and cord, so that it could either be outspread or rolled together and stowed into a corner, in order that it should not intercept the view, above all on the great days. On other days, and in particular when snow was in the air, it was unfolded and served to protect the curtain of divers colours; hence the custom, which continued even after we had built the temple, of extending a similar linen curtain before the entrance. Ten further curtains, four cubits broad and twenty-eight cubits long, provided with golden couplings fitting mutually into each other,<sup>b</sup> were so joined as to appear like a single piece<sup>c</sup>; being then extended over the sacred building, they completely covered the top, as also the side walls and the wall in rear to a distance of a cubit from the ground. Then there were other hangings, of equal breadth with the last, but one more in number and of more considerable length, measuring thirty cubits; woven of hair,<sup>d</sup> but with the same fine craftsmanship as those of wool, these

Ex. xxvi.  
36 f.; xxxvi.  
37 f.

Ib. xxvi. 1.

Ib. xxvi. 7.

not of the "designer" or pattern-weaver, this screen lacked the cherubim.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "screws for the union of 'female' and 'male' pieces" (*cf.* § 121). Exodus mentions fifty "loops" of violet tape and fifty golden "clasps" (xxvi. 4-6).

<sup>c</sup> Ex. xxvi. 3 speaks of *two* sets of five curtains each.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. "of goats' hair."

## JOSEPHUS

τῆς γῆς κεχυμένοι <καὶ><sup>1</sup> κατὰ θύρας ἀετώματι  
 παραπλήσιον καὶ παστάδι<sup>2</sup> παρείχον, τοῦ ἔνδε-  
 132 κάτου φάρσους εἰς τοῦτο παρειλημμένου. ἄλλαι  
 δ' ἐπάνω τούτων ἐκ διφθερῶν κατεσκευασμένοι  
 ὑπερήεσαν σκέπη καὶ βοήθεια ταῖς ὑφάνταις ἐν τε  
 τοῖς καύμασι καὶ ὅποτε ὑετὸς εἶη γεγενημένοι.  
 πολλή δ' ἔκπληξις ἐλάμβανε τοὺς πόρρωθεν θεω-  
 μένους· τὴν γὰρ χρόαν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν οὐρανὸν συμ-  
 βαίνουσιν οὐδὲν ἐδόκουν διαφέρειν. αἱ δ' ἐκ τῆς  
 133 τριχὸς καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν πεποιημένοι κατήεσαν  
 ὁμοίως τῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑφάσματι τό τε καῦμα  
 καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὄμβρων ὕβριν ἀπομαχόμενοι.  
 καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦτον πῆγγυται τὸν τρόπον.  
 134 (5) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κιβωτὸς τῷ θεῷ ξύλων  
 ἰσχυρῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ σῆψιν παθεῖν οὐ δυναμένων·  
 ἡ δ' ἐρῶν μὲν καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτ-  
 135 ταν, ἡ δὲ κατασκευὴ τοιαύτη τις ἦν· μῆκος μὲν  
 ἦν αὐτῇ πέντε σπιθαμῶν, τὸ δ' εὖρος καὶ τὸ  
 βάθος τριῶν σπιθαμῶν εἰς ἑκάτερον· χρυσῷ δὲ  
 τὰ τ' ἐντὸς καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν περιελήλαστο<sup>3</sup> πᾶσα,  
 ὡς ἀποκεκρύφθαι τὴν ξύλωσιν, στρόφιγξί τε  
 χρυσεῖς τὸ ἐπίθεμα προσηνωμένον εἶχε θαυμαστῶς,  
 ὃ πανταχόθεν ἴσον ἦν κατ' οὐδέτερον μέρος  
 136 ἐξοχαῖς τὴν εὐαρμοσίαν λυμαινόμενον. καὶ καθ'  
 ἑκάτερον δὲ τοῖχον τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων κρίκοι  
 προσῆσαν<sup>4</sup> χρύσειοι δύο τοῦ παντὸς διήκοντες  
 ξύλου, καὶ δι' αὐτῶν ἔνετοι σκυταλίδες ἐπί-  
 χρυσοι καθ' ἑκάτερον τοῖχον, ὡς ἂν ὑπ' αὐτῶν  
 ὅποτε δεήσειεν ἄγοιτο κινουμένη· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ  
 ζεύγους ἐκομίζετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο.

<sup>1</sup> ins. Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> παραστάδι RO.

<sup>3</sup> περιελήλατο LE.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: προσήεσαν (προήεσαν) codd.

extended freely to the ground, and at the doorway they presented the appearance of a pediment and porch, the eleventh piece being put to this use.<sup>a</sup> Yet others, formed of skins, surmounted these, serving as shelter and protection for the textiles against both the scorching heat and occasional rain. Profound amazement struck all who beheld these from afar, their colours seeming so exactly to resemble those that meet the eye in the heavens. The coverings of hair and of skins descended likewise over the veil at the doorway, to defend it from the heat and from the havoc of beating rain. In such manner was the tabernacle constructed.

(5) Furthermore there was made for God an ark of stout timber of a nature that could not rot; the ark is called *erón*<sup>b</sup> in our tongue, and its construction was on this wise. It had a length of five spans, and a breadth and height of three spans alike; both within and without it was all encased in gold, so as to conceal the woodwork, and it had a cover united to it by golden pivots<sup>c</sup> with marvellous art, so even was the surface at every point, with no protuberance anywhere to mar the perfect adjustment. To each of its longer sides were affixed two golden rings, penetrating the wood, and through these were passed gilt rods on either side, by means of which it might, when necessary, be carried on the march; for it was not drawn by a yoke of beasts, but was borne

The ark.  
Ex. xxv. 10;  
xxxvii. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxvi. 9 "thou . . . shalt double over the sixth curtain in the forefront of the tent"; this is now interpreted to refer not to a kind of portal *above* the entrance, but to the doubling of the curtain "*in front of* the Dwelling, so as to hang down there for two cubits, forming a kind of valance" (Driver).

<sup>b</sup> Heb. *arón*.

<sup>c</sup> Or "hinges"; a detail peculiar to Josephus.

- 137 τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέματι αὐτῆς ἦσαν πρόστυποι δύο, Χερουβείσ<sup>1</sup> μὲν αὐτοὺς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσι, ζῶα δὲ ἐστὶ πετεινὰ μορφὴν δ' οὐδενὶ τῶν ὑπ' ἀνθρώπων ἑωραμένων παραπλήσια, Μωυσῆς δὲ φησι
- 138 τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστυπεῖς ἑωρακέαι. ταύτη τὰς δύο πλάκας, ἐν αἷς τοὺς δέκα λόγους συγγεγράφθαι συμβεβήκει, ἀνὰ πέντε μὲν εἰς ἑκατέραν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ καὶ ἡμῖς κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐγκατέθετο. καὶ ταύτην <μὲν><sup>2</sup> ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατατίθησιν.
- 139 (6) Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τράπεζαν ἰδρύεται Δελφικαῖς παραπλησίαν, τὸ μῆκος μὲν δύο πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐνὸς πήχεως καὶ σπιθαμῶν τριῶν τὸ ὕψος. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῇ πόδες τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμίσεως ἕως τῶν κάτω τελέως ἐξηρητισμένοι, οἷς Δωριεῖς προστιθέασιν ταῖς κλίνας ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς
- 140 αὐτὴν ἀνατείνον τετράγωνοι τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. κοιλαινεται δὲ καθ' ἕκαστον πλευρὸν κοιλαίνουσά πως κατὰ παλαιστὴν τὸ ἔδαφος, ἕλικος περιθεούσης τό τε ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος, καθ' ἕκαστον δὲ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ταύτη ἐλήλατο κρίκος οὐκ ἄπωθεν τοῦ ἐπιθέματος, δι' ὧν ἦσαν στελεοὶ χρύσειο ξύλου τ'ἀνερθεν ὄντες,

<sup>1</sup> χερουβιμ ROE Lat.<sup>2</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> Not in the Pentateuch, nor apparently (to judge from M. Weill's silence) in any known Rabbinical tradition. Perhaps, as suggested by M. Weill, a reminiscence of Ezekiel's vision, in which cherubim uphold the firmament which supports God's throne (Ezek. x. 1).

<sup>b</sup> The tables being regarded as ὀπισθόγραφα. For this last detail no parallel has been found in Rabbinical tradition; for "five on each" cf. § 101 note. M. Weill, however, renders "deux et demie par colonne."



by the priests. To the cover were affixed two figures, Ex. xxv. 18. "cherubs" as the Hebrews call them—winged creatures these, but in form unlike to any that man's eyes have seen, and Moses says that he saw them sculptured upon the throne of God.<sup>a</sup> Within this ark he deposited the two tables, whereon had been recorded the ten commandments, five on each of them, and two and a half on either face.<sup>b</sup> The ark itself he laid up in the sanctuary.

(6) Within the temple he installed a table, like Table of shewbread. Ib. xxv. 23; xxxvii. 10. to those at Delphi, in length two cubits, in breadth a cubit, and of a height of three spans.<sup>c</sup> It had legs <sup>d</sup> which in their lower half were exquisitely finished, resembling those which the Dorians affix to their couches; in the upper portion reaching to the board they were of quadrangular make. It was hollowed Cf. ib. xxv. 24 f. out on each side to a depth of about three inches,<sup>e</sup> a spiral border running round the upper and the lower portion of the body of the table. Each of the legs, here again,<sup>f</sup> had attached to it a ring, not far from the board, and through these passed golden staves, internally of wood, and not removable.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> "Three spans" = Bibl. "a cubit and a half"; the cubit (18 in.) being equivalent to two spans.

<sup>d</sup> Details not in Scripture.

<sup>e</sup> Literally "it is hollowed out on each side, hollowing out the surface for about a palm" (four finger-breadths). This appears to mean that the *edge* of the four sides of the table took the form of four sunk panels (there are traces of this in the representation on the Arch of Titus), with a spiral *moulding* above and below. See Driver on Exodus *loc. cit.*

<sup>f</sup> καὶ ταύτη, like the sides of the ark (§ 136).

<sup>g</sup> There is no need to omit the negative with Weill ("qu'on pouvait retirer facilement"). Cf. Ex. xxv. 15 (of the ark) "The staves shall be in the rings of the ark: *they shall not be taken from it*" (LXX ἀκίνητοι).

## JOSEPHUS

- 141 οὐκ ἐξαίρετοι· κοῖλον γὰρ εἶχεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ  
κατὰ τοὺς κρίκους κοινωθέντας<sup>1</sup> οὐδὲ γάρ εἰσι  
διηνεκεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὶν συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἄπειρον εἰς  
περονίδας τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτῶντες, ὧν ἡ μὲν εἰς  
τὸ προανέχον ἐμβραίνει τῆς τραπέζης, ἡ δὲ εἰς  
τὸν πόδα· καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκομίζετο.
- 142 ἐπὶ ταύτης, ἐτίθετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τετραμμένη  
πρὸς ἄρκτον οὐ πόρρω τοῦ μυχοῦ, διετίθεσαν  
ἄρτους τε δώδεκα ἀζύμους κατὰ ἕξ ἐπαλλήλους  
[κειμένους] καθαροῦ πάνυ τοῦ ἀλεύρου ἐκ δύο  
ἀσσαρώνων,<sup>2</sup> ὃ μέτρον Ἑβραίων ἑπτὰ κοτύλας
- 143 Ἀπτικὰς ἔχει. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἄρτων ἐτίθεντο  
φιάλαι δύο χρύσειαι λιβάνου πλήρεις, μετὰ δὲ  
ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ πάλιν ἄλλοι ἐκομίζοντο [ἄρτοι] ἐν  
τῷ καλουμένῳ ὑφ' ἡμῶν σαββάτῳ· τὴν γὰρ ἐβ-  
δόμην ἡμέραν σάββατα καλοῦμεν· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν  
ἐξ ἧς ταῦτα ἐπενοήθησαν ἐν ἑτέροις ἐροῦμεν.
- 144 (7) Κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ πρὸς  
μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένῳ τοίχῳ πλησίον ἵσταται  
λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ κεχωνευμένη διάκενος σταθμὸν  
ἔχουσα μνᾶς ἑκατόν· Ἑβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγ-  
χαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον
- 145 γλῶτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον. πεποιήται δὲ σφαιρία  
καὶ κρίνα σὺν ροῖσκόις καὶ κρατηριδίοις, ἑβδομή-  
κοντα δ' ἦν τὰ πάντα, ἐξ ὧν ἀπὸ μιᾶς βάσεως

<sup>1</sup> κοινωθέν Bernard.

<sup>2</sup> ἀσσάρων codd.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* the outer court or Holy Place (as opposed to the Holy of Holies).

<sup>b</sup> Greek "recess."

<sup>c</sup> For *assarôn* = "tenth part" (of an ephah) = *omer* see iii. 29 note; it is the word used in Lev. *loc. cit.*, "two tenth parts (of an ephah) shall be in one cake."

For the portion of the leg where the rings were attached was hollowed out to receive them; nor were the rings themselves continuous, but before completing the circle terminated in pins, of which one was inserted into the projecting edge of the table and the other into the leg. By these staves it was carried on the march. On this table, which was placed in the temple <sup>a</sup> on the northern side not far from the sanctuary,<sup>b</sup> they set out twelve loaves of unleavened bread, in two opposite rows of six, made of perfectly pure flour of the amount of two *assaróns*,<sup>c</sup> that being a Hebrew measure equivalent to seven Attic *cotylæ*.<sup>d</sup> Above these loaves were set two cups<sup>e</sup> of gold filled with incense. After seven days the loaves were replaced by others on the day which we call Sabbath, that being our name for the seventh day. Of the reason which led them to devise all this we shall speak elsewhere.<sup>f</sup>

Lev. xxiv. 5.  
(Ex. xxv. 30.)

(7) Facing the table, near the south wall, stood a candelabrum of cast gold, hollow, and of the weight of a hundred minae; this (weight) the Hebrews call *kinchares*,<sup>g</sup> a word which, translated into Greek, denotes a talent. It was made up of globules<sup>h</sup> and lilies, along with pomegranates and little bowls, numbering seventy in all; of these it was composed

The candelabrum.  
Ex. xxv. 31.

<sup>d</sup> There is an apparent error of about one half in this estimate. In terms of pints, an *assarón* or *omer* = c. 6½ pints (arts. on Weights and Measures in Hastings *B.D.* and *Encycl. Bibl.*); an Attic *cotyla* = nearly ½ pint, 7 *cotylæ* = c. 3½ pints.

<sup>e</sup> The representation on the Arch of Titus shows two cups resting on the table.

<sup>f</sup> In the projected work on "Customs and Causes" (i. 25).

<sup>g</sup> Heb. *kikkar*, Ex. xxv. 39 (LXX τάλαντον). The Greek talent = 60 minas, not 100, as is here implied.

<sup>h</sup> "Knops" in the English version of Exodus.

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- συνετέθη πρὸς ὕψος, ποιήσαντος αὐτὴν συγ-  
 κειμένην εἰς μοίρας εἰς ὅσας τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ  
 146 τὸν ἥλιον κατανέμουσιν. ἀπαρτίζεται δὲ εἰς ἑπτὰ  
 κεφαλὰς καταλλήλας ἐν στίχῳ διακειμένας. λύχνοι  
 δ' ἐπιφέρονται αὐταῖς ἑπτὰ κατὰ μίαν, τῶν πλα-  
 νητῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μεμιμημένοι, ὁρῶσι δὲ εἰς τε  
 τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν λοξῶς αὐτῆς  
 κειμένης.
- 147 (8) Μεταξὺ δ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἔνδον,  
 ὡς προεῖπον, θυμιατήριον ξύλινον μὲν, ἐξ οὗ καὶ  
 τὰ πρότερα ἦν σκεύη μὴ σηπόμενα,<sup>1</sup> στερεὰ δὲ  
 περιελήλατ' αὐτῷ λεπὶς, πηχυαῖον μὲν κατὰ  
 πλευρὰν ἐκάστην τὸ πλάτος ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον.
- 148 ἐπὴν τε ἐσχάρα χρυσεῖα ὑπερανεστῶσα ἔχουσα  
 κατὰ γωνίαν ἐκάστην στέφανον καὶ τοῦτον δ'  
 ἐκπεριοδεύοντα χρύσειον, ἧ καὶ κρίκοι καὶ σκυταλί-  
 δες προσῆσαν,<sup>2</sup> αἷς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν
- 149 ἱερέων ἐφέρετο. ἴδρυτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς  
 βωμὸς χάλκεος, ὑπόξυλος καὶ αὐτός, ἐκάστην  
 πλευρὰν πέντε πήχεσιν ἐκμεμετρημένος, τὸ δὲ  
 ὕψος τρίπηχυς, ὁμοίως τῷ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένος,  
 χαλκείαις λεπίσιν ἐξησκημένος, δικτύῳ τὴν ἐσχά-  
 ραν ἐμφερής· ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ ἢ γῆ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς  
 ἐσχάρας πῦρ καταφερόμενον τῆς βάσεως διὰ παν-
- 150 τὸς οὐχ ὑποκειμένης. ἀντικρὺ δ' ἐτίθεντο τοῦ  
 ἱεροῦ<sup>3</sup> οἰνοχόαι τε καὶ φιάλαι σὺν θυίσκαις καὶ

<sup>1</sup> σηπόμενον Bernard.

<sup>2</sup> προσῆσαν codd.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦ χρυσ.] τοῦ βωμοῦ E: om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> See § 182 for the ten degrees assigned to each of the seven planets.

<sup>b</sup> Greek "heads."

<sup>c</sup> § 139; as opposed to the altar of burnt-offering (below), which stood in the court outside.

<sup>d</sup> Meaning a little uncertain. The Bible speaks of *horns*

from its single base right up to the top, having been made to consist of as many portions as are assigned to the planets with the sun.<sup>a</sup> It terminated in seven branches<sup>b</sup> regularly disposed in a row. Each branch bore one lamp, recalling the number of the planets; the seven lamps faced south-east, the candelabrum being placed cross-wise.

(8) Between this last and the table, within the building as I have already said,<sup>c</sup> stood an incense-altar of wood, of the same imperishable material as the previous utensils, but completely encased in a massive sheet of metal; the breadth of each side was a cubit and its height two. Superimposed upon this was a brazier of gold, furnished at each corner with a crown, forming a circle likewise of gold<sup>d</sup>; here also rings and rods were attached, by which it was borne by the priests on the march. There was erected moreover in front of the tabernacle an altar of bronze, this too having a wooden interior; each side measured five cubits and it was three cubits high; while likewise adorned with gold, it was plated with sheets of bronze and had a brazier<sup>e</sup> resembling network; the ground was, in fact, the receptacle for all burning fuel that fell from the brazier, the base not extending beneath the whole of its surface. Over against the altar were set wine-cans and cups, along with censers and bowls; these were (of gold), and

Altar of  
incense.  
Ex. xxx. 1.

Altar of  
burnt-  
offering.  
Ib. xxvii. 1.

at the corners and "a crown" (*i.e.* "rim" or "moulding") "round about" it.

<sup>e</sup> So (*ἑσχαρά*) the LXX; but the Hebrew *mikbar* is generally taken to be a "grating" (so A.V.) rising *vertically* from the ground as a support for the "ledge round the altar," on which the priests presumably stood. Josephus strangely ignores the sacrosanct "horns" of this altar.

κρατῆρων ἦσαν†<sup>1</sup> ὅσα τε ἄλλα [σκεύη] πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας πεποιήτο χρύσεια<sup>2</sup> πάντα ὑπῆρχε. καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνη τοιαύτη τε ἦν καὶ τὰ περι αὐτὴν σκεύη.

- 151 (vii. 1) Γίνονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι στολαὶ πᾶσί τε τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὓς χααναίας<sup>3</sup> καλοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ὃν ἀναραβάχην<sup>4</sup> προσαγορεύουσι· σημαίνει δὲ ἀρχιερέα. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν  
 152 ἄλλων στολὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὅταν δὲ προσίῃ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγνευκῶς ἦν ὁ νόμος ἀγνείαν προαγορεύει,<sup>5</sup> πρῶτον μὲν περιτίθεται τὸν μαχανάσην<sup>6</sup> λεγόμενον· βούλεται δὲ τοῦτο συνακτῆρα μὲν δηλοῦν, διάζωμα δ' ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ αἰδοῖα ῥαπτὸν ἐκ βύσσου κλωστής εἰργασμένον<sup>7</sup> ἐμβαινόντων εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὥσπερ εἰς ἀναξυρίδας, ἀποτέμνεται δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμῖσιν καὶ τελευτῆσαν ἄχρι τῆς λαγόνος περὶ αὐτὴν ἀποσφίγγεται.  
 153 (2) Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτῳ λίνεον ἔνδυμα διπλῆς φορεῖ

<sup>1</sup> ἦσαν] om E Lat.: ἐκ χρυσοῦ Bernard.

<sup>2</sup> aerea aurea Lat.: χάλκεα Bernard.

<sup>3</sup> Bernard: χαναίας ed. pr.: χανααίας codd.

<sup>4</sup> ME (-ήχην SP): ἀραβάχην rell.: ἀραβάρχην (ex Lat.) Niese.

<sup>5</sup> Niese: προαγορεύει codd.

<sup>6</sup> Bernard: μαχανάσην codd.

<sup>7</sup> ROE: εἰργνύμενον rell.

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<sup>a</sup> The list of vessels differs from that in the parallel passage in Ex. xxvii. 3, but the LXX has one item (the φιάλαι, "cups" or "pans") in common with Josephus. There is a further difference as regards their material; according to Exodus "all the vessels thereof thou shalt make of brass," but 386

whatsoever other objects were made for the sacred services were all of gold.<sup>a</sup> Such was the tabernacle with all its appurtenances.

(vii. 1) Moreover, vestments were made for the priests, both for the general body, whom they call *chaanaeae*,<sup>b</sup> and in particular for the high-priest, whom they entitle *anarabaches*,<sup>c</sup> signifying "high-priest." Now the vestments of the priests in general were as follows.<sup>d</sup> When the priest is proceeding to perform his sacred ministrations, after undergoing the purification which the law prescribes, first of all he puts on what is called the *machanases*.<sup>e</sup> The word denotes a "binder," in other words drawers covering the loins, stitched of fine spun linen, into which the legs are inserted as into breeches; this garment is cut short above the waist and terminates at the thighs, around which it is drawn tight.

Vestments of the priests. Ex. xxviii.

The breeches. Ib. 42.

(2) Over this he wears a linen robe, of a double

The tunic. Ib. (4) 39.

Josephus has the support of the Old Latin version of the LXX ("aurea" for χαλλκᾶ) and the text may therefore stand.

<sup>b</sup> Hellenized form of the Aramaic *kahanya*, "priests" (Hebr. *kohanim*).

<sup>c</sup> Hellenization of Aramaic *kahana rabba*, "high priest," with omission (or transposition) of the initial *k*.

<sup>d</sup> This sentence is suspect, because, as Reinach justly remarks, it is couched in a form which in good Greek is applicable only to a description already given: "Such then were the vestments" etc. He would therefore regard it as a misplaced "doublet" to the last clause of § 153; while Niese indicates a lacuna preceding it. But there are indications that Josephus, as distinct from his assistants, was not familiar with the word τοιόσδε, "as follows," and used τοιοῦτος instead: a parallel occurs later in this book (iii. 273 end).

<sup>e</sup> Heb. *miknesaim* (dual); Josephus, by his translation συνακτῆρ ("binder"), clearly derives the word from the verb *kanaš* ("gather," "collect").

σινδόνος βυσσίνης, χεθομένη μὲν καλεῖται, λίνεον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει· χέθον γὰρ τὸ λίνον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἔνδυμα ποδήρης χιτῶν περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰς χειρῖ-  
 154 δας περὶ τοῖς βραχίοσιν κατεσφιγμένος, ὃν ἐπιζών-  
 νονται κατὰ στήθος ὀλίγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τὴν ζώνην περιάγοντες, πλατεῖαν μὲν ὡς εἰς τέσσαρας δακτύλους, διακένως δ' ὑφασμένην ὥστε λεβηρίδα δοκεῖν ὄψεως· ἄνθη δ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν-  
 ὑφάνται φοίνικι' καὶ πορφύρα μετὰ ὑακίνθου καὶ βύσσου πεποικιλμένα, στήμων δ' ἐστὶ μόνη βύσ-  
 155 σος. καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἐλίξεως κατὰ στέρνον καὶ περιελθοῦσα πάλιν δεῖται, καὶ κέχυται μὲν πολλὴ μέχρι καὶ τῶν σφυρῶν ἕως οὐ μηδὲν ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐνεργεῖ, πρὸς γὰρ εὐπρέπειαν οὕτως ἔχει τοῖς ὀρώσι καλῶς, ὅταν δὲ σπουδάζειν περὶ τὰς θυσίας δέη καὶ διακοινεῖν, ὅπως μὴ κινουμένης ἐμποδίζεται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἀναβαλόμενος ἐπὶ  
 156 τὸν λαιὸν ὤμον φέρει. Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν ἀβανήθ<sup>2</sup> αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων μεμαθηκότες ἐμίαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν· οὕτως γὰρ προσαγορεύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς. οὗτος ὁ χιτῶν κολποῦται μὲν οὐδαμόθεν, λαγαρὸν δὲ παρέχων τὸν βροχωτῆρα τοῦ ἀχένος ἀρπεδόσιν ἐκ τῆς ὡας

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: φοίνιξι codd.

<sup>2</sup> ἀβαίθ RO.

<sup>a</sup> M. Weill adduces *Yoma* 71 b for the tradition that "in the texture of the priestly vestments each thread was doubled several times."

<sup>b</sup> Heb. *kelóneth* (Aramaic *kituna*)="tunic": Aramaic *kitan*="linen" (no Heb. equivalent). Josephus takes his terms from the Aramaic, Hellenizes them, and perhaps traces a connexion with the Greek *χιτῶν* used below.

<sup>c</sup> The sash is wound *twice* round the body (§ 155), at the



texture <sup>a</sup> of fine *byssus* ; it is called *chethomenê*, that is to say " of linen," *chethon* being our name for linen.<sup>b</sup> This robe is a tunic descending to the ankles, enveloping the body and with long sleeves tightly laced round the arms ; they gird it at the breast, winding to a little above the armpits <sup>c</sup> the sash, which is of a breadth of about four fingers and has an open texture <sup>d</sup> giving it the appearance of a serpent's skin. Therein are interwoven flowers of divers hues, of crimson <sup>e</sup> and purple, blue and fine linen, but the warp is purely of fine linen. Wound a first time at the breast, after passing round it once again, it is tied and then hangs at length,<sup>f</sup> sweeping to the ankles, that is so long as the priest has no task in hand, for so its beauty is displayed to the beholders' advantage ; but when it behoves him to attend to the sacrifices and perform his ministry, in order that the movements of the sash may not impede his actions, he throws it back over his left shoulder. Moses gave it the name of *abanêth*,<sup>g</sup> but we have learnt from the Babylonians to call it *hemian*,<sup>h</sup> for so is it designated among them. This tunic is nowhere folded, but has a loose opening at the neck, and by means of strings fastened to the

The sash.

breast and above ; at the second winding it is carried up in front, where it is tied, almost to the neck. Such seems to be the meaning.

<sup>a</sup> This is perhaps to be connected with the " chequer work " of Scripture (*tashbēz*, " something of the nature of a 'check,' obtained by the weaver alternating threads of different colours in warp and woof," Driver), though that word is applied to the tunic and not to the sash. Of the sash the Bible gives no description. <sup>e</sup> Or " scarlet."

<sup>f</sup> According to the Talmud it was 32 cubits (48 feet) long !

<sup>g</sup> Heb. *'abnēt* (Ex. xxviii. 39).

<sup>h</sup> The Aramaic equivalent used in the Targum, and said to be of Persian origin.

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καὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρνον καὶ μετάφρενον ἡρτημέναις ἀναδείται ὑπὲρ ἑκατέραν κατακλείδα· μασσαβαζάνης καλεῖται.

157 (3) Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖ πῖλον ἄκωνον οὐ δικνούμενον εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀλλ' ἐπ' ὀλίγον ὑπερβεβηκότα μέσης· καλεῖται μὲν μασσαεφθῆς, γῆ δὲ κατασκευῆ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκεῖν ἐξ ὑφάσματος λινέου ταινία πεποιημένη παχεῖα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιπτυσσόμενον ράπτεται πολλάκις.

158 ἔπειτα σινδῶν ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκπεριέρχεται διήκουσα μέχρι μετώπων, τὴν τε ῥαφὴν τῆς ταινίας καὶ τὸ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀπρεπὲς καλύπτουσα καὶ ὄλω<sup>1</sup> δὲ τῷ κρανίῳ γιγνομένη ἐπίπεδον· ἤρμοσται δὲ ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρυεῖη πονοῦντος περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν. καὶ ὅποια μὲν ἐστὶν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἱερέων στολὴ δεδηλώκαμεν.

159 (4) Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κοσμεῖται μὲν καὶ ταύτῃ παραλιπῶν οὐδὲν τῶν προειρημένων, ἐπενδυσάμενος δ' ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποιημένον χιτῶνα, ποδήρης δ' ἐστὶ καὶ οὗτος, μεεῖρ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶσσαν, ζώνη περισφίγγεται βάμμασιν οἷς ἢ πρότερον ἦνθει διαπεποικιλμένη χρυσοῦ συνυφασμένου· κατὰ πέζαν δ' αὐτῷ προσερραμμένοι θύσανοι ῥοῶν τρόπον ἐκ βαφῆς μεμιμημένοι ἀπήρτηντο καὶ κώδωνες χρύσειοι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπι-

<sup>1</sup> ἔλω RO.

<sup>a</sup> Heb. *mishbezeth* = "chequer-work"; the tunic is not so named in Exodus, but cognate words are used of it in xxviii. 4 "a tunic of chequer work" and 39 "thou shalt chequer the tunic."

<sup>b</sup> Heb. *miznepheth* (Ex. xxviii. 4, 39). In Exodus this is the name given to the turban of the high-priest; those of the ordinary priests are there called *migbā'oth* (Ex. xxviii. 40)

border at the breast and at the back is supported on each shoulder. It is called *massabazanes*.<sup>a</sup>

(3) Upon his head he wears a cap without a peak, not covering the whole head but extending slightly beyond the middle of it. It is called *masnaephthes*,<sup>b</sup> and is so fashioned as to resemble a coronet, consisting of a band of woven linen thickly compressed; for it is wound round and round and stitched repeatedly. This is then enveloped by a muslin veil descending from above to the forehead, thus concealing the stitches of the head-band with their unsightly appearance and presenting to the skull a completely even surface. This head-gear is adjusted with care so as not to slip off while the priest is busy with his sacred ministry. We have now described the nature of the vestments of the ordinary priests.

(4) The high-priest is arrayed in like manner, omitting none of the things already mentioned, but over and above these he puts on a tunic of blue<sup>d</sup> material. This too reaches to the feet, and is called in our tongue *meir*<sup>e</sup>; it is girt about him with a sash decked with the same gay hues as adorned the first, with gold interwoven into its texture. To its lower edge were stitched depending tassels, coloured to represent pomegranates, along with bells of gold,

The turban

Vestments of the high-priest e; the tunic. Ex. xxviii. 31.

and, to judge from the etymology of that word, were apparently *convex*, like the ordinary Greek *πίλος*, "in shape resembling a half-egg" (Driver *in loc.*). Josephus, in speaking of a *πίλος ἀκωνος* and in assimilating the turbans of the two orders of priests (*cf.* § 172), directly contradicts this; his account with its precise details, not derived from Scripture, is doubtless drawn from personal recollection and accurately represents the customs and terminology of his time.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. *B.J.* v. 231-6.

<sup>d</sup> Or "violet."

<sup>e</sup> Heb. *me'il*.

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- τήδευσιν τῆς εὐπρεπείας, ὥστε μέσον ἀπολαμ-  
 βάνεσθαι δυοῖν τε κωδώνιον ῥοῖσκον, καὶ ῥοῶν  
 161 κωδώνιον. ἔστι δ' ὁ χιτῶν οὗτος οὐκ ἐκ δυοῖν  
 περιτμημάτων, ὥστε ῥαπτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων εἶναι  
 καὶ τῶν παρὰ πλευράν, φάρσος δ' ἐν ἐπίμηκες  
 ὑφασμένον σχιστὸν ἔχει βροχωτῆρα <οὐ><sup>1</sup> πλάγιον,  
 ἀλλὰ κατὰ μῆκος ἐρρωγότα πρὸς τε τὸ στέρνον  
 καὶ μέσον τὸ μετάφρενον· πέζα δ' αὐτῷ προσ-  
 ἔρραπται ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διελέγχεσθαι τῆς τομῆς  
 τὴν δυσπρέπειαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὄθεν αἱ χεῖρες δι-  
 είρονται σχιστός ἐστιν.
- 162 (5) Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτοις τρίτον ἐνδύεται τὸν λεγό-  
 μενον μὲν ἐφώδην, Ἑλληνικῇ δ' ἐπωμίδι προσ-  
 εοικότα· γίνεται γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. ὑφαν-  
 θεῖς ἐπὶ βάθος πηχυαῖον ἔκ τε χρωμάτων παν-  
 τοίων καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεποικιλμένος ἀπερίπτυκτον  
 τοῦ στέρνου τὸ μέσον καταλιμπάνει, χειρῖσί τε  
 ἡσκημένος καὶ τῷ παντὶ σχήματι χιτῶν εἶναι  
 163 πεπονημένος. τῷ δὲ διακένω τοῦ ἐνδύματος σύν-  
 εἰσι περίτμημα σπιθαμῆς τὸ μέγεθος χρυσῷ τε  
 καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῷ ἐφώδῃ βάμμασι διηνηθισμένον·  
 ἐσσην μὲν καλεῖται, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ins. (ex Lat.) Bernard.

<sup>a</sup> As, we must infer, was the under tunic already described.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. John xix. 23 f. ἦν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἀραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἀνωθεν ὑφαντός δι' ὄλον: though this is considered to be "only a verbal coincidence; the idea of a high-priestly robe does not enter here" (Bernard *in loc.*).

<sup>c</sup> It was this slit which the high-priest prolonged by tearing it further down the front when he "rent his tunics" in token of horror or grief (Mk. xiv. 63).

disposed with a keen regard for beauty, so that between each pair of bells there hung a pomegranate and between the pomegranates a little bell. But this tunic is not composed of two pieces,<sup>a</sup> to be stitched at the shoulders and at the sides : it is one long woven cloth,<sup>b</sup> with a slit for the neck, parted not crosswise but lengthwise from the breast to a point in the middle of the back.<sup>c</sup> A border is stitched thereto to hide from the eye the unsightliness of the cut. There are similar slits through which the hands are passed.

(5) Above these vestments he puts on yet a third, which is called an *ephod* and resembles the Grecian *epômis*,<sup>d</sup> being made in the following fashion. A woven fabric of the length of a cubit, of all manner of colours along with gold embroidery, it leaves the middle of the breast uncovered, is provided with sleeves,<sup>e</sup> and in general presents the appearance of a tunic. But into the gap in this vestment is inserted a piece of the dimensions <sup>f</sup> of a span, variegated with gold and with the same colours as the *ephod*; it is called *essên*,<sup>g</sup> a word signifying in Greek speech

The *ephod*,  
Ex. xxviii. 6.

The *essen* (or  
'breast-  
plate').  
Ib. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Ἐπωμῖς is the LXX version of the Heb. *ephod*. The *epômis* was the upper part (in modern language "bodice") of a woman's tunic, fastened on the shoulder by brooches. The *ephod* was a kind of waistcoat having, like the *epômis*, shoulder-straps, on which were sardonyxes.

<sup>e</sup> Sleeves are not mentioned in Scripture or (according to M. Weill) in tradition.

<sup>f</sup> It was "foursquare," of equal length and breadth (Ex. xxviii. 16).

<sup>g</sup> Heb. *hōshen*, English Bible "breastplate," more correctly "pouch" (Driver). It was "doubled" (Ex. *loc. cit.*) to form a bag or pouch, in which the Urim and Thummin were kept. The form ἐσσην is attributed also to the unknown "Hebrew" (ὁ Ἑβραῖος) in mss. of the LXX (Ex. xxviii. 22).

- 164 Ἑλλήνων γλώτταν λόγιον<sup>1</sup>. πληροὶ δὲ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἐφώδου ὅπερ ὑφαίνοντες κατὰ στήθος ἐξέλιπον, ἐνοῦται δ' ὑπὸ κρίκων χρυσεῶν αὐτῷ τε κατὰ γωνίαν ἐκάστην κάκεινω τῶν ἴσων προσκεκοιωμένων, ῥάμματος ὑακίνθου παραληφθέντος εἰς τὴν
- 165 πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατάδεσιν τοῖς κρίκοις. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μὴ χαλαρὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κρίκων καταλιμπανόμενον ῥάφην αὐτοῦ νήμασιν ὑακινθίνοις ἐπενόησαν. πορποῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρδόνυχες δύο κατὰ τῶν ὤμων, ἐκάτερον τέλος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέον χρύσειον ἔχοντες, πρὸς τὸ ταῖς
- 166 περονίσις ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι. ἐγγέγραπται δὲ τούτοις τῶν Ἰακώβου παίδων τὰ ὀνόματα γράμμασιν ἐπιχωρίοις γλώσση τῇ ἡμετέρα κατὰ ἐξ τῶν λίθων ἐκατέρω, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ ὤμον τὸν δεξιόν. ἐπίασι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐσσήνην λίθου δώδεκα μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες, οὐ κτητὸς ἀνθρώποις κόσμος διὰ τιμῆς ὑπερβολὴν ὄντες.
- 167 οὔτοι μέντοι κατὰ στίχον τρεῖς ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διακείμενοι γραμμῶν ἐνήσκηνται τῷ ὕφει, χρυσὸς δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκπεριέρχεται τὰς ἑλικὰς ἐντιθεὶς τῷ
- 168 ὕφει πρὸς τὸ μὴ διαρρεῖν οὕτως πεποιημένος. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη τριάς ἐστι σαρδόνυξ τόπαζος σμάραγδος, ἡ δευτέρα δὲ ἄνθρακα παρέχεται καὶ ἰασπιν καὶ σάπφειρον, τῆς δὲ τρίτης λίγυρος μὲν

<sup>1</sup> λογιῶν SPL.

<sup>a</sup> Λόγιον is the LXX version, from which Josephus again borrows: Philo similarly uses λογιῶν (*De vita Mos.* ii. 13, 154 M.). Josephus attributes the oracular properties of the *essén* to the precious stones on its surface (iii. 215 ff.), not to the Urim and Thummim beneath; on these last mysterious objects he is silent.

*logion* ("oracle").<sup>a</sup> This exactly fills the space in the fabric which was left vacant at the breast, and is united by gold rings at each of its angles to corresponding rings attached to the ephod,<sup>b</sup> a blue thread being passed through the rings to bind them together. Furthermore, to prevent any sagging of the middle portion between the rings, they devised the plan of stitching it with blue thread. The *epômis* is buckled on to the shoulders by two sardonyxes,<sup>c</sup> fitted on this side and that with golden extremities<sup>d</sup> extending over the shoulders and serving to hold the pins. On these stones are graven the names of the sons of Jacob in our tongue and in the native characters, six on each stone, those of the elder sons being on the right shoulder.<sup>e</sup> On the *essen* also there are stones, twelve in number, of extraordinary size and beauty—ornament not procurable by man by reason of its surpassing value. Now these stones are ranged three in a row, in four lines, and worked into the fabric, being enclasped in gold wire whose coils are so inserted into the fabric as to prevent them from slipping out. The first triad comprises sardonyx,<sup>f</sup> topaz, emerald; the second exhibits carbuncle, jasper, sapphire; the third begins with jacinth,<sup>g</sup>

The two sardonyx stones on the shoulders, Ex. xxviii. 9.

The twelve stones on the *essen*. Ib. 17.

<sup>b</sup> I give the general sense: the exact meaning of *προσκεικωνωμένων* is doubtful.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. *shôham*, E.V. "onyx" (margin "beryl"), LXX *σμάραγδος* ("emerald").

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* "enclosed in filigree settings (or "rosettes," E.V. "ouches") of gold" (Driver).

<sup>e</sup> Ex. xxviii. 10 says merely "according to their birth" (*i.e.* "according to their ages").

<sup>f</sup> "Sardius" in Exodus (LXX and E.V.), as also in the parallel passage in *B.J.* v. 234.

<sup>g</sup> Or "amber"; the Heb. word in Exodus perhaps means "cairn-gorm."

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ἄρχει εἶτα ἀμέθυσος ἀχάτης δὲ τρίτος, ἕνατος  
 ὦν τοῖς πᾶσι, τετάρτου δὲ στίχου χρυσόλιθος μὲν  
 πρόκειται μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὄνυξ εἶτα βήρυλλος  
 169 τελευταῖος οὗτος. γράμματα δὲ ἐπετέμμητο πᾶσι  
 τῶν Ἰακώβου νιῶν, οὓς καὶ φυλάρχους νομίζομεν,  
 ἐκάστου τῶν λίθων ὀνόματι τετιμημένου κατὰ  
 τάξιν ἣν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν γενέσθαι συμβέβηκε.  
 170 τῶν οὖν κρίκων ἀσθενῶν ὄντων καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν-  
 εγκεῖν τὸ βάρος τῶν λίθων ἑτέρους δύο κρίκους  
 μείζονας τῇ πέζῃ τοῦ ἐσσήνου, ἥπερ ἀνήκει πρὸς  
 τὸν τράχηλον, ἐμβεβηκότας τῷ ὑφάσματι ποιουσί,  
 δεξομένους ἀλύσεις εἰργασμένας, αἱ συνῆσαν<sup>1</sup> κατ'  
 ἄκρον τῶν ὤμων σειραῖς ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεπλεγμέναις  
 συνάπτουσαι, ὧν τὸ ἄκρον ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν-  
 ἔβαινε κρίκῳ προέχοντι τῆς νωτιαίας πέζης τοῦ  
 171 ἐφώδου· καὶ τοῦτο ἦν ἀσφάλεια τῷ ἐσσήνῃ πρὸς  
 τὸ μὴ περιρρεῖν. ζώνη δὲ τῷ ἐσσήνῃ προσ-  
 ἔραπτο βάμμασιν οἷς προεῖπον μετὰ χρυσοῦ προσ-  
 φερῆς, ἣ περιοδεύσασα δεῖται πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ ράφῃ  
 καὶ κατακρεμνᾶται· τοὺς δὲ θυσάνους χρύσειαι  
 σύριγγες καθ' ἑκατέραν ἄκραν ἐκλαβοῦσαι πάντας  
 ἐμπεριέχουσιν [αὐταί].

<sup>1</sup> συνῆσαν R<sup>2</sup>O.

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<sup>a</sup> In emphasizing the order in the last two rows Josephus is deliberately correcting that which he has given in his earlier work, *B.J.* v. 234. The order in the respective texts is as follows :



then comes amethyst, and in the third place stands agate, ninth in the whole series; the fourth row is headed by chrysolite, next onyx, and then beryl, last of the series.<sup>a</sup> All the stones have letters graven upon them, forming the names of the sons of Jacob, whom we esteem withal as our tribal chiefs, each stone being honoured with one name, according to the order in which each of them was born. And since the rings were too feeble by themselves to support the weight of the gems, they made two other larger rings and inserted them into the fabric at the border of the *essén* nearest to the neck; these were designed to receive wrought chains, which on the top of the shoulders joined and were linked to cords of golden twine, whose extremity in the reverse direction passed through a ring projecting from the border at the back of the *ephod*. This secured the *essén* against any slip. The *essén* moreover had stitched to it a band, of the like hues of which I have spoken, along with gold; this after passing round the body was then tied at the seam<sup>b</sup> and hung down. The tassels at either extremity of this band were caught into golden sheaths which embraced them all.<sup>c</sup>

Ex. xxviii. 8.

	Exodus.	Josephus, <i>B.J.</i>	Josephus, <i>Ant.</i>
Row 3	jacinth, agate, amethyst	agate, amethyst, jacinth	jacinth, amethyst, agate
Row 4	beryl, onyx, jasper	onyx, beryl, chry- solite	chrysolite, onyx, beryl

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* at the point where the *essén* was stitched to the *ephod*.

<sup>c</sup> This detail, among others, is peculiar to Josephus.

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- 172 (6) Πίλος<sup>1</sup> δὲ ἦν μὲν ὁ καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ παρα-  
 πλησίως εἰργασμένος τοῖς πᾶσιν ἱερεῦσιν, ὑπὲρ<sup>2</sup>  
 αὐτὸν δὲ συνερραμμένος ἕτερος ἐξ ὑακίνθου πεποι-  
 κιλμένος, περιέρχεται δὲ<sup>3</sup> στέφανος χρύσεος ἐπὶ τρι-  
 στιχίαν κεχαλκευμένος. θάλλει δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ κάλυξ  
 χρύσεος τῇ σακχάρῳ βοτάνῃ παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένη  
 ἀπομεμιμημένος, ὑὸς δὲ κύαμον Ἑλλήνων οἱ περι-  
 τομὰς ριζῶν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες προσαγορεύουσιν.  
 173 εἰ δέ τις ἦ<sup>4</sup> θεασάμενος τὴν βοτάνην ἀμαθία  
 τούτου ἀγνοεῖ τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς ἢ τὴν κλήσιν ἐπι-  
 στάμενος οὐκ ἰδὼν δ' ἂν γνωρίσειε, τοῖς οὕτω  
 174 δὴ ἔχουσι σημανῶ τὸν τρόπον· βοτάνη μὲν ἐστὶν  
 ὑπὲρ τρεῖς σπιθαμὰς πολλάκις ἀξανομένη τὸ  
 ὕψος, τὴν δὲ ρίζαν ἐμφερῆς βουνιάδι, ταύτη γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰκάζων αὐτήν, τὰ δὲ φύλλα  
 τοῖς εὐζώμων· ἐκ μέντοι τῶν κλάδων ἀνίησι

<sup>1</sup> πῖλον RO.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: ὑπ' codd.

<sup>3</sup> δὲ ins. Lat., ed. pr.: om. codd.      <sup>4</sup> v. ll. μῆ, ἦ μῆ.

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<sup>a</sup> This paragraph on the head-dress is, apart from the allusion to the plate of gold at the close, peculiar to Josephus; the Scriptural description is confined to a few verses, Ex. xxviii. 36-39 (with the parallel passage xxxix. 30 f.). Very curious is the botanical lore displayed, no less than seven plants being named. A simpler and rather different description appears in *B.J.* v. 235. See the full discussion in *Encycl. Bibl.* s.v. "Mitre."

<sup>b</sup> Or perhaps "that already (described)."

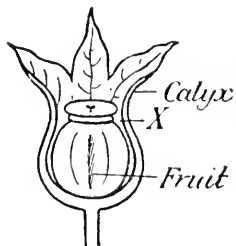
<sup>c</sup> Or "violet."

<sup>d</sup> Exodus knows of no "crown," but only of the "plate of gold" mentioned below; with Josephus *cf.* Ecclesiasticus xlv. 12 "a crown of gold upon the mitre."

<sup>e</sup> Aramaic *shakruna* (connected with Heb. *shakar* = "be intoxicated"). See Löw, *Aramäische Pflanzennamen*, Leipzig, 1881, p. 381 (quoted by Weill).

(6) For head-dress <sup>a</sup> the high-priest had first <sup>b</sup> a <sup>a</sup> The turban and crown of gold. cap made in the same fashion as that of all the priests; but over this was stitched a second of blue <sup>c</sup> embroidery, which was encircled by a crown of gold <sup>d</sup> wrought in three tiers, and sprouting above this was a golden calyx recalling the plant which with us is called *saccharon*,<sup>e</sup> but which Greeks expert in the cutting of simples term henbane.<sup>f</sup> In case there are any who, having seen the plant, never learnt its name and are ignorant of its nature, or, though knowing the name, would not recognize it if they saw it, for the benefit of such I proceed to describe it. It is a plant which often grows to a height of above three spans, with a root resembling a turnip <sup>g</sup>—one may not incorrectly draw this comparison—and leaves like those of the rocket.<sup>h</sup> Now out of its branches it

<sup>i</sup> *Hyoscyamus niger*. I am indebted for the following to Mr. F. Howarth, B.Sc., Lecturer in Botany in the Imperial College of Science and Technology.



“Botanically there would appear to be a slight confusion in the description. The ‘husk which detaches itself’ is, no doubt, the corolla, which is shed—but which does not envelope the calyx but the ovary, which later becomes the fruit. The mistake probably arises from the fact that, before the corolla is shed, the calyx is small and inconspicuous, but becomes large and prominent afterwards, *i.e.* as the fruit develops. The

lid mentioned is not on the calyx but on the fruit (matured ovary): the fruit and calyx are quite distinct throughout, though the fruit is enveloped in the spiky calyx. The fruit dehisces by throwing off the cap, splitting at the well-marked rim at X.”

<sup>g</sup> *Brassica rapa*.

<sup>h</sup> *Brassica eruca*.

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κάλυκα προσεχῆ τῷ κλωνί, περίεισι δ' αὐτὴν  
 ἔλυτρον, ὅπερ ἀποκρίνεται καθ' αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν  
 καρπὸν μεταβαλεῖν ἠργμένης· ὁ δὲ κάλυξ μεγέθους  
 ἐστὶ σκυταλίδος τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου, κρατῆρι  
 δ' ἐμφερῆς τὴν περιγραφὴν. σημανῶ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο  
 175 τοῖς οὐ μεμαθηκόσι· σφαιρίδος εἰς δύο τετμη-  
 μένης περὶ τῷ πυθμένι τὴν ἑτέραν τομὴν ἔχει  
 φνόμενος ἀπὸ ρίζης περιφερῆς· εἶτα συνιών κατ'  
 ὀλίγον ὑποκοιλαινούσης εὐπρεπῶς τῆς ὑποχωρή-  
 σεως ἀνευρύνεται πάλιν ἡρέμα κατὰ χεῖλος,  
 176 ὁμοίως ὀμφαλῶ ροιᾶς τετμημένος. ἐπίθεμα δ'  
 αὐτῷ ἡμισφαίριον προσπέφυκεν ἀκριβῶς <ὡς><sup>1</sup>  
 ἂν εἴποι τις τετορνευμένον, ὑπερανεστῶσας ἔχον  
 τὰς ἐντομάς, ἃς εἶπον τῇ ροιᾷ παραπλησίως  
 βλαστάνειν, ἀκανθώδεις καὶ εἰς ὄξυ παντελῶς  
 177 ἀποληγούσας τὸ ἄκρον. φυλάττει δ' ἦ ὑπὸ<sup>2</sup> τῷ  
 ἐπιθέματι τὸν καρπὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κάλυκος,  
 ὄντα βοτάνης σπέρματι τῆς σιδηρίτιδος ὁμοιον,  
 ἀφήσι δ' ἄνθος τῷ τῆς μήκωνος πλαταγωνίῳ  
 178 δυνάμενον δοκεῖν ἐμφερὲς εἶναι. ἐκ τούτου μὲν  
 στέφανος ἐκκεχάλκευται ὅσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰνίου πρὸς  
 ἑκάτερον τῶν κροτάφων. τὸ δὲ μέτωπον ἢ μὲν  
 ἐφιελὶς οὐκ ἔπεισι, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ὁ κάλυξ,  
 τελαμῶν δ' ἐστὶ χρύσεος, ὃς ἱεροῖς γράμμασι τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ codd.

<sup>a</sup> Or "projecting top."

<sup>c</sup> (?) *Verbena*.

<sup>b</sup> The mss. have "on."

<sup>d</sup> Meaning unknown.

puts forth a calyx closely adhering to the twig, and enveloped in a husk which detaches itself automatically when it begins to turn into fruit; this calyx is as big as a joint of the little finger and resembles a bowl in contour. This too I will describe for those unfamiliar with it. Imagine a ball cut in two: the calyx at the stem presents the lower half of this, emerging from its base in rounded form; then gradually converging with a graceful re-entrant curve, it broadens out again gently near the rim, where it is indented like the navel<sup>a</sup> of a pomegranate. Its hemispherical lid adheres closely to it, turned (as one might say) to a nicety, and is surmounted by those jagged spikes whose growth I compared to that on the pomegranate, prickly and terminating in quite a sharp point. Beneath<sup>b</sup> this lid the plant preserves its fruit which fills the whole of the calyx and resembles the seed of the herb *sideritis*<sup>c</sup>; while the flower which it produces may be thought comparable to the broad petals of a poppy. It was, then, on the model of this plant that was wrought the crown extending from the nape of the neck to the two temples; the forehead, however, was not covered by the *ephielis*<sup>d</sup> (for so we may call the calyx), but had a plate<sup>e</sup> of gold, bearing graven in sacred<sup>f</sup>

Ex. xxviii.  
36 f., xxxix.  
30 f.

<sup>a</sup> Or "band" (Gr. *τελαμών*): Heb. *ziz*, LXX *πέταλον* ("leaf"), E.V. "plate." The Heb. *ziz* (normally = "flower") has here been variously interpreted as (1) a burnished plate (the commonly accepted view), (2) a flower-like ornamentation, (3) a garland or fillet. One may suspect that the foregoing elaborate description of a portion of the head-dress in *botanical* terms—though referring not to the "plate" but to the "calyx"—has been evolved out of interpretation (2).

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* the older Hebrew characters found on inscriptions, as opposed to the later "square" characters: *cf.* Aristæus § 98 *γράμμασιν ἁγίοις*.

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θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστί. καὶ τοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κόσμος ἐστί.

- 179 (7) Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν, ἣν ὡς ἐκφραυλιζόντων ἡμῶν τὸ θεῖον ὅπερ αὐτοὶ σέβειν προήρηνται διατετελέ-
- 180 κασιν ἐσχηκότες. εἰ γάρ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατανοήσειε τὴν πῆξιν καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἴδοι τὴν στολὴν τὰ τε σκεύη, οἷς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρώμεθα, τὸν τε νομοθέτην εὐρήσει θεῖον ἄνδρα καὶ ματαίως ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βλασφημίας ἀκούοντας· ἕκαστα γὰρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν καὶ διατύπωσιν τῶν ὄλων, εἴ τις ἀφθόνως ἐθέλοι καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσει γεγονότα.
- 181 τὴν τε γὰρ σκηνὴν τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὖσαν νεύμας εἰς τρία καὶ δύο μέρη πᾶσιν ἀνεῖς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ὥσπερ βέβηλόν τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποσημαίνει· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἐπίβατα· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν μόνῳ περιέγραψε τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεπί-
- 182 βατον εἶναι ἀνθρώποις. ἐπὶ τε τῇ τραπέζῃ τοὺς δώδεκα θεῖς<sup>1</sup> ἄρτους ἀποσημαίνει τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς τοσοῦτους μῆνας διηρημένον. τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν ἐξ ἑβδομήκοντα μορίων ποιήσας συγκεκλιμένην τὰς τῶν

<sup>1</sup> τιθεῖς RO:

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<sup>a</sup> The tetragrammaton *YHWH* (Anglice 'Jehovah'): so *B.J.* v. 235 (note) and *Aristeas* § 98, rather than as in *Exodus* "Holy (or "Holiness") to *YHWH*."

characters the name of God.<sup>a</sup> Such is the apparel of the high-priest.

(7) But one may well be astonished at the hatred which men have for us and which they have so persistently maintained, from an idea that we slight the divinity whom they themselves profess to venerate. For if one reflects on the construction of the tabernacle and looks at the vestments of the priest and the vessels which we use for the sacred ministry, he will discover that our lawgiver was a man of God and that these blasphemous charges brought against us by the rest of men are idle. In fact, every one of these objects is intended to recall and represent the universe, as he will find if he will but consent to examine them without prejudice and with understanding.<sup>b</sup> Thus, to take the tabernacle, thirty cubits long, by dividing this into three parts and giving up two of them to the priests, as a place approachable and open to all, Moses signifies the earth and the sea, since these too are accessible to all; but the third portion he reserved for God alone, because heaven also is inaccessible to men. Again, by placing upon the table the twelve loaves, he signifies that the year is divided into as many months. By making the candelabrum to consist of seventy portions,<sup>c</sup> he

Symbolism  
of the  
tabernacle  
and the  
vestments.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus has already touched on this allegorical interpretation above (§ 123 *μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως*) and in his earlier work (*B.J.* v. 212 f. *εἰκόνα τῶν ὄλων*). Philo gives a similar explanation, *De vita Mos.* ii. 6 (88) and 12 (117 ff.), which indeed appears to have been fairly widespread; Weill quotes parallels from the Midrashim and even from the Samaritan liturgy.

<sup>c</sup> § 145. But the component portions enumerated in Ex. xxv. 33 ff. seem to amount to 69 only (see *Encycl. Bibl.* i. 645 n. 3).

πλανητῶν δεκαμοιρίας<sup>1</sup> ἤνιξάτο, καὶ λύχνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἑπτὰ τῶν πλανητῶν τὴν φορὰν· τοσοῦτοι  
 183 γὰρ εἰσι τὸν ἀριθμόν. τὰ τε φάρση ἐκ τεσσάρων ὑφανθέντα τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν δηλοῖ· ἥ τε γὰρ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἀποσημαίνειν ἔοικε διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀνεῖσθαι τὸ λίνον, ἥ τε πορφύρα τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ πεφοινῆσθαι τῶν ἰχθύων τῷ αἵματι, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα βούλεται δηλοῦν ὁ ὑάκινθος, καὶ ὁ  
 184 φοῖνιξ δ' ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ πυρός. ἀποσημαίνει δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως χιτῶν τὴν γῆν λίνεος ὦν, ὁ δὲ ὑάκινθος τὸν πόλον, ἀστραπαῖς μὲν κατὰ τοὺς ῥοῦσκους ἀπεικασμένος βρονταῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῶν κωδῶνων ψόφον. καὶ τὴν ἐφαπτίδα τοῦ παντός τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τεσσάρων δοχθεῖσαν γενέσθαι<sup>2</sup> τῷ θεῷ, χρυσῷ συνυφασμένην κατ'  
 185 ἐπίνοιαν οἶμαι τῆς προσούσης ἅπασιν αὐγῆς. καὶ τὸν ἐσσηνα μέσον ὄντα τῆς ἐφαπτίδος ἐν τρόπῳ γῆς ἔταξε· καὶ γὰρ αὕτη τὸν μεσαίτατον τόπον ἔχει· ζώνη τε περιοδεύσας τὸν ὠκεανὸν ἀποσημαίνει· καὶ γὰρ οὗτος ἐμπεριεῖληφε τὰ πάντα. δηλοῖ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην τῶν σαρ-

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat. Bernard: δωδεκαμοιρίας (δώδεκα μοίρας) codd.

<sup>2</sup> δοχθ γεν. RO: γενέσθαι δειχθεῖσαν rell.

<sup>a</sup> The reading of the old Latin version, *decamoriae*, must on arithmetical grounds ( $70=7 \times 10$ ) be preferred to the text of the Greek mss. indicating a *twelve-fold* division. *Δεκαμοιρία* is a synonym for *δεκανός*, the vulgar term used by ancient astronomers to denote a portion of the heavens occupying 10 degrees of the Zodiac or a power presiding over those 10 degrees. "Astrologers for the most part allot [these divisions of 10°] to the seven planets," Housman, *Manilii Astronomicon* lib. iv. p. vii. But it must be noted that the Zodiac, with its 360°, comprises 36 'decans' in all; of this Josephus says nothing. Prof. Housman has kindly



hinted at the ten degree provinces <sup>a</sup> of the planets, and by the seven lamps thereon the course of the planets themselves, for such is their number.<sup>b</sup> The tapestries woven of four materials denote the natural elements: thus the fine linen appears to typify the earth, because from it springs up the flax, and the purple the sea, since it is incarnadined with the blood of fish; the air must be indicated by the blue, and the crimson <sup>c</sup> will be the symbol of fire. The high-priest's tunic likewise signifies the earth, being of linen, and its blue the arch of heaven, while it recalls the lightnings by its pomegranates, the thunder by the sound of its bells. His upper garment,<sup>d</sup> too, denotes universal nature, which it pleased God to make of four elements; being further interwoven with gold in token, I imagine, of the all-pervading sunlight. The *essên*, again, he set in the midst of this garment, after the manner of the earth, which occupies the midmost place <sup>e</sup>; and by the girdle <sup>f</sup> wherewith he encompassed it he signified the ocean, which holds the whole in its embrace. Sun and moon are indicated by the two sardonyxes wherewith he

confirmed this interpretation and referred me for another instance of *δεκαμοῖρια* = *δεκανός* to an anonymous treatise printed in Wachsmuth's *Lydus, De ostentis*, ed. 2 p. 174, lines 8 and 10.

<sup>b</sup> viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, with Sun and Moon; cf. Philo, *De vita Mos.* ii. 9 (102) τὴν λυχνίαν δι' ἧς αἰνίττεται τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κινήσεις ἀστέρων. In *B.J.* vii. 149 the seven lamps "indicate the honour paid to that number (or perhaps "to the week," τῆς ἐβδομάδος) by the Jews."

<sup>c</sup> Or "scarlet = κόκκος, the word used in Exodus (LXX) and in the parallel passage in *B.J.* v. 213.

<sup>d</sup> *Ephaptis*, another term for what has previously been called the *ephod* or *epômis* (§ 162).

<sup>e</sup> In the universe.

<sup>f</sup> Or "sash."

## JOSEPHUS

186 δονύχων ἐκάτερος, οἷς ἐνεπόρρωσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα.  
 τὴν τε δωδεκάδα τῶν λίθων εἴτε τοὺς μῆνάς τις  
 θέλοι νοεῖν, εἴτε τὸν οὕτως ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀστέρων,  
 ὃν ζωδιακὸν κύκλον Ἑλληνες καλοῦσι, τῆς κατ'  
 ἐκεῖνον γνώμης οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι· καὶ ὁ πῖλος δέ  
 μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριοῦν ὑακίνθινος πε-  
 187 ποιημένος, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ὑπερανετίθετο αὐτῷ  
 τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ στεφάνῃ ἠγλαϊσμένον καὶ  
 ταύτῃ χρυσεῖα,<sup>1</sup> διὰ τὴν αὐγὴν, ἣ μάλιστα χαίρει  
 τὸ θεῖον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτόν μοι δεδη-  
 λώσθω πολλάκις τε καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ  
 νομοθέτου παρεξόντων ἡμῖν διελθεῖν τῶν πραγ-  
 μάτων.

188 (viii. 1) Ὡς δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πέρας εἶχε, τῶν  
 ἀναθημάτων μῆπω καθιερωμένων ἐπιστάς ὁ θεὸς  
 Μωυσεῖ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι τὰδελφῷ προσ-  
 ἔταξε δοῦναι ὡς ἀπάντων δι' ἀρετὴν τῆς τιμῆς  
 δικαιοτέρῳ τυχεῖν. καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν  
 τὸ πλῆθος τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν  
 διεξῆγει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς ὑπομείνειεν ὑπὲρ  
 189 αὐτῶν. μαρτυρούντων δ' ἐφ' ἅπασιν αὐτῷ καὶ  
 τὸ περὶ αὐτὸν πρόθυμον ἐνδεικνυμένων, “ ἄνδρες,”  
 εἶπεν, “ Ἰσραηλῖται, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἤδη τέλος ἔχει  
 οἶον αὐτῷ τε τῷ θεῷ ἡδιστον ἦν καὶ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν,  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τοῦτον τῇ σκηνῇ καταδέχεσθαι, δεῖ  
 πρῶτον ἡμῖν<sup>2</sup> τοῦ ἱερατευσομένου καὶ ὑπηρετή-  
 στοντος ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς.

<sup>1</sup> χρυσεῖα SP.

<sup>2</sup> ὑμῖν ROSP : om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> § 165. So Clement of Alexandria, *Strom.* v. 668 P. οἱ δύο ἀνθρακες διὰ τε τὸν Κρόνον καὶ τὴν Σελήην; Philo mentions this explanation but prefers another, *De vita Mos.* ii. 12 (122).

pinned the high-priest's robe.<sup>a</sup> As for the twelve stones, whether one would prefer to read in them the months or the constellations of like number, which the Greeks call the circle of the zodiac, he will not mistake the lawgiver's intention. Furthermore, the head-dress appears to me to symbolize heaven, being blue; else it would not have borne upon it the name of God, blazoned upon the crown—a crown, moreover, of gold by reason of that sheen in which the Deity most delights.<sup>b</sup> Let it suffice me to have pursued this topic thus far, since my subject will afford me frequent and ample occasion to discourse upon the merits of the lawgiver.

(viii. 1) Now when the work of which I have spoken was complete but the offerings had not yet been consecrated, God appeared to Moses and charged him to confer the priesthood upon Aaron his brother, as the man whose virtues rendered him more deserving than all to obtain this dignity. So, convening the people in assembly, he recounted his own merits, his benevolence, and the perils which he had sustained on their behalf. And when they attested that all his words were true and displayed their devotion to him, "Men of Israel," said he, "the work has now reached its end, as was best pleasing to God himself and as we had power to accomplish it; but since it behoves us to receive Him into the tabernacle, we need first of all one to discharge the office of priest and minister for the sacrifices and for the intercessions on our behalf.

Aaron  
appointed  
high-priest.  
Ex. xxviii. 1;  
Lev. vii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. § 184; and Milton, *Par. Lost* iii. 3 "since God is light, And never but in unapproach'd light Dwelt from eternity."

## JOSEPHUS

- 190 καὶ ἔγωγε ταύτης ἐμοὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἐπιτραπίσης  
 ἐμαυτὸν ἂν τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινα, διὰ τε τὸ  
 φύσει πάντας εἶναι φιλαύτους καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ  
 ἐμαυτῷ καμόντι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ὑμετέρας  
 σύνοιδα· νῦν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς Ἀαρῶνα τῆς τιμῆς  
 [ταύτης]<sup>1</sup> ἄξιον ἔκρινε καὶ τοῦτον ἤρηται ἱερέα,  
 191 τὸν δικαιότερον ἡμῶν<sup>2</sup> μᾶλλον εἰδώς, ὡς οὗτος  
 ἐνδύσεται στολὴν τῷ θεῷ καθωσιωμένην καὶ  
 βωμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔξει καὶ πρόνοιαν ἱερείων καὶ  
 τὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιήσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν  
 ἠδέως ἀκουσόμενον, ὅτι τε κήδεται γένους τοῦ  
 ἡμετέρου καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὸς ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο  
 192 γινομένης προσδέχεται ταύτας." Ἐβραῖοι δὲ ἠρέ-  
 σκοντο τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ συνήνουν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 χειροτονία· ἦν γὰρ Ἀαρὼν διὰ τε τὸ γένος καὶ  
 τὴν προφητείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τὰδελφοῦ πρὸς  
 [τὴν]<sup>3</sup> τιμὴν ἀπάντων ἀξιολογώτερος. ἦσαν δ'  
 αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες κατ' ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τέσσαρες  
 Νάβαδος Ἀβιουῦς Ἐλεάζαρος Ἰθάμαρος.  
 193 (2) Ὅσα δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατα-  
 σκευὴν παρεσκευασμένων ἦν περιττά, ταῦτ' ἐκέ-  
 λευσεν εἰς φάρση σκεπαστήρια τῆς τε σκηνῆς  
 αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου καὶ  
 τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν ἀναλῶσαι, ὅπως κατὰ τὴν  
 ὁδοιπορίαν ταῦτα μήτ' ἐξ ὑετοῦ μηδὲν μήτ' ἐκ  
 194 κοινορτοῦ βλάβηται. τό τε πλήθος ἀθροίσας

<sup>1</sup> om. RO.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat.: ἡμῶν codd.

<sup>3</sup> ins. MSL (Lat.): om. rell.

<sup>a</sup> So the Jewish Midrash on Lev. viii. 1 (quoted by Weill).

<sup>b</sup> Or "the more deserving of us (twain)"; or possibly  
 "knowing better than ourselves who is the more worthy to  
 don" etc.

For my part, had the weighing of this matter been entrusted to me, I should have adjudged myself worthy of the dignity,<sup>a</sup> alike from that self-love that is innate in all, as also because I am conscious of having laboured abundantly for your salvation. But now God himself has judged Aaron worthy of this honour and has chosen him to be priest, knowing him to be the most deserving among us.<sup>b</sup> So it is he who will don the vestments consecrated to God, have charge of the altars, attend to the sacrifices, and offer the prayers on our behalf to God, who will gladly hear them, both from the care that He has for our race, and because, coming from a man of His own choosing, He cannot but accept them." The Hebrews were pleased with this speech and acquiesced in the divine election; for Aaron, by reason of his birth, his prophetic gift, and his brother's virtues, was more highly qualified than all for the dignity. He had at that time four sons: Nabad,<sup>c</sup> Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

(2) As for the surplus<sup>d</sup> of the materials provided for the furniture of the tabernacle, all these Moses ordered to be devoted to making protective coverings for the tabernacle itself, for the candelabrum, for the altar of incense, and for the other vessels, in order that these should suffer no injury on the march, whether from rain or dust. Then, assembling the

Coverings  
for the  
tabernacle.

<sup>c</sup> So, with transposition of consonants in a few LXX MSS., as opposed to the ordinary form "Nadab" (Ex. xxviii. 1).

<sup>d</sup> This sentence finds no parallel in Scripture. Weill suggests that "surplus" comes from Josephus having read the obscure word *scrād*, rendered "finely wrought (garments)" in Ex. xxxi. 10 etc., as *sarid* "remaining over"; but the context of Exodus has nothing about protective coverings.

195 πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου  
 τὸ ἥμισυ καθ' ἕκαστον, ὃ δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα  
 Ἑβραίων ὦν Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας·  
 196 οἱ δ' ἐτοίμως ὑπήκουον οἷς ἐκέλευσε Μωυσῆς καὶ  
 τὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσφερόντων ἦν ἐξήκοντα μυριάδες  
 καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ πεντή-  
 κοντα. ἔφερον δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἱ  
 ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν ἄχρι πεντήκοντα γεγονότες. τὸ  
 δὲ συγκομισθὲν εἰς τὰς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν χρείας  
 ἀναλοῦτο.

197 (3) Ἦγνιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας  
 τρόπῳ τοιούτῳ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν τὴν κάθαρσιν.  
 σμύρνης ἐπιλέκτου σίκλους πεντακοσίους καὶ ἴρεως  
 ἴσους, κινναμώμου δὲ καὶ καλάμου, ἔστι δὲ καὶ  
 τοῦτο εἶδος θυμιάματος, ἡμίσειαν τῶν πρότερον  
 ὀλκὴν κεκομμένα δεύειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐλαίου τε  
 ἐλαίνου εἶν, μέτρον δ' ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐπιχώριον δύο  
 χόας Ἀττικοὺς δεχόμενον, ἀναμιζαντας καὶ καθ-  
 εψήσαντας σκευάσαι τέχνη μυρεψῶν χρῆσμα εὐ-  
 198 ωδέστατον. κἄπειτα τοῦτο λαβὼν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς  
 ἱερέας καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν σκηνὴν χρίων κεκάθαρε,  
 τὰ τε θυμιώμενα, πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ ποικίλα,  
 κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θυμιατηρίου  
 μεγάλης πάνυ τιμῆς ὄντα συνεφέρετο, ὦν παρα-  
 λείπω τὴν φύσιν ἐκδιηγείσθαι, μὴ δι' ὄχλου  
 199 γένηται τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι. δις δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας  
 πρὶν τε ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἥλιον καὶ πρὸς δυσμαῖς  
 θυμιᾶν ἐχρῆν ἔλαιόν τε ἀγνίσαντας φυλάσσειν εἰς  
 τοὺς λύχνους, ὦν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ

<sup>a</sup> The annual poll-tax imposed on Jews for the upkeep of  
 410

people again, he imposed on them a contribution of half a shekel <sup>a</sup> for each man, the shekel being a Hebrew coin equivalent to four Attic drachms. <sup>b</sup> They promptly obeyed this behest of Moses and the number of contributors amounted to 603,550, <sup>c</sup> the money being brought by all free men aged from twenty years up to fifty. The sum thus collected was expended upon the needs of the tabernacle.

The half-shekel contribution. Ex. xxx. 11 ff.

(3) Furthermore he sanctified both the tabernacle and the priests, proceeding on this wise to their purification. Five hundred shekels of choice myrrh, an equal quantity of iris, with half that weight of cinnamon and calamus <sup>d</sup> (another species of perfume) were, by his orders, to be pounded and soaked; a *hin* of olive oil (the *hin* being a native measure equivalent to two Attic *choes*) was to be mixed therewith and the whole concocted and boiled down by the perfumer's art into an ointment of sweetest fragrance. Then, taking this, he anointed both the priests themselves and all the tabernacle, thus purifying all. Also the perfumes, of which there were many of divers kinds, were all assembled in the tabernacle on the golden altar of incense, being of exceeding value; their nature I forbear to describe from fear of wearying my readers. But twice each day, before sunrise and at sunset, it was requisite to burn incense and to sanctify oil in reservation for the lamps, three of the temple up to its destruction in A.D. 70, when the tax was confiscated by the Romans (*B.J.* vii. 218).

The anointing oil and perfumes of purification. *Ib.* 22.

*Cf.* 2 Chron. xiii. 11.

<sup>b</sup> Reinach disputes this computation; but at least it accords with the use of *ἡμιδραχμον* for the half-shekel tax, which is found not only in Josephus (*A.* xviii. 312, *cf.* *B.J. loc. cit.*) but in Matt. xvii. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Heb. and LXX "603,550" (Ex. xxxviii. 26).

<sup>d</sup> The Greek names for these perfumes are those used in LXX.

## JOSEPHUS

λυχνία φέγγειν ἔδει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τὴν ἑσπέραν ἄπτοντας.

- 200 (4) Ἀπάντων δ' ἤδη πέρας εἰληφότων ἔδοξαν ἄριστοι τῶν δημιουργῶν Βεσελέηλος<sup>1</sup> καὶ Ἐλί-  
βος, τῶν γὰρ ἐξευρημένων τοῖς προτέροις αὐτοὶ  
προεθυμήθησαν ἀμείνονα προσεξεργάσασθαι, λαβεῖν  
τε ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πρότερον ἠγνόουν τὴν κατασκευὴν  
ικανώτατοι· τούτων μέντοι Βεσελέηλον συνέβη  
201 κριθῆναι τὸν κράτιστον. ὁ δὲ πᾶς χρόνος εἰς τὸ  
ἔργον διήλθε μηνῶν ἑπτὰ καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο ἀφ' οὗ  
τὴν Αἴγυπτον ἐξέλιπον ἐνιαυτὸς αὐτοῖς πρῶτος  
ἔτελειοῦτο. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ἔτους,  
μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Νισάν δὲ κατὰ  
Ἑβραίους, νομηνία τὴν σκηνὴν ἀφιεροῦσι καὶ  
πάνθ' ὅσα περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη μοι δεδήλωται.
- 202 (5) Ἐπέδειξε δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἡσθέντα τῷ ἔργῳ  
τῶν Ἑβραίων καὶ μὴ μάτην αὐτοὺς πονήσαντας  
ὑπερηφανία τῆς χρήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπεξενώθη καὶ  
κατεσκήνωσε <ν ἐν> τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ. τὴν δὲ παρ-  
203 ουσίαν οὕτως ἐποίησεν· ὁ μὲν οὐρανὸς καθαρὸς ἦν,  
ὑπὲρ δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μόνην ἤχλυσεν οὔτε βαθεῖ  
πάνυ νέφει καὶ πυκνῷ περιλαβὼν αὐτήν, ὥστ'  
εἶναι δόξαι χειμέριον, οὔτε μὴν λεπτὸν οὕτως,  
ὥστε τὴν ὄψιν ἰσχύσαι τι δι' αὐτοῦ κατανοῆσαι·  
ἠδεῖα δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δρόσος ἔρρει καὶ θεοῦ δηλοῦσα  
παρουσίαν τοῖς τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένοις καὶ πε-  
πιστευκόσι.

<sup>1</sup> Βεσέβηλος RM ; *sic infra* Βεσέβηλον M ; *cf.* § 105.

<sup>a</sup> From the Bible it appears that the lamps were lit only at even (Ex. xxx. 8, 1 Sam. iii. 3), but ambiguous phrases in other passages gave rise to conflicting traditions. That given by Josephus is said to have the support of the oldest



which had to be kept burning on the holy candelabrum in God's honour throughout the day, the rest being lit at even.<sup>a</sup>

(4) Everything having now been completed, the craftsmen who were pronounced the most excellent were Beseleël and Eliab, for to the inventions of their predecessors they were zealous to add others yet better and were most capable in contriving objects the fabrication of which was till then unknown; but of the two Beseleël was adjudged the best. The whole time occupied upon the work was seven months,<sup>b</sup> at the close of which was completed their first year since their departure from Egypt. It was at the beginning of the second year, in the month of Xanthicus according to the Macedonians and of Nisan according to the Hebrews, on the new moon, that they consecrated the tabernacle with all the vessels pertaining thereto which I have described.

The craftsmen.

The consecration of the tabernacle. Ex. xl. 17.

(5) Then did God manifest that He was well pleased with the work of the Hebrews and, far from rendering their labour vain by disdain to make use of it,<sup>c</sup> He came as their guest and took up His abode in this sanctuary. And it was on this wise that He made his entry. While the heaven was serene, over the tabernacle alone darkness descended, enveloping it in a cloud not so profound and dense as might be attributed to winter storm, nor yet so tenuous that the eye could perceive a thing through it; but a delicious dew<sup>d</sup> was distilled therefrom, revealing God's presence to those who both desired it and believed in it.

Manifestation of God's presence. *Ib.* 34.

Rabbinical commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy (*Sifré*, p. 16 a, quoted by Weill).

<sup>b</sup> Reckoning not in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> Text doubtful.

<sup>d</sup> Not in Scripture.

## JOSEPHUS

- 204 (6) Μωσῆς δὲ τοὺς τέκτονας οἷαις εἰκὸς ἦν  
 δωρεαῖς τοὺς τοιαῦτα ἔργασαμένους τιμήσας ἔθνευ  
 ἐν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς αἰθρίῳ κατὰ προσταγὴν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ ταῦρον καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἔριφον ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων,  
 205 καὶ δὴ, λέγειν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν μέλλω τὰ  
 πρρασόμενα περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας ἐν ἐκείνοις δηλώ-  
 σων περὶ τε ὧν ὀλοκαυτεῖν κελεύει καὶ ὧν μετα-  
 λαμβάνειν τῆς βρώσεως ἐφίησιν ὁ νόμος, κακ τοῦ  
 αἵματος τῶν τεθυμένων τὴν τε στολὴν τοῦ Ἀαρῶ-  
 νος καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς παισὶν ἔρραιεν ἀφαγνίσας  
 206 πηγαίοις τε ὕδασι καὶ μύρῳ, ἵνα τοῦ θεοῦ γί-  
 γνοιτο. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ τοῦτον τὸν  
 τρόπον αὐτοὺς τε καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐθεράπευε τὴν  
 τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη ἐλαίῳ τε  
 προθυμιωμένῳ,<sup>1</sup> καθὼς εἶπον, καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν  
 ταύρων καὶ κριῶν σφαγέντων καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν  
 ἐνὸς κατὰ γένος, τῇ δὲ ὀγδῶ κατήγγειλεν ἑορτὴν  
 207 τῷ λαῷ καὶ θύειν προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν. οἱ  
 δ' ἀλλήλοις ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ ὑπερβάλλειν φιλο-  
 τιμούμενοι τὰς θυσίας, ἃς ἕκαστος ἐπιφέρει, τοῖς  
 λεγομένοις ὑπήκουον. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν<sup>2</sup>  
 τῷ βωμῷ αἰφνίδιον ἐξ αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> πῦρ ἀνήφθη αὐτό-  
 ματον, καὶ ὅμοιον ἀστραπῆς λαμπηδόνι ὀρώμενον  
 τῇ φλογὶ πάντα ἔδαπάνη τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ.
- 208 (7) Συνέβη δὲ καὶ Ἀαρῶνι συμφορὰ τις ἐκ τού-

<sup>1</sup> ML: προθυμιωμένῳ SPE: προχριομένον(ν) O(R).

<sup>2</sup> ἱερείων SPL.

<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ RO.

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\* The projected work on "Customs and Causes" often mentioned already: not, I think, "when I come to speak of the sacrifices later on": §§ 224 ff. do not contain the detailed information here promised. The text here (a parenthesis, perhaps a p.s.) and below (§§ 213 f., 218, 223 f.)

(6) Moses, after recompensing with fitting bounties the craftsmen who had executed works so excellent, sacrificed in the outer court of the tabernacle, as enjoined by God, a bull, a ram, and a kid as atonement for sins. (I propose in my treatise on sacrifices <sup>a</sup> to speak of the ritual of these sacred ceremonies, and to indicate there in which cases the law ordains a holocaust of the victim, and in which it permits a portion to be used for consumption.) Then, with the blood of the victims, he sprinkled Aaron's vestments and Aaron himself, together with his sons, purging them with water from the spring and with sweet oil, in order to devote them to God. So for seven days he continued this process, purifying both them and their vestments, as also the tabernacle and its vessels, both with oil that had been previously fumigated, as I have said, <sup>b</sup> and with the blood of bulls and of goats, of which they slaughtered every day one of each sort; then on the eighth day he announced a feast for the people and bade them offer sacrifices, each according to his means. They thereupon, vying with and striving to surpass one another in their respective offerings, obeyed these behests. And when the victims were laid upon the altar, of a sudden a fire blazed up therefrom spontaneously, and, like a flash of lightning before their eyes, consumed everything upon the altar in flame. *Ib.* ix. 24.

Inaugural ceremonies. Ex. xxix. 1; Lev. viii. 1.

(7) But this fire was also the cause of a misfortune

betrays signs of rewriting. The author seems to be in doubt how much to include in the present work on the sacrifices, how much to reserve for a separate treatise, and breaks off more than once from the subject. Probably, when the projected treatise was finally abandoned, he incorporated much more of its intended contents in later editions of the *Antiquities*.

<sup>b</sup> § 199.

- του λογιζομένω ὡς ἐπ' ἀνθρώπῳ καὶ πατρί, γεν-  
 ναίως δ' ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καρτερηθεῖσα, ὅτι καὶ τὴν  
 ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ συμπύπτοντα στερρὸς ἦν καὶ κατὰ  
 209 βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἠγείτο τὸ πάθος γεγονέναι· τῶν  
 γὰρ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων ὄντων, ὡς προεῖπον,  
 δύο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Νάβαδος καὶ Ἀβιοῦς κομί-  
 σαντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν οὐχ ὧν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς  
 θυμιαμάτων,<sup>1</sup> ἀλλ' οἷς ἐχρῶντο πρότερον, κατεκαύ-  
 θησαν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ὀρμὴν βαλόντος  
 καὶ τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα φλέγειν αὐτῶν  
 210 ἀρξαμένου καὶ σβέσαι μηδενὸς δυναμένου. καὶ οἱ  
 μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, Μωυσῆς δὲ κελεύει τὸν  
 πατέρα αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς βαστάζοντας  
 τὰ σώματα καὶ κομίσαντας τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔξω  
 θάψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. πενθεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς τὸ πλήθος  
 χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ παρὰ δόξαν οὕτω γεγενη-  
 211 μένω διατεθέν. μόνους δὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς  
 αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν πατέρα μὴ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς λύπης ἠξίωσε, προκρίναντας τὴν εἰς τὸν  
 θεὸν τιμὴν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς σκυθρωποῦ· ἤδη γὰρ  
 Ἄαρων καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἠμφίεστο.
- 212 (8) Μωυσῆς δὲ πᾶσαν τιμὴν παραιτησάμενος, ἦν  
 ἑώρα τὸ πλήθος αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ἔτοιμον, πρὸς  
 μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ διετέλει. καὶ τῶν  
 μὲν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ἀνόδων ἀπέιχετο, εἰς δὲ τὴν  
 σκηνὴν εἰσιῶν ἐχρηματίζετο περὶ ὧν ἐδεῖτο παρὰ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ, ἰδιωτεύων καὶ τῇ στολῇ καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις ἄγων ἑαυτὸν δημοτικώτερον καὶ μηδὲν  
 βουλόμενος τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν δοκεῖν ἢ μόνῳ  
 213 τῷ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν βλέπεσθαι. ἔτι δὲ τὴν

<sup>1</sup> O: θυμάτων rell.<sup>a</sup> § 192.<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Nadab (§ 192 note).

for Aaron, if regarded as a man and a father, albeit the blow was valiantly borne by him, because he had a soul steeled against accidents and believed that it was by God's will that the tragedy befell. For he had four sons, as I have already mentioned,<sup>a</sup> and of these the two eldest, Nabad<sup>b</sup> and Abihu, having brought to the altar, not the incense which Moses had prescribed, but such as they had used aforetime, were burnt to death, the fire darting out upon them and beginning to consume their breasts and faces while none could extinguish it. Thus they died; and Moses bade their father and their brethren<sup>c</sup> take up their corpses, convey them without the camp, and give them lordly burial. They were mourned by the multitude, who were grievously affected by the death which had so unexpectedly befallen them; their brethren and their father alone did Moses require to refrain from any thoughts of grief for them, putting the homage due to God above any frowning over their loss. For Aaron had already been invested with the priestly robes.

Death of  
two sons of  
Aaron.  
Lev. x. 1.

(8) Moses, for his part, having declined every honour which he saw that the people were ready to confer on him, devoted himself solely to the service of God. Desisting from further ascents of Sinai, he now entered the tabernacle and there received responses on all that he besought from God; dressed like any ordinary person, in all else he bore himself as a simple commoner, who desired in nothing to appear different from the crowd, save only in being seen to have their interests at heart. Furthermore,

Moses  
engaged in  
writing the  
Laws.

Numb. vii.  
89.

<sup>c</sup> In Lev. x. 4 it is "Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron" who are instructed to remove the corpses.

## JOSEPHUS

πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους [αὐτῶν]<sup>1</sup> ἔγραφε, καθ' οὓς κεχαρισμένως τῷ θεῷ βιώσονται μηδὲν ἀλλήλοις ἐγκαλεῖν ἔχοντες· ταῦτα μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ὑπαγόρευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ συνετάττετο. διέξιμι μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων.

- 214 (9) Ὁ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἀρχιερέως στολῆς παρέλιπον διελθεῖν βούλομαι· οὐδαμῶθεν γὰρ προφητῶν<sup>2</sup> κακουργίαις κατέλιπεν ἀφορμὴν, εἰ καὶ<sup>3</sup> τινες τοιοῦτοι γένοιτο παρεγχειρεῖν τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώματι, αὐτοκράτορα δ' εἶναι τὸν θεὸν παρατυγχάνειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατέλιπεν ὅποτε θελήσειε καὶ μὴ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτ' οὐχ Ἑβραίοις δῆλον εἶναι μόνον ἠθέλησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ξένων τοῖς παρα-  
 215 τυγχάνουσι. τῶν γὰρ λίθων, οὓς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὤμοις φέρειν τὸν ἀρχιερέα προείπον, σαρδόνηχες δὲ ἦσαν καὶ σημαίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν ἠγοῦμαι περισσὸν πᾶσιν εἰς γνῶσιν ἀφιγμένων, συνέβαινε λάμπειν, ὅποτε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ θεὸς παρείη, τὸν ἕτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὤμων πεπορημένον ἀγῆς ἀποπηδῶσης καὶ τοῖς πορρωτάτω φαινομένης, οὐ  
 216 πρότερον ταύτης ὑπαρχούσης τῷ λίθῳ. θαυμαστὸν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς μὴ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπ' ἐκ-

<sup>1</sup> ins. RO: om. rell.

<sup>2</sup> συκοφαντῶν SPL.

<sup>3</sup> O: δέ rell.

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<sup>a</sup> In fact we have a little below chapters on the sacrifices and laws of purity connected therewith (§§ 224-273), followed by marriage and other laws (§§ 274-286); the summary of the "constitution" or Mosaic code as a whole is postponed to the next book (iv. 196 ff.). See notes on § 205 and § 222.

<sup>b</sup> § 165.

<sup>c</sup> What follows is the author's interpretation of the mysterious Urin and Thummim (words meaning "Lights and Per-

he was committing to writing their constitution and laws, in accordance with which they would live a life well-pleasing to God, without any cause for mutual reproach; all this, however, he drew up under the inspiration of God. I will proceed, then, to dilate on the constitution and the laws.<sup>a</sup>

(9) However, I would here record a detail which I omitted concerning the vestments of the high-priest. For Moses left no possible opening for the malpractices of prophets, should there in fact be any capable of abusing the divine prerogative, but left to God supreme authority whether to attend the sacred rites, when it so pleased Him, or to absent himself; and this he wished to be made manifest not to Hebrews only but also to any strangers who chanced to be present. Well, of those stones which, as I said before,<sup>b</sup> the high-priest wore upon his shoulders—they were sardonyxes, and I deem it superfluous to indicate the nature of jewels familiar to all—it came about, whenever God assisted at the sacred ceremonies, that the one that was buckled on the right shoulder began to shine,<sup>c</sup> a light glancing from it, visible to the most distant, of which the stone had before betrayed no trace. That alone should be marvel enough for such as have not culti-

Oracular  
flashing of  
the stones  
on the high-  
priest's  
robes.

fections"), and an erroneous one. All that can be said with certainty about these primitive objects of divination is that they were something distinct from the stones on shoulder and breastplate and were kept *within* the latter: "And thou shalt put *in* the breastplate (or "pouch") of judgement the Urim and the Thummim" (Ex. xxviii. 30). The LXX rendering of that passage, *καὶ ἐπιθήσεις ἐπὶ (οὐ) τὸ λόγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δῆλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν*, and its rendering elsewhere (Numb. xxvii. 21) of Urim by *δῆλοι* (*sc.* λίθοι, "conspicuous stones") seems to have led to the interpretation in the text. See Hastings, *D.B. s.v.*

## JOSEPHUS

- φαυλισμῶ τῶν θείων ἡσκηκόσιν, ὃ δ' ἐστὶ τούτου  
 θαυμασιώτερον ἐρῶ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν δώδεκα λίθων,  
 οὓς κατὰ στέρνον ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐνερραμμένους τῷ  
 ἐσσηνι φορεῖ, νίκην μέλλουσι πολεμεῖν προεμήνηεν  
 217 ὁ θεός· τοσαύτη γὰρ ἀπήστραπτεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν αὐγὴ  
 μήπω τῆς στρατιᾶς κεκινημένης, ὡς τῷ πλήθει  
 παντὶ γνώριμον εἶναι τὸ παρέιναι τὸν θεὸν εἰς  
 τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, ὅθεν Ἕλληνες οἱ τὰ ἡμέτερα  
 τιμῶντες ἔθη διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν δύνασθαι  
 218 τούτοις τὸν ἐσσηνα λόγιον καλοῦσιν. ἐπαύσατο  
 μὲν οὖν ὁ τε ἐσσην καὶ ὁ σαρδόνυξ τοῦ λάμπειν  
 ἔτεσι διακοσίοις πρότερον ἢ ταύτην ἐμὲ συνθεῖναι  
 τὴν γραφήν, τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεράναντος ἐπὶ τῇ  
 παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, περὶ ὧν ἐροῦμεν εὐκαιρό-  
 τερον. τρέψομαι δὲ νῦν ἐπὶ τὸν ἐξῆς λόγον.
- 219 (10) Καθιερωμένης γὰρ ἤδη<sup>1</sup> τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ  
 διακεκοσμημένων τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τό τε  
 πλήθος ὁμόσκηνον αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν ἔκρινεν εἶναι  
 καὶ τρέπεται πρὸς θυσίας τε καὶ ἀνέσεις<sup>2</sup> ὡς  
 ἅπασαν ἤδη κακοῦ προσδοκίαν ἀπεωσμένον, καὶ  
 περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς ἀμεινόνων εὐθυμοῦντες<sup>3</sup>  
 δωρεάς τε τῷ θεῷ τὰς μὲν κοινῇ τὰς δὲ [καὶ]<sup>4</sup>  
 220 κατ' ἰδίαν ἀνετίθεσαν κατὰ φυλάς. οἱ τε γὰρ  
 φύλαρχοι κατὰ δύο συνελθόντες ἄμαξαν καὶ δύο  
 βόας προσκομίζουσιν· ἐξ μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αὐταὶ καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δὴ RO.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. requiem: αἰνέσεις codd.

<sup>3</sup> conj. Cocceii: ἐπιθυμοῦντες codd.

<sup>4</sup> om. RO.

<sup>a</sup> λόγιον is the LXX version of the Heb. word rendered in the E.V. "breastplate," Ex. xxviii. 15 etc.

<sup>b</sup> The work was completed in A.D. 93-94 (xx. 267) and was probably 15 or more years in the making. The 200 years



vated a superior wisdom to disparage all religious things; but I have yet a greater marvel to record. By means of the twelve stones, which the high-priest wore upon his breast stitched into the *essén*, God foreshowed victory to those on the eve of battle. For so brilliant a light flashed out from them, ere the army was yet in motion, that it was evident to the whole host that God had come to their aid. Hence it is that those Greeks who revere our practices, because they can in no way gainsay them, call the *essén logion* ("oracle").<sup>a</sup> Howbeit, *essén* and sardonix alike ceased to shine two hundred years before I composed this work,<sup>b</sup> because of God's displeasure at the transgression of the laws. But of them we shall have a better opportunity to speak; for the present I will revert to the course of my narrative.

(10) The tabernacle having now been consecrated and all arrangements made relating to the priests, the people, assured of God's fellowship with them in the tent, gave themselves up to the offering of sacrifices and to relaxation,<sup>c</sup> believing themselves at last to have banished all prospect of ill and in cheerful confidence that the future had better things in store; and, tribe by tribe, they offered gifts, whether public or private, to God. Thus the tribal leaders came two and two, each pair bringing a wagon and two oxen, there being six such wagons

Offerings of  
the tribal  
chiefs.  
Numb. vii. 1.

take us back to the close of the theocracy at the death of John Hyrcanus (135-105 B.C.), the prophet who "was so closely in touch with the Deity that he was never ignorant of the future" (*B.J.* i. 69). But the statement is unsupported. According to Palestinian tradition the oracle of Urim and Thummim ceased earlier, "at the death of the first prophets" after the return from captivity (*Sota* ix. 14, quoted by Weill).

<sup>c</sup> Or, with another reading, "praises."

## JOSEPHUS

τὴν σκητὴν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοιπορίαις παρεκόμεζον. πρὸς  
 τούτοις ἕκαστος φιάλην τε κομίζει καὶ τρύβλιον  
 καὶ θυῖσκην, τὴν μὲν δαρεικοὺς δέκα δυναμένην  
 221 καὶ πλήρη θυμιαμάτων· τὸ δὲ τρύβλιον καὶ ἡ  
 φιάλη, ἀργυρᾶ δὲ ἦν, σίκλους μὲν αἱ δύο δια-  
 κοσίους εἶλκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν φιάλην ἑβδομήκοντα  
 μόνοι δεδαπάνητο, πλήρεις δὲ ἦσαν ἀλεύρων  
 ἐλαίῳ πεφυραμένων, οἷς ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χρῶνται πρὸς  
 τὰς ἱερουργίας· μόσχον τε καὶ κριὸν σὺν ἀρνίῳ  
 τῶν ἐτησίων<sup>1</sup> ὀλομελῆ καυθησόμενα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς  
 222 χίμαρον ἐπὶ παραιτήσει ἀμαρτημάτων. προσῆγε  
 δὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἕκαστος καὶ ἑτέρας θυσίας  
 σωτηρίου λεγομένας καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν δύο  
 βόας καὶ πέντε κριοὺς σὺν ἀρνιάσιν ἐτείοις καὶ  
 ἐρίφοις. οὗτοι μὲν δὴ θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δώδεκα  
 κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν εἰς· Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐκέτ' ἀνα-  
 βαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν σκητὴν εἰσιὼν  
 ἀνεμάνθανε παρὰ θεοῦ περὶ τε τῶν πρακτέων καὶ  
 223 τῶν νόμων τῆς συντάξεως· οὓς κρείττονας ἢ κατὰ  
 σύνεσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄντας εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα βεβαίως  
 αἰῶνα συνέβη φυλαχθῆναι, δωρεὰν εἶναι δόξαντας  
 τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μῆτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς μῆτ' ἐν  
 πολέμῳ κατ' ἀνάγκην Ἑβραίους παραβῆναί τινα  
 τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι

<sup>1</sup> τῶν ἐτ.] ἐτείῳ RO.

<sup>a</sup> Or "platter"; the Greek terms used for the three articles are those employed by the LXX (Numb. vii. 13 f., E.V. "charger . . . bowl . . . spoon").

which transported the tabernacle on the march. Furthermore, each of them brought a salver,<sup>a</sup> a bowl, and a censer, this last being of the value of ten darics<sup>b</sup> and filled with materials for incense. As for the bowl and the salver, which were of silver, the two together weighed 200 shekels, but to the salver were devoted but seventy; these were full of flour of wheat saturated in oil, such as they use on the altar for the sacrifices. They brought too a calf and a ram, with a lamb of a year old, all these to be burnt whole, along with a kid to make intercession for sins. Each of the chiefs brought moreover other sacrifices called those "of salvation,"<sup>c</sup> each day two oxen, five rams, with as many lambs of a year old and kids. These chiefs thus continued to sacrifice for twelve days, one on each day.

Meanwhile Moses,<sup>d</sup> no longer ascending Mount Sinai but entering into the tabernacle, was there diligently seeking instruction from God on duties to be done and on the compilation of the laws. Those laws, excellent beyond the standard of human wisdom, have, so it has come to pass, been in every age rigidly observed, because they are believed to be a gift of God, insomuch that neither in peace, through luxury, nor in war, under constraint, have Hebrews transgressed any one of them. But I for-

Numb. vii.  
89.

<sup>b</sup> A Persian gold coin; Heb. and LXX (Numb. vii. 14) name no coin; E.V. "ten *shekels*."

<sup>c</sup> Or "deliverance" "welfare," after LXX; Heb. *shelāmim*, E.V. "peace-offerings." They are referred to below as "thank-offerings" (*ἡ χαριστήριος* § 225).

<sup>d</sup> This sentence is a repetition of part of §§ 212 f.; the "doublet" again suggests (*cf.* § 205 note) that the text has been worked over without being thoroughly revised. For "doublets" as indicating interpolation see Laqueur, *Der jüd. Historiker Fl. Josephus*, pp. 65, 88 etc.

## JOSEPHUS

λέγων γραφήν ἑτέραν ἡξιωκῶς συνθεῖναι περὶ τῶν νόμων.

- 224 (ix. 1) Νυνὶ δ' ὀλίγων τινῶν ἐπιμνησθήσομαι τῶν ἐφ' ἀγνεύαις καὶ ἱερουργίαις κειμένων· καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον μοι περὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἐνεστάναι συμβέβηκε. δύο μὲν γάρ εἰσιν ἱερουργίαι, τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἑτέρα δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου  
 225 συντελούμεναι κατὰ δύο γίνονται τρόπους· τῆς μὲν ὀλοκαυτεῖται πᾶν τὸ θυόμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοιαύτην ἔλαβεν, ἡ δὲ χαριστήριός τέ ἐστι καὶ κατ' εὐωχίαν δρᾶται τῶν  
 226 τεθυκότων· ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τῆς προτέρας. ἀνὴρ ἰδιώτης ὀλοκαυτῶν θύει μὲν βοῦν καὶ ἄρνιον καὶ ἔριφον· ταῦτα μὲν ἐπέτεια, τοὺς δὲ βοῦς ἐφέϊται θύειν καὶ προήκοντας· ἄρρενα δὲ ὀλοκαυτεῖται τὰ πάντα. σφαγέντων δὲ τούτων τὸν κύκλον τῷ  
 227 αἵματι δεύουσι τοῦ βωμοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς, εἶτα καθαρὰ ποιήσαντες διαμελίζουσι καὶ πάσαντες ἀλσὶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνατιθέασι σχιζῶν ἤδη πεπληρωμένον

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* in the projected "Customs and Causes" (§ 205 note). This raises a doubt whether in the parallel passage (§ 213) he refers to the projected or to the present work.

<sup>b</sup> Or "purity laws," referring to cap. xi. §§ 258 ff. (see § 273 in particular).

<sup>c</sup> Philo draws the same distinction, τῶν θυσιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσιν ὑπὲρ ἅπαντος τοῦ ἔθνους . . . αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου (*De Victimis* 3, § 168, quoted by Weill).

<sup>d</sup> The meaning "holocaust" (LXX ὀλοκαύτωμα or -καύτωσις E.V. "burnt-offering") is not inherent in the Hebrew 'ōlāh, which strictly = "that which goes up" to heaven.

<sup>e</sup> Details not in Scripture. Throughout these chapters on ritual Josephus borrows to some extent from tradition; for the full Rabbinical parallels the reader should consult the invaluable commentary of M. Weill (in the French trans-

bear to say more about them, having resolved to compose another treatise upon these laws.<sup>a</sup>

(ix. 1) Here I will but mention some few of the regulations concerning purifications <sup>b</sup> and the ritual of sacrifice, since I have been led to speak of the sacrifices. There are two kinds of sacrifice—one offered by individuals, the other by the community <sup>c</sup>—taking two distinct forms. In the first, the whole of the sacrificial victim is burnt entire, whence the sacrifice derives its corresponding name <sup>d</sup>; the other is of the nature of a thank-offering and performed with the intention of providing a feast for those who have offered it. I will begin by speaking of the first type. An individual who offers a holocaust kills an <sup>i. 3, 10.</sup> ox, a lamb, and a kid, these last being a year old; the slain oxen may be older than this <sup>e</sup>; but all victims for these holocausts must be males.<sup>f</sup> The beasts being slaughtered, the priests drench with <sup>i. 5, 11.</sup> the blood the circuit <sup>g</sup> of the altar, and then, after cleansing them,<sup>h</sup> dismember them, sprinkle them with salt,<sup>i</sup> and lay them upon the altar, already laden

SACRIFICES  
of various  
kinds.  
Whole  
burnt-  
offerings.  
Lev. i. 1.

lation, ed. T. Reinach), to which the present writer is deeply indebted. See also G. F. Moore's art. "Sacrifice" in *Encycl. Bibl.* According to tradition (*Para* i. 3) lambs and kids, as well as oxen, might be over a year old.

<sup>f</sup> All quadrupeds (Lev. i. 3, 10); for birds, not mentioned by Josephus, Leviticus (i. 14) laid down no similar restriction and tradition permitted the use of females.

<sup>g</sup> So Lev. i. 5: traditionally only the N.E. and S.W. corners.

<sup>h</sup> Lev. specifies only the washing of inwards and legs, mentioned below; but 2 Chron. iv. 6 suggests complete cleansing.

<sup>i</sup> The regulation of Lev. ii. 13, though there confined to the "meal offering," was taken to apply to all sacrifices.

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καὶ πυρὸς φλεγομένου. τοὺς δὲ πόδας τῶν ἱερείων καὶ τὰ κατὰ νηδὺν ἐκκαθάραντες ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαγνισθησόμενα προσεπιφέρουσι, τὰς δωρὰς τῶν ἱερέων λαμβανόντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀλοκαυτώσεως τρόπος ἐστὶν οὗτος.

228 (2) Τὰς δὲ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες ταῦτὰ μὲν ζῶα θύουσιν, ὀλόκληρα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπετείων πρεσβύτερα, ἄρρενα μέντοι θήλεισι συνδυναζόμενα. θύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα φοινίσσουσι μὲν αἷματι τὸν βωμόν, τοὺς δὲ νεφροὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν καὶ πάντα τὰ πιμελῆ σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἄρνός  
229 ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. τὸ δὲ στήθος καὶ τὴν κνήμην τὴν δεξιὰν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι παρασχόντες ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας εὐωχοῦνται τοῖς καταλειπομένοις τῶν κρεῶν, ἃ δ' ἂν περισσεύσῃ κατακαίουσι.

230 (3) Θύουσι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων<sup>1</sup> καὶ ὁμοίως τῷ προειρημένῳ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτάδων τῆς ἱερουργίας τρόπῳ γίνεται. οἱ δὲ ἀδύνατοι πορίζειν τὰ τέλεια θύματα περιστερὰς ἢ τρυγόνας δύο, ὧν τὸ μὲν ὀλοκαυτεῖται τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς βρώσιν διδόασιν. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περὶ τῆς θυσίας τῶνδε τῶν ζώων ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσίων  
231 ἐροῦμεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσῶν ἄρνα καὶ ἔριφον θήλειαν τῶν αὐτοετῶν προσφέρει, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἷματι δεύει τὸν βωμόν ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὐχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ τῶν γωνιῶν τὰς

<sup>1</sup> χαριστηρίων SPL.

<sup>a</sup> Lev. i. 6 mentions the flaying of the larger animal only.

<sup>b</sup> Heb. *shelāmim*, E.V. "peace-offerings" (margin "thank-offerings"), LXX θυσία σωτηρίου; "peace-offering" connects the word with *shalom* "peace," "thank-offering"

with wood and alight. The feet and the inwards of the victims are carefully cleansed before being placed with the other portions for consecration in the flames; the skins are taken by the priests.<sup>a</sup> Such is the manner of the whole burnt-offering. Lev. i. 9, 13.

(2) In the performance of sacrifices of thank-offering,<sup>b</sup> the same beasts are offered, but these must be without blemish, and may be upwards of a year old,<sup>c</sup> and males or females indifferently. Having slain these, they stain the altar with their blood; the kidneys, the caul, all the fat along with the lobe of the liver, as also the lamb's tail, they then lay upon the altar. But the breast and the right leg are offered to the priests, and for two days they feast upon the remainder of the flesh, all that is left over being burnt up. Thank-offerings.  
Ib. iii. 1.

(3) They offer sacrifices also for sins, the ritual for these being similar to that just described. But those who are unable to afford the full sacrifices<sup>d</sup> bring two pigeons or two turtle-doves, of which one is burnt as a holocaust to God, and the other is given to the priests to be eaten. I shall, however, speak more precisely on the offering of these creatures in my treatise on the sacrifices.<sup>e</sup> A person who through ignorance has fallen into sin brings a lamb and a female kid<sup>f</sup> of a year old,<sup>g</sup> and with the blood the priest sprinkles the altar, not, however, as before, with the cognate verb *shillam* "repay" (as a return to God for benefits received). Sin-offerings:  
Ib. v. 7.  
(i) for sins of ignorance.  
Ib. iv. 27, 32.

<sup>c</sup> Leviticus specifies no age.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the larger victim: "if his means suffice not for a lamb" (Lev. v. 7). <sup>e</sup> The projected work (i. 25 note).

<sup>f</sup> In Lev. lamb and kid are alternatives.

<sup>g</sup> I follow Whiston: *αὐτοετής* must here, I think, mean "just a year," not (as Hudson and Weill render) "of the same year" (*cf.* § 237). This detail comes from Numb. xv. 27.

- ἔξοχάς, καὶ τοὺς τε νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πιμελὴν  
 σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ,  
 οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τὰς τε δορὰς ἀποφέρονται καὶ τὰ κρέα  
 ἐπ' ἐκείνης δαπανήσονται<sup>1</sup> τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ  
 232 ἱερῷ· ὁ γὰρ νόμος εἰς τὴν αὖριον ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ  
 ἔῤ. ὁ δὲ ἁμαρτῶν μὲν αὐτῷ δὲ συνειδῶς καὶ  
 μηδένα ἔχων τὸν ἐξελέγχοντα κριὸν θύει, τοῦ  
 νόμου τοῦτο κελεύοντος, οὗ τὰ κρέα κατὰ τὸ  
 ἱερὸν ὁμοίως οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐθημερὸν σιτοῦνται. οἱ  
 δὲ ἄρχοντες ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἐκθύμενοι ταῦτά  
 μὲν κομίζουσι τοῖς ἰδιώταις, διαλλάσσουσι δὲ τῷ  
 προσάγειν θύματα ταῦρον ἔριφον ἄρσενας.
- 233 (†) Νόμος δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις  
 θυσίαις καὶ ἄλευρον ἐπιφέρεσθαι καθαρῶτατον,  
 ἄρνι μὲν ἄσσαρῶνος μέτρον κριῷ δὲ δυοῖν ταύρω  
 δὲ τριῶν. τοῦτο καθαγνίζουσιν<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ  
 234 μεμαγμένον ἐλαίῳ· κομίζεται γὰρ δὴ καὶ ἔλαιον  
 ὑπὸ τῶν τεθυκότων, ἐπὶ μὲν βοῖ εἰνὸς ἡμισυ, ἐπὶ  
 δὲ κριῷ μέρος τούτου τρίτον τοῦ μέτρου, καὶ  
 τετάρτη μερίς ἐπ' ἄρνι· ὁ δ' εἶν μέτρον ἀρχαῖον  
 Ἑβραίων <ὦν><sup>3</sup> δύναται δύο χόας Ἀττικούς. τὸ  
 δ' αὐτὸ μέτρον τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνου παρήγον,  
 235 σπένδουσι δὲ περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν οἶνον. εἰ δέ τις  
 θυσίαν οὐκ ἐπιτελῶν ἐπήνεγκε κατ' εὐχὴν σεμίδαλιν,  
 ταύτης ἀπαρχὴν μίαν ἐπιβάλλει τῷ βωμῷ δράκα,  
 τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τροφήν λαμβάνουσιν

<sup>1</sup> Niese ex Lat.: δαπανήσαντες codd.

<sup>2</sup> RO: καθαγιαζουσιν rell.

<sup>3</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. "the horns of the altar" (Lev. iv. 30-34).

<sup>b</sup> Reference unverifiable.

<sup>c</sup> "Ils offrent *en plus*" (Weill). This makes intelligible sense, but the meaning can hardly be extracted from προσάγειν.



but only the projecting corners <sup>a</sup>; the kidneys, along with the fat and the lobe of the liver, are laid upon the altar; but the priests carry off the skins and also the flesh, which they will consume that same day in the temple, for the law <sup>b</sup> does not permit it to be left until the morrow. On the other hand, the sinner who is conscious of sin, but has none to convict him of it, sacrifices a ram (so the law ordains), whose flesh is likewise consumed in the temple by the priests on the selfsame day. The rulers, when making sacrifices of atonement for their sins, bring the same things as private individuals, with the difference that they offer <sup>c</sup> males, a bull and a kid. <sup>d</sup>

(4) A further law ordains that for all sacrifices, private and public, there should be offered also wheat flour, perfectly pure, of the measure of an *assarôn* <sup>e</sup> for a lamb, of two for a ram, and of three for a bullock. This they devote to the flames on the altar, kneaded in oil; for those offering sacrifice bring oil as well, for an ox half a *hin*, for a ram the third part of this measure, for a lamb a quarter—the *hin* being an ancient Hebrew measure, equivalent to two Attic *choes*. <sup>f</sup> They brought moreover the same measure of wine as of oil, pouring the wine as a libation around the altar. But if anyone, without performing sacrifice, offered fine flour in fulfilment of a vow, he took a handful of this and flung it as first-fruits upon the altar; the rest was appropriated by the priests for consumption, whether boiled (for

Lev. iv. 9.

(ii.) for wilful sins, *Jb.* vi. 2. (= v. 21 Hebr.).

iv. 22 f.

Offerings of meal, oil, and wine. *Numb.* xv. 4-10.

Lev. ii. 1, vi. 14 (7 Hebr.).

<sup>d</sup> Lev. (iv. 23) names only "a goat, a male without blemish" as the offering of a "ruler"; a bullock is the sin-offering of the high-priest and of the whole congregation (iv. 3, 14).

<sup>e</sup> = "a tenth part (of an *ephah*)," *Numb.* xv. 4, otherwise an *omer*: see § 29 note.

<sup>f</sup> *Cf.* § 197.

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- ἢ ἐψηθεῖσαν, ἐλαίῳ γὰρ συμπεφύραται, ἢ γενο-  
 μένων ἄρτων. ἱερέως δὲ κομίσαντος καὶ ὀποσονοῦν  
 236 ὄλοκαυτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος θύειν  
 ζῶον αὐθημερόν<sup>1</sup> μετὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐπὶ  
 ταῦτό, οὐδ' ἄλλως δὲ πρὶν ὀγδόην ἡμέραν γεννη-  
 θέντι διελθεῖν. γίνονται δὲ ἄλλαι θυσίαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ  
 τὰς νόσους διαφυγεῖν ἢ κατ' ἄλλας αἰτίας, εἰς ἃς  
 πέμματα σὺν ἱερείοις ἀναλίσκεται, ὧν εἰς τὴν  
 ὑστεραίαν<sup>2</sup> οὐδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐστὶ νόμιμον, τῶν  
 ἱερέων μέρος ἴδιον λαβόντων.
- 237 (x. 1) Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀναλώματος νόμος  
 ἐστὶν ἄρνα καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν σφάζεσθαι τῶν  
 αὐτοετῶν ἀρχομένης τε ἡμέρας καὶ ληγούσης,  
 κατὰ δὲ ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, ἣτις σάββατα καλεῖται,  
 δύο σφάττουσι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἱερουργοῦντες.
- 238 τῇ δὲ νομηνία τὰς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπι-  
 τελοῦσι καὶ δύο βόας σὺν ἀρνάσιν ἐνιαυσιαίοις ἑπτὰ  
 καὶ κριόν, ἔριφον δὲ ἐπὶ παραιτήσεσιν<sup>3</sup> ἀμαρτάδων,  
 εἴ τι κατὰ λήθην γένοιτο.
- 239 (2) Τῷ δ' ἐβδόμῳ μηνί, ὃν Μακεδόνες Ὑπερ-  
 βερεταῖον καλοῦσι, προσθέντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις  
 ταῦρον καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ θύουσι καὶ ἔριφον  
 ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων.

<sup>1</sup> RO: αὐθημερινὸν *rell.*

<sup>2</sup> Niese: ὑστέραν (*ἐτέραν* RO) *codd.*

<sup>3</sup> παραιτήσει Niese (*cf.* xviii. 117).

<sup>a</sup> Perhaps referring to the "sacrifice of thanksgiving" (χαρμοσύνης LXX) in the verses of Leviticus immediately following (xxii. 29 f.) though neither "sickness" nor "sweetmeats" are there specified.

<sup>b</sup> *Cf.* *Ap.* ii. 77. This was the view of the Pharisees, based on the use of the plural in Numb. xxviii. 2, "shall *ye* observe," as opposed to that of the Sadducees who, on the strength of the singular in v. 4, "shalt *thou* offer," main-

it had been soaked in oil) or in the form of bread. But if offered, in whatever quantity, by a priest, it had to be burnt entire. Lev. vi. 23 (16).

The law further forbids us to sacrifice any animal on the same day and in the same place as its parent, and in no case before eight days have elapsed since its birth. There are also other sacrifices<sup>a</sup> offered for escape from sickness or for other reasons; upon these, along with the victims, sweetmeats are expended, of which nothing may be left over for the morrow, the priests receiving a special portion.

(x. 1) The law ordains that at the public expense<sup>b</sup> a lamb of a year old<sup>c</sup> shall be slain daily, both at the opening and at the close<sup>d</sup> of the day; but on the seventh day, which is called the sabbath, they slay two (on each occasion), the ritual being otherwise the same. On the new moon, besides the daily sacrifices, they offer two oxen, together with seven yearling lambs and a ram, as also a kid in expiation for any sins which may have been committed through forgetfulness. Further sacrificial regulations. *Ib.* xxii. 27 f.  
Daily sacrifices : sabbaths and new moons. Numb. xxviii. 3-15 : Ex. xxix. 38 ff.

(2) In the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetaeus,<sup>e</sup> in addition to the aforesaid victims, they sacrifice a bull, a ram, seven lambs, and a kid as sin-offering. Sacrifices of the 7th month : 1st day. Numb. xxix. 1.

tained that the *Tamid* ("continuous" daily sacrifice) could be offered and paid for by individuals (Weill, quoting references).

<sup>c</sup> § 231 note : Bibl. "of the first year" (LXX *ἐνιαυτός*).

<sup>d</sup> According to Ex. xxix. 39 "between the two evenings" (at twilight); actually in the Herodian temple between 3 and 4 o'clock, *A.* xiv. 65 *περι ἐνάτην ὥραν*, Mishna *Pesahim* v. t.

<sup>e</sup> *i.e.* in Hebrew terminology, on the 1st of *Tishri*, otherwise *Rosh Ha-shanah* ("head of the year"), the autumnal New Year's Day (September-October) or "F. of Trumpets." The words "on the new moon" have either dropped out of the text or are to be supplied from the previous sentence.

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- 240 (3) Δεκάτη δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σελήνην  
 διανηστεύοντες ἕως ἑσπέρας θύουσιν<sup>1</sup> ἐν ταύτῃ  
 τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦρον τε καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας  
 241 ἑπτὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων ἔριφον. προσάγουσι δὲ  
 δύο πρὸς τούτοις ἐρίφους, ὧν ὁ μὲν ζῶν εἰς τὴν  
 ὑπερόριον ἐρημίαν πέμπεται ἀποτροπιασμὸς καὶ  
 παραίτησις τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτη-  
 μάτων ἐσόμενος, τὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις εἰς  
 242 οὐσι τῇ δορᾷ μηδὲν ὄλως καθάραντες. συγκατα-  
 καίεται δὲ ταῦρος οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαχθείς,  
 ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως  
 παρασχόντος· οὐδὲ σφαγέντος εἰσκομίσας εἰς τὸν  
 ναὸν τοῦ αἵματος ἅμα καὶ τοῦ ἐρίφου ραίνει τῷ  
 243 δακτύλῳ τὸν ὄροφον ἑπτάκις, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ  
 ἔδαφος καὶ τσαυτάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ περὶ τὸν  
 χρύσειον βωμὸν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν περὶ τῷ μείζονι  
 κομίσας εἰς τὸ αἶθριον· πρὸς τούτοις τὰς ἔξοχὰς  
 καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν σὺν τῷ λοβῷ  
 τοῦ ἥπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. παρέχεται δὲ  
 καὶ κριὸν ὃ ἀρχιερεὺς ὀλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ.  
 244 (4) Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς καὶ δεκάτῃ,

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: θύουσι δ' codd. (which Niese retains, indicating a lacuna before it).

<sup>a</sup> 10th *Tishri*, *Yom Kippur* or "Day of Atonement," the most solemn fast in the Jewish calendar.

<sup>b</sup> "One ram" Numb. xxix. 8, "one ram" Lev. xvi. 5: Josephus appears to adopt the view held by some Rabbis that the two passages refer to different sacrifices (see Weill).

<sup>c</sup> Josephus here distantly alludes to the mysterious figure, taken over from primitive pagan belief, of *Azazel* (prob. = "entire removal," Lxx ἀποπομπαῖος), the wilderness spirit or *jinn* to whom the scapegoat was sent, Lev. xvi. 8 ff.

(3) On the tenth of the same lunar month <sup>a</sup> they fast until evening ; on this day they sacrifice a bull, two rams,<sup>b</sup> seven lambs, and a kid as sin-offering. But besides these they offer two kids, of which one is sent alive into the wilderness beyond the frontiers, being intended to avert <sup>c</sup> and serve as an expiation for the sins of the whole people ; while the other they conduct to the suburbs <sup>d</sup> to a spot that is perfectly pure, and there burn it, skin and all, without any cleansing whatsoever. Along with it is burnt a bullock, which is not offered by the community but is provided at his own expense <sup>e</sup> by the high-priest. So soon as this bullock has been slain, he brings into the sanctuary some of its blood, as also of the blood of the kid, and with his finger sprinkles it toward the ceiling seven times, and likewise on the floor,<sup>f</sup> and as many times over the sanctuary itself and around the golden altar <sup>g</sup> ; the rest he carries into the outer court and sprinkles about the larger altar.<sup>h</sup> Furthermore, they lay upon the altar the extremities, the kidneys, and the fat with the lobe of the liver.<sup>i</sup> The high-priest also provides on his own account a ram for a burnt-offering to God.

10th day  
(Day of  
Atonement)  
Numb.  
xxix. 7.  
The scape-  
goat and  
other  
ceremonies.  
Lev. xvi. 5 ff

xvi. 14.

xvi. 18.

xvi. 25.

xvi. 3.

15th day :  
F. of  
Tabernacles

(4) On the fifteenth of this same month, at which

<sup>a</sup> "Without the camp," Lev. xvi. 27.

<sup>c</sup> So the Talmud interpreted the repeated phrase "the bullock which is for himself," Lev. xvi. 6, 11.

<sup>f</sup> Details not in Scripture ; according to tradition once upwards, seven times on the floor (*Yoma* v. 4, 5, *ap.* Weill).

<sup>g</sup> The altar of incense, § 147.

<sup>h</sup> The brazen altar, § 149. Leviticus mentions one altar only, "He shall go out unto the altar that is before the Lord," clearly (it would seem) meaning the brazen altar, though interpreted by the Mishna as the golden altar (*Yoma* v. 5).

<sup>i</sup> Added details : Lev. mentions only the burning of the fat.

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τρεπομένου τὸ λοιπὸν τοῦ καιροῦ πρὸς τὴν  
 χειμερινήν<sup>1</sup> ὥραν, σκηναὺς πῆγνυσθαι κελεύει κατ'  
 οἰκίαν ἕκαστον, τὸ<sup>2</sup> κρύος ὑφορωμένους ἐπὶ  
 245 φυλακῇ τοῦ ἔτους, ὅταν τε<sup>3</sup> πατρίδων ἐπιτύχοιεν,  
 παραγινόμενους εἰς ἐκείνην τὴν πόλιν, ἣν διὰ τὸν  
 ναὸν μητρόπολιν ἔξουσι, ἐφ' ἡμέρας ὀκτὼ ἑορτὴν  
 ἄγοντας ὀλοκαυτεῖν τε καὶ θύειν τῷ θεῷ τότε  
 χαριστήρια, φέροντας ἐν ταῖς χερσὶν εἰρεσιώνην  
 μυρσίνης καὶ ἰτέας σὺν κράδῃ φοίνικος πεποιη-  
 μένην τοῦ μήλου τοῦ τῆς περσέας προσόντος.  
 246 εἶναι δὲ τῇ πρώτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν τὴν τῆς ὀλοκαυ-  
 τώσεως θυσίαν ἐκ τριῶν καὶ δέκα βοῶν καὶ ἀρνῶν  
 ἐνὶ πλειόνων καὶ κριῶν δύο, κατὰ παραίτησιν  
 ἀμαρτιῶν ἐρίφου προστιθεμένου. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς  
 ἡμέραις ὁ μὲν αὐτὸς ἀριθμὸς τῶν ἀρνῶν καὶ τῶν  
 κριῶν σὺν τῷ ἐρίφῳ θύεται, ὑφαιροῦντες δὲ  
 ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἓνα τῶν βοῶν εἰς ἑπτὰ<sup>4</sup> κατα-  
 247 τῶσι. ἀνιένται δὲ ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου κατὰ τὴν  
 ὀγδόην ἡμέραν καὶ τῷ θεῷ, καθὰ προειρήκαμεν,<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> RO; χειμέριον *rell.*

<sup>2</sup> *Lat., ed. pr.:* τό τε *codd.*

<sup>3</sup> ὅταν τε *Lat. (dumque), ed. pr.:* ὅταν *codd.*

<sup>4</sup> πέντε RO.

<sup>5</sup> καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν ROM.

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<sup>a</sup> The F. of *Sukkoth* ("Tabernacles" or "Booths," Gr. *σκηνοπηγία*) synchronized with the autumnal equinox, Philo, *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 24, § 204 καιρὸν ἔχουσα τὸν μετοπωρινῆς ἰσημερίας, or in Rabbinical terminology the *Tekuphah*, the "circuit" or revolution of the year (Ex. xxxiv. 22).

<sup>b</sup> Literally "for protection against the year," or possibly "in observance of (the season of) the year." This curious statement, suggestive not of a special festival, but of a practice to be continued throughout the winter, seems to stand alone. The nearest parallel is one of two alternative suggestions of Philo (*loc. cit.*), viz. that the dwelling in tents during the period of the feast indicated a return to a more sheltered

the turning-point to the winter season is now reached,<sup>a</sup> Moses bids each family to fix up tents, apprehensive of the cold and as a protection against the year's inclemency.<sup>b</sup> Moreover, when they should have won their fatherland,<sup>c</sup> they were to repair to that city which they would in honour of the temple regard as their metropolis, and there for eight days keep festival: they were to offer burnt-offerings and sacrifices of thanksgiving to God in those days, bearing in their hands a bouquet composed of myrtle<sup>d</sup> and willow with a branch of palm,<sup>e</sup> along with fruit of the persea.<sup>f</sup> On the first of those days their burnt sacrifice should consist of thirteen oxen, as many lambs and one over, two rams, and a kid to boot in propitiation for sins. On the following days the same number of lambs and of rams is sacrificed, together with the kid, but they reduce that of the oxen by one daily until they reach seven.<sup>g</sup> They abstain from all work on the eighth day<sup>h</sup> and, as we have said,<sup>i</sup> sacrifice to God a calf, a ram, seven

Numb. xxix.  
12: Lev.  
xxiii. 34.

Lev.  
xxiii. 40.

Numb.  
xxix. 13.

Ib. 35.

existence (στεγανωτέρας διαίτης) after the open-air life during the harvest, with its exposure to cold (κρυμός) and heat. He adds the Biblical interpretation (Lev. xxiii. 42 f.), viz. that it commemorated the dwelling in huts during the wanderings in the wilderness. *Sukkah* is Isaiah's word for "a booth in a vineyard," and *Sukkoth*, the vintage festival, is now thought to derive its name from the improvised shelters of the grape-gatherers.

<sup>a</sup> The Greek has the plural, "native cities" (or "estates").

<sup>b</sup> In Lev. "boughs of thick trees," traditionally interpreted as myrtle (Onkelos etc.).

<sup>c</sup> Known as the *lulab*.

<sup>f</sup> Lev. (vaguely) "fruit of goodly trees"; the fruit actually carried, known as the *ethrog*, was a kind of citron (*A. xiii. 372* κυτρίους αὐτὸν ἐβαλλον). <sup>g</sup> *i.e.* on the seventh day.

<sup>h</sup> Kept as a "closing festival" (Heb. 'azereth).

<sup>i</sup> Reference unverifiable.

μόσχον τε θύουσι<sup>1</sup> καὶ κριὸν καὶ ἄρνας ἑπτὰ, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀμαρτημάτων παραιτήσεως ἔριφον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑβραίοις τὰς σκηναὶς πηγνύουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἔστι πάτριον.

- 248 (5) Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῷ Ξανθικῷ, ὃς Νισὰν παρ' ἡμῖν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἔτους ἔστιν ἀρχή, τεσσαρεσκα-  
 δεκάτη κατὰ σελήνην ἐν κριῷ τοῦ ἡλίου καθεστῶτος, τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ μηνὶ τῆς ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίους δουλείας ἠλευθερώθημεν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν τότε ἐξιόντας ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου θῦσαι προεῖπον ἡμᾶς πάσχα λεγο-  
 μένην, δι' ἔτους ἐκάστου θύειν ἐνόμισεν, καὶ δὴ  
 249 τελοῦμεν αὐτὴν κατὰ φατρίας μηδενοῦ τῶν τεθυ-  
 μένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν τηρουμένου. πέμπτη δὲ  
 καὶ δεκάτη διαδέχεται τὴν πάσχα ἢ τῶν ἀζύμων  
 ἑορτὴ ἑπτὰ ἡμέρας οὔσα, καθ' ἣν ἀζύμοις τρέφονται  
 καὶ καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ταῦροι σφάζονται δύο  
 καὶ κριὸς μὲν εἰς ἑπτὰ δὲ ἄρνες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν  
 ὀλοκαυτεῖται προστιθεμένου τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἐρίφου  
 ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων εἰς εὐωχίαν κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην  
 250 τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἀζύμων ἡμέρᾳ,  
 ἕκτη δ' ἔστιν αὕτη καὶ δεκάτη, τῶν καρπῶν οὓς  
 ἐθέρισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἦψαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μετα-  
 λαμβάνουσι καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἡγούμενοι τιμᾶν δίκαιον  
 εἶναι πρῶτον, παρ' οὗ τῆς εὐπορίας τούτων ἔτυχον,  
 τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῷ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι τρόπον

<sup>1</sup> θύομεν R (θύμενον O).

<sup>a</sup> The ecclesiastical year, beginning in the spring: A. i. 81 note.

<sup>b</sup> ii. 311 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Or "companies," ii. 312 note.

<sup>d</sup> Reckoned as "eight" in ii. 317 (with note).

<sup>e</sup> "On the morrow of the sabbath" Lev. xxiii. 11 and 15, an ambiguous and disputed phrase, on the interpretation of



lambs, and a kid in propitiation for sins. Such are the rites, handed down from their forefathers, which the Hebrews observe when they erect their tabernacles.

(5) In the month of Xanthicus, which with us is called Nisan and begins the year,<sup>a</sup> on the fourteenth day by lunar reckoning, the sun being then in Aries, our lawgiver, seeing that in this month we were delivered from bondage to the Egyptians, ordained that we should year by year offer the same sacrifice which, as I have already said,<sup>b</sup> we offered then on departure from Egypt—the sacrifice called *Pascha*. And so in fact we celebrate it by fraternities,<sup>c</sup> nothing of the sacrificial victims being kept for the morrow. On the fifteenth the Passover is followed up by the Feast of Unleavened bread, lasting seven<sup>d</sup> days, during which our people subsist on unleavened loaves and each day there are slaughtered two bulls, a ram, and seven lambs. These are all used for burnt-offerings, a kid being further added as sin-offering, which serves each day to regale the priests. On the second day of unleavened bread,<sup>e</sup> that is to say the sixteenth,<sup>f</sup> our people partake of the crops which they have reaped and which have not been touched till then, and esteeming it right first to do homage to God, to whom they owe the abundance of these gifts, they offer to Him the first-fruits of the barley

F. of Pass-  
over and of  
Unleavened  
Bread.  
Lev. xxiii. 5.

Ib. 6, Numb.  
xxviii. 17.

Lev.  
xxiii. 11.

which the date of Pentecost depended (§ 252). Josephus follows the orthodox Pharisaic view that "the sabbath" meant the first day of the F. of Unleavened Bread; so too the LXX (τῆ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης) and Philo (ἐορτὴ ἐν ἐορτῇ ἢ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθὺς ἡμέραν, *De Spec. Leg.* ii. 20, § 162). The Sadducees (and in later days the Karaites) identified it with the ordinary sabbath falling within the festal week.

<sup>f</sup> Of Nisan.

- 251 τοιοῦτον. φρύξαντες τῶν ἀσταχύων τὸ δράγμα καὶ πτίσαντες καὶ καθαρὰς πρὸς ἄλεστον τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες τῷ βωμῷ ἄσσαρῶνα προσφέρουσι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μίαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφιασιν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι· καὶ τότε λοιπὸν δημοσίᾳ ἕξεστι πᾶσι καὶ ἰδία θερίζειν. θύουσι δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς τῶν καρπῶν ἄρνιον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν<sup>1</sup> τῷ θεῷ.
- 252 (6) Ἐβδόμης ἑβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης μετὰ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν, αὗται δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἑβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἑννέα, τῇ πεντηκοστῇ, ἣν Ἑβραῖοι ἄσαρθὰ καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πεντηκοστήν, [καθ ἦν]<sup>2</sup> προσάγουσι τῷ θεῷ ἄρτον<sup>3</sup> ἀλφίτων μὲν πυρίνων ἄσσαρῶνας δύο μετὰ
- 253 ζύμης γεγονότων, θυμάτων δὲ ἄρνας δύο· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προσάγειν νόμιμον,<sup>4</sup> εἰς δὲ δείπνον τοῖς ἱερεῦσι σκευάζεται καὶ καταλιπεῖν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν συγκεχωρημένον· ὀλοκαυτωθησομένους μόσχους τε θύουσι τρεῖς καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα,

<sup>1</sup> ὀλοκαύτωσιν RO.<sup>2</sup> om. ed. pr.<sup>3</sup> L: ἄρτων (panes Lat.) rell.<sup>4</sup> Niese: νόμιμον μόνον RO: μόνον rell.

<sup>a</sup> In Leviticus the ceremony consists of the bringing of the first sheaf (*omer*, δράγμα) straight from the harvest-field to the priest, who "waves" it before the Lord; there is a mere gesture of presentation. The sheaf, according to Philo (*loc. cit.*), gave its name (δράγμα) to the feast. On the other hand, the preparation of the barley and the throwing of a handful on the altar, as described by Josephus, rest on later tradition; for the processes of preparation (here not very intelligibly expressed) Weill refers to the Mishna (*Menahoth* vi. 4).

in the following wise. After parching and crushing the little sheaf of ears and purifying the barley for grinding,<sup>a</sup> they bring to the altar an *assarôn*<sup>b</sup> for God, and, having flung a handful thereof on the altar, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. There after all are permitted, publicly or individually, to begin harvest. Moreover, besides the first-fruits of the crops, they offer a young lamb as a burnt-offering to God.

Lev.  
xxiii. 12.

(6) When the seventh week following this sacrifice has elapsed—these are the forty-nine days of the (so-called) “Weeks”<sup>c</sup>—on the fiftieth day, which the Hebrews call *Asartha*, the word denoting “fiftieth,”<sup>d</sup> they present to God a loaf<sup>e</sup> of two *assarôn*s of flour of wheat made with leaven and, as sacrifice, two lambs. These are by ordinance to be offered to God,<sup>f</sup> but are made up into a repast for the priests, and it is not permitted to leave any portion of them over for the morrow.<sup>g</sup> As whole burnt-offerings they further sacrifice three calves, two rams, four-

F. of  
Pentecost.  
Lev.  
xxiii. 15.

Ib. 18 f.;  
Numb.  
xxviii. 27 ff

<sup>b</sup> Or *ômer* (§ 233); Hebrew uses the same word for this *measure* and for “sheaf,” a fact which may have assisted the change of practice (previous note).

<sup>c</sup> The seven weeks, reckoned from the “waving” of the barley-sheaf (Lev. xxiii. 15) or from the time of first putting the sickle to the corn (Deut. xvi. 9), which gave to the F. of wheat-harvest its name “Feast of Weeks” (*Shābūoth*).

<sup>d</sup> Not “Pentecost,” which would be equally unintelligible to Greeks and would require the article. This is one of the author’s loose etymological statements. *’Azartha* is the Aramaic equivalent of the Heb. *’azereth*, the post-Biblical name for the F. of Weeks or Pentecost, and probably means “closing (festival),” as occurring at the close of the seven weeks.

<sup>e</sup> “Two wave loaves,” Lev. xxiii. 17.

<sup>f</sup> Some mss. add “alone.”

<sup>g</sup> Weill quotes the Mishna, *Menaḥoth* xi. 9, for an extension of the time, under certain circumstances, to three days.

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254 ἐρίφους δὲ δύο ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων. ἔστι δ' οὐδεμία τῶν ἑορτῶν, καθ' ἣν οὐχ ὀλοκαυτοῦσιν οὐδὲ τῶν πόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ἄνεσιν οὐ διδόασιν, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις νόμιμον τό τε τῆς θυσίας εἶδος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἀργίας ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίας<sup>1</sup> εἰσὶ τεθυκότες.

255 (7) Ἐκ μέντοι τοῦ κοινοῦ σίτος ὀπτός ζύμης ἄμοιρος, ἄσσαρωνες δ' εἴκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες εἰς τοῦτο ἀναλοῦνται. ὀπτῶνται δὲ ἀνὰ δύο διαιρεθέντες μὲν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ πρῶτ' κομισθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης τίθενται  
256 κατὰ ἕξ εἰς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένοι. δύο δὲ χρυσέων ὑπερκειμένων πινάκων λιβανωτοῦ γεμόντων διαμένουσιν ἕως τοῦ ἑτέρου σαββάτου· καὶ τότε μὲν ἀντ' ἐκείνων ἄλλοι κομίζονται, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρὸς τροφήν δίδονται, καὶ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ θυμιωμένου ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ πυρί, ἐφ' ᾧ καὶ ὀλοκαυτοῦσι τὰ πάντα, λιβανωτὸς<sup>2</sup> ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἄλλος ὑπὲρ  
257 τῶν ἄρτων προτίθεται.<sup>3</sup> θύει δ' ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ δις ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἄλευρον ἐλαίῳ μεμαγμένον<sup>4</sup> καὶ πεπηγὸς ὀπτῆσει βραχεία, καὶ εἰς μὲν ἔστιν ἄσσαρων τοῦ ἀλεύρου, τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ<sup>5</sup> πρῶτ', τὸ δ' ἕτερον δείλης ἐπιφέρει τῷ πυρί. τὸν μὲν οὖν περὶ

<sup>1</sup> εὐωχίας Niese.

<sup>2</sup> RO: + δὲ rell.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: προστίθεται codd.

<sup>4</sup> μειγμένον ROM Lat.

<sup>5</sup> + τὸ RO.

teen lambs, with two kids in atonement for sins.<sup>a</sup> There is, in fact, no festival whereon they do not offer burnt-offerings or fail to grant relaxation from the toils of labour: for each is prescribed the class of sacrifice and the period of untroubled repose, and it is with a feast in view that their sacrifices have been offered.

(7) At the public expense is provided bread baked without leaven,<sup>b</sup> twenty-four *assaróns* being employed for the purpose.<sup>c</sup> The loaves are baked two and two separately on the eve of the sabbath; then on the sabbath morn they are brought in and laid on the holy table in two opposite rows of six each. Two golden platters<sup>d</sup> laden with frankincense are placed over them, and so they remain until the following sabbath. Then others are brought in their stead, the former loaves are given to the priests for food, while the incense is burnt on the same holy fire whereon they consume all the burnt-offerings, and other incense to replace it is laid out above the loaves. The priest at his own expense, and that twice a day, offers meal soaked in oil and hardened by a little cooking; the amount is an *assarón* of meal, of which one half is put by him on the fire in the morning and the other towards evening. The explanation of

The shew-bread.  
Lev. xxiv. 5.

Oblations of the priest.  
*Ib.* vi. 20  
(13 Heb.).

<sup>a</sup> The figures for these animals differ in the two Biblical lists. Josephus adds the two lists together (except in the case of the rams, of which Lev. names two and Numbers one). In thus treating the lists as independent and complementary, he agrees with R. Akiba (*Menahoth* 45 b, quoted by Weill).

<sup>b</sup> So § 142 (not in Leviticus); the previous mention of these loaves accounts for some abruptness here.

<sup>c</sup> "Two tenth parts of an ephah," *i.e.* two *assaróns* going to each of the twelve cakes (*Lev. loc. cit.*).

<sup>d</sup> Two *cups* are shown on the table as depicted on the Arch of Titus; *cf.* § 143, where they are called *φιάλαι*.

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τούτων λόγον ἀκριβέστερον αὐθις δηλώσομεν, ἱκανὰ δέ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν προειρηθῆναι.

- 258 (xi. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν Λευίτιν φυλὴν τῆς πρὸς τὸν λαὸν κοινωνίας ὑπεξελόμενος ἱεράν ἐσομένην ἤγνιζε πηγαίοις ὕδασι καὶ ἀεναίοις καὶ θυσίαις, ἃς ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νομίμους παρέχονται τῷ θεῷ, τὴν τε σκηνὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἱερά καὶ τὰ ἄλλ' ὅσα πρὸς σκέπην τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπεποίητο παρέδωκεν, ὅπως ὑφηγουμένων τῶν ἱερέων ὑπηρετήσωσιν· ἤδη γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωντο.<sup>1</sup>
- 259 (2) Καὶ περὶ τῶν ζώων δὲ διέκρινεν ἕκαστον, ὅτι<sup>2</sup> τρέφοντο καὶ οὗ πάλιν ἀπεχόμενοι διατελοῖεν, περὶ ὧν ἐν οἷς ἂν ἡμῖν ἀφορμὴ τῆς γραφῆς γένηται διελευσόμεθα τὰς αἰτίας προστιθέντες, ἀφ'<sup>3</sup> ὧν κινήθεις τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν βρωτὰ<sup>4</sup> ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσεν
- 260 εἶναι, τῶν δὲ προσέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι. αἵματος μέντοι παντὸς εἰς τροφήν ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν χρῆσιν ψυχῆν αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα νομίζων, καὶ κρέως τοῦ τεθνηκότος αὐτομάτως ζῶου τὴν βρωσιν διεκώλυσεν, ἐπίπλου τε καὶ στέατος αἰγείου καὶ προβατείου καὶ τοῦ τῶν βοῶν ἀπέχεσθαι προεῖπεν.
- 261 (3) Ἀπήλασε δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς λέπρα τὰ σώματα κακωθέντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τὴν γονὴν ῥεομένους· καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δ' αἷς ἢ τῶν κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> SP(L): καθιέρωτο rell.

<sup>2</sup> ὅτι codd.: ᾧ τε has been suggested.

<sup>3</sup> ἐφ' Niese.

<sup>4</sup> R: βρώματα rell.

<sup>a</sup> In the projected "Customs and Causes," i. 25.

<sup>b</sup> The priests (§ 198); or, with the other reading "it" (the tabernacle, *ibid.*).

<sup>c</sup> In the projected work.

these matters will be given in greater detail hereafter<sup>a</sup>; for the present I think that what I have said already about them will suffice.

(xi. 1) Now Moses, having segregated the tribe of Levi from the general community, to make of it a holy tribe, purified it with the waters of perennial springs and with the sacrifices which on such occasions they offer to God as by law ordained; and to them he committed the tabernacle and the sacred vessels and everything that had been made for the covering of the tabernacle, to the end that they should act as ministers under the direction of the priests. For they<sup>b</sup> had already been consecrated to God.

PURITY  
LAWS.  
Consecra-  
tion of the  
Levites.  
Numb. iii. 5

(2) Moreover, as concerning animals, he distinguished in detail those which might be eaten and those on the contrary from which one must perpetually abstain. On these, whenever the occasion may come for treating of them, we shall discourse at length,<sup>c</sup> supplying the reasons which influenced him in ruling that some of them were eatable and in enjoining us to abstain from others. Howsoever, blood of any description he has forbidden to be used for food, regarding it as the soul and spirit; he has prohibited the eating of the flesh of an animal dying a natural death; and he has further required us to abstain from the caul<sup>d</sup> and from the fat of goats, sheep, and oxen.

Food laws.

Lev. xvii.  
10 f.

xi. 39.  
vii. 23.

(3) He banished from the city<sup>e</sup> alike those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy and those with contagious disease.<sup>f</sup> Women too, when beset by

Concerning  
lepers and  
the unclean;  
Ib. xiii.-xv.

<sup>d</sup> Not mentioned in Lev. *loc. cit.*

<sup>e</sup> "Without the camp" Lev. xiii. 46 (of the leper).

<sup>f</sup> Gonorrhoea; expulsion from "camp" or "city" is not specified in Leviticus in this instance.

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- φύσιν ἔκκρισις ἐπίοι<sup>1</sup> μετέστησε πρὸς ἡμέραν  
 ἐβδόμην, μεθ' ἣν ὡς ἤδη καθαραῖς ἐνδημεῖν ἐφίησιν.  
 262 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς κηδεύσασι νεκρὸν μετὰ τοσαύ-  
 τας ἡμέρας νόμιμον τὸ ἐνδημεῖν· τὸν δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν  
 ἀριθμὸν τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐνεχόμενον ἐν τῷ  
 μιάσματι θύειν νόμιμον ἀμνάδας δύο, ὧν τὴν μὲν  
 263 ἐτέραν καθαγνίζειν δεῖ, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν οἱ ἱερεῖς  
 λαμβάνουσιν. ὁμοίως δὲ θύουσι καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὴν  
 γονὴν ῥεομένου· ὃς δ' ἂν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους  
 ἀποκρίνη γονὴν, καθείς αὐτὸν εἰς ὕδωρ ψυχρὸν  
 ὁμοίως τοῖς κατὰ νόμον γυναικὶ πλησιάζουσιν  
 264 ἐξουσίαν ἔχει. τοὺς δὲ λεπρούς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς  
 ἐξήλασε τῆς πόλεως μηδενὶ συνδιαιωμένους καὶ  
 νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας· ἂν δέ τις ἐξικετεύσας  
 τὸν θεὸν ἀπολυθῆ τῆς νόσου καὶ τὴν ἐρρωμένην  
 κομίσηται χρῶαν, ὃ δὴ τοιοῦτος ποικίλαις ἀμείβεται  
 θυσίαις τὸν θεόν, περὶ ὧν ὕστερον ἐροῦμεν.  
 265 (4) Ὅθεν καὶ καταγελάσειεν ἂν τις τῶν λεγόντων  
 Μωυσῆν λέπρα κεκακωμένον αὐτὸν τε ἀπ' Αἰγύ-  
 πτου φυγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐκπεσόντων διὰ ταύτην τὴν  
 αἰτίαν ἠγησάμενον εἰς τὴν Χαναanaίαν ἀγαγεῖν  
 266 αὐτούς. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἦν ἀληθές, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ  
 αὐτοῦ Μωυσῆς ἀτιμία τοιαυτ' ἐνομοθέτησεν, οἷς  
 εὐλογον ἦν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτέρων εἰσηγουμένων  
 ἀντειρηκέσαι, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ πολλοῖς ὄντων  
 λεπρῶν ἔθνεσι καὶ τιμῆς ἀπολαυόντων, οὐ μόνον  
 ὕβρεως καὶ φυγῆς ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς

<sup>1</sup> ἔπεισι RO.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Ap. ii. 205 for purification of house and inmates after a funeral.

<sup>b</sup> No Scriptural parallel.

<sup>c</sup> Weill compares Numb. xii, 12 "as one dead" (of Miriam smitten with leprosy).



their natural secretions, he secluded until the seventh day, after which they were permitted, as now pure, to return to society. A like rule applies to those who have paid the last rites to the dead: after the same number of days they may rejoin their fellows.<sup>a</sup> But a person who exceeds this number of days in a state of defilement is required to sacrifice two lambs, of which one must be devoted to the flames and the other is taken by the priests.<sup>b</sup> The same sacrifices are offered in a case of contagious disease; but he who has an issue in his sleep will, by plunging into cold water, exonerate himself, like those who lawfully cohabit with their wives. Lepers, on the other hand, he banished outright from the city, to have intercourse with no man and as in no way differing from a corpse.<sup>c</sup> But if any by supplication to God obtains release from this disease and recovers a healthy skin, such an one returns thanks to God by divers sacrifices of which we shall speak hereafter.<sup>d</sup>

(4) From all this one can but regard as ridiculous those<sup>e</sup> who assert that Moses, being struck with leprosy, was himself forced to flee from Egypt and, taking command of all who had been expelled for the same reason, conducted them to Canaan. For, were this true, Moses would never have issued to his own humiliation statutes such as these, against which in all likelihood he would have himself protested had others introduced them, more especially since among many nations there are lepers in the enjoyment of honours, who, far from undergoing contumely and exile, conduct the most brilliant

Lev. xv. 19.

Numb. xix. 11; xxxi. 19.

Lev. xv. 16.

Absurdity of legends about the leprosy of Moses and his followers.

<sup>d</sup> In the projected work.

<sup>e</sup> Like Manetho, whose scurrilous charges are confuted at length in the *contra Apionem*; see in particular *Ap. i.* chap. 31, §§ 279 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

- ἐπισημοτάτας στρατείας στρατευομένων καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς πιστενομένων καὶ εἰς ἱερά καὶ  
 267 ναοὺς ἔχόντων ἔξουσίαν εἰσιέναι· ὥστ' οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε καὶ Μωυσῆν, εἰ τοιούτῳ τινὶ συμπτώματι περὶ τὴν χρόαν ἢ<sup>1</sup> τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἡλάττωτο, νομοθετῆσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μηδεμίαν  
 268 τοιαύτην ὀρίσαι ζημίαν. ἀλλὰ δῆλον μὲν, ὡς ταῦτα περὶ ἡμῶν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ βασκανίας προαγόμενοι, Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων καθαρὸς ὢν ἐν καθαροῖς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις περὶ τῶν νενοσηκότων ἐνομοθέτει κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ποιῶν. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἕκαστος ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ σκοπεῖτω.
- 269 (5) Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐπειδὰν τέκωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν εἰσιέναι κεκώλυκε καὶ θυσιῶν ἄπτεσθαι μέχρι τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἂν ἄρρεν τὸ τεχθὲν ἦ· διπλασίονας γὰρ εἶναι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ θηλυτοκίαις συμβέβηκεν. εἰσιοῦσαι μὲντοι μετὰ τὴν προειρημένην προθεσμίαν θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, ἃς οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τὸν θεὸν διανέμονται.
- 270 (6) Ἄν δ' ὑπονοήσῃ μεμοιχεῦσθαι τις αὐτῷ τὴν γυναῖκα, κομίζει κριθῆς ἀληλεσμένης ἄσσαρῶνα, καὶ μίαν αὐτῆς δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τῷ θεῷ τὸ λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόασιν εἰς τροφήν. τὴν δὲ γυναῖκα στήσας τις τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὰς πύλας, αἱ δ' εἰσὶ τετραμμένοι πρὸς τὸν νεών, καὶ τῆς

<sup>1</sup> ipse aut Lat. = <ἡ αὐτὸς> ἢ Bernard.

<sup>a</sup> With obvious reference to Naaman, captain of the host of the king of Syria, who leaned on this leper's hand in the house of Rimmon (2 Kings v. 1, 18).

<sup>b</sup> Notwithstanding their calumnies, the Egyptians "wish to claim Moses as one of themselves" (*Ap.* i. 279).

<sup>c</sup> On this formula, usually relating to incidents of a miraculous or quasi-mythical nature, see i. 108 note.

campaigns, are entrusted with offices of state, and have the right of entry to sacred courts and temples.<sup>a</sup> Consequently there was nothing to prevent Moses, had he or the host that accompanied him been marred by any such accident to the skin, from laying down laws concerning lepers of the most favourable character, instead of imposing any penalty of this nature. No; it is clear that in making these statements about us they are instigated by jealousy,<sup>b</sup> and that Moses was immune from all that, and, living among countrymen equally immune, that he legislated concerning those so diseased, and that it was in God's honour that he thus acted. However, on these matters let everyone judge as seems good to him.<sup>c</sup>

(5) Women after childbirth are forbidden by him to enter the temple or to touch the sacrifices<sup>d</sup> until forty days have elapsed, if it is a male infant; double that number is prescribed for the birth of a female. But they enter at the end of the aforesaid term to offer sacrifices, which the priests apportion to God.

Impurity of women in childbirth. Lev. xii. 2.

(6) If<sup>e</sup> a man suspects his wife of having committed adultery, he brings an *assarôn* of ground barley, of which a handful is devoted<sup>f</sup> to God and the rest is given to the priests for consumption. As for the woman, one of the priests stations her at the gates which face the temple<sup>g</sup> and, after removing

Ordeal of suspected adulteress. Numb. v. 12.

<sup>d</sup> "She shall touch no hallowed thing," Lev. xii. 4.

<sup>e</sup> A whole tractate of the Mishnah (*Sōtah*) is devoted to this subject; see also Philo, *De spec. leg.* iii. 10, §§ 52 ff.

<sup>f</sup> Literally "they throw upon (the altar)."

<sup>g</sup> "Shall set her before the Lord," Numb. v. 16. "In later times, according to *Sōtah* i. 5, the accused were brought to the Nicanor or eastern gate of the temple," G. B. Gray, *Int. Crit. Comm. in loc.*

## JOSEPHUS

- κεφαλῆς τὸ ἱμάτιον ἀφελὼν ἐπιγράφει μὲν τοῦ  
 271 θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν διφθέρα, κελεύει δὲ ὀμνύειν  
 μηδὲν ἡδικηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα, παραβᾶσαν δὲ τὸ  
 σῶφρον τοῦ δεξιοῦ σκέλους ἔξαρθρον γενέσθαι καὶ  
 τὴν γαστέρα πρησθεῖσαν οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν· ἂν δ'  
 ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτον ζηλο-  
 τυπίας προπετῶς ὁ ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν εἶη  
 κекινημένος, μηνὶ δεκάτῳ γενέσθαι παιδίον ἄρρεν  
 272 αὐτῇ. τῶν δ' ὄρκων τελειωθέντων τῆς διφθέρας  
 ἀπαλείψας τοῦνομα εἰς φιάλην ἐκπιέζει, προ-  
 κομίσας τε ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ γῆς εἴ τι προστύχοι καὶ  
 καταπάσας ἐκπιεῖν δίδωσιν· ἢ δ' εἰ μὲν ἀδίκως  
 ἐνεκλήθη, ἐγκύμων τε γίνεται καὶ τελεσφορεῖται  
 273 κατὰ τὴν γαστέρα· ψευσαμένη δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ  
 τοῖς γάμοις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄρκοις μετ'  
 αἰσχύνῃς καταστρέφει τὸν βίον, τοῦ τε σκέλους  
 ἐκπεσόντος αὐτῇ καὶ τὴν κοιλίαν ὑδέρου κατα-  
 λαβόντος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν θυσιῶν καὶ τῆς ἀγνείας  
 τῆς ἐπ' αὐταῖς ταῦτα Μωυσῆς τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις  
 προενόησε, νόμους δὲ αὐτοῖς τοιούτους ἔθετο.  
 274 (xii. 1) Μοιχείαν μὲν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἀπέειπε  
 νομίσας εὐδαιμον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμους ὑγιαίνειν τοὺς

<sup>a</sup> According to Scripture (Numb. v. 23) and tradition, the words of the imprecation.

<sup>b</sup> According to *Sōtah* ii. 4 a roll of parchment (*megillah*), the use of διφθέρα (the rougher unprepared skin) being expressly forbidden; Numb. "a book," Philo χαρτίδιον.

<sup>c</sup> Numb. v. 28 says merely that the woman, if innocent, "shall conceive seed." M. Weill quotes a discussion (*Sifré in loc.*) between R. Akiba and R. Ishmael on the interpretation of the phrase; according to the latter if she had hitherto had daughters only, she would henceforth have sons.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* the impression. "Potions into which written words

the veil from her head, inscribes the name of God <sup>a</sup> upon a skin <sup>b</sup>; he then bids her declare upon oath that she had done her husband no wrong, and that if she had violated decency then might her right leg be put out of joint, her belly swell and so might she die; but if, through excess of love and ensuing jealousy her husband had been precipitately moved to suspect her, then might she give birth in the tenth month to a male child.<sup>c</sup> These oaths being completed, the priest expunges from the skin the Name thereon and wrings it <sup>d</sup> into a bowl; then picking up any morsels of the temple soil that may come to hand he sprinkles them in and gives her to drink. And she, if she has been unjustly accused, becomes pregnant and brings the fruit of her womb to maturity; but if she has proved false to her husband in wedlock and to God by her oaths, she comes to an ignominious end, her leg falling away and dropsy attacking her belly.<sup>e</sup> Such were the provisions concerning sacrifices and the purification relating thereto that Moses made for his countrymen; and here are the further laws <sup>f</sup> which he drew up for them.

(xii. 1) Adultery he absolutely prohibited, deem-

VARIOUS  
LAWS.  
Forbidden  
marriages.  
Lev. xx. 10.

ing it blessed that men should be sane-minded con-  
have been washed off are widely credited with particular virtues" (G. B. Gray, quoting parallels from Tibet and Mahommedan Egypt).

<sup>e</sup> Numb. v. 27, "her belly shall swell and her thigh shall fall away." It has been suggested that in the primitive rite the meaning may have been that though the woman grows great with child ("the swelling belly") the birth would be abortive; "thigh" is probably euphemistic (Gray, *op. cit.* p. 48).

<sup>f</sup> Here, as in § 151 (note), I take *τοιούτους* (which in class. Greek is retrospective) to be used for *τοιούσδε* "as follows." *Iosephus ipse scripsit.*

- ἄνδρας, καὶ ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις συμ-  
 φέρειν τὸ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι γνησίους. καὶ τὸ μίσγε-  
 σθαι δὲ μητράσιν ὡς<sup>1</sup> κακὸν μέγιστον ὁ νόμος  
 ἀπέειπεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πατρὸς συνεῖναι γαμετῇ  
 καὶ τηθίσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παίδων γυναιξὶν ὡς  
 ἔκφυλον ἔχον τὴν ἀδικίαν μεμίσηκεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ  
 275 καὶ γυναικὶ μεμιασμένη τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν πλησιάζειν  
 μηδὲ κτήνεσιν εἰς συνουσίαν φοιτᾶν μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς  
 τὰ ἄρρενα μῖξιν τιμᾶν διὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ὤραν  
 ἡδονὴν θηρωμένους παράνομον. κατὰ δὲ τῶν εἰς  
 ταῦτ' ἐξυβρισάντων θάνατον ὤρισε τὴν τιμωρίαν.  
 276 (2) Τῶν δ' ἱερέων καὶ διπλασίονα τὴν ἀγνεῖαν  
 ἐποίησε· τούτων τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 εἴργει καὶ προσέτι γαμεῖν τὰς ἡταιρηκίας ἐκώ-  
 λυσε, μήτε δούλην μήτ' αἰχμάλωτον γαμεῖν αὐτοὺς  
 κεκώλυκε<sup>2</sup> καὶ τὰς ἐκ καπηλείας καὶ τοῦ παν-  
 δοκεύειν πεπορισμένας τὸν βίον μηδὲ τὰς τῶν προ-  
 τέρων ἀνδρῶν ἐφ' αἰσθηποτοῦν αἰτίαις ἀπηλλαγ-  
 277 μένας. τὸν ἀρχιερέα μέντοι οὐδὲ τεθνηκότος

<sup>1</sup> Lat., ed. pr.: om. codd.

<sup>2</sup> Text a little doubtful.

<sup>a</sup> So *Yebamoth* 61 a (Weill). In *A.* iv. 244 f. the prohibition to marry a slave (or a harlot) applies to the laity also.

<sup>b</sup> *Leviticus loc. cit.* names three classes of women whom the priest is forbidden to marry: (1) harlot, (2) "polluted," (3) divorced. Josephus mentions the first and the third, but seems to replace the second by two (or more) other classes. His first category, τὰς ἡταιρηκίας, corresponds to the first (not, as Weill suggests, to the second) in *Lev.*: ἡταιρημένη (ἔταιριζομένη) is his normal euphemism for πόρνη, *A.* iv. 206, 245, v. 306, viii. 417. "Slave or prisoner of war" seems to be his interpretation of "polluted": for this prohibition cf. *Ap.* i. 30 ff. on the strict scrutiny of priestly marriages, especially after war, in particular § 35 "they disallow marriage with any who have been taken captive, suspecting them of having had frequent intercourse with

cerning wedlock and that it was to the interest alike of the state and the family that children should be legitimate. Again, to have intercourse with one's mother is condemned by the law as grossest of sins; likewise union with a stepmother, an aunt, a sister, or the wife of one's child is viewed with abhorrence as an outrageous crime. He moreover forbade cohabitation with a menstruous woman, mating with a beast, or the toleration of the practice of sodomy in the pursuit of lawless pleasure. For those guilty of such outrages he decreed the penalty of death.

Lev. xx. 18,  
15, 13.

(2) From the priests he exacted a double degree of purity. For not only did he debar them, in common with all others, from the aforesaid practices, but he further forbade them to wed a harlot, he forbids them to wed a slave <sup>a</sup> or a prisoner of war, aye or such women as gain their livelihood by hawking or inn-keeping or who have for whatsoever reasons been separated from their former husbands.<sup>b</sup> As for the

Special  
laws for  
the priests.

Ib. xxi. 7.

foreigners" (*i.e.* been "polluted"); Weill quotes *Kethuboth* ii. 9 to similar effect, *cf.* also *Ant.* xiii. 292 (an alleged instance of such disqualification). Then follows the strange addition "hawkers or innkeepers" (a single class, for *κάπηλος* Lat. *caupo* also = tavern-keeper). With this must be connected the fact that the Targum commonly translates the Heb. *zonah* "harlot" by the word *pundokita* (derived from the verb *πανδοκεῖν*, "keep an inn," here used by Josephus), *e.g.* in Joshua ii. 1, Jd. xi. 1, *cf.* 1 K. iii. 16; while Josephus himself speaks of the house of Raliab (Bibl. "the harlot") as a "hostelry" (*καταγώγιον*), *A.* v. 7. Whether this translation arose merely from the ill-fame of inns and innkeepers (see *Aboda zara* ii. 1 with Elmslie's note in *Texts and Studies* viii. 2) or has other etymological explanation behind it (Weill sees in it a supposed connexion of *zonah* with the vb. *zwn* "to feed") is uncertain; anyhow the "innkeeper" of Josephus has been evolved out of the "harlot" of the Bible through the medium of current Aramaic exegesis.

ἀνδρὸς ἠξίωσε γυναῖκα, τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῦσι  
 συγχωρῶν, μόνην δ' αὐτῷ [δέδωκε] γαμεῖν παρ-  
 θένον καὶ ταύτην φυλέτην<sup>1</sup>. ὅθεν οὐδὲ νεκρῷ  
 πρόσσειν ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς τῶν λοιπῶν οὐ κεκωλυμένων  
 ἀδελφοῖς καὶ γονεῦσι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν προσ-  
 278 ἰέναι μεταστᾶσιν. ἀφελεῖς δὲ εἶναι πᾶσαν ἀφέλειαν·  
 τὸν δὲ μὴ ὀλόκληρον τῶν ἱερέων νέμεσθαι πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευσε τὰ γέρα, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν  
 βωμὸν καὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυσε· μὴ μόνον  
 δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας καθαρὸς εἶναι, σπουδάξεν  
 δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διαίταν, ὥστ' αὐτὴν ἄμεμ-  
 279 πτον εἶναι. καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ τὴν ἱερα-  
 τικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντες ἄμωμοί τε εἰσι καὶ περὶ  
 πάντα καθαρὸι καὶ νηφάλιοι, πίνειν οἶνον ἕως οὗ τὴν  
 στολὴν ἔχουσι κεκωλυμένοι· ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα  
 θύουσιν ὀλόκληρα καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν λελωβημένα.

280 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τὸν ζωῆς  
 χρόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ γινόμενα παρέδωκε Μωυσῆς,  
 τῶν δὲ αὐθις καίπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διαιτώμενος  
 προενόησεν, ὅπως ἐπειδὴν τὴν Χανααίαν λάβωσι  
 281 τάδε ποιῶσι· δι' ἐβδόμου ἔτους ἄνεσιν δίδωσι τῇ  
 γῆ ἀπὸ τε ἀρότρου καὶ φυτείας, ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς  
 δι' ἐβδόμης ἡμέρας τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων προεῖπεν  
 ἀνάπαυσιν. καὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως ἀναδοθέντων ἀπὸ

<sup>1</sup> conj. Mangey (*ap. Weill*): φυλάττειν codd.

<sup>a</sup> The acute emendation φυλέτην (for φυλάττειν), quoted by Weill from Mangey on Philo ii. 229 M., is certainly right: for φυλέτης cf. *Ant.* iv. 14 f., 20 etc.: Philo's expression is μὴ παρθένον μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερείαν ἐξ ἱερέων. On the other hand, the Biblical restriction is less rigid, "a virgin of his own people" *Lev. loc. cit.* (cf. *Ezek.* xliv. 22), and so elsewhere Josephus himself, *Ap.* i. 31 ἐξ ὁμοιοῦς γυναικὸς παιδοποιεῖσθαι; tradition also (*ap. Weill*) admitted the laxer rule.



high-priest, he would not suffer him to take even a woman whose husband was dead, though he concedes this to the other priests: none but a virgin may he wed and withal one of his own tribe.<sup>a</sup> From like motives the high-priest never approaches a corpse, whereas the other priests are not forbidden to approach a brother, a parent or a child of their own when deceased. They must be exempt from all physical blemish. A priest who is not wholly free of such defect he authorized to partake with the other priests of their perquisites,<sup>b</sup> but to ascend to the altar or to enter the sacred building is forbidden him. Nor is it only during the sacred ministrations that purity is essential: they must see to it also that their private life be beyond reproach. That is why wearers of the priestly robes are spotless, immaculately pure, and sober, for wine is forbidden them so long as they wear the robe.<sup>c</sup> Furthermore, the very victims which they sacrifice are entirely perfect and free from all mutilation.

Lev. xxi. 14.

xxi. 11.

xxi. 1 ff.

xxi. 17.

xxi. 21 ff.

x. 9 (Ezek. xliv. 21).  
xxii. 19 ff.

(3) Such, then, are the laws, already in operation during his lifetime, which Moses has transmitted to us; but there were others for after times which, albeit sojourning in the wilderness, he devised beforehand, to the end that they should practise them after the conquest of Canaan. Thus every seventh year he grants the land repose from ploughing and planting, even as he had prescribed to the people rest from their labours every seventh day; as for the spontaneous products of the soil, the

The sabbatical year.  
Lev. xxv. 1.

<sup>b</sup> "He shall eat the bread (LXX τὰ δῶρα) of his God," Lev. xxi. 22.

<sup>c</sup> *i.e.* when on duty: "when ye go into the tent of meeting," Lev. *loc. cit.* Tradition (*ap.* Weill) did not regard this as an absolute prohibition. *Cf.* *Ap.* i. 199, ii. 108.

## JOSEPHUS

- τῆς γῆς κοινὴν εἶναι τοῖς θέλουσι τὴν χρῆσιν, τῶν τε ὁμοφύλων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριοχώρων, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν φυλάττοντας· ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μεθ' 282 ἐβδόμην ἐτῶν ἐβδομάδα. ταῦτα πεντήκοντα μὲν ἔστιν ἔτη τὰ πάντα, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἐνιαυτὸς ἰωβήλος, ἐν ᾧ οἱ τε χρεώσται τῶν δανείων ἀπολύονται καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται, οὓς ὄντας ὁμοφύλους καὶ παραβάντας τι τῶν νομίμων τῷ σχήματι τῆς δουλείας ἐκόλασε θάνατον οὐκ ἐκδεχομένους.
- 283 ἀποδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοῖς ἀρχῆθεν αὐτῶν δεσπότηαις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἐνστάτος τοῦ ἰωβήλου, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦνομα, συνέρχονται ὃ τε ἀποδόμενος τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὁ πριάμενος, καὶ λογισάμενοι τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ χωρίον δαπάνας γεγενημένας τῶν μὲν καρπῶν πλεονάζειν εὐρεθέντων προσδέχεται τὸν ἀγρὸν ὃ 284 ἀποδόμενος, τοῦ δ' ἀναλώματος ὑπερβάλλοντος

<sup>a</sup> See note *d* below.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus is here in error or at least at variance with Scripture. The "release" from debts applied not to the year of jubilee, but to the seventh or sabbatical year (Deut. xv. 1 ff.); it is uncertain whether it "was an actual remission of loans, or merely the suspension, for one year, of the creditor's right to demand payment" (Driver *in loc.*). In any case the law, which led to abuses, had early in the first century A.D. been virtually abrogated by a so-called *proshol* (προσβολή) of Hillel.

<sup>c</sup> Scripture does not speak of punishment but of voluntary servitude resulting from poverty. "And if thy brother be waxen poor with thee, and sell himself unto thee, thou shalt not make him to serve as a bondservant: as an hired servant and as a sojourner he shall be with thee" etc., Lev. *loc. cit.*; this explains the σχῆμα δουλείας in the text. Cf. A. iv. 273 for further details.

enjoyment of these was to be open to all desirous of them, whether countryman or alien, none of them being kept back. This practice was also to be observed at the end of the seventh week of years. This is the period amounting to fifty years in all, of which the fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews *Jóbél*<sup>a</sup>; at that season debtors are absolved from their debts<sup>b</sup> and slaves are set at liberty, that is to say those who are members of the race and having transgressed some requirement of the law have by it been punished<sup>c</sup> by reduction to a servile condition, without being condemned to death. Now too he restores estates to their original owners after the following fashion. When the *Jóbél* comes round—the name denotes “liberty”<sup>d</sup>—the vendor and the purchaser of the site meet together and reckon up the products of the site and the outgoings expended upon it.<sup>e</sup> Then if the proceeds are found to exceed the outgoings, the vendor recovers the estate; but if the

The year of jubilee. Lev. xxv. 8.

Lev. xxv. 39.

Cf. xxv. 13-16.

Cf. xxv. 27.

<sup>a</sup> One of the author's loose etymological statements (cf. A. v. 34). The traditional, and doubtless correct, meaning of *jóbél* is “ram,” an abbreviation for “ram's horn,” “cornet,” by the sounding of which the “jubilee” was proclaimed. For *jóbél* (Lev. xxv. 10) LXX writes ἐνιαυτὸς ἀφέσεως σημασία; here σημασία (“signalling”) is the translation of *jóbél*, while ἀφεςις = Heb. *deror*, “liberty,” as the context shows. Josephus has erroneously equated *jóbél* = ἀφεςις = ἐλευθερία.

<sup>e</sup> Leviticus says nothing about a reckoning up at the jubilee or the three cases mentioned in the next sentence. All that it implies is that the leasehold alone could be sold and that the price was to be based on the number of crops intervening between the date of sale and the jubilee (vv. 15 f.): this price was apparently to be estimated at the time of the sale: the land could at any time be redeemed on payment of the value of the crops between the date of redemption and the next jubilee (v. 27).

## JOSEPHUS

ὑπὲρ τοῦ λείποντος <μῆ><sup>1</sup> καταβαλὼν τὸ ἰκνού-  
 μενον ἐξίσταται<sup>2</sup> τῆς κτήσεως, ἴσων δὲ συναριθμου-  
 μένων τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων  
 285 ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς καὶ πρότερον νεμηθεῖσι. τὸ αὐτὸ  
 δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις νόμιμον ἰσχύειν ἠθέλησε  
 ταῖς κατὰ κώμας πεπραμέναις· περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν  
 τῇ πόλει πεπραμένων ἔγνωκεν ἑτέρως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ  
 πρὸ τοῦ τελειωθῆναι τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν καταβάλοι τὸ  
 ἀργύριον, ἀναγκάζει τὸν πριάμενον ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ  
 δὲ πλήρες γένοιτο τὸ ἔτος, βεβαιοῖ τὴν κτήσιν τῷ  
 286 πριάμένῳ. ταύτην Μωσῆς τὴν διάταξιν τῶν  
 νόμων, ὅθ' ὑπὸ τὸ Σιναῖον καθιδρύκει τὴν στρατιάν,  
 ἐξέμαθε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γεγραμ-  
 μένην παραδίδωσιν.

287 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν νομο-  
 θεσίαν ἔχειν ἐδόκει, πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ  
 λοιπὸν ἐτράπη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἤδη κατὰ νοῦν  
 ἔχων ἀπτεσθαι, προστάσσει τε τοῖς φυλάρχοις  
 πλὴν τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς ἀκριβῶς τὸν ἀριθμὸν  
 ἐκμαθεῖν τῶν στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων· ἱεροὶ γὰρ  
 288 ἦσαν οἱ Λευῖται καὶ πάντων ἀτελεῖς. γενομένης  
 δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως εὐρέθησαν μυριάδες ἐξήκοντα  
 τῶν ὀπλιτεύειν δυναμένων, ὄντων ἀπὸ εἴκοσι ἐτῶν  
 ἕως πεντήκοντα, καὶ τρισχίλιοι πρὸς ἑξακοσίους

<sup>1</sup> ins. Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> ἐξέρχεται R: ἐξέχεται OM.

<sup>a</sup> Text emended, with Herwerden and Weill, by insertion of a negative. The mss. have "he pays . . . and forfeits the property."  
<sup>b</sup> Greek "he."

<sup>c</sup> We have a similar transition from civil to military matters in iv. 292. In both cases the hand of the "Thucydidean" assistant who was later to take a large share in the  
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expenditure preponderates, he must pay a sufficient sum to cover the deficit or forfeit the property <sup>a</sup>; if, lastly, the figures for revenue and expenditure are equal, the legislator <sup>b</sup> restores the land to its former possessors. In the case of houses, Moses desired the same regulation to apply to the sale of those situated in villages. For the sale of town houses he decreed otherwise: in those cases, if before the expiry of the year the price was paid, he compels the purchaser to surrender the house; but if a full year has elapsed, he confirms to the purchaser his right of possession. Such was the code of laws which Moses, while keeping his army encamped beneath Mount Sinai, learnt from the mouth of God and transmitted in writing to the Hebrews. Lev. xxv. 31.  
xxv. 29.

(4) And now that all matters of legislation seemed to him in good order, he next turned his attention to an inspection of his army, already contemplating the prosecution of affairs of war.<sup>c</sup> He accordingly gave orders to the tribal leaders, with the exception of the tribe of Levi, to ascertain the exact number of those capable of military service, the Levites being a holy tribe and exempt from all claims. The inspection having duly been held, there were found to be 603,650 <sup>d</sup> men capable of bearing arms,<sup>e</sup> from twenty Numbering  
of the army.  
Numb. i. 1.  
i. 45 f.

work (*A.* xvii-xix), here makes its appearance, as it has done already in the account of the battle with Amalek (iii. 53 ff.). In these earlier books he is employed as a sort of "war correspondent." The phrase *πολεμικῶν ἄπτεσθαι* is based on Thuc. v. 61 *ἄπτεσθαι πολέμου* (*cf.* *A.* xviii. 278).

<sup>a</sup> Heb. and LXX "603,550"; but the additional century in Josephus has the support of the Armenian version. *Cf.* iii. 196 for a similar difference of figures.

<sup>e</sup> *ὀπλιτεύειν* is Thucydidean and in Josephus recurs only in *A.* xix. 243.

καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀντὶ δὲ Λευὶ κατέλεξεν εἰς τοὺς φυλάρχους Μανασσῆν τὸν Ἰωσήπου παῖδα καὶ Ἐφραίμην<sup>1</sup> ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου· δέησις δὲ ἦν αὐτῆ Ἰακώβου πρὸς Ἰώσηπον ποιητοὺς αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς καὶ προεῖπον.

289 (5) Πηγνύντες δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μέσσην ἀπελάμβανον τριῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην παρασκηνομένων· ὁδοὶ δὲ διὰ μέσων ἐτέτμητο, καὶ κόσμος ἦν ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τῶν πωλουμένων ἕκαστον ἐν τάξει διέκειτο, καὶ δημιουργοὶ τέχνης ἀπάσης ἐν τοῖς ἐργαστηρίοις ἦσαν, οὐδενὶ τε ἄλλῳ ἢ πόλει μετ-  
290 ανισταμένη καὶ καθιδρυμένη ἔωκει. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς κατεῖχον, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Λευῖται πάντες ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξητάσθησαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ὅσον τριακοστὴν εἶχεν ἡμέραν γενόμενον, δισμῦριοι καὶ δισχιλίοι<sup>2</sup> πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ὀγδοήκοντα. καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν συνέβαιων ἐστάναι τὴν νεφέλην, μένειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντος ἔδοκει τοῦ θεοῦ, τρεπομένης δὲ ταύτης μετανίστασθαι.

291 (6) Εὗρε δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπον ἐξ ἀργύρου ποιησάμενος, ἔστι δὲ τοιαύτη· μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαῖον ὀλίγω λείπον, στενὴ δ' ἐστὶ σύριγξ

<sup>1</sup> SPE: Ἐφράην M, Ἐφράθην RO, Εὐφράνην L.

<sup>2</sup> τρισχιλίοι MLEZon.

<sup>a</sup> Numb. "from twenty years old and upward"; cf. A. iii. 196.

<sup>b</sup> Cf. ii. 195.

to fifty <sup>a</sup> years of age. In place of Levi he enrolled among the tribal leaders Manasseh, son of Joseph, and Ephraim in the stead of Joseph, in accordance with the request which Jacob had made to Joseph to give up his children to be adopted by their grand-sire, as I have already related.<sup>b</sup>

(5) In the pitching of their camp the tabernacle was given a central isolated position, three tribes being encamped along each side, with roads laid out between them. Here too was an orderly market-place, articles of merchandise lay ranged each in its place, and artisans of every craft had their workshops: in short it was like nothing so much as a city ever shifting and settling down.<sup>c</sup> The region directly surrounding the tabernacle was occupied by the priests,<sup>d</sup> after whom came the Levites, amounting in all—for the numbering included these also, that is to say all males upwards of thirty days old—to 22,880 <sup>e</sup> souls. And so long as the cloud was found stationary above the tabernacle, they thought good to tarry, believing that God was sojourning among them, but, when it removed, then to break their camp.

Arrange-  
ment of the  
camp.  
Numb. ii. 1.

Cf. i. 53.

Cf. iii. 39.

ix. 18.

(6) Moses further invented a kind of clarion, which he had made for him in silver, on this wise. In length a little short of a cubit, it is a narrow tube,

The silver  
trumpets  
and their  
signals.  
Numb. x. 1.

<sup>o</sup> The Hebrew camp is modelled on that of the Romans, which also is compared to an improvised city (*B.J.* iii. 82 f.), the tabernacle here replacing the *praetorium*. The last phrase is a combination of Thuc. vii. 75 οὐδὲν γὰρ ἄλλο ἢ πόλει . . . ἐψέκσαν ὑποφειγούσῃ with i. 12 ἡ Ἑλλάς ἔτι μετανίστατό τε καὶ κατψέλιζετο.

<sup>d</sup> Not mentioned in Numb. *loc. cit.*: "the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle."

<sup>e</sup> Some mss. read 23,880. Both figures differ from the Biblical round number of 22,000 (Numb. iii. 39 Heb. and LXX).

## JOSEPHUS

- αὐλοῦ βραχεῖ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὖρος ἄρκοῦν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος εἰς κώδωνα ταῖς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοῦν<sup>1</sup>. ἀσώσρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.
- 292 γίνονται δὲ δύο, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρα πρὸς παρακείμευσι καὶ συλλογὴν ἐχρῶντο τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ μιᾷ μὲν ἀποσημήναντος ἔδει τὰς ἀρχὰς συνελθεῖν σκεψομένας περὶ τῶν οἰκείων,
- 293 ἀμφοτέραις δὲ συνῆγε τὸ πλήθος. τῆς δὲ σκηνηῆς μετακινουμένης ταῦτα ἐγένετο· ἀποσημήναντος γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ παρὰ ταῖς ἀνατολαῖς ἐσκηνωκότες ἀνίσταντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν οἱ πρὸς τὸν νότον αὐθις<sup>2</sup> καθεστῶτες. εἶθ' ἡ σκηνη λυομένη μέση τῶν προΐουσῶν ἕξ φυλῶν ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων ἕξ, Λευῖται δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνην πάντες
- 294 ἦσαν. τρίτον δὲ σημήναντος τὸ κατὰ λίβα τετραμμένον τῶν ἐσκηνωκόντων μέρος ἐκινεῖτο,<sup>3</sup> καὶ τέταρτον τὸ κατὰ βορρᾶν. ταῖς δὲ βυκάναις ἐχρῶντο καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις προσάγοντες τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ταῖς λοιπαῖς ἡμέραις. θύει δὲ τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὴν πάσχα<sup>4</sup> λεγομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.
- 295 (xiii) Καὶ βραχὺ διαλιπὼν ἀπανίσταται τοῦ Συναίου ὄρους καὶ τόπους τινὰς ἀμείψας, περὶ ὧν

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: τελοῦντα codd.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr.: ἐνέκειτο codd.

<sup>2</sup> RO: αὐτῆς rell.

<sup>4</sup> φάσκα RO.

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<sup>a</sup> *Hasozerah*, the straight trumpet depicted on the Arch of Titus; as opposed to the *shophar* or curved horn, used mainly for secular purposes.

<sup>b</sup> Greek "he" (*i.e.* Moses had the people convened).



slightly thicker than a flute, with a mouthpiece wide enough to admit the breath and a bell-shaped extremity such as trumpets have. It is called *asôsrâ* <sup>a</sup> in the Hebrew tongue. Two such instruments were made, one being reserved for summoning and collecting the people to the assemblies : if only one sounded, it behoved the chiefs to meet for deliberation on their own affairs ; with the two together they <sup>b</sup> convened the people. When the tabernacle was to be moved, this was the procedure : at the first Numb. x. 5. signal those who were encamped on the east arose, at the second it was the turn for those stationed to the south. Then the tabernacle, being taken to Cf. ii. 17. pieces, was carried in the centre, between the six tribes in front and the six which followed it, the Levites being all grouped around it. At the third signal the western section of the camp moved off, at the fourth the northern contingent.<sup>c</sup> These clarions they used also for their sacrificial ceremonies, x. 10. when bringing the victims to the altar, both on the sabbath and on the other (festal) days.<sup>d</sup> And now it was that Moses, for the first time since their departure from Egypt, kept the sacrifice called *Pascha* in the wilderness. Keeping of  
Passover.  
Ib. ix. 1.

(xiii) After a brief interval he broke up his camp at Mount Sinai, and, passing certain localities of Departure  
from Sinai :  
renewed  
murmur-  
ings.  
Ib. xi. 1.

<sup>a</sup> The third and fourth signals are mentioned here (Numb. x. 6) by the LXX only (not in the Hebrew text) ; but this order of movement has already been stated in Numb. ii. 18 ff.

<sup>d</sup> Numb. *loc. cit.* mentions three occasions for their use : " the day (LXX " days ") of your gladness " (*i.e.* extraordinary public festivals), fixed feasts, and new moons. The sabbath is not specified, but according to tradition (*Sifré*, cited by Weill) it was indicated by the first two phrases.

## JOSEPHUS

δηλώσομεν, εἷς τι χωρίον Ἐσερμῶθ λεγόμενον  
 παρῆν, καὶ ἐκεῖ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν στασιάζειν ἄρχεται,  
 καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν αἰτιάσθαι τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν  
 296 ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ πεπειραμένων, καὶ ὅτι γῆς αὐ-  
 τοὺς ἀγαθῆς πείσαντος ἀπαναστῆναι τὴν μὲν ἀπ-  
 ολέσειαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἧς ὑπέσχετο παρέξειν εὐδαιμονίας  
 ἐν ταύταις ἀλῶνται ταῖς τάλαιπωρίαις, ὕδατος μὲν  
 σπανίζοντες, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν μάνναν ἐπιλιπεῖν συμ-  
 297 βαίῃ τέλεον ἀπολούμενοι. πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα  
 καὶ δεινὰ λεγόντων, εἰς δὲ τις αὐτοῖς παρήνει, μήτε  
 Μωυσέος καὶ τῶν πεπονημένων αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς  
 κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀμνημονεῖν μήτ' ἀπογινώσκειν  
 τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρὸς  
 τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκινήθη καὶ θορυβῆσαν ἔτι μᾶλλον  
 298 πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐπετείετο. Μωυσῆς δὲ παρα-  
 θαρσύνων αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἀπεγνωκότας ὑπέσχετο,  
 καίπερ αἰσχρῶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν περιυβρισμένος, πλῆθος  
 αὐτοῖς παρέξειν κρεῶν οὐκ εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλ'  
 εἰς πλείονας. ἀπιστούντων δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τινος  
 ἐρομένου, πόθεν ἂν τοσαύταις εὐπορήσειε μυριάσι  
 τῶν προειρημένων, "ὁ θεός," εἶπε, "καγὼ καίτοι  
 κακῶς ἀκούοντες πρὸς ὑμῶν οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίημεν  
 κάμνοντες ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν  
 299 ἔσται." ἅμα ταῦτ' ἔλεγε καὶ πίμπλαται τὸ στρατό-  
 πεδον ὀρτύγων ἅπαν καὶ ἤθροίζον αὐτοὺς περι-

<sup>a</sup> He does not revert to these; possibly he refers to his projected work, or, as has been suggested, a negative may have dropped out. The stages named in Numb. xi are Taberah (v. 3), Kibroth-hattaavah and Hazeroth (34 f.); Josephus omits the first and reverses the order of the second and third.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. Hazeroth (Ἀσηρώθ), Numb. xi. 35. But, as Weill suggests, the form Ἐσερμῶθ in Josephus recalls rather the

which we shall speak,<sup>a</sup> came to a place called Esermoth.<sup>b</sup> There the multitude began to revolt once more and to reproach Moses for the trials which they had undergone on these peregrinations: that good land which he had persuaded them to quit was now lost to them, but, instead of the felicity which he had promised to procure, here they were wandering in these miseries, lacking water and, should the manna happen to fail, doomed to utter destruction. Amid this torrent of abuse showered upon the hero, there was yet one <sup>c</sup> who admonished them not to be unmindful of Moses and what he had suffered for the salvation of all, nor to despair of God's aid. But at that the multitude was only roused the more and uproariously and yet more fiercely inveighed against Moses. He, however, to embolden them in their deep despair, promised, albeit so shamefully outraged by them, to procure for them meat in abundance, not for one day only but for many more. But since they put no faith in that and someone asked whence could he get for such myriads those predicted supplies,<sup>d</sup> "God," said he, "and I, though vilified by you, will never cease our efforts on your behalf; they will come at no distant date." Even as he spake, the camp was filled with quails on every side, and they gathered round them and collected them.

Numb. xi. 4.

Miraculous gift of quails. Cf. xi. 19.

xi. 31.

Semite patriarch Hazarmaveth (*Ασαρμώθ*) in Gen. x. 26, who gave his name to a district on the south coast of Arabia, the modern *Hadramaut* (Driver).

<sup>c</sup> Unscriptural addition: possibly to be connected with the story of Eldad and Medad, who "prophesied in the camp," Numb. xi. 26.

<sup>d</sup> In Scripture it is God who makes the promise to Moses, and Moses himself who is sceptical (Numb. xi. 21 f.); Josephus throws the odium of this disbelief upon another.

στάντες. ὁ μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετέρχεται τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρασύτητος καὶ λαιδορίας· ἀπέθανε γὰρ οὐκ ὀλίγον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ χῶρος ὀνομάζεται Καβρωθαβά, ἐπιθυμίας μνημεῖα λέγοιτο <ἄν>.<sup>1</sup>

- 300 (xiv. 1) Ἀναγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκείθεν ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν καλουμένην Φάραγμα πλησίον οὖσαν τοῖς Χανααίων ὀρίοις<sup>2</sup> καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐνδαιτᾶσθαι εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστάς, “δύο,” φησί, “τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος ὑμῖν παρασχεῖν ἀγαθὰ, ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γῆς κτήσιν εὐδαίμονος, τὴν μὲν ἤδη δόντος ἔχετε, τὴν δὲ ἤδη λήψεσθε.
- 301 Χανααίων γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὄροις καθήμεθα, καὶ κωλύσει τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπιόντας οὐ μόνον οὐ βασιλεὺς οὐ πόλις ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀθροισθὲν αὐτῶν<sup>3</sup> ἔθνος. παρασκευαζώμεθα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον· οὐ γὰρ ἀμαχητὶ παραχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ
- 302 μεγάλοις αὐτὴν ἀγῶσιν ἀφαιρεθέντες. πέμψωμεν δὲ κατασκόπους, οἱ τῆς τε<sup>4</sup> γῆς ἀρετὴν κατανοήσουσι καὶ πόση δύναμις αὐτοῖς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁμονοῶμεν καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν βοηθὸς καὶ σύμμαχος, διὰ τιμῆς ἔχωμεν.”
- 303 (2) Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτ' εἰπόντος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸν τιμαῖς ἀμείβεται, καὶ κατασκόπους αἰρεῖται δώδεκα τῶν γνωριμωτάτων, ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἓνα, οἱ διεξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτῳ τὴν Χανααίαν

<sup>1</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr., Lat.: ὄροις L: χωρίοις rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἀθροισθέντων RO.

<sup>4</sup> τῆς τε ed. pr.: τῆσδε τῆς (or τῆς δὲ) codd.

<sup>o</sup> Heb. Kibroth-hattaavah; Josephus takes over the correct Greek translation, ἐπιθυμίας μνημεῖα, from the LXX.

<sup>b</sup> Josephus significantly omits Numb. xii, the narrative

However God, not long after, chastised the Hebrews for their abusive insolence towards Him: in fact no small number of them perished. And to this day, that spot still bears the surname of Kabrothaba,<sup>a</sup> that is to say, "graves of lust."

Numb.  
xi. 34.

(xiv. 1) Thence<sup>b</sup> Moses led them up into the so-called Ravine,<sup>c</sup> nigh to the Canaanite frontier and grievous for habitation. There he collected the people in assembly and standing before them said: "Of the two blessings which God has resolved to grant you, liberty and the possession of a favoured land, the first through His gift ye already have, and the second ye are forthwith to receive. For we are seated on the frontiers of the Canaanites, and henceforth our advance shall be stayed not only by neither king nor city, nay not even by their whole united nation. Prepare we then for the task; for it is not without a combat that they will cede to us their territory, but only when after mighty struggles they are dispossessed of it. Let us then send scouts to mark the richness of the land and the strength of its people's forces. But, before all, let us be of one mind and hold God, who is ever our helper and ally, in lasting honour."

Speech of  
Moses on  
the borders  
of Canaan.  
xiii. 1.

(2) These words of Moses were rewarded by the respectful attention of the people, and they selected twelve scouts from their most notable men, one from each tribe. These, starting from the Egyptian frontier, traversed Canaan from end to end, reached

Mission and  
report of  
the spies.  
xiii. 3.

of the slanders brought against Moses by Miriam and Aaron; he has already, in Book ii, explained how Moses came to marry a "Cushite woman."

<sup>c</sup> Gr. "Pharanx," a Hellenization of the Heb. Paran (LXX Φαράν), Numb. xii. 16. The "wilderness of Paran" lay north of Sinai, south of Kadesh, and west of Edom.

## JOSEPHUS

- ἄπασαν ἐπὶ τε Ἀμάθην πόλιν καὶ Λίβανον ἀφ-  
 ικνοῦνται τὸ ὄρος, καὶ τήν τε τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν  
 τῶν ἐνοικούντων ἀνθρώπων ἔξιστορήσαντες παρήσαν  
 τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις εἰς πᾶν καταχρησάμενοι  
 304 τὸ ἔργον, ἔτι τε καρποὺς ὧν ἔφερεν ἡ γῆ κομί-  
 ζοντες, τῇ τε τούτων εὐπρεπείᾳ καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν  
 ἀγαθῶν, ἃ τὴν γῆν ἔχειν διηγοῦντο, πολεμεῖν  
 ἐπαίροντες τὸ πλήθος, φοβοῦντες δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸ  
 τῷ τῆς κτήσεως ἀπόρῳ, ποταμούς τε διαβῆναι  
 λέγοντες ἀδυνάτους ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἅμα καὶ βάθους  
 καὶ ὄρη ἀμήχανα τοῖς ὀδεύουσι καὶ πόλεις καρ-  
 305 τερὰς τείχεσι καὶ περιβόλων ὀχυρότητι· ἐν δ'  
 Ἐβρώνι καὶ τῶν γιγάντων ἔφασκον τοὺς ἀπογόνους  
 καταλαβεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατάσκοποι τεθεαμένοι  
 πάντων οἷς μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου  
 ἐνέτυχον μείζω τὰ κατὰ τὴν Χαναanaίαν αὐτοὶ τε  
 κατεπλάγησαν<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸ πλήθος οὕτως ἔχειν<sup>2</sup>  
 ἐπειρῶντο.
- 306 (3) Οἱ δὲ ἄπορον ἐξ ὧν ἠκροάσαντο τὴν κτῆσιν  
 τῆς γῆς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐκκλησίας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παισὶν ὀλοφυρόμενοι  
 διῆγον, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔργῳ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγῳ  
 307 δὲ μόνον ὑπισχνουμένου. καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν πάλιν  
 ἠτιῶντο καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ  
 Ἁαρῶνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. καὶ πονηρὰν μὲν καὶ  
 μετὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄνδρας βλασφημιῶν διάγουσι  
 τὴν νύκτα, πρῶτ' δ' εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συντρέχουσι,
- <sup>1</sup> κατεπεπληγέσαν L (καταπεπληγέσαν M).  
<sup>2</sup> + <πειθεῖν> Niese.

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<sup>a</sup> Hamath on the Orontes in north Syria. The Biblical  
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the city of Amathe <sup>a</sup> and Mount Libanus, and after fully exploring the nature of the country and of its inhabitants returned, having spent but forty days over the whole task. They moreover brought with them some of the produce of the country. By the beauty of these fruits and by the abundance of good things which, according to their report, the land contained, they roused the military ardour of the people ; but they terrified them, on the other hand, by the difficulties of conquest, declaring that there were rivers impossible to cross, so broad and deep withal were they, mountains impracticable for passage, cities fortified by ramparts and solid ring-walls, while in Hebron they asserted that they had lit upon the descendants of the giants. Thus the scouts, having seen that the things of Canaan surpassed in magnitude all that they had encountered since the exodus from Egypt, were not only themselves panic-stricken, but sought to reduce the people to the same condition.

Numb.  
xiii. 25.

xiii. 22, 33.

(3) And they, after what they had heard, deemed the conquest of the country impracticable and, when dismissed from the assembly, gave themselves up to lamentation with their wives and children, as though God tendered them no actual aid, but only verbal promises. Once more they blamed Moses and loaded him with abuse, him and his brother Aaron, the high-priest. In this sorry condition, then, amid vituperations upon the two of them, did they pass the night ; and next morning they rushed together

Dejection  
and revolt  
of the  
Hebrews.  
xiv. 1.

phrase (Numb. xiii. 21) " the entering in of (entrance to) Hamath," elsewhere named as the northern boundary of Canaan, means a region far to the south of the city itself, perhaps the depression between Lebanon and Hermon.

## JOSEPHUS

δι' ἐννοίας ἔχοντες καταλεύσαντες τὸν τε Μωυσῆν  
καὶ τὸν Ἀαρῶνα ἐπὶ τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν.

308 (4) Τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων Ἰησοῦς τε ὁ Ναυήχου  
παῖς φυλῆς Ἐφραϊμίτιδος καὶ Χάλεβος τῆς Ἰουδα  
φυλῆς φοβηθέντες χωροῦσιν εἰς μέσους καὶ τὸ  
πλήθος κατεῖχον, θαρσεῖν δεόμενοι καὶ μήτε  
ψευδολογίαν κατακρίνειν τοῦ θεοῦ μήτε πιστεύειν  
τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τάληθῆ περι τῶν Χαναταίων  
εἰρηκέναι καταπληξαμένοις, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν  
εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν κτήσιν αὐτοῦς τῶν ἀγαθῶν  
309 παρορμῶσιν· οὔτε γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν τὸ μέγεθος οὔτε  
τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ βάθος τοῖς ἀρετὴν ἡσκηκόσιν  
ἐμποδῶν στήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, καὶ ταῦτα τοῦ  
θεοῦ συμπροθυμουμένου καὶ ὑπερμαχοῦντος αὐτῶν.  
“ἴωμεν οὖν,” ἔφασαν, “ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους  
μηδὲν ἔχοντες δι' ὑποψίας ἡγεμόνι τε τῷ θεῷ  
πεπιστευκότες καὶ ὀδηγοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐπόμενοι.”

310 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεχείρουν τὴν ὀργὴν  
καταπραῦνειν τοῦ πλήθους, Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ Ἀαρῶν  
πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον οὐχ ὑπὲρ  
τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ὅπως τῆς ἀμαθίας  
παύσῃ τὸ πλήθος καὶ καταστήσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν  
αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμνηχανίας τοῦ παραστάντος αὐτοῖς  
πάθους τεταραγμένην· παρῆν δ' ἡ νεφέλη καὶ  
στάσα ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσήμαιε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν  
τοῦ θεοῦ.

311 (xv. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ θαρσήσας πάρεισιν εἰς τὸ  
πλήθος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐδήλου κινηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς  
ὑβρεως αὐτῶν<sup>1</sup> λήψεσθαι τιμωρίαν, οὐκ ἀξίαν μὲν  
τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων,<sup>2</sup> οἷαν δὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ νου-  
312 θεσία τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπιφέρουσι. παρελθόντι γὰρ εἰς

<sup>1</sup> αὐτῷ RO: αὐτῷ Nicse.

<sup>2</sup> RO: ἐξημαρτημένων rell.



to the assembly, with intent to stone Moses and Aaron and to return to Egypt.

(4) But two of the scouts, Jesus, son of Nauechos <sup>a</sup> Efforts of Joshua and Caleb to reassure them. Numb. xiv. 6. of the tribe of Ephraim and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, in horror made their way into the midst and sought to restrain the crowd, entreating them to be courageous and neither to accuse God of untruthfulness nor to put faith in those who had terrified them by false statements concerning the Canaanites, but rather to trust those who exhorted them to proceed to prosperity and the acquisition of those good things. For neither the height of the mountains nor the depth of the rivers would prove obstacles to the activities of men of tried valour, above all when God was seconding their ardour and championing their cause. "Go we then forward," said they, "against the foe, with no lurking misgivings; trust in our leader, God, and follow us who will show you the way!" By these words did they endeavour to allay the passion of the multitude. Meanwhile, Moses and Aaron, prostrated to earth, were sup- xiv. 5. plicating God, not for their own salvation, but that He would rid the people of their ignorance and calm their spirits, disordered by the helplessness of their present plight. Then there appeared the cloud which, resting above the tabernacle, signalized the presence of God. xiv. 10.

(xv. 1) Moses, emboldened, now approached the people and announced that God, moved by their insolence, would exact retribution, not indeed proportionate to their errors, but such as fathers inflict upon their children for their admonition. For, so he Moses announces their condemnation to forty years' wanderings. xiv. 11-39.

<sup>a</sup> Joshua son of Nun (iii. 49 note).

- τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποκλειομένῳ τὸν θεὸν ὑπομῆσαι μὲν, ὅσα παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πηλίκων εὐεργεσιῶν μεταλαβόντες ἀχάριστοι πρὸς αὐτὸν γένοιτο, ὅτι τε τῇ νῦν τῶν κατασκόπων ὑπαχθέντες δειλία τοὺς ἐκείνων λόγους ἀληθεστέρους
- 313 τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἠγγήσαντο τῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ διὰ ταυτην τὴν αἰτίαν οὐκ ἀπολεῖ μὲν ἅπαντας οὐδ' ἐξαφανίσει τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὃ πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἔσχε διὰ τιμῆς, τὴν μέντοι Χαναναίαν οὐ παρέξειν γῆν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς
- 314 εὐδαιμονίαν, ἀνεστίους δὲ ποιήσειν καὶ ἀπόλιδας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταβιῶναι, τῆς παρανομίας ποιῆν ταύτην ἐκτίνοντας. “ παισὶ μέντοι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδώσειν τὴν γῆν ὑπέσχετο κάκεινους τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὧν ἑαυτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας ἐφθονήσατε μετασχεῖν, ποιήσειν δεσπότας.”
- 315 (2) Ταῦτα δὲ Μωυσέος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην διαλεχθέντος ἐν λύπῃ καὶ συμφορᾷ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεκάλει καταλλάκτην αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀπαλλάξαντα πόλεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἔφασκε τὸν θεὸν τοιαύτην πείραν προσήσεσθαι,<sup>1</sup> μὴ γὰρ κατὰ κούφότητα προαχθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρωπίνην εἰς τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ γνώμη καταψηφισά-
- 316 μενον αὐτῶν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Μωυσῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ὧν τοσαύτας μυριάδας ὀργιζομένας ἐπράννε καὶ μετήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον<sup>2</sup>. ὁ γὰρ θεὸς αὐτῷ συμπαρῶν ἠτᾶσθαι τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὸ

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: προσήσεσθαι codd.

<sup>2</sup> μετήγαγε πρὸς τὸ ἡμερον R(O).

told them, when he entered the tabernacle and was deploring his destined destruction at their hands, God had recalled to him how, after all that He had done for them, after all those benefits received, they had proved ungrateful to Him, and how even now, seduced by their spies' faintheartedness, they had reckoned their reports more faithful to the truth than His own promise. And that was why, though He would not consign all to destruction nor exterminate their race, which He esteemed above all mankind, He would yet not suffer them to occupy the land of Canaan or to enjoy its prosperity. Homeless and citiless, he would cause them for forty years to eke out life in the wilderness : this was the penalty that they must pay for their transgression. "Howbeit," he added, "to your children has He promised to give this land and to make them masters of those good things, in which ye through lack of self-control have yourselves declined to share."

Numb.  
xiv. 31.

(2) When Moses in accordance with God's purpose had thus addressed them, the people were plunged in grief and affliction, and they besought Moses to intercede for them with God and to spare them that wandering in the wilderness and to give them cities. But he declared that God would admit of no such attempt <sup>a</sup> ; for it was not with the lightness of men that God had been brought to this indignation against them, but He had deliberately passed sentence upon them. Nor need one refuse to believe that Moses, by himself alone, calmed such myriads of angry men and brought them back to a gentler mood, for God was present with him, preparing the

Their vain  
suppleca-  
tions and  
submission.

<sup>a</sup> No premature attempt at conquest, such as is described at the opening of Book iv.

## JOSEPHUS

πλήθος παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ πολλάκις παρακούσαντες ἀσύμφορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπέιθειαν ἐπέγνωσαν ἐκ τοῦ συμφορᾶ περιπεσεῖν.

- 317 (3) Θαυμαστὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνὴρ καὶ τῆς ἰσχύος τῆς τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ ὧν ἂν εἴπειεν<sup>1</sup> οὐ παρ' ὧν ἔζη χρόνον ὑπῆρξε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἔστι γοῦν οὐδεὶς Ἑβραίων, ὃς οὐχὶ καθάπερ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κολάσοντος ἂν ἀκοσμηῆ πειθαρχεῖ τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ νομοθετηθεῖσι, κἂν  
318 λαθεῖν δύνηται. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπὸν ἔστι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἥδη δέ τινες καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Εὐφράτην μηνῶν ὁδὸν τεσσάρων ἐλθόντες κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ παρ' ἡμῖν ἱεροῦ μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ θύσαντες οὐκ ἴσχυσαν τῶν ἱερείων μεταλαβεῖν, Μωυσέος ἀπηγορευκότος ἐπὶ τινι τῶν οὐ νομιζομένων οὐδ'  
319 ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἡμῖν αὐτοῖς συντυχόντων. καὶ οἱ μὲν μηδὲ θύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμιέργους τὰς θυσίας καταλιπόντες, πολλοὶ δ' οὐδ' ἀρχὴν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερόν δυνηθέντες ἀπίασιν, ὑπακούειν τοῖς Μωυσέος προστάγμασι μᾶλλον ἢ ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ βούλησιν τὴν ἑαυτῶν προτιμῶντες, καὶ τὸν ἐλέγξοντα περὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς οὐ δεδιότες, ἀλλὰ μόνον  
320 τὸ συνειδὸς ὑφορώμενοι. οὕτως ἡ νομοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ δοκοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, Κλαυδίου

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: εἴποιεν (εἴποιοι) codd.

hearts of the people to yield to his words ; moreover, having often disregarded him, they had learnt the unprofitableness of disobedience from the calamities into which they had fallen.

(3) But the admiration in which that hero was held for his virtues and his marvellous power of inspiring faith in all his utterances were not confined to his lifetime : they are alive to-day. Certainly there is not a Hebrew who does not, just as if he were still there and ready to punish him for any breach of discipline, obey the laws laid down by Moses, even though in violating them he could escape detection. Many other proofs of that superhuman power of his might be adduced ; and only recently certain persons from beyond the Euphrates, after a journey of four months, undertaken from veneration of our temple and involving great perils and expense, having offered sacrifices, could not partake of the victims, because Moses had forbidden this to any of those not governed by our laws nor affiliated through the customs of their fathers to ourselves. Accordingly, some without sacrificing at all, others leaving their sacrifices half completed, many of them unable so much as to gain entrance to the temple, they went their way, preferring to conform to the injunctions of Moses rather than to act in accordance with their own will, and that from no fear of being reprovèd in this matter but solely through misgivings of conscience. So surely has that legislation, being believed to come from God, caused this man to be ranked higher than his own (human) nature. But yet again : shortly before the recent war, Claudius

The abiding authority of Moses : two recent instances.

Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος Ἰσμαήλου δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν  
 ἀρχιερέως ὄντος, καὶ λιμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κατα-  
 λαβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν  
 321 ἄσσαρῶνα, κομισθέντος ἀλεύρου κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν  
 τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς κόρους ἑβδομήκοντα, μέδιμοι  
 δὲ οὗτοι Σικελοὶ μὲν εἰσιν εἰς καὶ τριάκοντα<sup>1</sup>  
 Ἄττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἰς, οὐδείς ἐτόλμησε  
 τῶν ἱερέων κρίμινον ἐμφαγεῖν<sup>2</sup> τοσαύτης ἀπορίας  
 τὴν γῆν κατεχούσης, δεδιὼς τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν  
 ὀργήν, ἣν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνεξελέγκτοις αἰὲ τὸ θεῖον τοῖς  
 322 ἀδικήμασιν ἔχει. ὥστ' οὐ δεῖ θαυμάζειν περὶ  
 τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων, ὅποτε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν  
 τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ Μωυσέος γράμματα τηλι-  
 καύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχει, ὥστε καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας  
 ἡμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν, ὅτι<sup>3</sup> τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῖν ὁ κατα-  
 στησάμενός ἐστι θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέος καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς  
 τῆς ἐκείνου. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς αὐτῶ  
 τι δοκεῖ διαλήφεται.

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr., Lat.: τριακόσιοι codd.

<sup>2</sup> ἐμφαγεῖν] ἐν φαγεῖν L. Exc. ed. pr. (perhaps rightly).

<sup>3</sup> + καὶ RO.

<sup>a</sup> Ishmael ben Phiabi, who was high priest c. A.D. 59-61, when Nero was emperor (*A.* xx. 179, 194; Schürer, *G.J.* V.<sup>3</sup> ii. 219). The mention of Claudius (who died in 54 A.D.) is a slip. The house of Phiabi provided other high-priests—a Jesus under Herod the Great (*A.* xv. 322), and another Ishmael under Tiberius (xviii. 34); but there is no record

being ruler of the Romans and Ishmael <sup>a</sup> our high-priest, when our country was in the grip of a famine so severe that an *assarôn* <sup>b</sup> was sold for four drachms, and when there had been brought in during the Feast of Unleavened bread no less than seventy *cors* of flour—equivalent to thirty-one Sicilian or forty-one Attic *medimni* <sup>c</sup>—not one of the priests ventured to consume a crumb,<sup>d</sup> albeit such dearth prevailed throughout the country, from fear of the law and of the wrath wherewith the Deity ever regards even crimes which elude detection. Wherefore one need not marvel at what happened then, seeing that to this very day the writings left by Moses have such authority that even our enemies admit that our constitution was established by God himself, through the agency of Moses and of his merits. But on this subject everyone will form his own opinion.

of an Ishmael under Claudius, and the words "shortly before the war" (which broke out in 66) confirm the reference to the Neronian dignitary.

<sup>b</sup> Otherwise an *ómer* or "tenth part" of an ephah (iii. 29, 142).

<sup>c</sup> In such statements Josephus is usually untrustworthy and in this instance inconsistent: in *A.* xv. 314 he gives the equation, 1 *cor* = 10 Attic *medimni*. The Attic *medimnus* was about a bushel and a half.

<sup>d</sup> Or "a loaf." We must apparently assume that the "flour" was brought in the form of *leavened* loaves, which might not be eaten at that season.

## ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Δ

(i. 1.) Ἑβραίους δ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν βίος ἀηδῆς καὶ χαλεπὸς ὧν ἐπόνει<sup>1</sup> καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Χανααίων πείραν λαμβάνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουν τοῖς Μωυσέος πειθαρχοῦντες λόγοις ἡρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου προθυμίας κρατήσιν αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμίων νομίζοντες κατηγοροῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους ὑπενόουν, ἵν' αἰεὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοήθειας  
 2 δέωνται, πολεμεῖν δὲ τοῖς Χανααίοις ὠρμήκεσαν λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχὶ Μωυσεὶ χαριζόμενον ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ κηδόμενον αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὧν ἐπετρόπευσε καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πρότερόν τε παρασχεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ νῦν βουλομένοις  
 3 πονεῖν αἰεὶ παρέσσεσθαι σύμμαχον· εἶναί τε καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἱκανοὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔφασκον, καὶ ἀπαλλοτριοῦν αὐτῶν Μωυσῆς ἐθελήσῃ τὸν θεόν· ὅπως τε συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτοκράτορσιν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐξελθεῖν ὑβρεως Μωυσῆν τύραννον ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν τούτου βούλησιν ἐξαπατωμένους,  
 4 ὅτι μόνω τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προδηλοῖ περὶ τῶν ἡμε-

<sup>1</sup> ἐπίεζε PLS<sup>2</sup>; ἐποίησε Ernesti.



## BOOK IV

(i. 1) The Hebrews, however, found life in the desert so unpleasant and hard that it drove them, notwithstanding the prohibition of God, to make an assault on the Canaanites. For they refused to remain inactive in obedience to the words of Moses, and, imagining that even without his support they could by themselves defeat their enemies, they proceeded to accuse and suspect him of scheming to keep them without resources, in order that they might always stand in need of his aid. They were accordingly bent on war with the Canaanites, declaring that it was from no favour for Moses that God succoured them, but because in general He had a care for their race out of regard for their ancestors whom He had taken under His protection. It was thanks to them and to their own valour that He had in the past given them their liberty, and now, would they but exert themselves, He would be ever at their side as their ally. They further asserted that they were strong enough by themselves to defeat these nations, even should Moses desire to alienate God from them. Besides, it was wholly to their advantage to be their own masters, and not, while rejoicing in their deliverance from Egyptian insolence, to tolerate a tyrant in Moses and to live in accordance with his will—"deluded into believing that to him alone does

The Hebrews decide to fight the Canaanites in defiance of Moses. Numb. xiv. 40.

## JOSEPHUS

- τέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν, ὡς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς Ἀβράμου γενεᾶς ὄντων, ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἓνα τοῦτον<sup>1</sup> τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος εἰς τὸ πάντ' αὐτὸν εἰδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ μαιθάνοντα·
- 5 δόξειεν τε συνετοὺς εἶναι, εἰ τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ καταγρόντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες κτήσασθαι γῆν ἣν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηται θελήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἐπ' ὀνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ
- 6 κωλύοντι προσσχοῖεν. τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὑφ' ἧς ἔτι ταύτην αὐτοῖς χεῖρω συνέβαιεν εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Χανααίους μάχην ἦσαν ὠρμημένοι, τὸν θεὸν προστησάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου συνεργίαν περιμένοντες.
- 7 (2) Ὡς<sup>2</sup> οὖν ταῦτ' ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς ἔξειν ἔκριναν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπήλθον, οἱ μὲν οὐ καταπλαγέτες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον οὐδὲ τὴν πληθὺν γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἐδέξαντο, τῶν δὲ Ἑβραίων ἀποθνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν διαλυθείσης ἀκόσμως διω-
- 8 κόμενον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν συνέφυγε, καὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας δυστυχήσαι<sup>3</sup> παντάπασιν ἀθυμοῦν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσεδόκα, λογιζόμενον ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ πάθοιεν προεξορμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἐκείνου<sup>4</sup> βουλήσεως.
- 9 (3) Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ὁρῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἤττης καταπεπληγότας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ οἱ πολέμοι καὶ μειζόνων ὀρεχθέντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθοιεν, ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν πορρωτέρω τῶν Χανααίων

<sup>1</sup> SP: τοῦτων rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἀτυχήσαι RO.

<sup>2</sup> ὥς OL Lat.

<sup>4</sup> + δίχῃ SPL (Lat.?).

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 4-9

the Deity reveal our destiny from goodwill towards him, as though we were not all of the stock of Abraham, but God had made this one man responsible for knowing all the future, as taught by Him." They would (they said) show themselves sensible if, scorning the arrogance of Moses and in reliance upon God, they were to determine to win this land which He had promised them, without heeding the man who, under this pretext, would, in the name of God, prevent them. And so, reflecting on their distress and on this desert, which made it appear yet worse, they were all eager for battle with the Canaanites, claiming God as their leader and without waiting for any concurrence on the part of their legislator.

(2) Having then decided that this course would be the better for them, they marched against their foes. These, undaunted by their onset or numbers, received them valiantly ; of the Hebrews, many perished and the rest of the army, their line once broken, fled, pursued by the enemy, in disorder to the camp ; and, utterly despondent at this unexpected reverse, they looked for no more good hereafter, concluding that they owed this disaster also to the wrath of God, having rushed precipitately into battle without His assent.

Their  
defeat.  
Numb.  
xiv. 44.

(3) But Moses, seeing his people downhearted at this defeat and fearing that the enemy, emboldened by their victory and ambitious of greater achievements, would march upon them, decided that he ought to lead his army further from the Canaanites

Moses leads  
them off  
into the  
desert.

## JOSEPHUS

- 10 εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιτρέψαντος ἑαυτὸ πάλιν ἐκείνῳ, συνῆκε γὰρ δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας οὐ δυνησόμενον ἔρρῶσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνταῦθα νομίζων ἡσυχάσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ πρότερον τοῖς Χανααίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν πρὶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν εἰς τοῦτο καιρὸν λάβωσιν.
- 11 (ii. 1) Ὅπερ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις συμβαίνει στρατοπέδοις καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας δυσάρκτοις εἶναι καὶ δυσπειθέσι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνέπεσεν· ἐξήκοντα γὰρ ὄντες μυριάδες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἴσως ἂν μὴδ' ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ὑποταγέντες τοῖς κρείττοσι, τότε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐξηγανάκτου καὶ πρὸς
- 12 ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα. στάσις οὖν αὐτοὺς οἷαν' ἴσμεν οὔτε παρ' Ἑλλήσιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάρους γενομένην κατέλαβεν, ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντας ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσαντας<sup>2</sup> ἔσωσε Μωυσῆς, οὐ μνησικακῶν ὅτι παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε καταλευσθεῖς
- 13 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. οὐδ' ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἡμέλησε τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παθεῖν τῶν δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ εἰς τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτῶν ἐξυβρισάντων καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν, ἔρρύσατο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς ἂν γενομένων δεινῶν, εἰ μὴ προενόησε. τὴν τε οὖν στάσιν καὶ ὅσα μετὰ ταύτην<sup>3</sup> Μωυσῆς ἐπο-

<sup>1</sup> + οὐκ SPL.

<sup>2</sup> ed. pr.: ἀπολείπεσθαι κινδ. ἢ ἀπολέσθαι codd.

<sup>3</sup> μετ' αὐτήν RO.

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<sup>a</sup> In Numb. xiv. 25 it is God who instructs Moses to turn back into the wilderness "by the way to the Red Sea"

out into the desert.<sup>a</sup> So, the people having once more committed themselves to him—for they understood that without his vigilance they could never prosper in their affairs—he called up the army and advanced into the desert, thinking that there they would be tranquil and would not come to grips with the Canaanites before the opportunity for so doing should be granted them by God.

(ii. 1) However, just as large armies,<sup>b</sup> especially in reverses, are wont to become ungovernable and in-  
The great  
sedition.  
 subordinate, even so it fell out with the Jews. These sixty myriads of men, who, by reason of their numbers, might perchance even in prosperity not have submitted to their superiors, now so much the more, under the stress of want and calamity, became enraged both with each other and with their leader. Thus it was that a sedition, for which we know of no parallel whether among Greeks or barbarians, broke out among them; this sedition brought them all into peril of destruction, from which they were saved by Moses, who bore them no malice for having come near to being stoned to death at their hands. Nor did God himself suffer them altogether to escape a dreadful disaster, but, notwithstanding that they had outraged their lawgiver and the commandments which He himself through Moses had enjoined upon them, He delivered them from those dire consequences which would have ensued from their sedition but for Moses' watchful care. This sedition, along with the measures thereafter taken by Moses, (*i.e.* towards its eastern arm, the Gulf of Akabah); the abortive attack on the Canaanites follows later.

<sup>b</sup> An echo of Thuc. vii. 80 οἶον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις; with the adjectives following *cf.* B.J. ii. 92 τὸ τε δύσαρκτον καὶ τὸ δυσπειθές.

λιτεύσατο διηγῆσομαι προδιελθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἐγένετο.

- 14 (2) Κορῆς τις Ἑβραίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέρων ἱκανὸς δ' εἶπεν καὶ δήμοις ὀμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, ὁρῶν ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ τὸν Μωυσῆν καθεστῶτα χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνου, καὶ γὰρ φυλέτης ὢν ἐτύγγαεν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς, ἀχθόμενος ὅτι ταύτης τῆς δόξης δικαιότερον ἂν τῷ<sup>1</sup> πλουτεῖν ἐκείνου μᾶλλον μὴ
- 15 χείρων ὢν κατὰ γένος αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυε. παρά τε τοῖς Λευίταις, φυλέται δ' ἦσαν, καὶ μάλιστα παρά τοῖς συγγενέσι κατεβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων Μωυσῆν δόξαν αὐτῷ θηρώμενον κατασκευάσαι καὶ κακουροῦντα κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ θεοῦ περιορᾶν, παρά τοὺς νόμους μὲν τὰδελφῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι δόντα, μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι
- 16 τοῦ πλήθους ἄλλ' αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένου, τυράννων<sup>2</sup> δὲ τρόπῳ καταχαριζομένου τὰς τιμὰς οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ· χαλεπώτερον <τ'><sup>3</sup> ἤδη τυγχάνειν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τὸ λεληθότως ἐξυβρίζειν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἄκοντας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ συνιέντας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> ἂν τῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ codd.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: τυράννω or τυράννου codd.

<sup>3</sup> Α τε, which the mss. insert before λεληθότως, has perhaps been misplaced.

<sup>a</sup> Gr. Κορῆς; Heb. Korah (= "baldness"), lxx. Κόρε.

<sup>b</sup> Tradition enlarges upon the wealth of Korah, which it attributes to his discovery of treasures buried by Joseph in Egypt (see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*). Psalm xlix. (a psalm attributed to "the sons of Korah," his degenerate descendants), and in particular v. 17 (16). "Be not thou afraid when one is made rich," is interpreted by the Midrash as referring to Korah and his company.

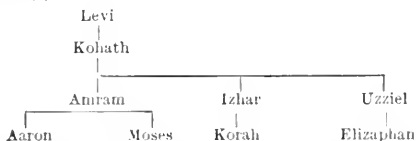
## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 13-16

I shall now recount, having first related the occasion out of which it arose.

(2) Korah,<sup>a</sup> one of the most eminent of the Hebrews by reason both of his birth and of his riches,<sup>b</sup> a capable speaker and very effective in addressing a crowd, seeing Moses established in the highest honours, was sorely envious; for he was of the same tribe and indeed his kinsman,<sup>c</sup> and was aggrieved at the thought that he had a greater right to enjoy all this glory himself, as being richer than Moses without being his inferior in birth. So he proceeded to denounce him among the Levites, who were his tribesmen, and especially among his kinsmen, declaring that it was monstrous to look on at Moses hunting round to create glory for himself and mischievously working to attain this in the pretended name of God. In defiance of the laws he had (he said) given the priesthood to his brother Aaron, not by the common decree of the people but by his own vote, and in despotic fashion was bestowing the honours upon whom he would.<sup>d</sup> Graver than open violence was now this clandestine form of outrage, because not only were those whom it robbed of power unwilling victims but even un-

Korah's jealousy: his harangue to his fellow Levites. Numb. xvi. 1.

<sup>c</sup> His first cousin. The pedigree (Ex. vi. 16, 18; Numb. xvi. 1) was:



<sup>d</sup> According to tradition Korah's main grievance was that the office of "prince" of the Kohathites had been bestowed upon Elizaphan, who belonged to a branch of the family younger than his own (Numb. iii. 30: see pedigree above).

## JOSEPHUS

- 17 ἰσχὸν ἀφαιρείται· ὅστις γὰρ αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ὄντι λαβεῖν ἀξίῳ πείθει τυγχάνειν αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτα<sup>1</sup> βιάσασθαι μὴ θρασυνόμενος, οἷς δὲ ἄπορον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τιμᾶσθαι βίαν μὲν ἀγαθοὶ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν οὐ προσφέρουσι, τέχνη δ' εἶναι κακουργοῦσι
- 18 δυνατοί. συμφέρειν δὲ τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τοιούτους ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένους κολάζειν καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν ἐάσαντας φανεροὺς ἔχειν πολεμίους. “τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι δυνάμενος Μωυσῆς Ἰακώβῳ καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην
- 19 παρέδωκεν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς τινι παρασχεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἐγὼ ταύτης δικαιοτέρος τυγχάνειν, γένοι μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν Μωυσεῖ, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ διαφέρων· εἰ δὲ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν φυλῶν, εἰκότως ἂν ἡ Ῥουβήλου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοι λαμβανόντων αὐτὴν Δαθάμου καὶ Ἀβιράμου καὶ Φαλαοῦ· πρεσβύτατοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν ταύτην τὴν φυλὴν νεμομένων καὶ δυνατοὶ χρημάτων περιουσία.”
- 20 (3) Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Κορῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ προνοεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τιμὴν μεταστῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα κακοήθως μετ’
- 21 εὐπρεπείας πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας ἔλεγε. προϊόντος δ’ εἰς τοὺς πλείονας κατ’ ὀλίγον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀκρωμένων προστιθεμένων ταῖς κατὰ

<sup>1</sup> τότε RO.

<sup>a</sup> Reuben (see i. 304 note).

<sup>b</sup> Gr. Dathames (most mss.): Bibl. Dathan.

<sup>c</sup> Pallu (LXX Φαλλοῦς) is mentioned as the second son of Reuben in Ex. vi. 14. But the name Phalaus here probably comes rather from the historian's text of Numb. xvi. 1; that



aware of the plot. For one who is conscious of meriting promotion seeks to obtain it by persuasion, and that without venturing to resort to force; but those who are incapable of obtaining honours by just means, while doubtless they refrain from violence, because they wish to be taken for honest people, scheme by wicked artifice to attain to power. It was expedient for the people, he continued, to punish such persons, while yet they believed themselves undetected, instead of allowing them to advance to power and having them for open enemies. "What reason, pray, could Moses give for having conferred the priesthood upon Aaron and his sons? If God has decided to award this honour to one of the tribe of Levi, I have more right to receive it, being by birth on a level with Moses, in wealth and years his superior. If, on the other hand, it is meant for the oldest of the tribes, naturally that of Rubel<sup>a</sup> should have this dignity, to be held by Datham,<sup>b</sup> Abiram, and Phalaus<sup>c</sup>; for they are the eldest of the members of that tribe, and powerful through abundance of possessions."

(3) Now by these words Korah wished it to appear that he was concerned for the public welfare; in reality, he was but scheming to have the dignity transferred by the people to himself. Thus with specious malice did he address the members of his tribe; his words then spreading gradually among the crowd and those who listened to them crediting<sup>d</sup>

Spread of  
the  
rebellion.

verse in its traditional form (which is thought to be corrupt) mentions along with Dathan and Abiram "On the son of Peleth" (LXX φαλέθ).

<sup>d</sup> Or "assenting to" (in *A.* vi. 287 προστιθεσθαι is a synonym for πιστεῖν); not, I think, as earlier translators take it, "adding to," "improving upon."

## JOSEPHUS

- Ἄαρῶνος διαβολαῖς ἀναπίμπλαται τούτων ἅπας ὁ στρατός. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι τῷ Κορῆ πενήτηντα καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρες σπεύδοντες ἀφελῆσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸν Μωυσέος
- 22 ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀτιμοῦν. ἀνηρέθιστο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Μωυσῆν ὠρμήκεσαν, εἷς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμως μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ στάντες<sup>1</sup> ἐβόων διώκειν<sup>2</sup> τὸν τύραννον καὶ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βίαια προστάγματα κελεύ-
- 23 οντος· τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἶπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τὸν ἱερασόμενον<sup>3</sup> ἐκλεγόμενος, τὸν ἄξιον ἂν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν παραγαγεῖν,<sup>4</sup> οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλῶν ὑποδεεστέροις ταύτην φέροντα προσνεῖμαι, κρίνοντά τε παρασχεῖν Ἄαρῶνι ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν δόσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰδελφῷ καταλιπεῖν.
- 24 (†) Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν Κορέου διαβολὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ προειδὼς καὶ τὸν λαὸν παροξυνόμενον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔδεισεν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν οἷς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καλῶς ἐβουλεύετο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰδὼς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς ἱερωσύνης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ
- 25 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν, ἤκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐδένα ἐποίησατο λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κορῆ βοῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο, δεξιὸς ὢν καὶ κατὰ τᾶλλα καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν

<sup>1</sup> πάντες ROM Lat.

<sup>2</sup> M ed. pr.: ἤκειν rell. (exeat Lat.).

<sup>3</sup> ἱερωσόμενον codd. (and so § 28).

<sup>4</sup> Niese: παράγειν codd.

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° Traditional detail, not in Scripture.

these calumnies upon Aaron, the whole army was soon pervaded with them. Korah's confederates were two hundred and fifty of the leading men, burning to deprive the brother of Moses of the priesthood and to dishonour Moses himself. But the multitude was equally excited and bent on stoning<sup>a</sup> Moses; and, trooping to assembly in disorderly wise with tumult and uproar, they stood before the tabernacle of God and shouted: "Away with<sup>b</sup> the tyrant and let the people be rid of their bondage to one who, in the pretended name of God, imposes his despotic orders. For God, had it been He who selected him that is to be priest, would have installed the most deserving in this office and would not have conferred and settled it<sup>c</sup> upon persons inferior to many of us; and, had He decided to grant it to Aaron, He would have committed the presentation of it to the people, instead of leaving it to his brother."

Numb.  
xvi. 2.

(4) But Moses, though he had long since known of the calumnies of Korah and seen the people's growing exasperation, yet was not afraid; no, with the assurance of having taken counsel for affairs aright, and knowing that his brother had obtained the priesthood through God's deliberate choice and not through any favouritism of his own, he came to the assembly. To the multitude he addressed no word, but turning to Korah and shouting with all his might—he who, with all his other talents, was so gifted in

Moses  
addresses  
the  
assembly.  
Cf. *ib.* 4-11

<sup>b</sup> Literally "pursue" or "prosecute"; most mss. have "let the tyrant come (forth)."

<sup>c</sup> The rendering "would not have consented (literally "endured") to settle it" (so Hudson and Weill) seems hardly justifiable: *φέρειν* in that sense takes a participle, not an infinitive. Cf. *φέρειν* *ἔδωκα* below, § 26.

## JOSEPHUS

εὐφυής, “ἐμοί,” φησίν, “ὦ Κορηῆ, καὶ σὺ καὶ  
 τούτων ἕκαστος,” ἀπεδήλου δὲ τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ  
 διακοσίους ἄνδρας, “τιμῆς ἄξιοι δοκεῖτε, καὶ τὸν  
 ὄμιλον δὲ πάντα τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀποστερῶ τιμῆς,  
 κἂν ὑστερῶσιν ὧν ὑμῖν ἐκ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 26 ἀξιώσεως ὑπάρχει. καὶ νῦν Ἀαρῶνι τὴν ἱερωσύνην  
 οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πλούτῳ προεῖχε, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους  
 ἡμᾶς μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλεις, οὐ μὴν  
 οὐδ’ εὐγενεία, κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ’ ἐποίησεν ὁ  
 θεὸς τὸν αὐτὸν δοῦς προπάτορα, οὐδὲ διὰ φι-  
 αδελφίαν ὁ δικαίως ἂν ἕτερος εἶχε τοῦτο φέρων  
 27 ἔδωκα τὰδελφῶ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φροντίζων τοῦ  
 θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων τὴν τιμὴν ἐχαριζόμεν, οὐκ  
 ἂν ἐμαυτῷ παρὲς δοῦναι παρέσχον ἕτέρῳ, συγ-  
 γενέστερος ὢν ἐμαυτῷ τὰδελφοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν  
 οἰκειότερον ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον διακεείμενος· καὶ γὰρ  
 οὐδὲ<sup>1</sup> συνετὸν ἦν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐμαυτὸν ὑποτιθέντα  
 τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄλλῳ τὴν διὰ τούτου<sup>2</sup>  
 28 εὐδαιμονίαν χαρίζεσθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τε κρείττων  
 ἢ κακουργεῖν, ὅ τε θεὸς οὐκ ἂν περιεΐδεν ἑαυτὸν  
 καταφρονούμενον οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὅ τι καὶ  
 ποιοῦντες αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθε, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος  
 τὸν ἱερασόμενον αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτ’ αἰτίας ἡμᾶς  
 29 ἠλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἐμῆς χάριτος λαβὼν<sup>3</sup>  
 <Ἀαρῶν><sup>4</sup> ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ κρίσιν θεοῦ, κατα-  
 τίθησιν αὐτὴν εἰς μέσον ἐπιδικάσιμον τοῖς βουλο-

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: οὔτε codd.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr.: λαβεῖν codd.

<sup>2</sup> ME: τοῦτ’ rell.

<sup>4</sup> ex Lat.: om. codd.

<sup>a</sup> Weill aptly compares the words of Moses in Num. xi. 29 (in the episode of Eldad and Medad, not reported by Josephus), “Would God that all the Lord’s people were prophets!”

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

"However, Aaron, though far from having received his office through my favour and not by the judgement of God, now lays it down as an open prize to be sued

<sup>a</sup> Their common grandfather, Kohath.

<sup>c</sup> Or "me" (as often).

## JOSEPHUS

μένοις, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προκριθεὶς ἤδη τυχεῖν αὐτῆς  
 ἀξιώων ἐπιτραπήναι καὶ τὸ<sup>1</sup> νῦν αὐτῶ<sup>2</sup> περὶ αὐτῆς  
 30 σπουδάσαι, προτιμῶν <δὲ><sup>3</sup> τοῦ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν  
 τὸ μὴ στασιάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὁρᾶν καίτοι κατὰ τὴν  
 ὑμετέραν γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων· ὃ γὰρ ἔδωκεν  
 ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένων ὑμῶν  
 31 λαβεῖν νομίζοντες.<sup>4</sup> ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέσθαι  
 παρέχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν τιμὴν ἀσεβές, καὶ πάλιν  
 ἀξιοῦν γ<sup>5</sup> ἔχειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον μὴ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν  
 τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ βεβαιοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ παντά-  
 πασιν ἀλόγιστον. κρινεῖ τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτός,  
 τίνας βούλεται τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν<sup>6</sup> αὐτῶ θυσίας  
 32 ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ προεστάναι τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἄτοπον  
 γὰρ Κορῆν ἐφιέμενον τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἐξουσίαν  
 τοῦ τίνι παράσχη ταύτην ἀφελέσθαι τὸν θεόν.  
 τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτο παραχῆς  
 παύσασθε, πρῶτ' δὲ ὅσοι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀντιποιεῖσθε  
 κομίζων ἕκαστος θυμιατήριον οἴκοθεν σὺν θυμιά-  
 33 μασι καὶ πυρὶ πάριτε. καὶ σὺ δέ, Κορῆ, παρα-  
 χώρησον τὴν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις  
 αὐτοῦ μένε ψηφοφορίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σαυτὸν ποιεῖ  
 τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα, παραγίνου δὲ κριθησόμενος  
 οὕτως περὶ τοῦ γέρωσ. ἀνεμέσητον δ' οἶμαι καὶ  
 Ἄαρῶνα προσδέξασθαι συγκριθησόμενον, γένους  
 μὲν ὄντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν δὲ μεμφθῆναι τοῖς παρὰ  
 34 τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεπραγμένοις δυνάμενον. θυμιά-

<sup>1</sup> SP: τοῦ or τοῦτο rell.

<sup>2</sup> Text RO: + συγχωρηθῆναι rell.

<sup>3</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ μὴ βουλ. ὑμῶν λαμβάνοντες RO.

<sup>5</sup> ἀξιοῦντ' (ἀξιοῦντα) codd.

<sup>6</sup> ἡμῶν SP.

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<sup>a</sup> Or "now again"; but Weill is doubtless right in render-  
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for by any who will. He makes no claim on the ground of his previous selection and present tenure of it to be allowed on this occasion also to compete for it; but rather than keep this privilege he would prefer to see no dissension among you, notwithstanding that he holds it in virtue of your own decision; for that which God gave, we were not wrong in supposing that he received with your goodwill also. Nay, to have refused this honour when proffered by Him would have been impious; as, on the other hand,<sup>a</sup> to claim to keep it for ever without having the assured possession of it guaranteed to us by God, would be utterly unreasonable. He, then, it is who shall decide anew, whom He would have to offer Him the sacrifices on your behalf and to preside over the rites of worship; for it were monstrous that Korah, in coveting this honour, should deprive God of the power of deciding to whom He would accord it.

“Cease ye then from this sedition and the turbulence arising therefrom, and at daybreak let all claimants for the priesthood bring each a censer from his home, with incense and fire, and come hither. And do thou too, Korah, leave the judgement to God, await the casting of His vote thereon and make not thyself superior to God, but come to stand thy trial even so concerning this prize. Nor can it, I imagine, cause offence, that Aaron too should be admitted as a competitor, he who is of the same family and beyond all reproach for his actions during his tenure of the priesthood. Ye will then burn your

Numb. xvi  
6, 16.

ing “en revanche,” though the temporal sense occurs just below. It is a Sophoclean use (*El.* 371), and the marks of the “Sophoclean” assistant (see Introduction) are evident in this speech.

## JOSEPHUS

σετε<sup>1</sup> οὖν συνελθόντες ἐν φανερωῶ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ θυμιωμένων ὑμῶν οὐπερ ἂν τὴν θυσίαν ἡδία κρίνειεν ὁ θεός, οὗτος ὑμῖν ἱερεὺς κεχειροτονήσεται, τῆς ἐπὶ τὰδελφῷ διαβολῆς ὡς κεχαρισμένου <έμοῦ><sup>2</sup> τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῷ ῥύόμενος.”

- 35 (iii. 1) Ταῦτα Μωυσέος εἰπόντος παύεται καὶ τῆς ταραχῆς τὸ πλήθος καὶ τῆς εἰς Μωυσὴν ὑποψίας, ἐπένευσαν<sup>3</sup> δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις· καὶ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρηστὰ τῷ λαῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύουσι τὸν σύλλογον, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρατευξόμενοι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτῆς κρίσει τῶν περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης
- 36 ἀγωνιζομένων. συνέβαινε δ' εἶναι θορυβώδη τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετεώρου τοῦ πλήθους ὄντος ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβανόντων εἰ Μωυσῆς ἐλεγχθείη κακουργῶν, τῶν δὲ φρονίμων εἰ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγείησαν καὶ ταραχῆς· ἐδε-  
37 δέισαν γὰρ μὴ τῆς στάσεως προϊούσης ἀφανισθῆ  
38 μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ὁ κόσμος τῆς καταστάσεως· ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὄμιλος φύσει χαίρων τῷ καταβοᾶν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ πρὸς ὃ τις εἴποι πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν γνώμην τρέπων ἐθορύβει. πέμψας δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς πρὸς Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἦκειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ περιμένειν τὴν ἱερουργίαν. ὡς δ' οὔτε ὑπακούσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔφασαν καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐ περιόψεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ κακουργίας αὐξανόμενον, ἀκούσας τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> O: θυμιάσατε rell.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. ins. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> RO: ἐπήνευσαν rell.



incense, on assembling here, in the sight of all the people ; and, on your offering your incense, whose-soever sacrifice God shall judge to be most acceptable, he shall be your elected priest, thereby clearing me of the charge of having through favour bestowed this dignity upon a brother."

(iii. 1) After this speech of Moses, the multitude ceased their turbulence and their suspicions of him, and assented to his proposals, which indeed were, as they were thought, excellent for the people. So for the time they dissolved the meeting, but on the morrow they gathered to the assembly to assist at the sacrifice and at the judgement to be passed thereby upon the competitors for the priesthood. It proved indeed a tumultuous assembly, the multitude being all agog in expectation of the issue : some would have taken pleasure in seeing Moses convicted of a crime, others of the sager sort in being delivered from troubles and turbulence, for they feared, if sedition gained ground, a further obliteration of the ordered beauty of their constitution ; while the general mass, with its innate delight in deerying those in authority and its opinion swayed by what anyone said, was in a ferment. Moses sent attendants also to Abiram and Datham,<sup>a</sup> bidding them come, as had been agreed, and await the issue of the sacred ceremony. But, since they informed the messengers that they would neither obey nor suffer Moses to wax great at the expense of the whole community by nefarious means, Moses, on hearing their reply, requested his chief counsellors<sup>b</sup> to accompany him and

Fresh meeting of the assembly. Numb. xvi. 18.

Moses confronts Dathan and Abiram. *Ib.* 12.

xvi. 25.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Dathan (§ 19).

<sup>b</sup> "The elders of Israel" (Numbers).

## JOSEPHUS

- προβούλους ἀξιώσας ἀπήει πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην, οὐχ ἡγούμενος εἶναι δεινὸν βαδίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερφανήσαντας· οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντες ἠκολούθουν.
- 39 οἱ δὲ περὶ Δαθάμην πυθόμενοι τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων τῆς πληθύος πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενον προελθόντες γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπέβλεπον, τί καὶ μέλλοι ποιεῖν ὁ Μωυσῆς· ἔτι τε θεράποντες ἦσαν περὶ αὐτούς, ὡς εἰ βίαν τινὰ προσφέροι Μωυσῆς ἀμννούμενοι.
- 40 (2) Ὁ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν γεγωνότερον ἐκβοήσας, ὡς ἀκουστὸν πάσῃ τῇ πληθύνι γενέσθαι, “δέσποτα,” φησί, “τῶν ἐπ’ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης· σὺ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένων μάρτυς ἀξιολογώτατος, ὡς γνώμη τε σῆ γίνεται τὰ πάντα καὶ δρωμένοις<sup>1</sup> μηχανὴν ἐξεπόρισας οἶκτον ἐν πᾶσι δεινοῖς Ἑβραίων ποιησάμενος· ἔλθέ μοι
- 41 τούτων ἀκροατῆς τῶν λόγων, σὲ γὰρ οὔτε πρᾶττόμενον οὔτε νοηθὲν λανθάνει, ὥστ’ οὐδὲ φθονήσεις μοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν τούτων ἀχαριστίαν ἐπιπροσθεν θέμενος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αὐτὸς οἶσθ’ ἀκριβέστερον, οὐκ ἀκοῇ μαθὼν ὅψει δὲ τότε αὐτοῖς παρῶν γινομένοις, ἃ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς ἀδίκως
- 42 ὑπονοοῦσι, τούτων μοι γενοῦ μάρτυς. ἐγὼ βίον ἀπράγμονα καταστησάμενος ἀνδραγαθία μὲν ἐμῇ σῆ δὲ βουλῇ, καὶ τοῦτον Ῥαγουήλου μοι τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> δεομένοις Niese: ἀπορουμένοις Naber: emendation needless.

<sup>a</sup> So, not (as earlier translators) “deeming it dangerous”: cf. *B.J.* iv. 393 δεινὸν ἡγουμένων ὑποτετάχθαι τὸ πρὶν ἰσότημῃ.

<sup>b</sup> The Arabic version of Numbers adds a similar phrase, “ut viderent quid futurum esset” (trans. Walton, *Polyglot*).

went off to the faction of Datham, not scorning <sup>a</sup> to go to these insolent rebels ; and the councillors followed him without demur. Datham's company, on learning that Moses was coming to them, attended by the chief notables of the people, came forth with their wives and children before their tents to see what Moses proposed to do.<sup>b</sup> Moreover they had their servants <sup>c</sup> around them to defend them, should Moses resort to any act of violence.

(2) But he, on approaching them, raised his hands to heaven and, in stentorian tones, so as to be heard by all the throng, said : " Lord of all that is in heaven and earth and sea, since thou for my actions art the witness most worthy of belief, how that all things have been done in accordance with thy will and how for their performance thou didst devise a way, taking pity on the Hebrews in all adversities, come and lend thine ear to my words. For from thee no deed nor thought is hid ; thou wilt not then grudge me the revelation of the truth, preferring above it the ingratitude of these men. Truly, the events anterior to my birth thou knowest best thyself, not through hearing of the ear, but through seeing them pass at the time in thy presence ; but of the events thereafter, which, though they know them well, these men so unjustly suspect, of them be thou my witness. I, who had secured for myself a life of ease, through my prowess <sup>d</sup> and at thy will, thanks too to what

Appeal of Moses for the intervention of God. Cf. Numb. xvi. 15, 23.

<sup>c</sup> This is J.'s rendering of the Hebrew *taph* " (their) little ones " in Num. xvi. 27 : LXX ἀποσκευή (" chattels "), Targum of Onkelos " their families," Vulgate " omnique frequentia."

<sup>d</sup> ἀπράγμονα . . . ἀνδραγαθία : an echo of Thuc. ii. 63 ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθίζεται.

## JOSEPHUS

πειθεροῦ καταλιπόντος, ἀφείς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπό-  
 λαισιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἑμαυτὸν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ  
 τούτων ταλαιπωρίαις. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ  
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν, νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας  
 μεγάλους ὑπέστην πόνους καὶ παντὶ δεινῷ τοῦμόν  
 43 ἀντιτάξας πρόθυμον. νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ κακουργεῖν  
 ὑποπτεύομαι παρ' ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν  
 καμάτων ὑπάρχει<sup>1</sup> τὸ περιεῖναι, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτός,  
 ὃ τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνό μοι φήγας κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον καὶ  
 τῆς σαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀκροατὴν τότε καταστήσας  
 καὶ θεατὴν τεράτων ὅσα μοι παρέσχεν ἰδεῖν ἐκείνος  
 ὁ τόπος ποιήσας, ὁ κελεύσας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου  
 σταλῆναι καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τούτοις ἐμφανίσει,  
 44 ὃ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων εὐδαιμονίαν σείσας καὶ τῆς ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> δουλείας δρασμὸν ἡμῖν παρασχὼν καὶ  
 μικροτέραν ἐμοῦ τὴν Φαραώθου ποιήσας ἡγεμονίαν,  
 ὃ γῆν ἡμῖν ἀμαθῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ὁδῶν ποιήσας τὸ  
 πέλαγος καὶ τὴν ἀνακεκομμένην θάλασσαν τοῖς  
 Αἰγυπτίων ἐπικυμήγας ὀλέθροις, ὃ γυμνοῖς οὔσι  
 45 τὴν ἐξ ὄπλων ἀσφάλειαν χαρισάμενος, ὃ ποτίμους  
 ἡμῖν διεφθαρμένας πηγὰς ῥεῦσαι παρασκευάσας  
 καὶ τελέως ἀποροῦσιν ἐκ πετρῶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμῖν  
 ποτὸν μηχανησάμενος, ὃ τῶν γῆθεν ἀπορουμένους  
 εἰς τροφήν διασώσας τοῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ὃ καὶ  
 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τροφήν καταπέμψας οὐ πρότερον  
 ἱστορηθεῖσαν, ὃ νόμων ἡμῖν ἐπίνοιαν ὑποθέμενος  
 46 καὶ διάταξιν πολιτείας· ἐλθέ, δέσποτα τῶν ὄλων,  
 δικαστῆς μου καὶ μάρτυς ἀδωροδόκητος, ὡς οὔτε  
 δωρεὰν ἐγὼ παρ' Ἑβραίων τινὸς κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου

<sup>1</sup> ὑπῆρχε RO.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς RO.

Raguel my father-in-law left me,<sup>a</sup> abandoning the enjoyment of those good things, devoted myself to tribulations on behalf of this people. At first for their liberty, and now for their salvation, great are the toils that I have undergone, opposing to every peril all the ardour of my soul. Now therefore, when I am suspected of knavery by men who owe it to my exertions that they are yet alive, well mayest thou thyself—thou who didst show me that fire on Sinai and didst cause me then to listen to thy voice and to behold all those prodigies which I was permitted by that place to see; thou who badest me make speed to Egypt and reveal thy will to this people; who didst shake the prosperity of the Egyptians and grant us escape from the yoke of their bondage, humbling beneath me the dominion of Pharaoh; who, when we knew not whither to go, didst change the deep into dry land and, when the sea had been beaten back, broughtest up its surging billows to the Egyptians' destruction; who to our naked army gavest arms for their protection; who didst cause sweet water to flow for us from polluted springs and in the depth of our distress find means to bring us drink from the rocks<sup>b</sup>; who when the fruits of earth failed us preservedst us with sustenance from the sea,<sup>c</sup> aye and from heaven didst send down meat unheard of aforetime<sup>d</sup>; thou who didst put into our minds a scheme of laws and an ordered constitution—O come, Lord of the universe, to judge my cause and to attest, as witness incorruptible, that neither have I accepted a present from a single Hebrew to pervert justice,

Numb.  
xvi. 15.

<sup>a</sup> *Ant.* ii. 263; or "which Raguel . . . too left me free to enjoy."

<sup>b</sup> iii. 35.

<sup>c</sup> Quails, iii. 25.

<sup>d</sup> Manna, iii. 26.

## JOSEPHUS

προσηκάμην οὔτε πλούτῳ κατέκρικα πειρίαν νικᾶν δυναμένην οὔτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτευσάμενος εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπινοίας πάρεμι, ὡς οὐχὶ σοῦ κελεύσαντος Ἁαρῶνι  
 47 δούς τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐμὴν χάριν. παράστησον δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὅτι πάντα σῆ προνοία διοικεῖται καὶ μηδὲν αὐτομάτως ἀλλὰ κατὰ βούλησιν βραβεύομενον τὴν σὴν εἰς τέλος ἔρχεται, ὅτι δὲ φροντίζεις τῶν Ἑβραίουσ ὀνησόντων, μετελθὼν Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην, οἳ σου καταδικάζουσιν ἀναισθησίαν ὡς ὑπ' ἐμῆς τέχνης νικωμένου.  
 48 ποιήσεις δὲ φανεράν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δίκην οὕτως μεμνηότων κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης, μὴ κοινῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοὺς μεταστήσας μηδ' ὡς ἀποθανόντας κατ' ἀνθρώπινον ἐξεληλυθότας τοῦ βίου φανέντας νόμον, ἀλλὰ χάνοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῇ γενεᾷ  
 49 καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἦν πατοῦσι γῆν· τοῦτο γὰρ σῆς ἐπίδειξις ἂν ἰσχύος ἅπασι γένοιτο καὶ διδασκαλία σωφροσύνης δέει τοῦ<sup>1</sup> ταῦτά πείσεσθαι περὶ σοῦ δοξάζοντας οὐχ ὅσια· εὐρεθείην γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ὑπηρέτης ὦν σὺ προστάσσεις.  
 50 εἰ δ' ἀληθεῖς πεποιήνται τὰς κατ' ἐμοῦ διαβολάς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς φυλάξειας<sup>2</sup> κακοῦ, ὃν δ' ἐπηρασάμην ὄλεθρον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ποιήσεως<sup>3</sup> ἐμόν· καὶ δίκην εἰσπραξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ τὸν σὸν ἀδικῆσαι θελήσαντος λαὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ βραβεύων ὁμόνοϊαν καὶ εἰρήνην σῶζε τὴν πληθὺν ἐπομένην τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπαθῆ τηρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ

<sup>1</sup> δέει τοῦ Holwerda: δὲ εἰς τοὺς codd.

<sup>2</sup> φυλάξεις ROM.

<sup>3</sup> ποιήσεις RO.

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<sup>a</sup> Moses here *suggests* the earthquake to God (in Scripture  
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nor in the interest of wealth condemned poverty that deserved to win, nor, acting to the detriment of the public weal, have allowed thoughts so wholly alien to my conduct to enter my mind, as to give the priesthood to Aaron not by thy command but through my favouritism. Prove now once again that all is directed by thy providence, that nothing befalls fortuitously, but that it is thy will that overrules and brings everything to its end ; prove that thou carest for those who would benefit the Hebrews, by pursuing with vengeance Abiram and Datham, who accuse thee of such insensibility as to have been defeated by artifice of mine. Aye and thou wilt make manifest thy judgement upon them, these mad assailants of thy majesty, by removing them in no common manner out of existence : let it not appear that in perishing they quitted life according to the law of humanity : nay, let there open to engulf them, them and their families and their belongings, the very ground they tread!<sup>a</sup> *That* would be for all an exhibition of thy might and a lesson in sobriety, through fear of suffering the like fate for impious imaginations concerning thee ; for thus should I be proved a faithful minister of thy behests. But, if the accusations which they have made against me be true, then mayest thou keep these men free from all harm, and that destruction which I have imprecated on them bring thou upon me. And, having exacted justice from him that would have wronged thy people, henceforward, awarding harmony and peace, save thou this multitude that followeth thy commandments, preserving them unscathed and exempt from

Numb.  
xvi. 29 f.

his words are addressed to the people), as at the Red Sea he had suggested three alternative expedients (ii. 337).

## JOSEPHUS

ἀκοινώνητον τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων κολάσεως· σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ὡς οὐ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας κοινῇ πάντας Ἰσραηλίτας τιμωρίαν ἐκτίειν.<sup>1</sup>”

- 51 (3) Ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος καὶ δακρύνοντος σείεται μὲν αἰφνίδιον ἢ γῆ, σάλου δ’ ἐπ’<sup>2</sup> αὐτῆς κινήθεντος ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀνέμου βίας σαλευομένου κύματος πᾶς μὲν ἔδεισεν ὁ λαός, πατάγου δὲ καὶ σκληροῦ ῥαγέντος ἤχου κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνων σκηναὺς συνίζησεν ἢ γῆ καὶ πάνθ’ ὅσα φίλα τούτοις ἦν ὑπήνεγκεν  
52 εἰς αὐτήν. ἠφανισμένων δ’ οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲ φθῆναι<sup>3</sup> τινὰς γῶναι, συνῆει τε πάλιν τῆς γῆς τὸ περὶ ἐκείνους κεκηνὸς καὶ καθίστατο, ὡς μηδ’ εἰ πάθοι τι τῶν προειρημένων φανερόν εἶναι τοῖς ὀρώσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο ἐπίδειξις  
53 τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος γενόμενοι· ὀδύραιτο δ’ ἂν τις οὐ μόνον τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτοῦς καὶ καθ’ αὐτήν οὔσης ἀξίας οἴκτου, ἀλλ’ ὅτι καὶ τοιαῦτα παθόντων ἐφήσθησαν οἱ συγγενεῖς· τῶν γὰρ συντεταγμένων ἐκλαθόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐβεβαίουν τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ νομίζοντες ὡς ἀλιτηρίου ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην οὐδ’ ἔλυπουντο.
- 54 (4) Μωυσῆς δ’ ἐκάλει τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀμιλλωμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερέων δοκιμασίαν, ἵν’ οὗ προσδέξεται τὴν θυσίαν ὁ θεὸς ἡδιον ἐκείνος<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἐκτινύναι M.

<sup>2</sup> RO: ἀπ’ rell.

<sup>3</sup> Cocceii: ὀφθῆναι or φανῆναι codd.

<sup>4</sup> om. RO.

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<sup>a</sup> Or possibly (neuter) “their confederacy,” the compact between the two parties. Critics have long recognized that in the Biblical narrative two distinct stories have been welded together: (1) a revolt against the civil authority of Moses, 500



the punishment of them that have sinned. For thou thyself knowest that it were not just that for their iniquity all Israel together should pay the penalty."

(3) So spake he, weeping withal, when suddenly the earth shook, a tremor moved over its surface as when a wave is tossed by the violence of the wind, and all the people were afraid; then a crash and a burst of booming sound, and over against the tents of those men the earth subsided and swept all that was precious to them down into its bosom. The victims being obliterated so swiftly that some were even unaware of their fate, the ground that had opened around them closed up again and settled down, so that there was nothing to show the on-lookers that it had actually suffered any such convulsion. Thus they perished, furnishing an exhibition of God's mighty power. Yet one might commiserate them, not only for a catastrophe by itself alone meriting compassion, but because moreover their kinsfolk rejoiced over their awful fate. For, oblivious of their confederates,<sup>a</sup> at the sight of what had befallen they ratified the sentence, and, judging that Dathan and his followers had perished as miscreants, they refrained even from grief.<sup>b</sup>

Dathan's  
company  
engulfed by  
earthquake.  
Numb.  
xvi. 31.

(4) But <sup>c</sup> Moses summoned the rival claimants for the priesthood to proceed to the scrutiny for that office, to the end that he whose sacrifice should be received with most favour by God should be declared

Korah's  
company  
consumed  
by celestial  
fire. *Ib.* 2,  
18.

led by Dathan and Abiram, (2) a revolt of representatives of the whole people, led by Korah, against the Levites.

<sup>b</sup> Addition to Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> Peculiarities in this section, noted below, indicate the reappearance of the "Thucydidean" assistant (see Introduction). There is some lack of coherence with what has preceded.

## JOSEPHUS

ἦ<sup>1</sup> κεχειροτονημένους. συνελθόντων δὲ πεντήκοντα  
καὶ διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ καὶ διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὴν  
ἐτιμῶντο παρὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν, ἣ  
κακείνους ὑπερεβάλλοντο, προῆλθον καὶ Ἀαρῶν  
καὶ Κορῆς, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς πάντες καθήγγισαν  
ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιατηρίοις ὅποσα κομίζοντες ἔτυχον.  
55 ἐξέλαμψε δὲ πῦρ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὔτε<sup>2</sup> χειροποιήτων  
ἰστόρησέ τις οὔτε γῆθεν ἀναδοθέν κατὰ ὑποδρομὴν  
καύματος οὔτε κατὰ βίαν πνευμάτων ὕλης πρὸς  
αὐτὴν<sup>3</sup> παρατριβείσης αὐτομάτως ἐξεκρούσθη, ἀλλ'  
ὅποῖον <ἄν><sup>4</sup> θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀφθείη λαμπρὸν καὶ  
56 φλογωδέστατον· ὑφ' οὗ πάντες, οἳ τε διακόσιοι  
καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἄξαντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
ἐφθάρησαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ  
γεγονένοι. περισώζεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρῶν μηδὲν  
ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βλαβεῖς τῷ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τὸν  
57 οὗς ἔδει καίειν ἀπεσταλκότα. Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων  
ἀπολομένων βουλόμενος τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν  
μνήμη παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς αὐθις ἔσομένους  
αὐτὴν μαθεῖν, ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀαρῶνος

<sup>1</sup> ML: εἶη rell.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: οὐδὲ codd.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: αὐτὸ codd.

<sup>4</sup> ins. Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> There is no indication that they have already been mentioned (§ 21).

<sup>b</sup> "Princes of the congregation, called to the assembly (LXX σύνκλητοι βουλῆς), men of renown," Numb. xvi. 2.

<sup>c</sup> In the conflate Biblical narrative Korah appears to share the fate of Dathan and Abiram (xvi. 27, and expressly in xxvi. 10). In Josephus he is burnt with the 250. The nature of his end was in fact the subject of Rabbinic controversy (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 110a, quoted by Weill).

<sup>d</sup> The use of ὅποσος for ὅσος is a distinctive mark of the

elected. Then assembled two hundred and fifty men,<sup>a</sup> held in high esteem by the people alike for the merits of their ancestors and for their own, in which they even surpassed their sires<sup>b</sup>; Aaron and Korah<sup>c</sup> advanced likewise, and the whole company in front of the tabernacle burnt incense on all those censers which<sup>d</sup> they had brought with them. And suddenly there blazed forth a fire, the like of which had never in the record of history been made by the hand of man, nor was ever ejected from the earth through subterranean current of heat, nor yet spontaneously broke out in the woods from the violence of the wind and mutual attrition,<sup>e</sup> but such a flame as might be kindled at the bidding of God, brilliant and of the fiercest heat. Beneath this blaze, which leapt out upon them, all those two hundred and fifty, along with Korah, were consumed, insomuch that all trace of their bodies disappeared. Aaron alone survived, in no wise injured by the fire, because it was God who had sent it to burn up those whose burning was requisite. Moreover Moses, after the destruction of these men, wishing their penalty to be commemorated and future generations to learn thereof, ordered Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to deposit

Numb.  
xvi. 35.

xvi. 36  
(xvii. 1  
Heb.).

“Thucydidean” assistant responsible for *Ant.* xvii-xix; there are 100 instances of it in those books and only four, including this one, elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup> A description based on, and intended to outdo, that of the Plataean bonfire in Thuc. ii. 77: “A flame arose of which the like had never before been made by the hand of man; I am not speaking of fires in the mountains, when the woods have spontaneously blazed up from the action of the wind and mutual attrition” (Jowett). With this is combined an apparent allusion to the great eruption of Vesuvius which in A.D. 79 buried Pompeii and Herculaneum, and which is expressly mentioned in *A.* xx. 144.

## JOSEPHUS

- υῖὸν τὰ θυμιατήρια αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν χάλκεον  
 58 καταθέσθαι βωμόν, ὡς ἂν ὑπόμνησις εἴη τοῖς  
 αὐθις ὧν ἔπαθον [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ  
 νομίσειαν ἀπατάσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ Ἁαρὼν μὲν  
 οὐκέτι τῇ Μωυσέος χάριτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην  
 ἔχειν δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει φανερᾶ  
 γενομένη, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἤδη βεβαίως ἀπέλαυε  
 τῆς τιμῆς.
- 59 (iv. 1.) Τὴν μέντοι στάσιν οὐδ' οὕτως συνέβη  
 παύσασθαι, πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὔξειν καὶ φύεσθαι  
 χαλεπωτέραν· ἐλάμβανε δὲ<sup>2</sup> τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον  
 προκοπῆς αἰτίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδέποτε λήξειν τὸ  
 60 δεινὸν ἦν εἰκὸς ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον παραμενεῖν. οἱ  
 γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πεπιστευκότες ἤδη μηδὲν γίνεσθαι  
 δίχα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ταῦτα  
 χωρὶς τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ πεπρᾶχθαι,  
 κατηγόρου δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι<sup>3</sup>  
 τοσαύτην οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῶν κολασθέντων  
 61 ἀδικίαν, ὡς Μωυσέος πραγματευσαμένου· καὶ τοὺς  
 μὲν διεφθάρθαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας ἢ ὅτι περὶ  
 τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδάκεσαν, τὸν δὲ  
 τοιούτων<sup>4</sup> ἀνδρῶν ὀλέθρῳ καὶ πάντων ἀρίστων  
 ἐζημιωκότα τὸν λαὸν πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν  
 δίκην ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναμφίλεκτον τὰδελφῶ  
 62 παρασχεῖν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῆς ἄλλον ἀντι-  
 ποιήσεσθαι<sup>5</sup> καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὀρῶντα κακῶς  
 ἀπολωλότας. ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων

<sup>1</sup> om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> om. δὲ RO: χαλεπωτέραν <τ'> ἐλάμβανε Niese.

<sup>3</sup> Bekker: γίνεσθαι codd.

<sup>4</sup> τοσοῦτων Niese.

<sup>5</sup> ἀντιποιήσασθαι codd.

their censers beside the brazen altar,<sup>a</sup> as a reminder to posterity of the fate which had befallen them for imagining that it was possible for deceit to be practised on the power of God. And Aaron, being no longer believed to owe his high-priesthood to the favour of Moses, but to the judgement of God thus clearly manifested, had now, along with his sons, the assured enjoyment of this dignity.

(iv. 1) Not even so, however, was the sedition brought to an end, nay it assumed far larger proportions and grew more grievous; indeed it found an occasion for proceeding from bad to worse such that the trouble seemed likely never to cease but to become chronic. For those people, though convinced at length that nothing befell without God's providence, yet refused to believe that His favour for Moses had played no part in what had passed; and they now laid it to his charge that the severity of God's wrath was due not so much to the iniquity of those who had been punished as to the machinations of Moses. The victims, so they said, had perished for no other crime save the zeal that they had displayed for God's worship; while he who had chastised<sup>b</sup> the people by the destruction of such worthies, the noblest of them all, besides undergoing no punishment, had further conferred on his brother undisputed possession of the priesthood; since none else would hereafter claim it, seeing that the very first to do so had come to a miserable end. Furthermore, the relatives of the victims made constant

Continu-  
ance of  
sedition.

Numb.  
xvi. 41  
(xvii. 6  
Heb.).

*περιθεια*) of the altar," Numb. xvi. 38. For *περιθεια* Josephus perhaps read *παράθεια*; the two words appear as variant readings in Ex. xxxviii. 24 LXX, in a similar connexion.

<sup>b</sup> Literally "mulcted," with the collateral idea of "crippled."

## JOSEPHUS

τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις δέησις ἐγένετο πολλή τοῦ πλήθους μειῶσαί τι τῆς Μωυσέος μεγαλαυχίας· ἀσφαλές γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ' εἶναι.

- 63 (2) Μωυσῆς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ συνιστάμενον ἤκροατο τὸν θόρυβον, δείσας μή τι νεωτερίσῃσι πάλιν καὶ γένηται τι μέγα καὶ χαλεπὸν, συνήγαγε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν [καὶ]<sup>1</sup> περὶ μὲν ὧν ἤκροατο εἰς ἀπολογίαὶν οὐ καθιστάμενος, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνῃ τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῖς φυλάρχοις προειπὼν κομίζειν τὰ τῶν φυλῶν ὀνόματα βακτηρίαις
- 64 ἐπιγεγραμμένα· λήψεσθαι γὰρ ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἱερωσύνην, οὐπὲρ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισημήνῃ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ. δόξαν οὖν κομίζουσιν οἳ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀαρῶν ἐπιγράψας Λευίτην<sup>2</sup> ἐν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ ταύτας Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κατατίθησι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προεκόμισε τὰς βακτηρίας· γνώριμοι δ' ἦσαν κατασημαμένων αὐτὰς τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν
- 65 οἳπὲρ ἐκόμιζον καὶ τοῦ πλήθους. καὶ τὰς μὲν ἄλλας ἐφ' οὐπὲρ αὐτὰς σχήματος Μωυσῆς παρέλαβεν ἐπὶ τούτου μεμνηκυίας ἔβλεπον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἀαρῶνος βλαστούς τε καὶ κλάδους ἀναφύοντας ἐώρων καὶ καρπὸν ὠραῖον, ἀμύγδαλα δ' ἦν, ἐκ τοιοῦτου ξύλου τῆς βακτηρίας κατεσκευασμένης.
- 66 ἐκπλαγέντες δ' ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς θεάς, εἰ καὶ τισι διὰ μίσους ἦν ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἀαρῶν, ἀφέντες τοῦτο θαυμάζειν ἤρξαντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπευφημοῦντες τοῖς δεδογμένοις τῷ θεῷ συνεχώρουν Ἀαρῶνι

<sup>1</sup> om. edd.

<sup>2</sup> Λευίτην Niese.

petition to the people to abate somewhat of Moses' arrogance, as this would make for their security.

(2) But<sup>a</sup> Moses, who long since had given ear to the troubles brewing, dreading some fresh revolution with some grave and grievous result, convened the people in assembly; where, without embarking on any defence concerning the complaints which had come to his ears, for fear of exasperating the people, he merely directed the tribal chiefs to bring with them staves with the names of their tribes inscribed thereon, adding that the priesthood should be awarded to him upon whose staff God should set his mark. This being approved, they all brought them, including Aaron, who had inscribed "Levite"<sup>b</sup> upon his staff, and Moses laid them up in the tabernacle of God. On the morrow he produced the staves, which were clearly recognizable, having been marked both by the men who had brought them and by the people. All the rest were then seen to have remained in the state in which they were when Moses received them; but from that of Aaron shoots and twigs had sprouted, so they beheld, and ripe fruit, to wit almonds, for it was of the wood of that tree that his staff was formed. Amazed at this extraordinary spectacle, any who bore malice against Moses and Aaron now renounced it and began to marvel at God's sentence concerning them; and henceforth, applauding the divine decrees, they

The budding  
of Aaron's  
rod quells  
the rebels.  
Numb.  
xvii. 1  
(16 Heb.).

<sup>a</sup> Josephus omits the incident of the plague, causing the death of 14,700 persons, occasioned by these further murmurings (Numb. xvi. 41-50).

<sup>b</sup> Or (with Niese's text) "(tribe) of Levi"; according to Numb. xvii. 3 it was Aaron's name that was inscribed on the staff.

## JOSEPHUS

καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρὶς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαίως εἶχε τὴν τιμὴν, ἣ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων στάσις πολλὴν ἀκμάσασα χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπαύθη τὸν τρόπον.

- 67 (3) Μωυσῆς δ', ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἡ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀφείτο φυλὴ θεραπεύσουσα<sup>1</sup> τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπορίαν μηδὲ ζήτησιν τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοῖεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν κτησαμένους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευε κατανεῖμαι τοῖς Λευίταις ὀκτῶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράψαντας εἰς δισχιλίους
- 68 πῆχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖναι. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸν λαὸν διέταξε<sup>2</sup> τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν δεκάτην αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ ἱερεῦσι τελεῖν. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἡ φυλὴ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους λαμβάνει ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἡγησάμην ἃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδια<sup>3</sup> παρὰ πάντων γίνεται δηλῶσαι.
- 69 (4) Ἰῶν μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτῶ πόλεων τρισκαίδεκα παραχωρῆσαι τοὺς Λευίτας αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ τῆς δεκάτης, ἧς παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ κατ' ἔτος λαμβάνουσι, δεκάτην αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν.
- 70 ἔτι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς τὸν λαὸν δίκαιον τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat. Bernard: *θεραπεύουσα* codd.

<sup>2</sup> Niese: *ἐξέταξε* (*ἐξέταξε* RO) codd. <sup>3</sup> *ἴδια* O (Niese).

<sup>a</sup> Or, perhaps, "conceded Aaron's honourable right to the priesthood."

<sup>b</sup> The "Sophoclean" assistant, like his favourite poet, has a partiality for the lucky number (see Introduction). Here probably he breaks off and in the following sections Josephus the priest seems to take up the pen himself.



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

(3) Now, since the tribe of Levi had been exempted from war and military service to devote itself to the service of God, Moses, from fear that through indigence and the quest of the necessaries of life they should neglect the temple,<sup>c</sup> commanded the Hebrews, when by the will of God they should have conquered Canaan, to assign to the Levites forty-eight cities, goodly and fair, and of the land without these cities to mark off and make over to them a portion extending to two thousand<sup>d</sup> cubits from the ramparts. Furthermore he ordained that the people should pay a tithe of the annual produce of the ground to the Levites along with the priests.<sup>e</sup> That is what this tribe receives from the community; but I think it necessary to explain what contributions are made by all to the priests for themselves alone.

(4) In the first place, of those forty-eight cities he enjoined the Levites to cede thirteen to the priests,<sup>f</sup> and of the tithe which they annually received from the people to deduct a tithe for them. Moreover, the people are required to offer to God first-fruits of all the produce of the soil, and again of those quad-

Levitical cities and tithes. Numb. xviii. 2.

xxxv. 1.

xviii. 21.

The priests' dues.

lb. 26.

lb. 12 f.

lb. 15.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* of after times; or perhaps "the sacred ministry" (Weill).

<sup>d</sup> So LXX, Numb. xxxv. 4; Hebrew, "a thousand," which is difficult to reconcile with the next verse.

<sup>e</sup> See further, §§ 205, 240 ff.

<sup>f</sup> Not in the Pentateuch; but see Josh. xxi. 4-19, where the thirteen cities given to the priests are enumerated.

## JOSEPHUS

τῶν τετραπόδων δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας νενομισμένων τὸ γεννηθὲν πρῶτον, ἂν ἄρσεν ἦ, καταθύσαι παρασχέιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς πανοικί  
 71 σιτεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει. τῶν δ' οὐ νενομισμένων ἐσθίειν παρ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους τοὺς δεσπότας [τῶν τικτομένων]<sup>1</sup> σίκλον καὶ ἡμισυ αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν, ἀνθρώπου δὲ πρωτοτόκου πέντε σίκλους, εἶναι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων κουράς, τοὺς τε πέττοντας τὸν σίτον καὶ ἄρτοποιουμένους τῶν πεμμάτων αὐτοῖς τινα  
 72 χορηγεῖν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς καθιερώσιν εὐχὴν πεποιημένοι, ναζιραῖοι δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται, κομῶντες καὶ οἶνον οὐ προσφερόμενοι, τούτους δὲ ὅταν τὰς τρίχας ἀφιερῶσιν ἐπὶ θυσία τε δρῶσι  
 73 τὰς κουράς νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας. καὶ οἱ κορβᾶν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ θεῷ, δῶρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλώτταν, βουλομένους ἀφίεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καταβάλλειν ἀργύριον, γυναῖκα μὲν τριάκοντα σίκλους ἄνδρα δὲ πενήκοντα. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν ἐνδεέστερα τῶν ὠρισμένων ἔχωσι χρημάτων<sup>2</sup> τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ὡς βούλονται δο-  
 74 κιμάσαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ' οἶκον θύουσιν εὐωχίας ἔνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ θρησκείας ἀνάγκην κομίζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνυστρόν τε καὶ

<sup>1</sup> om. RO.

<sup>2</sup> χρήματα Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> To be erected hereafter (§ 200).

<sup>b</sup> So generally "the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem" (Numb. xviii. 15); early tradition (see Weill) limited this to "the firstling of an ass" (Ex. xxxiv. 20).

<sup>c</sup> Amount not in Scripture, but has Rabbinical authority (Weill).

rupeds which the law sanctions as sacrifices they are to present the firstborn, if a male, to the priests for sacrifice, to be consumed by them with their families in the holy city.<sup>a</sup> In the case of creatures<sup>b</sup> which they are forbidden to eat in compliance with their ancestral laws, the owners thereof must pay to the priests a shekel and a half,<sup>c</sup> and for the firstborn of man five shekels.<sup>d</sup> To them too fall first-fruits of the shearing of the sheep; and when the corn is baked and made into bread, some of these cakes must be supplied to them. All who consecrate themselves in fulfilment of a vow—Nazirites as they are called, people who grow long hair and abstain from wine—these too, when they dedicate their hair and offer it in sacrifice assign their shorn locks to the priests.<sup>e</sup> Again, those who describe themselves as “Corban”<sup>f</sup> to God—meaning what Greeks would call “a gift”—when desirous to be relieved of this obligation must pay down to the priests a fixed sum, amounting for a woman to thirty shekels, for a man to fifty<sup>g</sup>; for those whose means are insufficient to pay the appointed sum, the priests are at liberty to decide as they choose. Furthermore, any persons slaughtering animals at their homes for their own good cheer and not for the ritual are bound to bring to the priests the maw, the breast, and the right

Numb.  
xviii. 16.  
Deut.  
xviii. 4.  
Numb.  
xv. 20 f.  
Ib. vi. 2.

Lev. xxvii.  
1-8.

Deut. xviii.  
3 with  
Lev. vii.  
31 ff.  
(cf. Numb.  
xviii. 18.

<sup>a</sup> In Numbers this sum applies to the firstborn of unclean beasts also.

<sup>c</sup> According to Numb. vi. 18 the Nazirite throws his hair on to the sacrificial fire.

<sup>f</sup> *korbān*, an “offering,” “oblation”; translated, as here, by *δῶρον* in Mark vii. 11, by Josephus again in *Ap.* i. 167 (where it denotes an oath) by *δῶρον θεοῦ*.

<sup>g</sup> Special terms for minors and superannuated (Lev. xxvii. 5-7) are here omitted.

## JOSEPHUS

χελύμιον καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα τοῦ θύματος.  
 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἱερεῦσι Μωυσῆς τοσαύτην, πάρεξ  
 ὧν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτημάτων θύων ὁ λαὸς δίδωσιν  
 αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν,  
 75 εὐπορίαν ἐπενόησε. πάντων δὲ τῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι  
 τελουμένων κοινωνεῖν διέταξε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας  
 καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τῶν ὑπὲρ ἁμαρ-  
 τημάτων ἐπιφερομένων θυσιῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ἐν  
 τῷ ἱερῷ μόνοι δαπανῶσιν οἱ ἄρρες τῶν ἱερέων  
 αὐθημερόν.

76 (5) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωυσῆς  
 διέταξεν, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς  
 τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὄρους ἦλθε καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν  
 βασιλέα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων πέμψας ἡξίου δίοδον  
 αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, πίστεις ἅς αὐτὸς ἐθέλοι λαβεῖν  
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικηθήσεσθαι δώσειν ὁμολογῶν,  
 ἀγοράν τε τῷ στρατῷ χορηγῆσαι κἂν<sup>1</sup> τιμὴν τοῦ  
 77 ὕδατος αὐτοὺς κελεύσειε<sup>2</sup> καταβαλεῖν. ὁ δ' οἷς  
 ἐπρεσβεύσατο Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος οὐδὲ  
 συγχωρῶν τὴν δίοδον ἔνοπλον τὴν στρατιὰν  
 ἀγαγὼν προαπήντα τῷ Μωυσεῖ, κωλύσων αὐτοὺς  
 εἰ τολμήσαιεν βία περαιοῦσθαι. καὶ Μωυσῆς,  
 ἄρχειν γὰρ μάχης οὐ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ θεὸς χρω-  
 μένω, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπανῆγε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου  
 ἐκπεριμῶν.

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: καὶ codd.

<sup>2</sup> ML: κελεύσαι RO, εἰ κελεύσειε SP.

<sup>a</sup> Or "shoulder"; Greek "arm."

<sup>b</sup> The Law contains two contradictory statements concern-  
 ing the portions of the victim assigned to the priests *at the*  
*ordinary sacrifices*: (1) Deut. xviii. 3 naming "the shoulder,  
 the two cheeks and the maw" (*i.e.* the fourth stomach of  
 ruminants), and (2) Lev. vii. 31 f. naming "the breast" and

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leg<sup>a</sup> of the victim.<sup>b</sup> Such is the ample provision designed by Moses for the priests, beside what is given them by the people from their sin-offerings, as we have mentioned in the preceding book.<sup>c</sup> Moreover, in all these dues payable to the priests, he ordained that their servants, daughters, and wives should also participate, with the exception of the sacrifices offered for sins: these are for the males only of the priestly families, being consumed by them in the temple on the selfsame day.

*Cf. Numb.*  
xviii. 11.

*Cf. Lev. vi.*  
26 (19),  
*Numb.*  
xviii. 10.

(5) When Moses had drawn up these regulations after the sedition, he set out with his whole army and came to the frontiers of Idumaea; then, sending envoys to the king of the Idumaeans, he requested him to grant him passage, promising to give whatever guarantees he might desire to ensure himself against injury, asking him to open a market for his army, and even undertaking to pay a price for water should he order them to do so.<sup>d</sup> But the king was ill pleased with this message of Moses, refused him passage, and led forth his armed troops to encounter Moses and check these people should they essay to cross his territory by force. And Moses, since upon his inquiry God did not counsel him to open battle, withdrew his forces to pursue a circuitous route through the desert.

The king of  
Edom  
refuses  
passage  
through his  
realm.  
*Ib. xx. 14.*

“the right thigh” (leg). The two passages doubtless represent regulations in force at different periods. But to remove the discrepancy Jewish tradition interpreted the Deuteronomy passage as referring not to the sacrifices but to animals slaughtered at home; so Philo, *De spec. leg.* i. 3 § 147 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ βωμοῦ θνομένων ἕνεκα κρεωφαγίας, and Mishnah, *Hullin* 10. 1 (quoted by Driver *in loc.*). Josephus presents a mixture of the two lists.

<sup>c</sup> iii. 230-232, etc.

<sup>d</sup> Text a little uncertain.

## JOSEPHUS

- 78 (6) Τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Μαριάμμην  
 τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου καταλαμβάνει τεσσαρακοστὸν  
 ἔτος πεπληρωκυῖαν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλιπε  
 μηνὸς δὲ Ξανθικοῦ νουμηνία κατὰ σελήνην.  
 θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὴν δημοσία πολυτελῶς ὑπὲρ τινος  
 ὄρους, ὃ καλοῦσι Σείν, καὶ πενθήσαντα ἐπὶ τριά-  
 κοιντα ἡμέρας τὸν λαὸν ἐκάθηρε Μωυσῆς τούτῳ
- 79 τῷ τρόπῳ· μόσχον θήλειαν, ἀρότρου μὲν καὶ γε-  
 ωργίας ἄπειρον ὀλόκληρον δέ, ξανθὴν πᾶσαν,  
 μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου προαγαγὼν εἰς  
 χωρίον καθαρώτατον ὃ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθυέ τε καὶ τοῦ  
 αἵματος ἐπτάκις ἔρραινε τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρὺ
- 80 τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα καιομένης ὡς εἶχεν  
 ὄλης τῆς δαμάλιδος σὺν τῇ δορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς  
 ξύλον κέδρινον εἰς μέσον ἐμβάλλουσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ  
 ὕσσωπον καὶ φοινικτὸν ἔριον· συναγαγὼν δ' αὐτῆς  
 ἅπασαν τὴν τέφραν ἀγνὸς ἀνὴρ κατατίθησιν εἰς
- 81 χωρίον καθαρώτατον. τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ με-  
 μισμένους, τῆς τέφρας ὀλίγον εἰς πηγὴν ἐνιέντες  
 καὶ ὕσσωπον βαπτίσαντές [τε καὶ τῆς τέφρας  
 ταύτης εἰς πηγὴν],<sup>1</sup> ἔρραινον τρίτη τε καὶ ἐβδόμη  
 τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν. τοῦτο  
 δὲ καὶ κατελθοῦσιν εἰς τὰς κληρουχίας προσέταξε,  
 ποιεῖν.

<sup>1</sup> om. Bekker.

<sup>a</sup> *Alias* on the 1st of Nisan (*A. i.* 81). Numbers (xx. 1), mentions "the first month," but neither the year nor the day; other Jewish authorities, *e.g.* the Palestinian Targum, name the 10th of Nisan.

<sup>b</sup> Numbers mentions "the wilderness of Zin," and Kadesh, situated within it, as the burial-place of Miriam. The reading "mountain" for "wilderness" occurs in one Egyptian (Bohairic) version made from the LXX, but there it is probably due to a confusion, found in that and other authorities, between "Sin" and "Sinai."

(6) And now it was that death overtook his sister Mariamme, who had completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on the new moon, by lunar reckoning, of the month Xanthicus.<sup>a</sup> They buried her at the public expense in state on a mountain which they call Sin<sup>b</sup>; and when the people had mourned for her thirty days, they were purified by Moses on this wise.<sup>c</sup> A heifer, yet ignorant of the plough and of husbandry, without blemish and entirely red, was conducted by the high priest a little way outside the camp to a place of spotless purity,<sup>d</sup> where he sacrificed it and sprinkled with his finger drops of its blood seven times in the direction of the tabernacle of God. Next, the heifer was burnt whole, just as it was, including its skin and entrails, and into the midst of the blaze they cast cedar-wood and hyssop and crimson<sup>e</sup> wool. Its ashes were then all collected by a holy<sup>f</sup> man, who deposited them in a place of spotless purity. When, therefore, any had been polluted by contact with a corpse, they put a little of these ashes in running water, dipped hyssop into the stream, and sprinkled such persons therewith on the third and on the seventh day, and thenceforth they were clean. This ceremony Moses charged them to continue when they had entered upon their allotted territories.

Death of  
Miriam.  
Institution  
of ceremony  
of the Red  
Heifer.  
Numb. xx. 1.

*Ib.* xix. 1.

*Ib.* xix. 11 f.,  
18 f.

<sup>c</sup> In Scripture the law of the Red Heifer (relating to pollution from contact with a corpse) immediately *precedes* the death of Miriam, but without any express connexion with it; tradition has traced a connexion between the contiguous chapters, Numb. xix and xx.

<sup>d</sup> This phrase on its first occurrence (see § 80) is not in the Hebrew, but the LXX has *εἰς τόπον καθαρὸν* (Numb. xix. 3).

<sup>e</sup> Or "red": Bibl. "scarlet."

<sup>f</sup> *i.e.* ceremonially clean.

## JOSEPHUS

- 82 (7) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κάθαρσιν τοιαύτην γενομένην ἀπήγε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐλθὼν εἰς χωρίον, ὃ μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν Ἀραβες νεομίκασι, πρότερον μὲν Ἀρκην<sup>1</sup> λεγομένην
- 83 Πέτραν δὲ νῦν ὀνομαζομένην, ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλοῦ περιέχοντος ὄρους αὐτὸ ἀναβάς Ἰακώβου ἐπ’ αὐτό, Μωυσέος αὐτῷ δεδηλωκότος ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, ἅπαντος τοῦ στρατεύματος ὀρώντος, κατάντες γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποδύεται τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτὴν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ παιδί, πρὸς ὃν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ ἀρχιερωσύνη παραγίνεται, θνήσκει τοῦ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφ-
- 84 ὀρώντος, τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ τελευτήσας ἔτει, ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀπέβαλε, βιούς δὲ ἔτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ σελήνην νομηνία μηνὸς ὄντος τοῦ παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Ἑκατομβαιῶνος καλουμένου Λώου δὲ παρὰ Μακεδόσι<ν>, Ἀββὰ<sup>2</sup> δὲ παρ’ Ἑβραίοις.
- 85 (v. 1) Πένθος δὲ ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ τριακονθήμερον ἄγοντος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ’ ἐλώφησεν, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν Μωυσῆς τὸν στρατὸν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀρνῶνα, ὃς ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας ὀρῶν ὠρμημένος<sup>3</sup> καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐρήμου ῥέων εἰς τὴν

<sup>1</sup> Ἀρκέμ Eus.: Ἀρεκέμη Bernard.

<sup>2</sup> Bernard: σαβ(β)ὰ, σαβὰτ (sebath Lat.) codd.

<sup>3</sup> RO: ὀρμώμενος rell.

<sup>a</sup> Not mentioned in Numbers, which, however, names the mountain which Aaron ascended, viz. Mount Hor. Since later on (§ 161) Josephus identifies Petra with Ῥεκέμη, deriving that name from its king Rekem, probably Ἀρκην is here corrupt and we should read Ἀρεκέμη. When Josephus wrote, Petra was the capital of the powerful Nabataean kingdom.



(7) After a purification held in such wise in consequence of the mourning for the sister of their chief, he led his forces away through the desert and came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Arce,<sup>a</sup> to-day named Petra. There Aaron ascended a lofty mountain range that encloses the spot, Moses having revealed to him that he was about to die, and, in the sight of the whole army—for the ground was steep—he divested himself of his high priestly robes and, after delivering them to Eleazar his son, upon whom by right of age the high priesthood descended, he died with the eyes of the multitude upon him. He ended his days in the same year in which he had lost his sister, having lived in all one hundred and twenty-three years. He died on the opening day, by lunar reckoning, of the month called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, and by the Hebrews Abba.<sup>b</sup>

Death of Aaron. Numb. xx. 22.

Ib. xxxiii. 38.

(v. 1) For thirty days<sup>c</sup> the people mourned for him, and, when this mourning was ended, Moses, marching his army thence, arrived at the river Arnon, which, springing from the mountains of Arabia and traversing an absolute desert, plunges into the lake Asphal-

Sihon, king of the Amorites, refuses passage. Ib. xxi. 13.

<sup>b</sup> Aram. *abba*, Hebr. *ab*, the fifth month of the Hebrew year (c. July-August): "Aaron . . . died in the fortieth year [after the exodus] . . . in the fifth month, on the first day of the month" (Numb. *l.c.*). "Abba" is, however, an emendation; and it is possible that the ms. reading *σαβάρ* (Lat. *sebeth*) should stand, and that Josephus followed another tradition, dating the event six months later, on the 1st of *Shebat*.

<sup>c</sup> Numb. xx. 29. Josephus here omits (1) the victory at Hormah (incorporated perhaps in the victory over Sihon described below), and (2) the story of the brazen serpent.

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Ἄσφαλτίτιν λίμνην ἐκδίδωσιν ὀρίζων τὴν τε Μωαβίτιν καὶ Ἀμορίτιν. γῆ δ' αὕτη καρποφόρος καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων<sup>1</sup> τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς  
 86 ἱκανῆ τρέφειν. πρὸς οὖν Σιχῶνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπέστειλε Μωυσῆς τῷ στρατῷ δίοδον αἰτῶν ἐφ' αἷς ἂν θελήσειε πίστεσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, ὧν Σιχῶν ἐκράτει, τοῖς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων λυσιτελές, εἰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν ἐθέλοιεν. Σιχῶν δ' ἀρνούμενος ὀπλίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀρνῶνα κωλύειν ἐτοιμότητος ἦν.

87 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὄρων πολεμίως αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀμοραῖον διακείμενον οὔτε περιφρονούμενος ἀνέχεσθαι δεῖν ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς ἀπραξίας καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν ἀπορίας, ὑφ' ἧς στασιάσαι τε πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνέπεσε καὶ τότε δυσκόλως εἶχον, ἀπαλλάξαι διαγνοὺς ἤρετο τὸν  
 88 θεόν, εἰ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ δίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νίκην ἀποσημήναντος<sup>2</sup> αὐτὸς θαρσαλέως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρώρμα, νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν τῆς τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύειν, ὅτ' αὐτῇ συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον. οἱ δ' ἧς ἐπόθουν ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας  
 89 ἀναλαβόντες εὐθέως ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ Ἀμοραῖος οὐκέτ' ἦν ἐπιόντων ὁμοιος αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε κατεπλάγη τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ παρέχουσα θᾶπτον αὐτὴν εὐψυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν τότε ἀπηλέγχθη πεφοβημένη. τὴν

<sup>1</sup> + ἴσον OML.

<sup>2</sup> ἐπισημήναντος RO.

titis,<sup>a</sup> forming the boundary between the Moabite and Amorite countries. The latter region is fertile and capable of supporting with its riches an host of men. Moses accordingly sent an embassy to Sihon, the sovereign of this country, soliciting passage for his army upon such guarantees as he might choose to impose, so as to ensure that no injury should be done either to the land or to its inhabitants, whom Sihon governed, and offering to purchase provisions to the advantage of the Amorites, including even water, should they choose to sell it to them. But Sihon refused, armed his troops, and was fully prepared to stop the Hebrews from crossing the Arnon.

Numb.  
xxi. 21.

(2) Moses, seeing this hostile attitude of the Amorite, determined that he ought not to brook this affront, and, since he withal resolved to deliver the Hebrews from that inactivity and consequent indigence, which had produced their previous mutiny and their present discontent, he inquired of God whether He authorized him to fight. When, therefore, God even betokened victory, he was himself encouraged for the contest and roused the ardour of his soldiers, urging them now to gratify their lust of battle, now when they had the sanction of the Deity to indulge it. And they, having won that concession for which they craved, put all their armour on and proceeded straight into action. The Amorite, faced by their advance, was a different man, himself viewing the Hebrews with dismay, while his army, which had of late <sup>b</sup> made such a show of spirit, now proved positively afraid. Thus, without waiting to

Defeat  
of the  
Amorites  
and con-  
quest of  
their  
country.  
*Ib.* 24.

<sup>a</sup> The "Bituminous" lake = the Dead Sea.

<sup>b</sup> For *θαττον = πρότερον* cf. *A.* v. 171 (and so frequently *τάχιον*, *A.* i. 98, etc.); but the word here may connote "too hastily."

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πρώτην οὖν σύνοδον οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἀντιστήναι  
 καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους τρέπονται, τοῦτο  
 ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ἢ τὸ μάχεσθαι  
 90 παρέξειν· ἐθάρrouν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὔσαις  
 ὀχυραῖς. παρ' ὧν οὐδέν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἦν εἰς  
 ταύτας συνδιωχθεῖσιν· Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἐνδόντας  
 αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς εἶδον, ἐνέκειντο καὶ παραλύσαντες  
 91 αὐτῶν τὸν κόσμον εἰς φόβον κατέστησαν. καὶ  
 οἱ μὲν ἀπορραγέντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ  
 δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν οὐκ ἔκαμνον, ἀλλ' οἷς προ-  
 πεπονθήκεσαν προσεπιταλαιπωρηῆσαι προσθέμενοι,<sup>1</sup>  
 καὶ σφενδονᾶν τε ἄριστοι τυγχάνοντες καὶ πᾶσι  
 τοῖς ἐκηβόλοις δεξιοὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὄπλισιν  
 οὔσαν εὐσταλῇ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ διώκειν ὄντες  
 μετέθεον τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς πορρωτάτω  
 συλληφθῆναι γεγονότας ταῖς σφενδόναϊς καὶ τοῖς  
 92 τοξεύμασι κατελάμβανον. φόνος τε οὖν γίνεται  
 πολὺς καὶ τραύμασιν ἐπόνουν οἱ διαφεύγοντες,  
 ἔκαμνον δὲ<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ δίψει μᾶλλον ἢ τινι τῶν πολεμικῶν·  
 καὶ γὰρ ὥρα θέρους ἦν· καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πιεῖν  
 ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τοὺς πλείους καταραχθέντας, καὶ  
 ὅσον συνεστραμμένον ἔφευγε, περιστάντες ἔβαλλον  
 καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἅμα καὶ τοξεύοντες  
 93 διέφθειραν. ἀποθνήσκει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Σιχῶν ὁ  
 βασιλεύς. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον καὶ  
 λείαν ἔλαβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς  
 γῆς εἶχον μεστῆς ἔτι τῶν καρπῶν ὑπαρχούσης,

<sup>1</sup> προθέμενοι (Bekker, Niese) is a needless emendation.

<sup>2</sup> τὲ RO.

withstand the first shock and receive the Hebrews, they turned their backs, deeming that flight would afford them better safety than a fight; for they relied on their cities with strong fortifications. These, however, profited them naught when they were pursued thither. For the Hebrews, on seeing them at once give way, pressed hard upon them and, throwing their ranks into disorder, reduced them to panic. So, breaking from the ranks, they fled for the cities; while the others showed no slackness for the pursuit, but, crowning their previous pains with perseverance,<sup>a</sup> being at once excellent slingers and experts in the use of all long-range missiles, and withal through their light equipment<sup>b</sup> swift to pursue, they were on their enemies' heels, while those who were now much too far to be captured they reached with their slings and arrows. So there was great carnage and the fugitives suffered sorely from wounds. But they succumbed more to thirst than to any engines of war; for it was the height of summer, and in their craving for drink the greater number, indeed all who had kept together in the rout, dashed down into a river, where their pursuers, surrounding and pelting them at once with javelins and arrows, destroyed them all.<sup>c</sup> Sihon their king was among the slain. The Hebrews then rifled the corpses and took the spoil, obtaining also abundance of the produce of the land, which was still laden with *e.g.* Soph. *O.C.* 589 κείνοι κομίζην κείσε, 804 f. φύσας φανεί φρένας, 1140 τεκνοῖσι τερφθεῖς τοῖσδε.

<sup>b</sup> After Thuc. iii. 22 εὐσταλείς τῇ ὀπίσσει.

<sup>c</sup> This spirited scene is drawn from the famous account of the retreat of the Athenians from Syracuse, the river being the Sicilian Assinaros (Thuc. vii. 83 f.); while the phrase ὅσον σινεστραμμένον recalls Plataea (*ib.* ii. 4)! Here clearly the "Thucydidean" assistant lends his aid.

## JOSEPHUS

94 καὶ διεξήγει πᾶσαν<sup>1</sup> ἀδεῶς τὸ στράτευμα προνομῆ  
 χρώμενον, ἀλισκομένων καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οὐδὲν  
 γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἦν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ μαχίμου παντὸς  
 ἀπολωλότος. Ἀμοραίους μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτο πάθος  
 κατέλαβεν οὔτε φρονῆσαι δεινοὺς οὔτε ἀγαθοὺς  
 95 παρελάμβανον. ἔστι δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τριῶν μεταξὺ  
 ποταμῶν κείμενον ὁμοίον τι νήσω τὴν φύσιν  
 ὑπάρχει, τοῦ μὲν Ἀρνῶνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὀρί-  
 ζοντος αὐτό, Ἰοβάκου δὲ τὴν ἀρκτῶαν αὐτοῦ  
 πλευρὰν περιγράφοντος, ὃς εἰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον  
 ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλων ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος<sup>2</sup>  
 μεταδίδωσι· τὰ μέντοι γε πρὸς τῇ δύσει τοῦ χωρίου  
 περιέεισιν αὐτὴν Ἰόρδανος.

96 (3) Οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπι-  
 τίθεται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ὁγῆς ὁ τῆς Γαλαθηνῆς  
 καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἄγων, καὶ  
 σπεύδων μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν Σιχῶνος,  
 φίλου τυγχάνοντος, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐκείνον ἤδη προ-  
 απολωλότα καὶ οὕτως ἔγνω τοῖς Ἐβραίοις εἰς  
 μάχην ἐλθεῖν περιέσεσθαι τε νομίζων καὶ τῆς  
 97 ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν· δι-  
 αμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτὸς τε ἀποθνήσκει  
 κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ  
 διαφθείρεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἰόβακον  
 περαιωσάμενος διεξήγει τῆς Ὁγοῦ βασιλείας τὰς  
 τε πόλεις καταστρεφόμενος καὶ κτείνων πάντας  
 τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, οἳ καὶ πλούτῳ διέφερον πάντων

<sup>1</sup> Bekker: πᾶσιν codd.

<sup>2</sup> νάματος Naber.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Jabbok (Ἰαβόκ).

<sup>b</sup> Cf. i. 177, where Josephus seems to imply that the Jordan derived its second syllable from "Dan, one of its two

the crops and was, without fear of molestation, traversed in every direction by the troops for foraging purposes; the cities too were captured, for these presented no obstacle now that all combatants had perished. Such was the catastrophe that overtook the Amorites, who had shown neither skill in counsel nor valour in action; and the Hebrews took possession of their land. It is a region situated between three rivers, which give it something of the nature of an island: the Arnon forming its southern boundary, its northern flank being circumscribed by the Jobak,<sup>a</sup> which pours into the river Jordan and gives that stream a portion of its name,<sup>b</sup> while the western area of the district is compassed by the Jordan.

(3) Such was the position of affairs when there came to attack the Israelites Og, the king of Galadene and Gaulanitis,<sup>c</sup> at the head of an army, and hastening, as he believed, to the support of his friend Sihon; yet, though he found that he had already perished, he none the less resolved to give battle to the Hebrews, confident of success and fain to make trial of their valour. But, disappointed in this hope, he met his own end in the battle and his whole army was annihilated. Moses then, crossing the river Jobak, overran the realm of Og, subduing the cities and killing all the inhabitants, who surpassed in riches all the occupants of those inland parts, thanks

Defeat of  
Og. Numb.  
xxi. 33;  
Deut. iii. 1.

sources": here he suggests that it owes the first syllable (or rather the first two letters) to its tributary the Jo-bak as he calls it. According to the widely accepted etymology, Jordan means "the descender."

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. "king of Bashan"; Josephus substitutes names of his own day, which do not exactly correspond to the ancient Bashan. Gilead (Galadene) was a distinct district to the south of it.

## JOSEPHUS

- τῶν ἐκεῖνη ἠπειρωτῶν δι' ἀρετὴν γῆς καὶ πλήθος  
 98 χρημάτων. Ὡγῆς δὲ μέγεθος τε καὶ κάλλος  
 ἦν οἷον ὀλίγοις<sup>1</sup> σφόδρα, ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα  
 γενναῖος ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἴσα τὰ τῶν ἔργων εἶναι τοῖς  
 τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας πλεονεκτήμασι.  
 τὴν δ' ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐτεκμηριώσαντο  
 κλίνην αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἐν Ῥαβαθᾶ πόλει τῶν  
 βασιλείων τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος, τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ  
 σιδηρέαν,<sup>2</sup> τεσσάρων δὲ πήχων τὸ εὖρος, μήκει  
 99 δὲ τοῦ διπλασίου ἐνὶ πήχει μείζονα. τούτου  
 τοίνυν πταίσαντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς  
 Ἑβραίοις ἐπέδωκε τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς  
 τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἴτιος ἀποθανῶν ὑπῆρξε·  
 καὶ γὰρ πόλεις ἐξήκοντα λαμπρῶς πάνυ τετει-  
 χισμένας ὑποτελεῖς ἐκείνῳ παρέλαβον καὶ λείαν  
 πολλὴν ἰδία τε καὶ δημοσία πάντες εὐπόρησαν.
- 100 (vi. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδεύει κατ-  
 αγαγῶν<sup>3</sup> τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ κατὰ τὸ  
 μέγα πεδῖον Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρῦ, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν  
 εὐδαίμων αὕτη φοινικὰς τε φέρειν ἀγαθὴ καὶ  
 βάλσαμον νεμομένη. ἦρχοντο δὲ φρονεῖν ἐφ'  
 ἑαυτοῖς μέγα Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς  
 101 πολέμους ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπερέτεινον. καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν θύσας χαριστήρια πρῶτον τῷ  
 θεῷ καὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐωχῆσας μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν  
 ἐξέπεμψε δηῶσον τὴν Μαδιανιτῶν γῆν καὶ τὰς  
 πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἐκπολιορκῆσον. τοῦ δ' ἐκπο-  
 λεμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην.
- 102 (2) Βάλακος ὁ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεὺς φιλίας  
 αὐτῷ πατρῴας οὐσης καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Μα-

<sup>1</sup> οἷος ὀλίγοι RO.

<sup>2</sup> σιδηρῆν codd.

<sup>3</sup> Niese: καὶ ἀγαγῶν codd.



## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 97-102

to the excellence of the soil and an abundance of commodities. Og himself had a stature and beauty such as few could boast; he was withal a man of a doughty arm, so that his exploits were on a par with his superior gifts of height and a handsome presence. Of his strength and stature they had evidence on capturing his bedstead in Rabatha,<sup>a</sup> the capital of the Ammonite country: this was constructed of iron and was four cubits broad and double as much, with a cubit over, in length. With this giant's fall not merely was there an instant amelioration in the Hebrews' fortunes, but for the future too his death proved a source of benefits<sup>b</sup>; for withal they captured sixty cities, magnificently fortified, that had owned his sway, and, individually and collectively, all reaped an ample booty. Deut. iii. 11.

(vi. 1) So Moses led his forces down towards the Jordan and encamped on the great plain<sup>c</sup> over against Jericho; this is a prosperous city, prolific of palm-trees and a nursery of balsam. The Israelites were now beginning to have a high opinion of themselves and becoming intensely keen in their ardour for battle. And Moses, after spending a few days first in sacrificing thank-offerings to God, and then in feasting the people, sent out a division of his troops to ravage the land of the Madianites<sup>d</sup> and to carry their cities by storm. For hostilities against this people, however, he had received provocation on this wise. The camp opposite Jericho. Numb. xxii. 1.

(2) Balak, the king of the Moabites, who was linked by an ancestral amity and alliance to the Embassy of Balak to the Midianites and Balaam. Ib. 2.

: Bibl. "Rabbah," Aramaic "Rabbath."

<sup>b</sup> Cf. iii. 56.

<sup>c</sup> The *Ghōr* (= "Rift") or Jordan valley, *B.J.* iv. 455.

<sup>d</sup> So Josephus throughout: Bibl. Midian(ites), LXX Μαδιάμ.

## JOSEPHUS

- διανίτας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοσοῦτον φου-  
 μένους ἑώρα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων  
 λίαν εὐλαβεῖτο, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πέπυστο γῆν ἄλλην  
 <οὐ><sup>1</sup> πολυπραγμονεῖν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπηγορευ-  
 κότος τοῦ θεοῦ κτησαμένους τὴν Χαναanaίων,<sup>2</sup>  
 θάττον ἢ φρονιμώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνω τοῖς  
 103 λόγοις.<sup>3</sup> καὶ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις  
 θραυστέροις τε<sup>4</sup> ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπραγίας κατ-  
 ειλημμένοις οὐκ ἔκρινε, κωλύσαι δ' εἰ δύναιτο  
 γενέσθαι μεγάλους λογιζόμενος πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς  
 104 Μαδιανίτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. οἱ δέ, ἦν γάρ τις ἀπὸ  
 Εὐφράτου Βάλαμος μάντις ἄριστος τῶν τότε καὶ  
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδεῖως ἔχων, πέμπουσι μετὰ  
 τῶν Βαλάκου πρέσβων ἄνδρας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς  
 ἀξιολόγων παρακαλέσοντας τὸν μάντιν ἔλθειν,  
 ὅπως ἂν ἐπ' ἐξωλείᾳ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἄρὰς  
 105 ποιήσῃται. παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις  
 δέχεται ξενία φιλοφρόνως καὶ δειπνίσας ἀνέκρινε  
 τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν, τίς αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐφ' οἷς  
 Μαδιαῖται παρακαλοῦσι. τοῦ δ' ἐμποδῶν στάν-  
 τος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, προθυμίαν  
 μὲν καὶ σπουδὴν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐμφανίζων αὐτοῖς εἰς  
 ἃ δέονται τυχεῖν, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοῦ  
 τῇ προαιρέσει δηλῶν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κλέος  
 δι' ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πρόρρησιν ἀγάγοι·  
 106 τὸν γὰρ στρατόν, ᾧ καταρασόμενον αὐτὸν ἔλθειν  
 παρακαλοῦσι, δι' εὐνοίας εἶναι τῷ θεῷ· συν-

<sup>1</sup> ἄλλω (*sic*) R: ἄλλην *rell.*

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς ὄλοις Herwerden.

<sup>2</sup> + καὶ *ed. pr.* (Lat.).

<sup>4</sup> Text doubtful.

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<sup>a</sup> "to try an assault of a verbal nature" (*i.e.* through imprecations), or possibly "to essay parley (with his friends)."

Madianites, on seeing the Israelites growing so great, became gravely concerned for his own interests. For he had not learned that the Hebrews were not for interfering with other countries, God having forbidden them so to do, upon their conquest of the land of Canaan, and with more haste than discretion he resolved to essay what words could do.<sup>a</sup> To fight with men fresh from success and who were found to be only the more emboldened by reverse was not to his mind; but with intent to check their aggrandizement, if he could, he decided to send an embassy to the Madianites concerning them. And these, forasmuch as there was a certain Balaam hailing from the Euphrates,<sup>b</sup> the best diviner of his day and on friendly terms with them, sent, along with the ambassadors of Balak, some of their own notables to entreat the seer to come and deliver curses for the extermination of the Israelites. When these envoys arrived Balaam received them with cordial hospitality and, after giving them supper, inquired of God what was His mind touching this invitation of the Madianites. Meeting with opposition from Him, he returned to the envoys and, making plain to them his own readiness and zeal to comply with their request,<sup>c</sup> he explained that God gainsaid his purpose, even that God who had brought him to his high renown for truth's sake and for the prediction thereof. For (he continued) that army, which they invited him to come and curse, was in favour with

There is no need to alter *λόγοις*: the phrase recurs in *B.J.* vii. 340 *ἐνεχείρει λόγοις* " essayed a flight of oratory."

<sup>b</sup> In *Numb.* xxii. 5 Balak sends messengers to Balaam " to Pethor which is by the river," *i.e.* (as Josephus and the Targum interpret) the Euphrates.

<sup>c</sup> So the Midrash (Weill).

εβούλευέ τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν χωρεῖν παρ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καταλυσάμενους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε.

- 107 (3) Μαδιανῖται δὲ Βαλάκου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου καὶ δέησιν λιπαρὰν προσφέροντος πάλιν πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Βάλαμον. κάκεῖνος βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τι τοῖς ἀνδράσι ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς πείρας δυσχεράνας κελεύει μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. ὁ δ' οὐχ ὑπολαβὼν ἀπάτη ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν κεκελευκέναι συναπήει
- 108 τοῖς πρέσβεσι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγέλου θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ τι στενὸν χωρίον περιειλημμένον αἵμασιαῖς διπλαῖς ἢ ὄνος, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ Βάλαμος ὤχεῖτο, συνείσα τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὑπαντῶντος ἀπέκλινε τὸν Βάλαμον πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τριγῶν ἀναισθήτως ἔχουσα τῶν πληγῶν, ἃς ὁ Βάλαμος ἐπέφερεν αὐτῇ κακοπαθῶν
- 109 τῇ θλίψει τῇ πρὸς τὸν τριγχόν. ὡς δ' ἐγκειμένου τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἢ ὄνος τυπτομένη ὤκλασε, κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀφείσα<sup>1</sup> κατεμέμφετο τὸν Βάλαμον ὡς ἀδικὸν ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον διακονίαις μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ πληγὰς ἐπιφέρειν, μὴ συνιείς ὅτι νῦν κατὰ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἔσπενυσεν ὑπηρετεῖν εἴργεται.
- 110 ταραττομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὄνου φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὔσαν ἐπιφανείς καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐναργῆς ἐνεκάλει τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦ κτήνους ὄντος αἰτίου, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ διακωλύοντος παρὰ
- 111 γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην. καταδείσας δ' ὁ

<sup>1</sup> RO: λαβοῦσα rell.

<sup>a</sup> Or "breath," "afflatus."

God; he therefore counselled them to depart to their people and renounce that hatred which they bore to the Israelites. Having spoken thus he took leave of the embassy.

(3) But the Madianites, at the urgent instance and persistent entreaties of Balak, sent once again to Balaam. And he, fain to give these men some gratification, consulted God anew; whereat God, indignant that he should even tempt Him thus, bade him in no wise to gainsay the envoys. So he, not dreaming that it was to delude him that God had given this order, set off with the envoys. But on the road an angel of God confronted him in a narrow place, enclosed by stone walls on either side, and the ass whereon Balaam rode, conscious of the divine spirit <sup>a</sup> approaching her, turning aside thrust Balaam against one of these fences, insensible to the blows with which the seer belaboured her, in his pain at being crushed against the wall. But when, on the angel's nearer approach, the ass sank down beneath the blows, she, so God willed, broke out in <sup>b</sup> human speech and reproached Balaam for the injustice wherewith, though he had no cause to complain of her past ministries, he thus belaboured her, failing to understand that to-day it was God's purpose that debarred her from serving him on the mission whereon he sped. Then, while he was aghast at hearing his ass thus speak with human voice, the angel himself appeared in visible form and reproached him for his blows, in that the beast was not to blame: it was he himself, he said, who was obstructing a journey undertaken in defiance of the will of God. Terrified,

Second  
embassy :  
Balaam's  
journey and  
his ass.  
Numb  
xxii. 15.

<sup>b</sup> Or, according to another reading, "received," "was given."

## JOSEPHUS

Βάλαμος οἷός τε ἦν ἀναστρέφειν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν χωρεῖν τὴν προκειμένην παρώρμησε προστάξας ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτὸς κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ποιήσῃε τοῦτο σημαίνειν.

- 112 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἤκει πρὸς Βάλακον. δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπρεπῶς ἠξίου προαχθεὶς ἐπὶ τι τῶν ὀρῶν σκέψασθαι, πῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοι στρατόπεδον. Βάλακος δ' αὐτὸς ἀφικνεῖται τὸν μάντιν σὺν βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ φιλοτίμως ἀγόμενος εἰς ὄρος, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ
- 113 στρατοπέδου σταδίου ἀπέχον ἐξήκοντα. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖνος βωμούς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἑπτὰ δείμασθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοσοῦτους ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς παραστήσαι· ὑπουργήσαντος δὲ διὰ ταχέων τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλοκαυτεῖ τυθέντας, ὡς
- 114 <τ' ἄ>τροπον<sup>1</sup> εἶδε σημαιομένην, “ὁ λεῶς,” φησὶν, “οὗτος εὐδαίμων, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι μυρίων κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σύμμαχον εἰς ἅπαντα καὶ ἠγεμόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπένευσεν. ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπειον<sup>2</sup> γένος, οὗ μὴ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ζήλωσιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρίστων καὶ καθαρῶν πονηρίας ὑμεῖς ἀμείνους κριθήσεσθε καὶ παισὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν ταῦτα καταλείψετε, θεοῦ μόνους ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώπους<sup>3</sup> ἐφορῶντος καὶ ὅθεν ἂν γένοισθε πάντων εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον
- 115 ἐκπορίζοντος. γῆν τε οὖν ἐφ' ἣν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἔστειλε καθέξετε δουλεύουσιν<sup>4</sup> αἰεὶ παισὶν ὑμε-

<sup>1</sup> conj. : τρόπον RO, τροπήν rell.

<sup>2</sup> ἀνθρώπινον RO.

<sup>3</sup> ἀνθρώπων Niese.

<sup>4</sup> ex Lat. : δουλεύουσιν codd.

<sup>a</sup> Distance unspecified in Scripture.

Balaam was prepared to turn back ; God, however, exhorted him to pursue his intended way, while enjoining upon him to announce just whatsoever He himself should put into his heart.

(4) Charged with these behests from God he came to Balak. After a magnificent reception from the king, he desired to be conducted to one of the mountains, to inspect the disposition of the Hebrews' camp. Balak thereupon went himself, escorting the seer with all the honours of a royal retinue to a mountain lying over their heads and sixty furlongs distant from the camp.<sup>a</sup> Having seen the Hebrews beneath, he bade the king to have seven altars built and as many bulls and rams brought forward. The king having promptly ministered to his wishes, he burnt the slaughtered victims whole ; and when he saw the indications of inflexible Fate,<sup>b</sup> " Happy," said he, " is this people, to whom God grants possession of blessings untold and has vouchsafed as their perpetual ally and guide His own providence. For there is not a race on earth which ye shall not, through your virtue and your passion for pursuits most noble and pure of crime, be accounted to excel, and to children yet better than yourselves shall ye bequeath this heritage, God having regard for none among men but you and lavishing on you the means whereby ye may become the happiest of all peoples beneath the sun. That land, then, to which He himself hath sent you, ye shall surely occupy : it

Balaam predicts Israel's future greatness. Numb. xxii. 35.

Ib. xxiii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> My conjecture *ἄτροπον* (Atropos, the divinity of inflexible fate) yields the required sense and accounts for both readings of the mss. ; first the *ἄ* was dropped, and then the feminine part. *σημαινομένην* caused the conversion of *τρόπον* into *τροπήν* (which Weill adopts, rendering " comme il y vit le signe d'une fuite ").

- τέροις, καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κλέους ἐμπλησθήσεται  
 πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα, ἀρκέσετε δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ  
 παρασχεῖν ἐκάστη γῆ τῶν ἀφ' ὑμετέρου γένους  
 116 οἰκήτορας. θαυμάζετε οὖν, ὦ μακάριος<sup>1</sup> στρατός,  
 ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἐξ ἑνὸς πατρὸς γεγόνατε;<sup>2</sup> ἀλλὰ  
 τὸν νῦν ὑμῶν ὀλίγον ἡ Χαναναίων χωρήσει γῆ,  
 τὴν δ' οἰκουμένην οἰκητήριον δι' αἰῶνος ἵστε  
 προκειμένην ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν τε  
 νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἡπειρον βιοτεύσετε ὅσον ἐστὶν  
 οὐδ' ἀστέρων ἀριθμὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ. τοσοῦτοις δὲ  
 οὔσιν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσει τὸ θεῖον ἀφθονίαν μὲν  
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ χορηγοῦν, νίκην δὲ  
 117 καὶ κράτος ἐν πολέμῳ. παῖδας ἐχθρῶν ἔρωσ  
 τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου λάβοι καὶ θρασυνθεῖεν  
 ὥστε εἰς ὄπλα καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν·  
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστρέψειε τις νικηφόρος οὐδ' ὥστε  
 παῖδας εὐφρᾶναι καὶ γυναῖκας. τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν  
 ἀνδρείας τὸ περιὸν ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἀνήρτηται,<sup>3</sup> ὦ  
 καὶ τὰ περιττὰ μειοῦν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ λείποντα  
 διδόναι.”
- 118 (5) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἐπεθείαζεν οὐκ ὦν ἐν  
 ἑαυτῷ τῷ δὲ θείῳ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ νενικημένος.  
 τοῦ δὲ Βαλάκου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ παραβαίνειν  
 αὐτὸν τὰς συνθήκας ἐφ' αἷς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλων  
 λάβοι δωρεῶν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικαλοῦντος,  
 ἐλθόντα γὰρ ἐπὶ κατάρᾳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑμνεῖν  
 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακαριωτάτους ἀποφαίνειν  
 119 ἀνθρώπων, “ ὦ Βάλακε,” φησί, “ περὶ τῶν ὄλων  
 λογίζῃ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναί τι περὶ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> μακάριοι Niese.<sup>2</sup> γεγόνατε. edd.<sup>3</sup> Dindorf (Lat. prestabitur): ἀνήρτηται codd.



shall be subject for ever to your children, and with their fame shall all earth and sea be filled : aye and ye shall suffice for the world, to furnish every land with inhabitants sprung from your race. Marvel ye then, blessed army, that from a single sire ye have grown so great ? Nay, those numbers now are small and shall be contained by the land of Canaan ; but the habitable world, be sure, lies before you as an eternal habitation, and your multitudes shall find abode on islands and continent, more numerous even than the stars in heaven. Yet for all those mighty hosts the Deity shall not fail to supply abundance of blessings of every sort in peace-time, victory and mastery in war. Let the children of your foes be seized with a passion for battle against you, and be emboldened to take arms and to close with you in strife ; for not one shall return victorious or in such wise as to gladden the heart of child and wife.<sup>a</sup> With such superabundant valour have ye been invested by the providence of God, who has power alike to diminish what is in excess and to make good that which is lacking.”

(5) Such was the inspired utterance of one who was no longer his own master but was overruled by the divine spirit to deliver it. But when Balak fumed and accused him of transgressing the covenant whereunder, in exchange for liberal gifts, he had obtained his services from his allies—having come, in fact, to curse his enemies, he was now belauding those very persons and pronouncing them the most blessed of men—“ Balak,” said he, “ hast thou reflected on the whole matter and thinkest thou that

Balaam's  
defence to  
Balak and  
further  
predictions.  
Numb.  
xxiii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> After Hom. *Il.* v. 688 εὐφρανέειν ἀλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἷόν.

## JOSEPHUS

τοιούτων σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν, ὅταν ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ  
 λάβῃ πνεῦμα; φωνὰς γὰρ ἄς βούλεται τοῦτο  
 120 καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότες ἀφήσιν. ἐγὼ  
 δὲ μέμνημαι μὲν ὦντε καὶ σὺ καὶ Μαδιανῖται  
 δεηθέντες ἐνταυθοῖ με προθύμως ἠγάγετε καὶ  
 δι' ἃ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐποιησάμην, ἣν τέ μοι δι' εὐχῆς  
 121 μὴδὲν ἀδικῆσαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. κρείττων  
 δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὢν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκειν· καὶ  
 παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγινώσκειν περὶ τῶν  
 ἀνθρωπίνων<sup>1</sup> παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς μὴ  
 ταῦθ' ἄπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θεῖον λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι  
 δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι  
 122 φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον. ἔγωγ' οὖν  
 τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον οὔτ' ἐπαινέσαι προθέμην  
 οὔτ' ἐφ' οἷς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθοῖς  
 ἐμηχανήσατο διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς οὗτος  
 ὢν καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοῖς εὐδαίμονα βίον καὶ κλέος  
 αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν ἐμοὶ τοιούτων ἀπαγγελίαν  
 123 λόγων ὑπέθετο. νῦν δέ, χαρίζεσθαί τι<sup>2</sup> γὰρ αὐτῶ  
 σοὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστὶ μοι καὶ Μαδιανίταις, ὢν  
 ἀπώσασθαί μοι τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐκ εὐπρεπές, φέρε  
 βωμούς τε ἑτέρους αὐθις ἐγείρωμεν καὶ θυσίας  
 ταῖς πρὶν παραπλησίας ἐπιτελέσωμεν, εἰ πείσαι  
 τὸν θεὸν δυνηθεῖην ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους  
 124 ἀραῖς ἐνδῆσαι." συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βαλάκου  
 δις μὲν τεθυκότι τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐπένευσε τὰς κατὰ  
 τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀράς, [θύσας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἄλλων  
 πάλιν ἀνασταθέντων βωμῶν οὐδὲ τότε μὲν κατ-

<sup>1</sup> ἀνθρωπειῶν ML.

<sup>2</sup> conj. Niese: τε RO: om. rell.

it rests with us at all to be silent or to speak on such themes as these, when we are possessed by the spirit of God? For that spirit gives utterance to such language and words as it will, whereof we are all unconscious. For myself, I remember well what both thou and the Madianites craved when ye eagerly brought me hither and for what purpose I have paid this visit, and it was my earnest prayer to do no despite to thy desire. But God is mightier than that determination of mine to do this favour; and wholly impotent are they who pretend to such foreknowledge of human affairs, drawn from their own breasts, as to refrain from speaking that which the Deity suggests and to violate His will. For nothing within us, once He has gained prior entry, is any more our own. Thus, for my part, I neither intended to extol this army nor to recount the blessings for which God has designed their race; it is He who, in His gracious favour to them and His zeal to confer on them a life of felicity and everlasting renown, has put it into my heart to pronounce such words as these. But now,<sup>a</sup> since it is my earnest desire to gratify both thyself and the Madianites, to reject whose request were unseemly, come, let us erect yet other altars and offer sacrifices like unto the first, if perchance I may persuade God to suffer me to bind these people under a curse." Balak consenting thereto, twice did the seer offer sacrifice, but failed to obtain the Deity's consent to imprecations upon the

Numb.  
xxiii. 13.

<sup>a</sup> In Numbers it is Balak who proposes a second attempt.

## JOSEPHUS

- 125 ηράσατο τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις,]<sup>1</sup> πεσῶν δ' ἐπὶ στόμα  
 πάθη προύλεγεν ὅσα τε βασιλευσιν ἔσται καὶ  
 ὅσα πόλεσι ταῖς ἀξιολογωτάταις, ὧν ἐνίαις οὐδ'  
 οἰκείσθαι πω<sup>2</sup> συνέβαινε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἃ τε καὶ  
 προϋπῆρξεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γενόμενα  
 τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης εἰς μνήμην  
 τὴν ἐμήν. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων λαβόντων τέλος ὁποῖον  
 ἐκεῖνος προεῖπε τεκμήραιτ' ἂν τις, ὅ τι καὶ ἔσοιτο  
 πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.
- 126 (6) Βάλακος δὲ ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ κατ-  
 αράτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀποπέμπει τὸν  
 Βάλαμον μηδεμιᾶς τιμῆς ἀξιώσας· ὁ δὲ ἀπιὼν  
 ἤδη καπὶ τῷ περαιουῦν τὸν Εὐφράτην γενόμενος  
 τὸν τε Βάλακον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας
- 127 τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν “ Βαλακέ,” φησί, “ καὶ Μαδια-  
 νιτῶν οἱ παρόντες, χρὴ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βούλησιν  
 τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος  
 οὐκ ἂν ὄλεθρος παντελῆς καταλάβοι, οὔτ' ἐν  
 πολέμῳ οὔτ' ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς  
 καρπῶν, οὔτ'<sup>3</sup> ἄλλη τις αἰτία παράλογος δια-
- 128 φθείρειεν. πρόνοια γάρ ἐστιν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ  
 σώζειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 εἶσαι τοιοῦτον πάθος ἐλθεῖν, ὑφ' οὗ κἂν ἀπόλοιτο  
 πάντες· συμπέσοι δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς ὀλίγα τε καὶ πρὸς  
 ὀλίγον, ὑφ' ὧν ταπεινοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες εἶτ' ἀν-  
 θήσουσιν ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπαγαγόντων αὐτοῖς τὰς

<sup>1</sup> hab. SP: ins. post στόμα L: om. rel. Doubtless a gloss.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: πως codd.

<sup>3</sup> οὐδ' Niese.

Israelites.<sup>a</sup> Instead, falling upon his face, he foretold what calamities were to come for kings and what for cities of the highest celebrity (of which some had not yet so much as been inhabited at all), along with other events which have already befallen men in bygone ages, by land or sea, down to times within my memory. And from all these prophecies having received the fulfilment which he predicted one may infer what the future also has in store.<sup>b</sup>

(6) Balak, furious because the Israelites had not been cursed, dismissed Balaam, dignifying him with no reward. But he, when already departing and on the point of crossing the Euphrates, sent for Balak and the princes of Madian and said: "Balak and ye men of Madian here present—since it behoves me despite God's will to gratify you—doubtless this race of Hebrews will never be overwhelmed by utter destruction, neither through war, nor through pestilence and dearth of the fruits of the earth, neither shall any other unlooked-for cause exterminate it. For God is watching over them to preserve them from all ill and to suffer no such calamity to come upon them as would destroy them all. Yet misfortunes may well befall them of little moment and for a little while, whereby they will appear to be abased, though only thereafter to flourish once more to the terror of those who inflicted these injuries

Balaam's  
parting  
advice.

<sup>a</sup> Some mss. insert the gloss: "He sacrificed also a third time, other altars being erected: yet even then he pronounced no imprecation on the Israelites" (*cf.* Numb. xxiii. 30). The glossator has not observed that *δῆς*, with the sacrifice already narrated, brings up the number to three: he has apparently interpreted *δῆς* as *δελυτε.ου.*

<sup>b</sup> *Cf.* a rather similar mysterious reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel in *A.* x. 210.

## JOSEPHUS

- 129 βλάβας. ὑμεῖς δ' εἰ νίκην τινὰ πρὸς βραχὺν καιρὸν κατ' αὐτῶν κερδᾶναι ποθεῖτε, τύχοιτ' ἂν αὐτῆς ταῦτα ποιήσαντες· τῶν θυγατέρων τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ βιάσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὀρώντων σωφροσύνην ἱκανὰς διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀσκήσαντες τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον εὐπρεπὲς πέμψατε πλησίον ἔσομένας τοῦ ἐκείνων στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεομένοις συνέιναι τοῖς
- 130 νεαίαις αὐτῶν προστάξατε. ἐπειδὴν δὲ κεχειρωμένους ὀρῶσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καταλιπέτωσαν καὶ παρακαλούντων μένειν μὴ πρότερον ἐπινευέτωσαν, πρὶν ἂν πείσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὸν τούτους αὐτοῖς θέμενον τιμᾶν θεὸν τοὺς Μαδιανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν σέβωσιν· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὀργισθήσασθαι.” καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦθ' ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ὤχετο.
- 131 (7) Τῶν δὲ Μαδιανιτῶν πεμφάντων τὰς θυγατέρας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀλίσκονται νέοι τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτῶν καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς λόγους αὐταῖς παρεκάλουν μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσεως μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησιάζειν συνηθείας· αἱ δ' ἀσμένως δεξάμεναι τοὺς λόγους συνήεσαν
- 132 αὐτοῖς. ἐνδησάμεναι δ' αὐτοὺς τῶ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκμαζούσης περὶ ἀπλλαγὴν ἐγίνοντο. τοὺς δ' ἀθυμία δεινῇ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> πολλή RO.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Is. lvii. 17 LXX δι' ἁμαρτίαν βραχὺ τι ἐλύπησα αὐτὸν and the concluding portion of the Ep. of Baruch (end of 1st cent. A.D.), beginning ὁ ἐπαγαγὼν ἡμῖν τὰ κακά (iv. 29).

<sup>b</sup> This suggestion is foreign to the older (“J”) narrative

upon them.<sup>a</sup> Ye then, if ye yearn to gain some short-lived victory over them, may attain that end by acting on this wise. Take of your daughters those who are comeliest and most capable of constraining and conquering the chastity of their beholders by reason of their beauty, deck out their charms to add to their comeliness, send them to the neighbourhood of the Hebrews' camp, and charge them to company with their young men when they sue their favours. Then, when they shall see these youths overmastered by their passions, let them quit them and, on their entreating them to stay, let them not consent or ever they have induced their lovers to renounce the laws of their fathers and the God to whom they owe them, and to worship the gods of the Madianites and Moabites. For thus will God be moved to indignation against them." And, having propounded to them this scheme, he went his way.<sup>b</sup>

(7) Thereupon the Madianites having sent their daughters in accordance with his advice, the Hebrew youths were captivated by their charms and, falling into parley with them, besought them not to deny them the enjoyment of their beauty or the intimacy of intercourse; and they, gladly accepting their suit, consorted with them. Then, having enchained them with love towards themselves, at the moment when their passion was at its height, they made ready to go. The young men were in the depths

Seduction of the Hebrew youth by the Midianite women. Cf. Numb. xxv. 1.

in Numbers, but is alluded to in the later ("Priestly") document: "Behold these (women) caused the children of Israel, *through the counsel of Balaam*, to commit trespass" (Numb. xxxi. 16). Jewish Midrash (see Weill) enlarged upon this and even traced a reference to the story in Numb. xxiv. 14 "I will advertise (or rather "counsel") thee what this people shall do."

## JOSEPHUS

- τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν γυναικῶν κατέλαβε καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἐπέκειντο, μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γαμετὰς αὐτῶν ἐσομένας αὐτόθι μένειν καὶ δεσποίνας ἀποδειχθησομένας πάντων ὧν ὑπῆρχεν
- 133 αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δὲ ὁμνύντες ἔλεγον καὶ θεὸν μεσίτην ὧν ὑπισχνοῦντο ποιούμενοι, δακρύνοντές τε καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλεεινοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ κατασκευάζοντες εἶναι. αἱ δ' ὡς δεδουλωμένους αὐτοὺς κατενόησαν καὶ τελέως ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἐχομένους, ἤρξαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν·
- 134 (8) “ Ἡμῖν, ὦ κράτιστοι νέων, οἴκοί τέ εἰσι πατρῶοι καὶ κτήσις ἀγαθῶν ἄφθονος καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων εὖνοια καὶ στοργή, καὶ κατ' οὐδενὸς τούτων πόρον<sup>1</sup> ἐνθάδ' ἤκουσαι ἡμεῖς εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἤκομεν, οὐδ' ἐμπορευσόμεναι τὴν ὥραν τοῦ σώματος προσηκάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσιν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὑπολαβοῦσαι τοιοῦτοὺς ὑμᾶς τιμῆσαι ξενίοις δεομένους
- 135 ἐπέισθημεν. καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστόργως ἔχειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup> μελλουσῶν ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐδ' αὐταὶ τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, πίστιν δ' εὐνοίας λαβοῦσαι τὴν μόνην ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογον νομισθεῖσαν ἀγαπήσομεν τὸν μεθ'
- 136 ὑμῶν βίον ὡς γαμεταὶ διανύσαι. δέος γάρ, μὴ καὶ κόρον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὀμιλίας λαβόντες ἔπειθ' ὑβρίσητε καὶ ἀτίμους ἀποπέμψητε πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς”· συγγινώσκειν τε ταῦτα φυλαττομέναις ἡξίουσι. τῶν δὲ ἦν βούλονται πίστιν δώσειν

<sup>1</sup> ἀποροῦσαι SP Lat. (-ούσαις L): ? lege ἀπορίαν.

<sup>2</sup> RO Lat.: λυπεῖσθε rell.



of despondency at the women's departure: they pressed and implored them not to abandon them, but to stay where they were, to be their brides and to be installed as mistresses of all that they possessed. This they affirmed with oaths, invoking God as arbiter of their promises, and by their tears and by every means seeking to render themselves an object of the women's compassion. And these, when they perceived them to be enslaved and completely holden by their society, began to address them thus:

(8)<sup>a</sup> "We, most excellent young men, have our paternal houses, goods in abundance, and the benevolence and affection of our parents and kinsfolk. It was not in quest of <sup>b</sup> any of those things that we came hither to consort with you, nor with intent to traffic with the flower of our persons that we accepted your suit; nay, it was because we took you for honest and just men that we were induced to honour your petition with such hospitable welcome. And now, since ye say that ye have so tender an affection for us and are grieved at our approaching departure, we do not—for our part—reject your request; but, on receiving from you the only pledge of goodwill which we can account of worth, we shall be content to end our lives with you as your wedded wives. For it is to be feared that, becoming sated with our society, ye may then do us outrage and send us back dishonoured to our parents"—and they begged to be excused for protecting themselves against *that*. The youths thereupon promising to

Conditions imposed by them.

was furnished by the similar story of the Scythians and the Amazons in Herodotus iv. 111 ff. (esp. the speeches in 114, beginning Ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσεις).

<sup>b</sup> Or, with another reading, "for lack of,"

- ὁμολογούντων καὶ πρὸς [τὸ]<sup>1</sup> μηδὲν ἀντιλεγόντων  
 137 ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς πάθους, “ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν,”  
 ἔφασαν, “ δέδοκται, τοῖς δ’ ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς  
 ἅπαντας ἀλλοτριώτατα χρῆσθε, ὡς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς  
 ὑμῖν ἰδιοτρόπους εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποτὰ μὴ κοινὰ τοῖς  
 ἄλλοις, ἀνάγκη βουλομένους ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν καὶ  
 θεοὺς τοὺς ἡμετέρους σέβειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο  
 γένοιτο τεκμήριον ἧς ἔχειν τε νῦν φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς  
 εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἢ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν  
 138 θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν. μέμψαιτο δ’ ἂν οὐδεὶς, εἰ γῆς εἰς  
 ἣν ἀφίχθε τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προστρέποισθε,<sup>2</sup>  
 καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς  
 ἅπαντας, τοῦ δ’ ὑμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιοῦτου  
 τυγχάνοντος.” δεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον ἢ ταῦτὰ  
 πᾶσιν ἡγητέον ἢ ζητεῖν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην, ἐν ἣ  
 βιώσονται μόνοι κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους νόμους.  
 139 (9) Οἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτος κάλλιστα  
 λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ὑπολαβόντες καὶ παραδόντες αὐ-  
 τοὺς εἰς ἃ προεκαλοῦντο παρέβησαν τὰ πάτρια,  
 θεοὺς τε πλείονας εἶναι νομίσαντες καὶ θύειν  
 αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιχώριον τοῖς καθιδρυσά-  
 μένοις προθέμενοι ξενικοῖς τε βρώμασι ἔχαιρον  
 καὶ πάντ’ εἰς ἡδονὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τούναντίον  
 οἷς ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε ποιοῦντες διετέλουν,  
 140 ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν παρανομίαν  
 χωρεῖν τῶν νέων καὶ στάσιν αὐτοῖς πολὺ χεῖρω  
 τῆς προτέρας ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ κίνδυνον παντελοῦς  
 τῶν ἰδίων ἐθισμῶν ἀπωλείας. ἅπαξ γὰρ τὸ νέον

<sup>1</sup> RO: om. rell.<sup>2</sup> S<sup>1</sup>: προτρέποισθε rell.

give whatever pledge they chose and gainsaying them in nothing, such was their passion for them, "Seeing then," said the maidens, "that ye agree to these conditions, and that ye have customs and a mode of life wholly alien to all mankind, insomuch that your food is of a peculiar sort and your drink is distinct from that of other men, it behoves you, if ye would live with us, also to revere our gods; no other proof can there be of that affection which ye declare that ye now have for us and of its continuance in future, save that ye worship the same gods as we. Nor can any man reproach you for venerating the special gods of the country whereto ye are come, above all when our gods are common to all mankind, while yours has no other worshipper." They must therefore (they added) either fall in with the beliefs of all men or look for another world, where they could live alone in accordance with their peculiar laws.

(9) So these youths, dominated by their love for the damsels, regarding their speech as excellent and surrendering to their proposal, transgressed the laws of their fathers. Accepting the belief in a plurality of gods and determining to sacrifice to them in accordance with the established rites of the people of the country,<sup>a</sup> they revelled in strange meats and, to please these women, ceased not to do everything contrary to that which their Law ordained; with the result that the whole army was soon permeated by this lawlessness of the youth and a sedition far graver than the last descended upon them, with a danger of complete ruin of their own institutions. For the youth, once having tasted

The  
corruption  
sh. reads.  
Numb.  
xxv. 2.

<sup>a</sup> Lit. "according to the law native to those who had established" ("it"; or "them," *i.e.* the gods).

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γευσάμενον ξενικῶν ἐθισμῶν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο, καὶ εἴ τινες τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν συνδιεφθείροντο.

- 141 (10) Καὶ Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος ἡγούμενος φυλῆς Χοσβία, συνὼν Μαδιανίτιδι Σούρου<sup>1</sup> θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκείνη δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρός, κελυσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸ τῶν Μωυσεῖ δοχθέντων τὸ
- 142 πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῇ γενησόμενον ἐθεράπευεν.<sup>2</sup> ἐν τούτοις δ' ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων δείσας Μωυσῆς, μὴ γένηται τι χεῖρον, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λαὸν οὐδενὸς μὲν κατηγορεῖ πρὸς ὄνομα, μὴ βουλόμενος εἰς ἀπόνοιαν περιστῆσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
- 143 λανθάνειν μετανοῆσαι δυναμένους, ἔλεγε δ' ὡς οὐκ ἄξια δρῶεν οὐθ' αὐτῶν οὔτε πατέρων τὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοῦτον βιοῦν,<sup>3</sup> προσήκειν δ' ἕως<sup>4</sup> ἔτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς<sup>5</sup> ἔχει μεταβαλέσθαι, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς νόμους
- 144 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ εἴκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἶναι. πρὸς τούτοις δ' οὐδ' εὐλογον ἔφασκε σωφρονήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὄντας παροινεῖν, μηδὲ τὰ κτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δι' εὐπορίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα λέγων ἐπειράτο τοὺς νέους ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄγειν ὧν ἔπραττον.

<sup>1</sup> Bernard: Οὔρου codd.

<sup>2</sup> RO: + οὔτε θύων τὰ πάτρια καὶ γάμον ἡγόμενος ἀλλόφυλον rell.

<sup>3</sup> βίου RO.

<sup>4</sup> Niese (Lat. dum): ὡς codd.

<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῖς ἂν (or ἂν αὐτοῖς) codd.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Zimri (LXX Ζαμβρεί).

<sup>b</sup> Gr. "Semeon."

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Cozbi (Χασβεῖ).

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. Zur (Σούρ).

of foreign customs, became insatiably intoxicated with them; and some even of the leading men, persons conspicuous through the virtues of their ancestors, succumbed to the contagion.

(10) Among others *Zambrias*,<sup>a</sup> the chief of the tribe of Simeon,<sup>b</sup> who was consorting with *Chosbia*<sup>c</sup> the Madianite, daughter of *Sur*,<sup>d</sup> a local prince. at the bidding of this woman, in preference to the decrees of *Moses*, devoted himself to the cult that would be to her liking.<sup>e</sup> Such was the state of things when *Moses*,<sup>f</sup> fearing lest worse should befall, convened the people in assembly; he accused no one by name, not wishing to reduce to desperation any who under cover of obscurity might be brought to repentance, but he said that they were acting in a manner neither worthy of themselves nor of their fathers in preferring voluptuousness to God and to a God-fearing life, and that it beseeemed them, while it was yet well with them,<sup>g</sup> to amend their ways, reckoning that courage consisted not in violating the laws but in resisting their passions. He added that neither was it reasonable, after their sobriety in the desert, to relapse now, in their prosperity, into drunken riot, and to lose through affluence what they had won by penury. By this speech he endeavoured to correct the youthful offenders and to bring them to repent of their actions.

Numb.  
xxv. 4.

Apostasy of  
*Zambrias*:  
remou-  
strance of  
*Moses*.  
*ib.* 13 f.

<sup>a</sup> Most mss. add "by ceasing to sacrifice according to the laws of his fathers and by contracting a foreign marriage" (perhaps a gloss).

<sup>b</sup> This speech and that of *Zambrias* which follows have no warrant in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> Or, according to another reading, "in order that it might yet be well with them."

- 145 (11) Ἀναστάς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ζαμβρίας “ ἀλλὰ  
 σὺ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Μωυσῆ, χρῶ νόμοις οἷς αὐτὸς  
 ἐσπούδακας ἐκ τῆς τούτων εὐηθείας<sup>1</sup> τὸ βέβαιον  
 αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένος· ἐπεὶ μὴ τοῦτον αὐτῶν  
 146 ἔχοντων τὸν τρόπον πολλάκις ἂν ἤδη κεκολασμένος  
 δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀκόλουθον οἷς σὺ προστάσσεις τυραννικῶς  
 λάβοις· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι μέχρι νῦν ἢ προσχήματι  
 νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν δὲ  
 σαυτῷ κακουργεῖς, ἀφαιρούμενος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡδὺ  
 καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτεξούσιον, ὃ τῶν ἐλευθέρων  
 147 ἐστὶ καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἔχοντων. χαλεπώτερος  
 δ' ἂν οὕτως Αἰγυπτίων Ἑβραίοις γένοιο τιμωρεῖν  
 ἀξίων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἐκάστου πρὸς τὸ  
 κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ βούλησιν. πολὺ δ' ἂν δι-  
 καιότερον αὐτὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπομένοις τὰ παρ'  
 ἐκάστοις ὁμολογούμενα καλῶς ἔχειν ἀφανίσαι  
 προηρημένος καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀπάντων δόξης ἰσχυρὰν  
 148 τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακῶς ἀτοπίαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἂν  
 στεροίμην εἰκότως ὦν πράττω νῦν, εἰ<sup>2</sup> κρίνας  
 ἀγαθὰ ταῦτ' ἔπειτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν  
 τούτοις<sup>3</sup> ὀκνήσαιμι. γύναιόν τε ξενικόν, ὡς φῆς,  
 ἦγμαι· παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις  
 ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν προεθέμην·  
 149 θύω τε θεοῖς οἷς θύειν μοι νομίζεται δίκαιον  
 ἡγούμενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἑμαυτῷ πραγματεύεσθαι  
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν  
 τὴν ὅλην ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἀνηρτη-

<sup>1</sup> SPE: *συνηθείας* *rell.*

<sup>2</sup> *νῦν*, *ei* *edd.*: *νυνὶ* *codd.*

<sup>3</sup> + *οὐκ* *codd.*

(11) But after him rose up Zambrias and said : Retort of  
Zambrias.  
 “ Nay, do *thou*, Moses, keep these laws on which thou hast bestowed thy pains, having secured confirmation for them only through these men’s simplicity ; for, were they not men of that character, thou wouldest often ere now have learnt through chastisement that Hebrews are not duped so easily. But *me* thou shalt not get to follow thy tyrannical orders ; for thou hast done nought else until now save by wicked artifice, under the pretext of ‘ laws ’ and ‘ God,’ to contrive servitude for us and sovereignty for thyself, robbing us of life’s sweets and of that liberty of action,<sup>a</sup> which belongs to free men who own no master. By such means thou wouldest prove more oppressive to the Hebrews than were the Egyptians, in claiming to punish in the name of these laws the intention of each individual to please himself. Nay, far rather is it thyself who deservest punishment, for having purposed to abolish things which all the world has unanimously admitted to be excellent and for having set up, over against universal opinion, thine own extravagances. For myself, fairly might I be debarred from my present course of action, if, after deciding that it was right, I were then to shrink from confessing it before this assembly. I have married, as thou sayest, a foreign wife,—aye, from mine own lips shalt thou hear of my doings, as from a free man, and indeed I had no intention of concealment—aye, and I sacrifice to gods to whom I hold sacrifice to be due, deeming it right to get at the truth for myself from many persons, and not to live as under a tyranny, hanging all my hopes for

<sup>a</sup> The modern word “ self-determination ” closely corresponds to the Greek.

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κότα· χαρείη τ' ἂν οὐδεὶς κυριώτερον αὐτὸν περὶ  
ᾧν πράξαιμι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποφαινόμενος."

- 150 (12) Τοῦ δὲ Ζαμβρίου ταῦτα περὶ ᾧν αὐτὸς τε  
ἠδίκηει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν λαὸς  
ἠσύχαζε φόβῳ τε τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ τὸν νομο-  
θέτην δὲ ὄρων μὴ περαιτέρω τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ  
προαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικρυς διαμάχης θελή-  
151 σαντα· περίστατο γάρ, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων  
ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ μιμηταὶ γενόμενοι ταραξῶσι τὸ  
πλήθος. καὶ διαλύεται μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ σύλλογος·  
προεληλύθει δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πλείον ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ πείρα  
μὴ φθάσαντος Ζαμβρία τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης  
152 αἰτίας. Φινεὲς ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν νεωτέρων  
κρείττων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιώματι τοὺς ἠλικιώτας  
ὑπερέχων, Ἐλεαζάρου γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως [υἱὸς]  
ἦν [Μιουσέως δὲ ἀδελφοῦ παιδὸς υἱός],<sup>1</sup> περιαλγήσας  
τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαμβρίου, καὶ πρὶν  
ἰσχυροτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ὕβριν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδείας  
ἔργῳ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπράξασθαι διαγνοὺς  
καὶ κωλύσαι διαβῆναι τὴν παρανομίαν εἰς πλείονας  
153 τῶν ἀρξαμένων οὐ κολαζομένων, τόλμῃ δὲ καὶ  
ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀνδρεία τοσοῦτον προύχων,  
ὡς μὴ πρότερον εἴ τιμι συσταίῃ τῶν δεινῶν  
ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ νίκην  
τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαμβρίου σκηνὴν  
παραγενόμενος αὐτὸν τε παίων τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ  
154 τὴν Χοσβίαν ἀπέκτεινεν. οἱ δὲ νέοι πάντες, οἷς  
ἀρετῆς ἀντιποίησις ἦν καὶ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν, μιμηταὶ

<sup>1</sup> ROE om. words in brackets.

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. Phinehas (LXX Φινεές).

<sup>b</sup> Some mss. omit these words.

<sup>c</sup> A variation on the writer's favourite Thucydidean phrase οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι (ii. 51); while the follow-



my whole life upon one. And woe be to any man who declares himself to have more mastery over my actions than my own will ! ”

(12) After this speech of Zambrias concerning the crimes which he and some of the others had committed, the people held their peace, in terror of what might come and because they saw that the lawgiver was unwilling further to provoke the fellow's frenzy by direct controversy. He feared, in fact, that his wanton language might find many imitators to foment disorder among the crowd. Accordingly the meeting was thereon dissolved ; and this wicked assault might have gone to further lengths, had not Zambrias promptly come to his end under the following circumstances. Phinees,<sup>a</sup> a man superior in every way to the rest of the youth besides being exalted above his fellows by his father's rank—for he was son of Eleazar the high-priest [and grandson of the brother of Moses] <sup>b</sup>—being deeply distressed at the deeds of Zambrias, determined, before his insolence gained strength through impunity, to take the law into his own hands and to prevent the iniquity from spreading further afield, should its authors escape chastisement. Gifted moreover with an intrepidity of soul and a courage of body so pre-eminent that when engaged in any hazardous contest he never left it until he had conquered and come off victorious, Phinees repaired <sup>to the tent of Zambrias and smote him with his broadsword, along with Chosbia, and killed them.</sup> Thereupon all the young men who aspired to make a display of heroism <sup>c</sup> and of a love of honour, <sup>ing φιλοκαλεῖν (lit. “ to love beauty ”) recalls another famous phrase in Thuc. ii. 40. According to Numb. xxv. 5, “ Moses said unto the judges (LXX ταῖς φυλαῖς) of Israel, Slay ye every one his men,” etc.</sup>

He is slain by Phinees : punishment of the sinners.

Numb. xxv. 7.

Ib. 8.

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γενόμενοι τῆς Φινεέσσου τόλμης ἀνήρουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις Ζαμβρία τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότας. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδρα-  
 155 γαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομησάντων, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ πάντες καὶ λοιμῶ, ταύτην ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν νόσον, ὅσοι τε συγγενεῖς ὄντες κωλύειν δέον ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα συναδικεῖν<sup>1</sup> τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντες ἀπέθνησκον.<sup>2</sup> ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων.<sup>3</sup>

156 (13) Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης παροξυνθεὶς τῆς αἰτίας Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μαδιανιτῶν ὄλεθρον τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, περὶ ὧν τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξόδου μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, προδιηγησάμενοι πρῶτον ὁ παρελίπομεν, δίκαιον γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀνεγκωμίαςτον.

157 τὸν γὰρ Βάλαμον παραληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν, ὅπως ἐπαράσῃται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ δυναθέντα θεία προνοία, γνώμην δὲ ὑποθέμενον, ἧ χρησαμένων τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος διεφθάρη τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι νοσησάντων δὴ τινων περὶ ταῦτα, μεγάλως  
 158 ἐτίμησεν ἀναγράψας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας, καὶ παρὸν αὐτῷ σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόξαν καὶ ἐξιδιώσασθαι μηδενὸς ἂν γενομένου μάρτυρος τοῦ διελέγξοντος, ἐκεῖνῳ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀπέδωκε<sup>4</sup> καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μνήμης ἠξίωσε. καὶ

<sup>1</sup> SP Exc.: ἀδικεῖν rell.

<sup>2</sup> συναπέθνησκον Bekker.

<sup>3</sup> καὶ μυρίων] διςμυρίων L.

<sup>4</sup> ἔδωκε RO.

imitating the daring deed of Phinees, slew those who were found guilty of the same crimes as Zambrias. Thus, through their valianey, perished many of the transgressors ; all (the rest) were destroyed by a pestilence, God having launched this malady upon them ; *Ibid.* while such of their relatives as, instead of restraining them, instigated them to those crimes were accounted by God their accomplices and died likewise. Thus there perished from the ranks no less than fourteen thousand men.<sup>a</sup> *ib. xxv. 9.*

(13) That was the reason why Moses was provoked to send that army to destroy the Madianites.<sup>b</sup> Of its campaign against them we shall speak anon, after a preliminary word on a point which we omitted ; for it is right that in this particular the judgement of the lawgiver should not be left without its meed of praise. This Balaam, in fact, who had been summoned by the Madianites to curse the Hebrews and who, though prevented from so doing by divine providence, had yet suggested a plan which, being adopted by the enemy, well-nigh led to a demoralization of the whole Hebrew community and actually infected the morals of some—this was the man to whom Moses did the high honour of recording his prophecies ; and though it was open to him to appropriate and take the credit for them himself, as there would have been no witness to convict him, he has given Balaam this testimony and deigned to perpetuate his memory.<sup>c</sup>

The candour of Moses in recording the prophecies of Balaam.

<sup>a</sup> Numb. "twenty and four thousand" (as one ms. reads here). <sup>b</sup> § 101.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. the eulogy of Moses for similar candour in the case of Jethro, *A. iii. 74*. From the Talmudic passage, *Baba Bathra* 14b, "Moses wrote his own book and the section (*Parashah*) about Balaam," Weill infers that the prophecies of Balaam once formed a separate treatise.

## JOSEPHUS

ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τισι δοκῆ οὕτω σκο-  
πέιτωσαν.

- 159 (vii. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ προεῖπον ἐπὶ  
τὴν Μαδιανιτῶν γῆν ἔπεμψεν στρατιὰν τοὺς  
πάντας εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους, ἐξ ἑκάστης  
φυλῆς τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος, στρατηγὸν  
δ' αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξε Φινεές, οὗ μικρῶ πρότερον  
ἐμνήσθημεν φυλάξαντος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τοὺς νόμους  
καὶ τὸν παρανομοῦντα τούτους Ζαμβρίαν τιμωρη-  
160 σαμένου. Μαδιανῖται δὲ προπυθόμενοι τὸν στρα-  
τὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω παρ-  
εσόμενον ἠθροίζοντό τε καὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς  
χώρας, ἧ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀσφα-  
161 λισάμενοι περιέμενον αὐτούς. ἐλθόντων δὲ καὶ  
συμβολῆς γενομένης πίπτει τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν πλῆθος  
ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον οἷ τε βασιλεῖς  
αὐτῶν ἅπαντες· πέντε δὲ ἦσαν, Ὡχός τε καὶ  
Σούρης ἔτι δὲ Ῥοβέης καὶ Οὕρης,<sup>1</sup> πέμπτος δὲ  
Ῥέκεμος, οὗ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τὸ πᾶν ἀξίωμα τῆς  
Ἀράβων ἔχουσα γῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παντὸς  
τοῦ Ἀραβίου τοῦ κτίσαντος βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα  
Ῥεκέμης καλεῖται, Πέτρα παρ' Ἑλλησι λεγομένη.  
162 τραπέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Ἑβραῖοι διήρ-  
πασαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν λαβόντες  
καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας γυναιξὶν ἅμα διαφθείραντες  
μόνας τὰς παρθένους κατέλιπον, τοῦτο Μωυσέος

<sup>1</sup> RO (Lat.): Οὔρης rell.

On this narrative readers are free to think what they please.<sup>a</sup>

(vii. 1) So Moses, for the reasons which I have already stated, sent to the land of the Madianites an army of twelve thousand men in all, selecting an equal number from each tribe; for their general he appointed Phinees who, as we mentioned just now,<sup>b</sup> had preserved to the Hebrews their laws and punished Zambrias for transgressing them. The Madianites, forewarned that the army was marching upon them and might at any moment arrive, mustered their troops and, having fortified the passes into the country which they expected the enemy to take, awaited their appearance. They came and an engagement ensued, in which there fell of the Madianites a multitude incalculable and past numbering, including all their kings. Of these there were five: Oehus and Sures, Robees and Ures, and, the fifth, Rekem<sup>c</sup>; the city which bears his name ranks highest in the land of the Arabs and to this day is called by the whole Arabian nation, after the name of its royal founder, Rekeme<sup>d</sup>: it is the Petra of the Greeks. Upon the rout of the enemy, the Hebrews pillaged their country, captured abundance of booty, and put the inhabitants with their wives to death, leaving only the unmarried women, such

Defeat of the  
Madianites.  
Numb.  
xxxi. 1  
(xxv. 16).

*Ib.* xxxi. 8  
(Josh.  
xiii. 21).

*Ib.* 18.

<sup>a</sup> This recurrent formula (see i. 108) must here, at the close of chap. vi, refer to the story of Balaam as a whole and in particular to the miraculous element in it, such as the speaking of the ass.

<sup>b</sup> § 152.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. Evi (Εὐείν): Zur (Σοίρ): Reba (Ροβόκ: in Josh. Ροβέ): Hur (Οὔρ): Rekem (Ροκόμ). Josephus omits the last half of the verse in Numbers: "Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword."

<sup>d</sup> Cf. § 82 (note), where the name appears in the MSS. as Ἄρκη.

## JOSEPHUS

- 163 Φινέει κελεύσαντος. ὃς ἤκεν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον, βόας μὲν γὰρ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισμυρίους, οἷς δὲ πεντακισχιλίας πρὸς μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ὄνους δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος κατασκευῆς, ἧ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο· ὑπὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀβροδίατοι σφόδρα ἐτύγχανον. ἤχθησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ παρθένοι περὶ δισχιλίας καὶ
- 164 τρισμυρίας. Μωυσῆς δὲ μερίσας τὴν λείαν τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν Ἐλεαζάρῳ δίδωσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, Λευίταις δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν μέρος, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν νέμει τῷ λαῷ. καὶ διῆγον τὸ λοιπὸν εὐδαιμόνως, ἀφθονίας μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' ἀρετῆς γεγεννημένης, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δὲ σκυθρωποῦ ταύτης ἀπολαύειν ἐμποδιζόμενοι.<sup>1</sup>
- 165 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ γηραιὸς ἤδη τυγχάνων διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ Ἰησοῦν καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τε ταῖς προφητείαις καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶ που δεήσειε γενησόμενον, κελεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πᾶσαν ἐπεπαίδευτο τὴν περὶ τοὺς νόμους παιδείαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον Μωυσέος ἐκδιδάξαντος.
- 166 (3) Κὰν τούτῳ δύο φυλαὶ Γαδὶς<sup>2</sup> τε καὶ Ῥου-

<sup>1</sup> ἐμποδιζόμενοι codd.

<sup>2</sup> M: Γάδου rell.

<sup>a</sup> The virgins, who have not taken part in the previous seduction of the Israelites, are to be preserved ("keep alive for yourselves"), presumably in the expectation of their conversion to Judaism.

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. (Heb. and LXX) 72,000.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. (both texts) 61,000.

<sup>d</sup> So both Biblical texts; the qualifying word "about" possibly indicates acquaintance with a variant reading.

being the orders of Moses to Phinees.<sup>a</sup> That officer returned with his army unscathed and booty in abundance, to wit 52,000<sup>b</sup> oxen, 675,000 sheep, 60,000<sup>c</sup> asses, and an unlimited quantity of articles of gold and silver for domestic use; for prosperity had rendered these people very luxurious. They brought also the unmarried women, numbering about 32,000.<sup>d</sup> Moses, having divided the spoils into two portions, gave a fiftieth of the first half to Eleazar and the priests, a fiftieth of the other half to the Levites, and the rest he distributed among the people.<sup>e</sup> So they lived thenceforth in felicity, with this abundance of goods which their valour had brought them, and with no tragic incidents to thwart their enjoyment of it.

Numb. xxxi. 32 ff.

Ib. 27-30.

(2) Moses, already advanced in years, now appointed Joshua<sup>f</sup> to succeed him both in his prophetic functions and as commander-in-chief, whensoever the need should arise, under orders from God himself to entrust the direction of affairs to him. Joshua had already received a thorough training in the laws and in divine lore under the tuition of Moses.

Moses appoints Joshua as his successor. Ib. xxvii. 18.

(3) And now also the two tribes of Gad and of

The Amorite land assigned to the two and a half tribes. Ib. xxxii. 1.

<sup>e</sup> The account in Numbers is more precise. There is first an equal division of the booty between combatants and non-combatants. Then, before it is distributed to individuals, a tax is deducted for religious purposes: from the portion of the combatants one *five hundredth* (not, as in Josephus, one fiftieth) is set apart for the priests, and from the portion of the non-combatants one fiftieth is set apart for the Levites. The Levites thus receive ten times as much as the priests. Josephus, who, as a priest, is concerned for priestly privileges (§ 68), equalizes the shares, not, however, without authority; the reading "50" for "500" is found in a small group of LXX MSS. in Numb. xxxi. 28.

<sup>f</sup> Gr. "Jesus," here and throughout.

## JOSEPHUS

- βήλου καὶ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος ἡμίσεια, πλήθει  
 τετραπόδων εὐδαιμονοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι,  
 κοινολογησάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐξαίρετον  
 αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀμορίτιν παρασχεῖν δορίκτητον οὖσαν·  
 167 ἀγαθὴν γὰρ εἶναι βοσκήματα τρέφειν. ὁ δ'  
 ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοὺς δεῖσαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναναίους  
 μάχην πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων  
 ἐπιμέλειαν εὐρῆσθαι κακίστους τε ἀπεκάλει καὶ  
 δειλίας εὐσχήμονα<sup>1</sup> πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντας αὐτοὺς  
 μὲν βούλεσθαι τρυφᾶν ἀπόνως διάγοντας, πάντων  
 τεταλαιπωρηκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν αἰ-  
 168 τουμένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν γῆν, μὴ θέλειν δὲ συναρα-  
 μένους τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἀγῶνων γῆν ἣν διαβάσιν  
 αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὁ θεὸς παραδώσειν ὑπέσχηται  
 ταύτην λαβεῖν καταστρεψαμένους οὓς ἐκείνος  
 169 ἀπέδειξεν ἡμῖν πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ὀρῶντες ὀργιζό-  
 μενον αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως ἠρεθίσθαι πρὸς τὴν  
 ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπελογοῦντο μὴ διὰ  
 φόβον κινδύνων μηδὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν  
 170 μαλακίαν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν αἴτησιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὴν  
 λείαν ἐν ἐπιτηδεύοις καταλιπόντες εὐζῶνοι πρὸς  
 τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν δύναιντο,  
 ἐτοίμους τε ἔλεγον ἑαυτοὺς κτίσαντας πόλεις εἰς  
 φυλακὴν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτήσεως αὐτοῦ  
 171 διδόντος συναπιέναι<sup>2</sup> τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 ἀρεσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν  
 ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας  
 συνεχώρει τὴν Ἀμορίτιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συμ-  
 μαχῆσαι τοῖς συγγενέσιν, ἕως ἂν καταστήσωνται

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr. : ἀσχήμονα codd.

<sup>2</sup> συναπιέναι codd.

<sup>a</sup> Reuben (i. 304).



Rubel<sup>a</sup> and half the tribe of Manasseh, being blest with an abundance of cattle and all sorts of other possessions, after conferring together besought Moses exceptionally<sup>b</sup> to award them the Amorite land that their arms had won, since it was excellent for the pasturage of flocks. But he, supposing that it was fear of the contest with the Canaanites which had led them to discover this specious pretext of the tending of their flocks, denounced them as arrant knaves, who had devised this plausible excuse for their cowardice, because they wished to live themselves in luxury and ease—though all had toiled to win this land for which they craved—and were loath to take their part in the remaining struggles and to occupy the land which God had promised to deliver to them after crossing the Jordan and after subduing those whom He had designated as their enemies. The tribes, seeing his anger and conceiving that he had just cause for being provoked at their request, replied in self-defence that it was through no fear of perils or slackness for toil that they had made their petition; no, it was that, by leaving their booty on suitable ground, they might march the more briskly to the struggles and combats; and they professed themselves ready, once they had built cities for the protection of their children, their wives, and their chattels, with his consent, to set off with the army. Moses, being satisfied with this statement, thereupon summoned Eleazar the high-priest and Joshua and all those in authority and conceded the Amorite land to these tribes, on condition of their fighting along with their brethren until the general settlement. So

Numb.  
xxxii. 28.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* independently and in advance of the general allotment of territory.

## JOSEPHUS

τὰ πάντα. λαβόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν χώραν καὶ κτίσαντες πόλεις καρτερὰς τέκνα [τε] καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα συμπεριάγειν μέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἂν ἦν ἐμπόδια τοῦ πονεῖν ἀπέθεντο εἰς αὐτάς.

- 172 (4) Οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὰς δέκα πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενησομένας, ὧν τρεῖς ἀπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνοῳ φευξομένοις, καὶ χρόνον ἔταξεν εἶναι τῆς φυγῆς τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἐφ' οὗ δράσας τις τὸν φόνον ἔφυγε· μεθ' οὗ συνεχώρει τελευτήσαντα κάθοδον, ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τοῦ πεφονευμένου συγγενῶν κτείνειν, εἰ λάβοιεν ἔξω τῶν ὄρων τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἣν ἔφυγε τὸν πεφονευκότα· ἐτέρῳ δὲ
- 173 οὐκ ἐπετέτραπτο. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρὸς τὰς φυγὰς ἀποδεδειγμέναί ἦσαν αἶδε· Βόσορα<sup>1</sup> μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Ἀραβίας, Ἀρίμανον δὲ τῆς Γαλαθηνῶν γῆς, καὶ Γαυλανὰν δ' ἐν τῇ Βατανίδι. κτησαμένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Χανααίων γῆν τρεῖς ἕτεραι πόλεις ἔμελλον ἀνατεθήσεσθαι τῶν Λευιτιδῶν πόλεων τοῖς φυγάσιν εἰς κατοικισμὸν Μωυσέος ἐπιστείλαντος.
- 174 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πρώτων τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ δηλούντων μὲν ὡς τεθνήκοι τις τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπίσημος ἀνὴρ Σωλοφάντης ὄνομα, παῖδας μὲν οὐ καταλιπὼν ἄρσενας θυγατέρας δέ τοι,<sup>2</sup> καὶ πυθομένων εἰ τούτων ὁ

<sup>1</sup> Βωσάρα RO.

<sup>2</sup> δέ τοι RO: μέντοι rell.

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<sup>a</sup> i.e. the proportionate number (4 for each tribe, hence 10 for the 2½ trans-Jordanic tribes) of the 48 cities assigned to the priests and Levites (§§ 67-69).

having received the territory on these conditions and founded cities with strong defences, they deposited there children and wives and everything which, had they been required to carry it about with them, would have been an impediment to their labours.

(4) Moses himself too built the ten cities that were to be reckoned among the number of the forty-eight.<sup>a</sup> Of these he appointed three for persons to flee to after involuntary manslaughter, and he ordained that the term of their exile should be the lifetime of the high-priest in office when the manslayer fled. Upon the death of the high-priest he permitted him to return; the relatives of the slain had moreover the right to kill the slayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city whither he had fled, but this permission was given to no one else. The cities appointed as refuges were these: Bosora<sup>b</sup> on the confines of Arabia, Ariman in the land of Galadene,<sup>c</sup> and Gaulana in Batanaea.<sup>d</sup> But when they had conquered also the land of Canaan, three more of the Levitical cities were to be dedicated as havens for fugitives, by the injunction of Moses.

(5) Moses was now approached by the head men of the tribe of Manasseh, who informed him that a certain notable member of their tribe, by name Solophantes,<sup>e</sup> had died, leaving no male issue though there were daughters; and on their inquiring whether

The cities of refuge. Deut. iv. 41 ff.; Numb. xxxv. 9 ff.

ib. 25 ff.

Deut. iv. 43 (Josh. xx. 2)

Regulation concerning heritage. Numb. xxxvi. 1 (xxvii. 1).

<sup>b</sup> Bibl. "Bezer (Βοσόρ) in the wilderness, in the table-land"; unidentified.

<sup>c</sup> Bibl. "Ramoth in Gilead"; elsewhere called by Josephus Ἀραμαθία or Ραμάθη, *Ant.* viii. 398 etc.; commonly identified with *es-Salt*.

<sup>d</sup> Bibl. "Golan (Γαυλῶν) in Bashan": unidentified. It gave its name to the province of Gaulanitis often mentioned in Josephus, and was "a very large village" in the time of Eusebius.

<sup>e</sup> Bibl. Zelophehad (Σαλπαάδ).

## JOSEPHUS

175 κλῆρος ἔσοιτο, φησίν, εἰ μὲν μέλλουσί τινη συν-  
οικεῖν τῶν φυλετῶν, μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς αὐτοὺς  
ἀπιεῖναι, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἄλλης γαμοῖντό τισι φυλῆς, τὸν  
κλῆρον ἐν τῇ πατρῷα φυλῇ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ τότε  
μένειν ἐκάστου τὸν κλῆρον ἐν τῇ φυλῇ διετάξατο.

176 (viii. 1) Τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν παρὰ τριά-  
κοντα ἡμέρας συμπεπληρωμένων Μωυσῆς ἐκ-  
κλησίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ συναγαγών, ὅπου νῦν  
πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβίλη, φοινικόφυτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ  
χωρίον, συνελθόντος τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς λέγει  
τοιάδε·

177 (2) “ Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς  
κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν ἤδη  
καὶ τῷ γήρα χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν  
ἡνυσμένον δεῖ με τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τῶν πέρα  
τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πραχθησομένων οὐ μέλλω βοηθὸς  
ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος, κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ  
178 θεοῦ, δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲ νῦν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν  
τοῦμόν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόθυμον,  
ἀλλ' αἰδιδόν τε ὑμῖν πραγματεύσασθαι τὴν τῶν  
ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μνήμην ἐμαυτῷ γενομένων  
179 ὑμῶν ἐν ἀφθονία τῶν κρειττόνων. φέρε οὖν  
ὑποθέμενος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν εὐδαιμονήσαιτε<sup>1</sup>  
καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίποιτε κτήσιν ἀγαθῶν

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: εὐδαιμονήσητέ codd.

<sup>o</sup> According to the Talmud (quoted by Weill) this law had only temporary validity.

<sup>c</sup> Abel-shittim (LXX Βελσά etc.) “ by Jordan . . . in the plains of Moab ” is mentioned in Numb. xxxiii. 49 as the last station in the itinerary of the wilderness wanderings; Josephus calls it indifferently Abile, Abele (v. 4) and Abila

the inheritance should pass to these, he replied that, if they proposed to unite themselves to persons of their tribe, they should carry the inheritance with them to their husbands, but if they were married into another tribe, the inheritance should be left in their father's tribe. Then it was that he ordained that each man's heritage should remain in his tribe.<sup>a</sup>

(viii. 1) When the forty years had, save for thirty days, now run their course, Moses called together an assembly nigh to the Jordan, where to-day stands the city of Abile<sup>b</sup> in a region thickly planted with palm-trees, and addressed to a congregation of the whole people the following words :

Assembly  
at Abile  
near Jordan.  
Deut. i. 1, 2

(2) "Comrades in arms and partners in this long tribulation, seeing that now, by God's decree and at the call of age, having completed a span of one hundred and twenty years, I must quit this life, and that in those coming actions beyond the Jordan I am not to be your helper and fellow-combatant, being prohibited by God, I have deemed it right even now not to renounce my zeal for your welfare, but to labour to secure for you the everlasting enjoyment of your good things and for myself an abiding memorial when ye shall be endowed with a store of blessings yet better. Come then, let me first propound the means whereby ye may yourselves attain bliss and may bequeath to your children the possession of blessings for all eternity,

Moses  
exhorts the  
people  
before his  
death.  
Ib. xxxi. 2.

(*B.J.* iv. 438), and tells us elsewhere (v. 4) that it was 60 stades (c. 7 miles) distant from the Jordan. It is the modern *Khurbet el-Keffrein*, situate at about the same distance (N.E.) from the Dead Sea. It is not mentioned in an array of names in Deut. i. 1, which attempts to define the precise spot at which the final discourses of Moses were delivered.

αἰδιδιον [παραθέμενος]<sup>1</sup> οὕτως ἀπέλθω τοῦ βίου. πιστεύεσθαι δὲ ἀξιός εἰμι διὰ τε τὰς πρότερον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τελευτῇ γιγνομένης μετ' ἀρετῆς πάσης ὀμιλεῖν.

- 180 “ ὦ παῖδες Ἰσραήλου, μία πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως αἰτία ὁ θεὸς εὐμενής· μόνος γὰρ οὗτος δοῦναί τε ταῦτα τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ ἀφελέσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἰκανός, ὧ παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἷους αὐτός τε βούλεται καγὼ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παραινῶ, οὐκ ἂν ὄντες μακαριστοὶ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν [ἀτυχήσαιτέ ποτ' ἦ]<sup>2</sup> παύσαισθε, ἀλλ' ὧν τε νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ κτήσις βεβαία μενεῖ τῶν τε ἀπόντων
- 181 ταχείαν ἔξετε τὴν παρουσίαν. μόνον οἷς ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεσθαι βούλεται, τούτοις πειθαρχεῖτε, καὶ μήτε νομίμων τῶν παρόντων ἄλλην προτιμήσητε διάταξιν μήτ' εὐσεβείας ἧς νῦν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔχετε<sup>3</sup> καταφρονήσαντες εἰς ἄλλον μεταστήσησθε τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες ἀλκιμώτατοι μάχας διενεγκεῖν ἀπάντων ἔσεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
- 182 εὐάλωτοι· θεοῦ γὰρ παρόντος ὑμῖν βοηθοῦ πάντων περιφρονεῖν εὐλογον. τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἔπαθλα ὑμῖν μεγάλα κεῖται πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον κτησαμένοις<sup>4</sup>. αὕτη γε τὸ<sup>5</sup> πρῶτον ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρέσβιστόν ἐστιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων χαρίζεται περιουσίαν,

<sup>1</sup> om. Bekker: αἰδιδιον παραθέμενος om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> om. Dindorf: text uncertain: ἀτυχήσητέ (or -σετέ) . . . παίσησθε (-εσθε) codd.

<sup>3</sup> ed. pr. (Lat. geritis): ἔχοντες codd.

<sup>4</sup> κτησομένοις conj. Niese.

<sup>5</sup> γέ τοι conj. Niese.

and so depart from life. Aye and I deserve your confidence, alike by reason of those jealous efforts on your behalf in the past, and because souls when on the verge of the end deliver themselves with perfect integrity. <sup>a</sup>

“ O children of Israel, there is for all mankind but one source of felicity—a gracious God : He alone has power to give these good things to those who merit them and to take them from those who sin against Him : will ye but show yourselves in His sight such as He would have you, aye and such as I, who know His mind right well, exhort you to be, then will ye never cease to be blessed and envied of all men ; nay, your possession of those good things which ye have already will rest assured, and those yet absent will soon be present in your hands. Only obey those precepts <sup>b</sup> which God would have you follow, prefer not above your present statutes any other code, nor, spurning that pious worship of God which now is yours, desert it for another fashion. Act ye but thus and ye will be the doughtiest of all to sustain the fight nor lightly conquered by any of your foes ; for with God at your side to succour you ye may well despise them all. And for such virtue great are the rewards set before you, to be won for all your life <sup>c</sup> : she herself, to begin with, is the choicest of treasures, and then she bestows abundance of the rest, so

Deut.  
γινώσκω.

“ consort,” “ are in touch with every virtue ” : *cf. Vita* 258  
*μετὰ πάσης ἀρετῆς πεπολίτευμαι.*

<sup>b</sup> The Greek might be either neuter (“ what ”) or masc. (“ whom ”) ; but he comes to the question of subordination to rulers later, § 186.

<sup>c</sup> Not, I think, as earlier translators take it, “ if ye possess (or “ preserve ”) it (*i.e.* virtue) for all your life.”

## JOSEPHUS

- 183 ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν χρωμένοις αὐτῇ  
μακαριστὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων  
πλέον δοξαζομένους ἀδήριτον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθις  
τὴν εὐκλειαν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι. τούτων δ' ἂν ἐφικέσθαι  
δυνηθείητε, εἰ τῶν νόμων οὓς ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι  
τοῦ θεοῦ συνεταξάμην κατήκοοι καὶ φύλακες  
γένοισθε καὶ μελετώητε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτῶν.
- 184 ἄπειμι δ' αὐτὸς χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς  
παρατιθέμενος ὑμᾶς νόμων τε σωφροσύνη<sup>1</sup> καὶ  
κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν  
ἀρεταῖς, οἳ πρόνοιαν ἔξουσιν ὑμῶν τοῦ συμ-
- 185 φέροντος. θεός τε ὁ μέχρι νῦν ἠγεμονεύσας ὑμῶν,<sup>2</sup>  
καθ' οὗ βούλησιν καγὼ χρήσιμος ὑμῖν ἐγενόμην,  
οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο στήσει τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν,  
ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε χρόνον τοῦτον ἔχει  
προστάτην ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασι  
μένοντες, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ χρήσεσθε τῇ προ-
- 186 μηθείᾳ. γνώμας τε ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσονται τὰς ἀρί-  
στας, αἷς ἐπόμενοι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔξετε, ὁ ἀρχι-  
ερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἧ τε γερουσία καὶ  
τὰ τέλη τῶν φυλῶν, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθε μὴ χαλεπῶς,  
γινώσκοντες ὅτι πάντες οἳ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς εἰδότες  
καὶ ἄρχειν εἴσονται παρελθόντες εἰς ἔξουσίαν
- 187 αὐτοῦ, τὴν τ' ἐλευθερίαν ἠγείσθε μὴ τὸ προσ-  
αγανακτεῖν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς οἳ ἠγεμόνες πράττειν  
ἀξιῶσι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὑβρίζειν  
ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παρρησίαν τίθεσθε, ὃ δὴ τοῦ λοιποῦ
- 188 φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἄμεινον ἔξει τὰ πράγματα· μηδὲ  
τὴν ἴσῃν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργὴν ποτε λαμβάνετε, ἧ  
κατ' ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἐτολμήσατε χρῆσθαι· γινώ-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: νόμῳ τε σωφροσύνης codd.

<sup>2</sup> ἡμῖν RO.



that, will you but practise her among yourselves, she will make your life blissful. render you more glorious than foreign races, and assure you an uncontested renown with future generations. And these blessings might ye attain, would ye but hearken to and observe those laws which, at the dictation of God, I have drawn up, and muse on their inward meaning.

“ I am leaving you myself, rejoicing in your happiness, committing you to the sober guidance of the laws, to the ordered scheme of the constitution, and to the virtues of those chiefs who will take thought for your interests. And God, who heretofore has governed you, and by whose will I too have been of service to you, will not at this point set a term to His providence, but so long as ye yourselves desire to have His protection, by continuing in the paths of virtue, so long will ye enjoy His watchful care. Moreover the best of counsels, by following which ye will attain felicity, will be put before you by Eleazar the high-priest and Joshua, as also by the council of elders and the magistrates of the tribes ; to whom give ear ungrudgingly, recognizing that all who know well how to obey will know also how to rule, should they reach the authority of office. And think not that liberty lies in resenting what your rulers require you to do. For now indeed it is in naught but insulting your benefactors that ye reckon freedom of speech to consist ; whereof henceforth if ye beware, things will go better with you. Never display towards these rulers the like of that wrath which ye have oft-times dared to vent on me ; for ye know that my life has more often

## JOSEPHUS

σκετε γάρ, ὡς πλεονάκις ἐκινδύνευσα ὑφ' ὑμῶν  
 189 ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ  
 ὄνειδίξειν<sup>1</sup> ὑμᾶς προεθέμην, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ  
 ζῆν δυσχεραίνοντας καταλιπεῖν ἠξίουν εἰς τὴν  
 ἀνάμνησιν φέρων μηδὲ παρ' ὄν ἔπασχον αὐτὰ  
 καιρὸν ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥστε τοῦ σωφρο-  
 νήσειν<sup>2</sup> ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέλλον κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο  
 τᾶσφαλές<sup>3</sup> εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας  
 ἐξυβρίσαι διὰ πλοῦτον, ὃς ὑμῖν πολὺς διαβᾶσι τὸν  
 Ἰόρδανον καὶ τὴν Χαναanaίαν κτησαμένοις περι-  
 190 στήσεται. ἐπεὶ προαχθέντες εἰς καταφρόνησιν ὑπ'  
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπολείτε καὶ τὴν  
 εὐνοίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτον  
 ἐχθρὸν τὴν τε γῆν, ἣν κτήσεσθε, κρατηθέντες  
 ὄπλοις ὑπὸ τῶν αὐθις ἀφαιρεθήσεσθε μετὰ μεγίστων  
 ὄνειδῶν καὶ σκεδασθέντες διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πᾶσαν  
 ἐμπλήσετε καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δου-  
 191 λείας. ἔσται δ' ὑμῖν τούτων πείραν λαμβάνουσιν  
 ἀνωφελῆς ἢ μετάνοια καὶ ἢ τῶν οὐ φυλαχθέντων  
 νόμων ἀνάμνησις. ὅθεν εἰ βούλοισθε τούτους ὑμῖν  
 μένειν, τῶν πολεμίων μηδέν' ἂν ὑπολείποισθε<sup>4</sup>  
 κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπολλύναι πάντας κρί-  
 ναιτε<sup>5</sup> συμφέρειν, ἵνα μὴ ζώντων παραγευσάμενοι  
 τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύσεως διαφθείρητε τὴν πάτριον  
 192 πολιτείαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ἄλση καὶ νεῶς  
 ὀπόσους ἂν ἔχοιεν κατερείπειν παραινῶ καὶ  
 δαπανᾶν πυρὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην·  
 βεβαία γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὑμῖν μόνον ὑπάρξειεν ἢ τῶν

<sup>1</sup> ὄνειδίξων P<sup>2</sup> (Lat.?).

<sup>2</sup> σωφρονίσειν L.

<sup>3</sup> τοῦτ<ο τ>ἀσφαλές conj.: τοῦτ' (τοῦτο SP) ἀσφαλές (ἀσφαλείς SPL) codd.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: μηδένα ὑπολείπησθε codd. <sup>5</sup> Niese: κρίνατε codd.

been imperilled by you than by the enemy. I say this with no intent to reproach you—at my exit from life I should be loath to leave you aggrieved by recalling these things to mind, I who even at the moment when I underwent them refrained from wrath—but rather that ye may learn moderation for the future (and) that it is just in this thing that the path of safety lies,<sup>a</sup> and to prevent you from breaking out into any violence against those set over you, by reason of that wealth which will come to you in abundance when ye have crossed the Jordan and conquered Canaan. For, should ye be carried away by it into a contempt and disdain for virtue, ye will lose even that favour which ye have found of God; and, having made Him your enemy, ye will forfeit that land, which ye are to win, beaten in arms and deprived of it by future generations with the grossest ignominy, and, dispersed throughout the habitable world, ye will fill every land and sea with your servitude. And when ye undergo these trials, all unavailing will be repentance and recollection of those laws which ye have failed to keep.

Deut.  
iv. 26 ff.

“Wherefore, if ye would have those laws remain to you, ye will leave not one of your enemies alive after defeating them, but will deem it expedient to destroy them all, lest, should they live, ye having had but a taste of any of their ways should corrupt the constitution of your fathers. Furthermore, I exhort you to demolish all such altars, groves, and temples as they may have, and to consume with fire their race and their memory; for thus only can ye have firmly en-

*Ib.* xii. 2 f.

<sup>a</sup> Text uncertain.

## JOSEPHUS

- 193 οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀσφάλεια. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δι' ἀμαθίαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἢ φύσις ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀπονεύσῃ, συνέθηκα ὑμῖν καὶ νόμους ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν, ἧς τὸν κόσμον φυλάξαντες πάντων ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι κριθείητε."
- 194 (3) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν βιβλίῳ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγεγραμμένην. οἱ δὲ ἐδάκρυν τε καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεμνημένοι τε ὧν κινδυνεύσειε καὶ προθυμηθείη τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ δυσελπιστοῦντες περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένης ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης, ἡττόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ προνοησομένου διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν
- 195 εἶναι τὸν παρακαλοῦντα. ὧν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου μετ' ὀργῆς ὀμιλήσειαν αὐτῷ μετανοοῦντες ἤλγουν, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς δάκρυα προπεσόντα κρείττον καὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγου παρηγορίας τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ<sup>1</sup> ποιῆσαι πάθος. Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτοὺς παρηγόρει, καὶ τοῦ δακρύων αὐτὸν ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀπάγων αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ παρεκάλει. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν.
- 196 (4) Βούλομαι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν πρότερον εἰπὼν τῷ τε Μωυσέος ἀξιώματι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀναλογουῦσαν καὶ μαθεῖν παρέξω δι' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις, οἷα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀρχῆθεν ἦν, [οὕτως]<sup>2</sup> ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τραπέσθαι διήγησιν. γέγραπται δὲ πάνθ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδ' ὅ τι μὴ κατα-

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἐπ' αὐτὸν (or ὑπ' αὐτῶν) codd.

<sup>2</sup> om. RO.

sured to you the security of your own privileges. But, for fear lest through ignorance of the better way your nature should incline you to the worse, I have compiled for you, at the dictation of God, a code of laws and a constitution; keep but its ordered harmony and ye will be accounted the most fortunate of all men."

(3) Having spoken thus, he presented them with these laws and this constitution recorded in a book. But they were in tears and displaying deep regret for their general, alike remembering the risks which he had run and all that ardent zeal of his for their salvation, and despondent concerning the future, in the belief that they would never more have such a ruler and that God would be less mindful of them, since it was Moses who had ever been the intercessor. And of all those angry speeches to him in the desert they now repented with grief, insomuch that the whole people plunged into tears and displayed for him an emotion too strong for words to console. Yet Moses consoled them and, diverting their minds from the thought that he merited their tears, exhorted them to put their constitution into practice. And thus on that occasion they parted.

Moses delivers his book to the Hebrews: their deep emotion; cf. Deut. xxxi. 9.

(4) But here I am fain first to describe this constitution, consonant as it was with the reputation of the virtue of Moses, and withal to enable my readers thereby to learn what was the nature of our laws from the first, and then to revert to the rest of the narrative. All is here written as he left it: nothing have we added for the sake of embellishment, nothing which

Observations on the following summary of the Law.

## JOSEPHUS

- 197 λέλοιπε Μωυσῆς. νεωτέρισται δ' ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ  
γένος ἕκαστα τάξαι· σποράδην γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου  
κατελείφθη γραφέντα καὶ ὡς ἕκαστόν τι παρὰ τοῦ  
θεοῦ πύθοιο. <δ><sup>1</sup> τούτου χάριν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγη-  
σάμην προδιαστείλασθαι, μὴ καὶ τις ἡμῖν παρὰ  
τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐντυγχανόντων τῇ γραφῇ μέμψις  
198 ὡς διημαρτηκόσι γένηται. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ἡ  
διάταξις ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν  
πολιτείαν. οὓς δὲ κοινούς ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους  
κατέλιπε τούτους ὑπερεθέμην εἰς τὴν περὶ ἐθῶν  
καὶ αἰτιῶν ἀπόδοσιν, ἣν συλλαμβανομένου τοῦ  
θεοῦ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν πραγματείαν συν-  
τάξασθαι πρόκειται.
- 199 (5) “Ἐπειδὴν τὴν Χανααίων γῆν κτησάμενοι  
καὶ σχολῆν ἐπὶ<sup>2</sup> χρήσει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχοντες  
πόλεις<sup>3</sup> τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη κτίζειν προαιρῆσθε, ταῦτα  
ποιοῦντες τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράξετε<sup>4</sup> καὶ τὴν εὐδαι-  
200 μονίαν βεβαίαν ἔξετε· ἱερὰ πόλις ἔστω μία τῆς  
Χανααίων γῆς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν  
ἐπιφανεῖ, ἣν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐαυτῷ διὰ προφητείας  
ἐξέληται,<sup>5</sup> καὶ νεὼς εἰς ἐν ταύτῃ ἔστω, καὶ βωμὸς  
εἰς ἐκ λίθων μὴ κατειργασμένων ἀλλὰ λογάδην  
συγκειμένων, οἱ κονιάματι χρισθέντες εὐπρεπεῖς

<sup>1</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>2</sup> ἐν RO.

<sup>3</sup> + τε codd.

<sup>4</sup> Bekker: πράττετε codd.

<sup>5</sup> ME: ἔληται RO: ἐκλέξεται rell.

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<sup>a</sup> This statement, like similar assertions of the author (*A. i.* 17, x. 218), cannot be taken at its face value. He has, in fact, inserted several regulations which, if based on tradition, are yet unknown to the Mosaic Law; he has also omitted some relevant topics (noted by Weill), though indeed he does not claim to be exhaustive.

has not been bequeathed by Moses.<sup>a</sup> Our one innovation has been to classify the several subjects; for he left what he wrote in a scattered condition, just as he received each several instruction from God.<sup>b</sup> I have thought it necessary to make this preliminary observation, lest perchance any of my countrymen who read this work should reproach me at all for having gone astray. Here then is the code of those laws of ours which touch our political constitution. As for those which he has left to us in common concerning our mutual relations,<sup>c</sup> these I have reserved for that treatise on "Customs and Causes," which, God helping, it is our intention to compose after the present work.<sup>d</sup>

(5) "Whensoever, having conquered the land of Canaan and being at leisure to enjoy those bounties, ye shall determine from that time forward to found cities, this is what ye should do that your actions may be pleasing to God and your felicity assured :

"Let there be one holy city in that place in the land of Canaan that is fairest and most famous for its excellence, a city which God shall choose for himself by prophetic oracle. And let there be one temple therein, and one altar of stones, not worked but picked out and put together,<sup>e</sup> and which, coated with plaster, will

THE MOSAIC CODE.  
The holy city, the temple, and the altar.

Deut. xii. 5.

Ex. xx. 25.

<sup>b</sup> Weill compares the opinion expressed by a 2nd century Rabbi, to the effect that the Law was given to Moses "roll by roll," not *en bloc* (*Gittin* 60a); just as Mahomet claims to have received the Qur'an.

<sup>c</sup> The exact distinction intended is not evident.

<sup>d</sup> See i. 25 note.

<sup>e</sup> The phrase comes from Thuc. iv. 4 λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν ὡς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνοι, "brought stones which they picked out and put them together as they happened to fit" (Jowett).

## JOSEPHUS

- 201 τ' ἄν<sup>1</sup> εἶεν καὶ καθάριοι πρὸς τὴν θέαν. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον πρόσβασις ἔστω μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, ἀλλὰ προσχώσεως αὐτῷ καταπρανοῦς γενομένης. ἐν ἑτέρᾳ δὲ πόλει μήτε βωμὸς μήτε νεὼς ἔστω· θεὸς γὰρ εἷς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἓν.
- 202 (6) “ Ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας θεὸν καταλευσθεὶς κρεμάσθω δι' ἡμέρας καὶ ἀτίμως καὶ ἀφανῶς θαπτέσθω.
- 203 (7) “ Συνερχέσθωσαν δὲ εἰς ἣν <ἄν><sup>2</sup> ἀποφήνωσι πόλιν τὸν νεῶν τρις τοῦ ἔτους οἱ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἥς ἄν Ἑβραῖοι κρατῶσιν, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν ὑπηργμένων εὐχαριστῶσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον παρακαλῶσι καὶ συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις
- 204 καὶ συνευωχούμενοι προσφιλεῖς ὦσι· καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλήλους ὁμοφύλους τε ὄντας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς τοιαυτῆς<sup>3</sup> ἐπιμιξίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν, τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μνήμην αὐτῶν ἐντιθέντας· ἀνεπιμίκτους γὰρ ἀλλήλοις μένοντας ἀλλοτριωτάτους αὐτοῖς νομισθήσεσθαι.
- 205 (8) “ Ἔστω δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἐξαίρεσις ὑμῖν χωρὶς ἧς διέταξα<sup>4</sup> τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις δεδόσθαι, ἡ πιπρασκέσθω μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐωχίας ὑπηρετεῖτω καὶ τὰς θυσίας

<sup>1</sup> τ' ἄν Niese: τε codd.

<sup>2</sup> ins. Niese.

<sup>3</sup> T. Reinaeh: αὐτῆς codd.

<sup>4</sup> SPL: διατάξατε (-ετάξατο) rell.

<sup>a</sup> Cf. Ap. ii. 193 εἰς ναὸς ἐνὸς θεοῦ.

<sup>b</sup> The penalty of stoning only is prescribed by Leviticus l.c.; Deuteronomy requires the body of any malefactor, who, after execution, has been exposed on a tree, to be buried before nightfall. In practice the double penalty of stoning



be seemly and neat to look upon : and let the approach to this altar be not by steps but by a sloping embankment. In no other city let there be either altar or temple ; for God is one and the Hebrew race is one.<sup>a</sup> Ex. xx. 16.

(6) " Let him that blasphemeth God be stoned, then hung for a day, and buried ignominiously and in obscurity.<sup>b</sup> Blasphemy.  
Lev. xxiv.  
16 : cf. Deut.  
xxi. 22 f.

(7) " Let them assemble in that city in which they shall establish the temple, three times in the year, from the ends of the land which the Hebrews shall conquer, in order to render thanks to God for benefits received, to intercede for future mercies, and to promote by thus meeting and feasting together feelings of mutual affection. For it is good that they should not be ignorant of one another, being members of the same race and partners in the same institutions ; and this end will be attained by such intercourse, when through sight and speech they recall those ties to mind,<sup>c</sup> whereas if they remain without ever coming into contact they will be regarded by each other as absolute strangers. The three  
annual  
pilgrim  
festivals.  
Deut.  
xvi. 16.

(8) " Let a tithe of the fruits be set apart by you, beside that which I appointed<sup>d</sup> to be given to the priests and Levites : let it be sold at its native place, but let the proceeds serve for the repasts and the and exposure seems to have been confined to the blasphemer. So far Josephus follows tradition, but in adding the words " for a day (long) " he departs from the practice described in the Mishnah (see M. Weill's note). Tithe of  
fruits  
Ib. xiv. 22 ff.

<sup>c</sup> Lit. " putting in (instilling) a memory of them " (*i.e.* of their common race and common institutions). Others, taking *αὐτῶν* as *αὐτῶν*, render " sui recordationem efficiunt " (Hudson), " se souviendront d'eux-mêmes " (Weill). The motives here mentioned do not appear in Scripture.

<sup>d</sup> § 68 ; some mss. read " ye appointed."

## JOSEPHUS

τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει· δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδομένων, ἣν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχευεν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ δεδωκότος ἀπολαύειν.

206 (9) “ Ἐκ μισθοῦ γυναικὸς ἡταιρημένης θυσίας μὴ τελεῖν· ἠδεσθαι γὰρ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀφ’ ὕβρεως τὸ θεῖον, χείρων<sup>1</sup> δ’ οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αἰσχύνης· ὁμοίως μηδ’ ἂν ἐπ’ ὀχεύσει κυνὸς ἦτοι θηρευτικοῦ ἢ ποιμνίων φύλακος λάβη<sup>2</sup> τις μισθόν, ἐκ τούτου θύειν τῷ θεῷ.

207 (10) “ Βλασφημεῖτω δὲ μηδεὶς θεοὺς οὓς πόλεις ἄλλαι νομίζουσι· μηδὲ συλᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά, μηδ’ ἂν ἐπωνομασμένον ἢ τινα θεῷ κειμήλιον λαμβάνειν.

208 (11) “ Μηδεὶς δ’ ἐξ ὑμῶν κλωστήν ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ λίνου στολὴν φορεῖτω· τοῖς γὰρ ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδείχθαι.

209 (12) “ Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις δι’ ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ, τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βήματος

<sup>1</sup> edd.: χείρω codd.

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: λάβοι codd.

<sup>a</sup> Josephus, in common with tradition (*Sifre* 96a, quoted by Weill), generalizes a rule which in Scripture applies only to a special case: “ if the way be too long for thee . . . then shalt thou turn it into money,” Deut. xiv. 24 f.

<sup>b</sup> To “ the hire of a whore ” Deut. adds “ the wages of a dog ” (LXX ἀλλαγμα κυνός), i.e. of the *kadesh* or temple prostitute; this technical use of “ dog ” is found in inscriptions. “ In the impure worships of antiquity, it was not uncommon for the gains of prostitution to be dedicated to a deity ” (Driver). Like Josephus, the Mishnah (see Weill) takes the word “ dog ” literally, but interprets the phrase

sacrifices to be held in the holy city.<sup>a</sup> For it is right that the produce of that land, which God has enabled men to win, should be enjoyed to the honour of the giver.

(9) "From the hire of a prostitute let no sacrifices be paid; for the Deity has pleasure in naught that proceeds from outrage, and no shame could be worse than the degradation of the body. Likewise, if one has received payment for the mating of a dog, whether hound of the chase or guardian of the flocks,<sup>b</sup> he must not use thereof to sacrifice to God.

Wages that may not be expended on sacrifices. Deut. xxiii. 18.

(10) "Let none blaspheme the gods which other cities revere,<sup>c</sup> nor rob foreign temples, nor take treasure that has been dedicated in the name of any god.<sup>d</sup>

Foreign cults. Ex. xxii. 28 (27) LXX. : Deut. vii. 25. Forbidden raiment. Ib. xxii. 11.

(11) "Let none of you wear raiment woven of wool and linen; for that is reserved for the priests alone.<sup>e</sup>

(12) "When the multitude hath assembled in the holy city for the sacrifices, every seven years at the season of the feast of tabernacles, let the high

Septennial reading of the Laws. Ib. xxxi. 10.

to refer to a proposed exchange of a dog for a pure animal, such as a lamb, for sacrifice.

<sup>a</sup> Ex. *l.c.* "Thou shalt not revile *Elohim*," meaning, according to Palestinian tradition, "the judges." Here Josephus follows Alexandrian exegesis: the LXX translated the plural *Elohim* by *theoi's*, and so Philo (*Vita Mos.* ii. 26, § 205, *De spec. leg.* i. 7, § 53). Cf. *Ap.* ii. 237, where the same reason for the injunction is given as in Philo, viz. the hallowing of the word "God."

<sup>d</sup> Deut. *l.c.* "The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire: thou shalt not covet the silver or the gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee . . ." Scripture emphasises the destruction of such things; Josephus is concerned to show that the Jews are not sacrilegious.

<sup>e</sup> Reason not given in Scripture: the Mishnah merely states that the priests wore such garments (*Kil'aim* ix. 1, Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

- ὑψηλοῦ σταθεῖς, ἀφ' <sup>1</sup> οὗ γένοιτ' <ἄν> <sup>2</sup> ἑξάκουστος, ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους ἅπασιν, καὶ μήτε γυνή μήτε παῖδες εἰργέσθωσαν τοῦ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ μηδέ<sup>3</sup>  
 210 οἱ δοῦλοι· καλὸν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφέντας καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ φυλαχθῆναι μηδέποτε ἐξαιφθῆναι δυναμένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδέ<sup>4</sup> ἀμαρτήσονται μὴ δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διωρισμέων, οἳ τε νόμοι πολλὴν πρὸς ἀμαρτάνοντας ἔξουσι παρρησίαν, ὡς προλεγόντων αὐτοῖς ἂ πείσονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφάντων διὰ τῆς  
 211 ἀκοῆς ἂ κελεύουσιν, ὥστ' εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ἔνδον αὐτοῖς τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, ἧς ὀλιγωρήσαντες ἠδίκησαν καὶ τῆς ζημίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι. μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες πρῶτον τοὺς νόμους, μάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἴτιον.  
 212 (13) " Δίς δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ὁπότε πρὸς ὕπνον ὥρα τρέπεσθαι μαρτυρεῖν τῷ θεῷ τὰς δωρεάς, ἃς ἀπαλλαγείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαίας οὔσης φύσει τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ' ἀμοιβῇ μὲν τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπῇ τῶν ἐσομένων.  
 213 ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat. (unde) Niese: ἐφ' codd.

<sup>2</sup> ins. Niese: γένοιτο codd.

<sup>3</sup> edd.: μήτε codd.

<sup>4</sup> οὐδέν RO.

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\* The reader is not clearly defined in Scripture: Deut. xxxi. 11 (after mention of priests and elders) "thou shalt read," lxx "ye shall read," Samaritan Pent. (G. A. Smith *in loc.*) "he" or "one shall read." The Mishnah, *Sotah* vii. 8, states that it was customary to read a selection of passages from Deut., and that the reader on one occasion was king Agrippa (whether Agrippa I. or II. does not appear). On the 576

priest,<sup>a</sup> standing upon a raised platform from which he may be heard, recite the laws<sup>b</sup> to the whole assembly; and let neither woman nor child be excluded from this audience, nay nor yet the slaves. For it is good that these laws should be so graven on their hearts and stored in the memory that they can never be effaced. Thus will they be kept from sin, being unable to plead ignorance of what the laws enact; while the laws will speak with great authority to sinners, in that they forewarn them what they will have to suffer and will have so graven on their hearts through the hearing that which they command, that they will for ever carry within their breasts the principles of the code: which if they disdain they are guilty, and will have brought their penalty upon themselves. Let your children also begin by learning the laws, most beautiful of lessons and a source of felicity.<sup>c</sup>

Deut. xi. 19

(13) "Twice each day,<sup>d</sup> at the dawn thereof and when the hour comes for turning to repose, let all acknowledge before God the bounties which He has bestowed on them through their deliverance from the land of Egypt: thanksgiving is a natural duty, and is rendered alike in gratitude for past mercies and to incline the giver to others yet to come. They shall inscribe also on their doors the greatest of the

Daily prayers; symbols on house and person.

ib. vi. 8 f., xi. 18, 20.

apparent inconsistency between Josephus and the Mishnah as to the reader, and the various explanations offered, reference must be made to M. Weill's note.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. "this law"; the Mishnah specifies passages drawn from eleven chapters of that book.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 204.

<sup>d</sup> Not specified in Scripture; tradition attributed to Moses an ordinance to pray *thrice* daily, including a midday prayer, Moore, *Judaism*, ii. 218, 220.

## JOSEPHUS

μέγιστα ὧν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἔν τε βραχίουσιν ἕκαστον διαφαίνειν, ὅσα τε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποσημαίνειν δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίαν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περιβλεπτον πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

- 214 (14) “Ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ καθ’ ἐκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προησκηκότες· ἐκάστη δὲ ἀρχῇ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδόσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν  
215 φυλῆς. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δικάζουιν λαχόντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ, ὡς μήτε βλασφημεῖν ἐκείνων παρόντων μήτε θρασύνεσθαι τισιν ἐξείναι, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦς αὐτῶν εὐλαβεστεροῦς, ὥστε τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κατα-  
216 φρονεῖν, ἀπεργαζομένης. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἀποφῆνασθαι κύριοι περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι χρήματα λαβόντας τις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐνδείξαιτ<sup>1</sup> ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν προφέρου, καθ’ ἣν οὐ καλῶς ἐλέγχει αὐτοὺς ἀποφηναμένους· οὔτε γὰρ κέρδει χαριζομένους οὔτ’ ἀξιώματι προσῆκε φανεράς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς

<sup>1</sup> Dindorf: ἐνδείξεται (-εται) codd.

<sup>a</sup> Or “ and they shall display each (of them) on their arms ”; the double mention of the arm, here and below, suggests a glossed text.

<sup>b</sup> *Mezuzah* (“ door-post ”) was the name given to a small metal cylinder enclosing a parchment, inscribed with Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21, and affixed to the right-hand door-post of Jewish houses; *tephillin*, the N.T. “ phylacteries ” (φυλακτήρια), were scrolls similarly inscribed, enclosed in

benefits which they have received from God and each shall display them on his arms <sup>a</sup>; and all that can show forth the power of God and His goodwill towards them, let them bear a record thereof written on the head and on the arm, so that men may see on every side the loving care with which God surrounds them.<sup>b</sup>

(14) "As rulers let each city have seven men long exercised in virtue and in the pursuit of justice; and to each magistracy let there be assigned two subordinate officers of the tribe of Levi.<sup>c</sup> Let those to whom it shall fall to administer justice in the cities be held in all honour, none being permitted to be abusive or insolent in their presence; for a respect for human dignitaries will make men too reverential to be ever contemptuous of God. Let the judges have power to pronounce what sentence they think fit, always provided that no one denounce them for having received a bribe to pervert justice or bring forward some other charge to convict them of not having pronounced aright; for they must be influenced neither by lucre nor by rank in declaring judgement,

Administra-  
tion of  
justice.  
Deut.  
xvi. 18.

cases, and bound on the forehead and left arm at certain hours of prayer.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. says merely "Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates," specifying no numbers. In mentioning civic bodies of seven magistrates and two assistants Josephus is attributing to Moses the practice with which he was familiar: how much older it may have been is uncertain. He himself instituted in Galilee "seven individuals in each city to adjudicate upon petty disputes" (*B.J.* ii. 571), perhaps, as Schürer thinks, merely enforcing an older custom. The Talmud has one reference to "the seven leading men of the town" (*Megillah* 26a); Josephus mentions "the seven judges" again in § 287. Of the two assistants we hear nowhere else, but *cf.* Deut. xxi. 5 for Levites acting in such a capacity.

## JOSEPHUS

- κρίσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπάνω πάντων τιθεμένους.
- 217 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἂν οὕτως δόξειε καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσθενέστερος ἐκείνων οἷς ἂν τις κατὰ φόβον ἰσχύος προσνέμοι τὴν ψῆφον κεκρίσθαι· τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ ἰσχύς ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον. ὁ τοῖς<sup>1</sup> ἐν ἀξιώματι τυγχάνουσι καταχαριζόμενός τις ἐκείνους τοῦ θεοῦ
- 218 δυνατωτέρους ποιεί. ἂν δ' οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ νοῶσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς<sup>2</sup> παρατεταγμένων ἀποφῆνασθαι, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀκέραιον<sup>3</sup> ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες ὁ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθωσαν.
- 219 (15) “ Εἰς δὲ μὴ πιστευέσθω μάρτυς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον δύο, ὧν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ ποιήσει τὰ προβεβιωμένα. γυναικῶν δὲ μὴ ἔστω μαρτυρία διὰ κουφότητα καὶ θράσος τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν· μαρτυρεῖτωσαν δὲ μηδέ<sup>4</sup> δοῦλοι διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγένειαν, οὓς ἢ διὰ κέρδος εἰκὸς ἢ διὰ φόβον μὴ τἀληθῆ μαρτυρῆσαι. ἂν δέ τις ψευδομαρτυρήσας πιστευθῆ, πασχέτω ταῦτ' ἐλεγχθεῖς ὅσα ὁ καταμαρτυρηθεὶς πάσχειν ἔμελλεν.
- 220 (16) “ Ἄν δὲ πραχθέντος φόνου ἐν τινι χώρᾳ μὴ εὐρίσκηται ὁ δράσας μηδ'<sup>3</sup> ὑπονοῆται τις ὡς διὰ μῖσος ἀπεκτονηκώς, ζητεῖτωσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μήνυτρα προθέμενοι· μηδενὸς δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πλησίον τῆ χώρας, ἐν ἧ ὁ φόνος ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία

<sup>1</sup> ὁ τοῖς RO: τοῖς οὖν rell.

<sup>2</sup> αὐτοὺς RO.

<sup>3</sup> om. RO.

<sup>4</sup> Dindorf: μήτε (μήθ') codd.

<sup>o</sup> Deut. xvii. 9 names as the high court “ the priests (of the tribe of Levi) and the judge that shall be in those days.”



but must set justice above all. Else God would appear to be contemned and accounted weaker than those to whom, from fear of their strength, the judge accords his vote. For God's strength is justice; and one who gives this away out of favour to persons of rank makes them more powerful than God. But if the judges see not how to pronounce upon the matters set before them—and with men such things oft befall—let them send up the case entire to the holy city and let the high priest and the prophet and the council of elders<sup>a</sup> meet and pronounce as they think fit.

Deut.  
xvii. 8.

(15) "Put not trust in a single witness, but let there be three or at the least two, whose evidence shall be accredited by their past lives. From women let no evidence be accepted,<sup>b</sup> because of the levity and temerity of their sex; neither let slaves bear witness<sup>b</sup> because of the baseness of their soul, since whether from cupidity or fear it is like that they will not attest the truth. If anyone be believed to have borne false witness, let him on conviction suffer the penalty which would have been incurred by him against whom he hath borne witness.

Witnesses.  
*Ib.* 6,  
xix. 15.

*Ib.* 16 ff.

(16) "If a murder hath been done in any place and the doer thereof be not found nor is anyone suspected of having killed the victim from hatred, let them make diligent search for the culprit, offering rewards for information<sup>c</sup>; but if no informer appear, let the magistrates of the towns adjacent to the spot where the murder was done, along with the "senate" in Josephus recalls the Sanhedrin of later days: *cf.* the provincial council of seventy set up by himself in Galilee for the trial of major cases, *B.J.* ii. 570 f.

The  
undetected  
murderer.  
*Ib.* xxi. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Traditional ruling: not in Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> Detail not in Scripture.

## JOSEPHUS

- 221 *συνελθόντες μετρείτῳσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου*  
*κείται ὁ νεκρὸς τὴν χώραν. ἢ δ' ἂν ἦ πλησιαιτάτη*  
*πόλις, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ δημόσιοι πριάμενοι δάμαλιν καὶ*  
*κομίσαντες εἰς φάραγγα καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἀρότῳ<sup>1</sup>*  
 222 *καὶ φυτοῖς χωρίον τοὺς τένοντας κοψάτῳσαν τῆς*  
*βοός, καὶ χέρνιβας ἐλόμενοι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς*  
*βοός οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ ἡ γερουσία τῆς*  
*πόλεως ἐκείνης καθαρὰς ἀναβοησάτῳσαν τὰς χεῖ-*  
*ρας ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου καὶ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε*  
*δρωμένῳ παρατυχεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δὲ ἴλεω τὸν*  
*θεὸν καὶ μηκέτι τοιοῦτον δεινὸν συμβῆναι τῇ γῆ*  
*πάθος.*
- 223 (17) “ Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον καὶ ὁ  
 κατ’ αὐτὴν βίος, καὶ μὴ λάβη<sup>2</sup> πόθος ὑμᾶς ἄλλης  
 πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ταύτην στέργετε καὶ τοὺς νόμους  
 ἔχοντες δεσπότας κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα πράττετε·  
 ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡγεμὼν εἶναι. βασιλέως δ’ εἰ  
 γένοιτο ἔρως ὑμῖν, ἔστω μὲν οὗτος ὁμόφυλος,  
 πρόνοια δ’ αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης  
 224 ἀρετῆς διὰ παντὸς ἔστω. παραχωροῖη δὲ οὗτος  
 τοῖς μὲν νόμοις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πλείονα τοῦ φρονεῖν,  
 πρᾶσσέτω δὲ μηδὲν δίχα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῆς  
 τῶν γερουσιαστῶν γνώμης, γάμοις τε μὴ πολλοῖς  
 χρώμενος μηδὲ πλῆθος διώκων χρημάτων μηδ’  
 ἵππων, ὧν αὐτῷ παραγενομένων ὑπερήφανος ἂν  
 τῶν νόμων ἔσοιτο. κωλυέσθω δ’, εἰ τούτων τι

<sup>1</sup> Niese: ἀρότρω codd.

<sup>2</sup> λάβοι ROM.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. “ a valley with (ever) running water.”

<sup>b</sup> The text seems sound; M. Weill would alter it, rendering “ Qu’il confie aux lois et à Dieu les desseins les plus importants.”

council of elders, assemble and measure the ground from the place where the body lies. And whichever town is the nearest, let the public officers thereof purchase a heifer and, conducting it to a ravine,<sup>a</sup> to a spot unfitted for ploughing or plantation, let them cut the sinews of the creature's neck; then, after washing their hands in holy water over the head of the animal, let the priests, the Levites, and the council of that city proclaim that their hands are pure of this murder, that they neither did it nor saw it done, and that they implore God to be gracious and that so dire a calamity may no more befall the land.

(17) "Aristocracy, with the life that is lived there-  
under, is indeed the best: let no craving possess Law of the king.  
you for another polity, but be content with this, having the laws for your masters and governing all your actions by them; for God sufficeth for your ruler. But should ye become enamoured of a king, let him be of your own race and let him have Deut. xvii. 14.  
a perpetual care for justice and virtue in every other form. Let him concede to the laws and to God the possession of superior wisdom,<sup>b</sup> and let him do nothing without the high priest and the counsel of his senators<sup>c</sup>; let him not indulge in many wives nor in the pursuit of abundance of riches or of horses, through the attainment of which things he might become disdainful of the laws. Should he set his heart on any of these things, let him be restrained

<sup>c</sup> M. Weill quotes the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 20b), to the effect that the king must consult his tribunal of seventy-one members before engaging in an "optional" or "aggressive" war (*i.e.* with others than the Amalekites or the nations of Canaan).

## JOSEPHUS

διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοι, γίνεσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν δυνατώτερος.

225 (18) “Ὅρους γῆς μὴ ἐξέστω κινεῖν μήτε οἰκείας μήτ’ ἀλλοτρίας πρὸς οὓς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν εἰρήνη, φυλαττέσθω δ’ ὡς περ θεοῦ ψῆφον βεβαίαν<sup>1</sup> εἰς αἰῶνα κειμένην ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς πολέμων ἐντεῦθεν καὶ στάσεων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντας προσωτέρω χωρεῖν βούλεσθαι τῶν ὄρων· μὴ γὰρ μακρὰν εἶναι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τὸν ὄρον μετακινοῦντας.

226 (19) “Γῆν ὃ φυτεύσας, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων ἂν καρπὸν προβάλη τὰ φυτὰ, μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀπαρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερέτω μήτ’ αὐτὸς χρήσθω· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθῆναι, βιασαμένης δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀώρως μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀρμόζειν  
227 μήτ’ αὐτῷ τῷ δεσπότῃ χρῆσθαι. τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τρυγάτω πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, τότε γὰρ ὄριον εἶναι, καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν κομιζέτω, καὶ σὺν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ ἄλλου καρποῦ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐχούμενος ἀναλίσκέτω καὶ μετ’ ὄρφανῶν καὶ χηρευουσῶν γυναικῶν. πέμπτου δὲ ἔτους κύριος ἔστω τὰ φυτὰ καρποῦσθαι.

228 (20) “Τὴν ἀμπέλοισι κατάφυτον γῆν μὴ σπείρειν· ἀρκεῖσθαι<sup>2</sup> γὰρ αὐτὴν τρέφειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρότρου πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι. βουσίην ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐτέρων ζώων σὺν αὐτοῖς<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> RO: βέβαιον rell.

<sup>2</sup> RO: ἀρκεῖ rell.

<sup>3</sup> σὺν αὐτοῖς om. RO.

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<sup>a</sup> Literally “God’s pebble”: the ψῆφος was the pebble used in voting, to which the boundary-stone is here compared as recording God’s decision.

from becoming more powerful than is expedient for your welfare.

(18) "Let it not be permitted to displace boundary-marks, whether of your own land or of the land of others with whom ye are at peace; beware of uprooting as it were a stone by God's decree<sup>a</sup> laid firm for eternity. For thence come wars and seditions, even from that desire of the covetous to overstep their boundaries. In truth, they are not far from transgressing the laws to boot who displace a boundary.

Non-removal of landmarks. Deut. xix. 14 (xxvii. 17).

(19) "When a man planteth a piece of land, if the plants produce fruit before the fourth year, let him neither cull thereof first-fruits for God nor enjoy it himself; for this fruit has not been borne by them in season,<sup>b</sup> and what nature has forced untimely is befitting neither for God nor for the use of the owner himself.<sup>c</sup> But in the fourth year let him reap all the produce, for then is it seasonable, and having gathered it in let him take it to the holy city and there expend it, along with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, as also with orphans and widows.<sup>d</sup> In the fifth year he shall be at liberty to enjoy the fruits of his planting.

Fruits of the fourth year. Lev. xix. 23.

(20) "Land that is planted with vines is not to be sown; for it sufficeth that it rear this plant and be exempt from the labours of the plough. Use oxen to plough the ground and put no other animal

Prohibition of unnatural "mixing." Deut. xxii. 9 f.; Lev. xix. 19.

<sup>b</sup> I take *τοῦτον* to refer to *καρπὸν*, not (as other translators) with *κατὰ καιρὸν*.

<sup>c</sup> Motive not given in Scripture.

<sup>d</sup> Traditional practice: Lev. merely states that the fruit of the fourth year "shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord."

## JOSEPHUS

- ὑπὸ ζεύγλην ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκεῖα γένη  
 κἀκεῖνοις ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἄροτον.<sup>1</sup> εἶναι δὲ καθαρά  
 τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἀνεπίμικτα, καὶ μὴ σύνδυο καὶ  
 τρία σπείρειν· οὐ γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀνομοίων κοινωνία  
 229 χαίρειν τὴν φύσιν. μηδὲ κτήνεσιν ἐπάγειν ὅσα  
 μὴ συγγενῇ· δέος γὰρ ἐκ τούτου μὴ διαβῆ καὶ  
 μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον  
 ἀτιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ  
 230 φαῦλα πρότερον λαβοῦσα. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι  
 τοιοῦτον συγκεχωρημένον, ἐξ οὗ κατὰ μίμησιν  
 παρατροπή τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσοιτο,  
 ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἴαμελήσεται<sup>2</sup>  
 τοῖς νόμοις εἰδόσι προνοεῖσθαι τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς  
 ἀμέμπτου.
- 231 (21) “ Ἀμῶντας δὲ καὶ συναιροῦντας τὰ θέρη μὴ  
 καλαμᾶσθαι, καταλιπεῖν δέ τινα καὶ τῶν δραγ-  
 μάτων τοῖς βίου σπανίζουσιν ἔρμαιον εἶναι<sup>3</sup> πρὸς  
 διατροφήν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς τρύγης ἀπολιπεῖν  
 τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας τοῖς πένησι καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶνων<sup>4</sup>  
 παρέιναι τι τοῦ καρποῦ πρὸς συλλογὴν τοῖς ἐξ  
 232 ἰδίων οὐκ ἔχουσι μεταλαβεῖν· οὐ τοσαύτη γὰρ ἂν  
 ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν συλλογῆς εὐπορία τοῖς  
 δεσπόταις γένοιτο, ὅση χάρις ἐκ τῶν δεομένων  
 ἔλθοι, τό τε θεῖον τὴν γῆν προθυμοτέραν εἰς τὴν  
 ἐκτροφήν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεργάσεται μὴ τοῦ καθ'  
 αὐτοὺς προνοουμένων <μόνον><sup>5</sup> λυσιτελοῦς, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων διατροφῆς λόγον ἐχόντων.

<sup>1</sup> edd.: ἄροτρον codd.

<sup>2</sup> conj.: ἀμελεῖται, ἀμεληταί (sic), or ἡμέληται codd.

<sup>3</sup> + καὶ εὔρεμα ROM: + τούτοις rell.

<sup>4</sup> ROM: ἐλαιῶν rell.

<sup>5</sup> ins. ex Lat. Niese.

with them beneath the yoke ; nay, these too should be paired according to their own kinds for the labours of the field.<sup>a</sup> Let your seeds too be pure and without mixture, and sow not two or three kinds together ; for nature delighteth not in the conjunction of things dissimilar. Neither shall ye mate beasts that are not of kindred nature ; for it is to be feared that from this custom a disregard for the law of the breed may pass over even into the practices of humanity, having owed its origin to the treatment of petty and insignificant objects. Nothing, in short, must be permitted that is calculated to lead, through imitation, to some perversion of the principles of the constitution ; nay, even trivial matters must not be neglected by the laws,<sup>b</sup> which should know how to guard themselves against all reproach.

(21) "When reaping and gathering in the crops ye shall not glean, but shall even leave some of the sheaves<sup>c</sup> for the destitute, to come as a godsend for their sustenance ; likewise at the vintage leave the little bunches for the poor, and pass over somewhat of the fruit of the olive-yards to be gathered by those who have none of their own whereof to partake. For that minute care in garnering will not bring the owners wealth so great as the gratitude which would so come to them from the needy ; the Deity, too, will render the earth more eager to foster its fruits for those who look not only to their own interests but also have regard to the

Rights of the poor : the beasts and the wayfarers to share in the harvest. Deut. xxiv. 19 : Lev. xix. 9.

<sup>a</sup> Additional detail, not in Scripture.

<sup>b</sup> Text doubtful. The construction δέῃ . . . ὡς with fut. ind. has the support of Sophocles (δέῃ σ' ὀπῶς δειξείς), whose style was imitated by the assistant of Josephus.

<sup>c</sup> Or "handfuls."

## JOSEPHUS

- 233 μηδὲ βοῶν ὁπότε τρίβοιεν τοὺς στάχνας ἀποδεῖν  
 τὰ στόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλως· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον  
 εἶργειν τοὺς συνειργασμένους τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ περὶ  
 234 τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πονήσαντας. μηδὲ ὁπώρας  
 ἀκμαζούσης κωλύειν ἄπτεσθαι τοὺς ὁδῶ βαδί-  
 ζοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν  
 ἐμπίπλασθαι, κἂν ἐγχώριοι τυγχάνωσι κἂν ξένοι,  
 χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὠραίων  
 μεταλαμβάνειν· ἀποφέρεισθαι<sup>1</sup> δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν  
 235 ἐξέστω. μηδὲ τρυγῶντες ὧν ἂν εἰς τὰς ληνοὺς  
 κομιζῶσιν εἰργέτωσαν τοὺς ὑπαντιάζοντας ἐπ-  
 εσθίειν· ἄδικον γὰρ ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ  
 παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, φθονεῖν τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν  
 αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν, τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἀκμῇ τε οὔσης  
 236 καὶ σπυροῦσης ἀπελθεῖν· ὡς τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένοι  
 ἂν εἴη, κἂν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης τινὰς ὀκνοῦντας ἄψασθαι  
 λαβεῖν παρακαλοῖεν,<sup>2</sup> ὄντας μὲν Ἰσραηλίτας ὡς  
 κοινωνοὺς καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν,  
 ἀφιγμένους δ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπους ξενίων τυχεῖν  
 ἀξιοῦντας ὧν ὁ θεὸς καθ' ὥραν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.  
 237 ἀναλώματα γὰρ οὐχ ἡγητέον ὅσα τις κατὰ χρη-  
 στότητα παρήσιν ἀνθρώποις λαμβάνειν, τοῦ θεοῦ  
 τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγοῦντος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ  
 καρποῦσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις μετα-  
 διδόναι φιλοτίμως, καὶ βουλομένου<sup>3</sup> τῷ τρόπῳ  
 τούτῳ τὴν ἰδίαν περὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν εὐνοίαν  
 καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις  
 ἐμφανίζεσθαι, ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος αὐτοῖς  
 238 κἀκείνοις μεταδιδόντων. ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας

<sup>1</sup> SP: ἐπιφέρεισθαι *rell.*

<sup>2</sup> Dindorf: παρακαλῶεν *codd.*: -καλῶσιν Niese.

<sup>3</sup> L ed. gr.: βουλόμενος *rell.*



support of others. Neither muzzle ye the oxen when they crush the ears of corn on the threshing-floor ; for it is not just to exclude from the fruit your fellow-labourers who have toiled to produce it. Nor yet, when autumn fruits are at their prime, must ye forbid wayfarers to touch them, but let them take their fill, as if they were their own, be they natives or strangers, rejoicing at thus affording them a share in the fruits of the season ; but let it not be permitted to them to carry any of them away. Neither let the vintagers hinder such as they meet from eating of that which they are carrying to the wine-vats ; for it were unjust to grudge the good things which by God's will have come into the world to such as long for a share in them, when the season is at its prime and so swiftly to pass. Nay, it would be acceptable to God that one should even invite to take thereof any who, through modesty, should hesitate to touch them —be they Israelites, as partners and owners, in virtue of their kinship, be they come from another country, entreating them to accept, as guests, of these gifts which God has granted them in season. For one must not account as expenditure that which out of liberality one lets men take ; since God bestows this abundance of good things not for our enjoyment alone, but that we may also share them generously with others, and He is desirous that by these means the special favour that He bears to the people of Israel and the bounty of His gifts may be manifested to others also, when out of all that superabundance of ours they too receive their share from us. But let him who acts contrary to

Deut.  
xxv. 4.

Ib. xxiii. 25.

## JOSEPHUS

- πληγὰς μιᾷ λειπούσας τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ  
 σκύτει λαβὼν τιμωρίαν ταύτην αἰσχίστην ἐλεύ-  
 θερος ὑπομενέτω, ὅτι τῷ κέρδει δουλεύσας ὕβρισε  
 239 τὸ ἀξίωμα· καλῶς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔχει πεπειραμένοις ἐν  
 Αἰγύπτῳ συμφορῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πρόνοιαν  
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑπαρχόντων ποιείσθαι, καὶ  
 τυχόντας εὐπορίας ἐξ ἐλέου καὶ προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ  
 τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐξ ὁμοίου πάθους ἀπομερίζειν  
 τοῖς δεομένοις.
- 240 (22) “ Ταῖς δὲ δεκάταις ταῖς δυσίν, ἃς ἔτους  
 ἐκάστου προεῖπον τελεῖν, τὴν μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις,  
 τὴν δ’ ἑτέραν πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας, τρίτην πρὸς  
 αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔτος<sup>1</sup> τρίτον συμφέρειν εἰς δια-  
 νέμησιν τῶν σπανιζόντων γυναιξί τε χήραις καὶ  
 241 παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς· τῶν δ’ ὠραίων ὃ τι καὶ πρῶτον  
 ἐκάστῳ τύχῃ γενόμενον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζέτωσαν,  
 καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτὸ γῆς ἦν  
 αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχευεν εὐλογήσαντες, θυσίας  
 ἃς ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρειν κελεύει ἐπιτελέσαντες  
 τούτων τὰ προτέλεια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόντων.
- 242 ἐπειδὴν δὲ ταῦτά τις ποιήσας καὶ πάντων τὰς  
 δεκάτας ἅμα ταῖς εἰς τοὺς Λευίτας καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας<sup>2</sup>  
 ἀπενηνοχῶς ἀπιέναι μέλλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε,  
 στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τεμενίσματος εὐχαριστησάτω

<sup>1</sup> κατ’ ἔτος Dindorf.

<sup>2</sup> + ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς MSPL.

<sup>a</sup> As Reinach remarks, the verses in Deut. about scourging, though interposed between the precepts with which Josephus has been dealing, are really of much more general application. Throughout this paragraph Josephus is concerned to extol Jewish charity in the eyes of pagan readers; but it was indeed a thing of which he might justly be proud (see the excellent chapter in G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, ii. p. 162).

<sup>b</sup> The forty stripes allowed by the Law were by tradition

these precepts<sup>a</sup> receive forty stripes save one<sup>b</sup> from the public lash, undergoing, free man as he is, this most disgraceful penalty, because through slavery to lucre he has outraged his dignity. For it beseems you, after your experience of afflictions in Egypt and in the desert, to take thought for those who are in like case, and, after receiving such store of blessings through the mercy and providence of God, of that same store and from kindred feelings to impart to those in need.

(22) "In addition to the two tithes which I have already directed you<sup>c</sup> to pay each year, the one for the Levites and the other for the banquets, ye should devote a third<sup>d</sup> every third year to the distribution of such things as are lacking to widowed women and orphan children. The very first of the ripe fruits which shall fall to each man's lot are to be brought to the temple, where, after blessing God for the land which has borne them and which He has enabled them to win, and after performing the sacrifices which the law commands them to offer, let them present the first-fruits thereof to the priests. And when any man, after having done all this and having offered tithes of all, along with those<sup>e</sup> for the Levites and for the banquets, is about to depart to his own home, let him stand right opposite the sacred precincts and render reduced to thirty-nine, doubtless for fear of a miscount, *Makkoth* iii. 10 ff.; *cf.* 2 Cor. xi. 24. <sup>c</sup> §§ 68, 205.

<sup>d</sup> This "third" or "poor" tithe was, according to one tradition, not an *additional* tithe, as Josephus interprets it, but only a particular use to which the "second" or "festival" tithe was put every third year (see Weill's note). The two conflicting Greek texts of *Tobit* i. 6 ff. illustrate the current variety of interpretation; Josephus does not stand alone.

<sup>e</sup> Text a little uncertain.

Penalty of scourging. Deut. xxv. 3.

Triennial tithe for widows and orphans. *Ib.* xiv. 28, xxvi. 12.

Ceremony after offering tithes. *Cf. ib.* xxvi. 3 ff.

## JOSEPHUS

- μὲν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως  
 ἀπαλλάξας γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔδωκε  
 καρποῦσθαι, μαρτυράμενος δὲ ὡς τὰς τε δεκάτας<sup>1</sup>  
 243 κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος τελέσειε νόμους αἰτησάσθω  
 τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῇ καὶ ἴλεων αὐτῷ διὰ παντὸς εἶναι  
 καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίοις διαμένειν, φυλάττοντα  
 μὲν ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ προσκτήσασθαι<sup>2</sup> δὲ  
 ὅσα δύναται χαρίζεσθαι.
- 244 (23) “ Γαμείτωναν δὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου γενόμενοι  
 παρθένοισι ἐλευθέρας γονέων ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ μὴ μέλ-  
 λων ἄγεσθαι παρθένον μὴ ζευγνύσθω συνοικοῦσαν  
 ἄλλω νοθεύσας μηδὲ λυπῶν<sup>3</sup> τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς  
 ἄνδρα· δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμείσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις,  
 μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἔρωτος πρὸς τοῦτό τινες ἐκβιάζωνται,  
 κρατεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τοῖς  
 245 ἀξιώμασι πρόσφορον· ἔτι<sup>4</sup> μηδὲ ἡταιρημένης εἶναι  
 γάμον, ἧς δι' ὕβριν τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ  
 θυσίας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἂν προσοῖτο. γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν  
 οὕτω τῶν παίδων τὰ φρονήματα ἐλευθέρια καὶ  
 πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄρθια, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ἐκ γάμων φύντες  
 αἰσχροῦν μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἐλευθερίας συν-  
 246 ἐλθόντων· εἴ τις ὡς παρθένον μνηστευσάμενος  
 ἔπειτα μὴ τοιαύτην εὖροι, δίκην λαχὼν αὐτὸς μὲν  
 κατηγορεῖτω χρώμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οἷς ἂν ἔχη  
 τεκμηρίοις, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ ὁ τῆς κόρης πατῆρ

<sup>1</sup> + καὶ τὰλλα E.

<sup>2</sup> προσκτήσαντα ex Lat. (et addat) Bernard.

<sup>3</sup> λιποῦσαν O<sup>2</sup> (Reinach).

<sup>4</sup> + δὲ SPL.

<sup>a</sup> One authority adds “ and all else.”

<sup>b</sup> Cf. the shorter summary of marriage laws in *Ap.* ii. 199 ff.

thanks to God for having delivered his race from the insolence of the Egyptians and given them a good land and spacious to enjoy the fruits thereof; then, after attesting that he has paid the tithes <sup>a</sup> in accordance with the laws of Moses, let him ask God ever to be favourable and gracious to himself and to continue such favour towards all Hebrews in common, preserving to them the good things that He had given them and adding thereto all else that He could bestow.

(23) "Let <sup>b</sup> your young men, on reaching the age of wedlock, marry virgins, freeborn and of honest parents. He that will not espouse a virgin must not unite himself to a woman living with another man, corrupting her or wronging <sup>c</sup> her former husband. Female slaves must not be taken in marriage by free men, however strongly some may be constrained thereto by love: such passion must be mastered by regard for decorum and the proprieties of rank. Again, there must be no marriage with a prostitute, <sup>d</sup> since by reason of the abuse of her body God could not accept her nuptial sacrifices. <sup>e</sup> For so only can your children have spirits that are liberal and uprightly set towards virtue, if they are not the issue of dishonourable marriages or of a union resulting from ignoble <sup>f</sup> passion.

"If a man, having betrothed a bride in the belief that she is a virgin, thereafter find that she is not so, let him bring a suit and make his own accusation, relying upon what evidence he may have to prove it; and let the damsel's defence be undertaken by

<sup>c</sup> Lit. "grieving"; but we should probably read *λιποῦσαν*, "nor let him marry one that has left her former husband."

<sup>d</sup> In Scripture this prohibition applies only to the priests; and so Josephus elsewhere interprets it, iii. 276.

<sup>e</sup> § 206. <sup>f</sup> Gr. "illiberal," *i.e.* a passion for a slave.

Marriage laws.

Deut. xxii. 22 :  
Lev. xxi. 7.

Lev.

Deut. xxii. 13.

## JOSEPHUS

ἢ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὃς ἂν μετὰ τούτους ἐγγυτέρω δοκῇ  
 247 τοῦ γένους. καὶ κριθεῖσα μὲν ἡ κόρη μὴ ἀδικεῖν  
 συνοικεῖτω τῷ κατηγορήσαντι μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν  
 ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτήν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ  
 μεγάλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ πρὸς ἃς οὐδ'<sup>1</sup>  
 248 ἀντειπεῖν δυνηθείη. τοῦ δὲ τολμηρῶς καὶ προ-  
 πετῶς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν καὶ διαβολὴν πρόστιμον  
 ἐκτινύτω, πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα μιᾷ λειπούσας  
 λαμβάνων, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀποτινύτω τῷ  
 πατρί. ἂν δ' ἐξελέγξῃ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐφθαρμένην,  
 δημότις μὲν οὐσα τοῦ μὴ σωφρόνως προστῆναι  
 τῆς παρθενίας ἄχρι νομίμων γάμων καταλευέσθω,  
 249 ἂν δ' ἐξ ἱερέων ἢ γεγενημένη, καίεσθω ζῶσα. δύο  
 γυναικῶν οὐσῶν τι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας ἐν τιμῇ  
 σφόδρα καὶ εὐνοία κειμένης ἢ δι' ἔρωτα καὶ κάλλος  
 ἢ κατ' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τῆς δ' ἐτέρας ἐν ἐλάττονι  
 μοίρα τυγχανούσης, ἂν ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης παῖς  
 γενόμενος, νεώτερος ὢν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας φύντος,  
 ἀξιοῖ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρὸς εὐνοίαν  
 τῶν πρεσβείων τυγχάνειν, ὥστε διπλοῦν τὸ μέρος  
 τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας ἐκλαμβάνειν,<sup>2</sup> τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν  
 250 τοῖς νόμοις διαταξάμην, μὴ συγκεχωρήσθω ἄδικον  
 γὰρ τὸν τῇ γενέσει πρεσβύτερον, ὅτι τὰ τῆς  
 μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἦττονα παρὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ πατρὸς,  
 251 τῶν ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ στερεῖσθαι. ὁ κόρην ἄλλω

<sup>1</sup> + <ἂν> Naber.

<sup>2</sup> RO: λαμβάνειν rell.

<sup>a</sup> Scripture mentions only the father (accompanied by the mother) as counsel for the defence.

<sup>b</sup> Deut. xxii. 19 "an hundred (*shekels*) of silver" (LXX ἑκατὸν σίκλους). The Hebrew names no coin; tradition, supporting Josephus, names a coin equivalent to a half-shekel (*Kethuboth* 45b, quoted by Weill).

her father or brother or whosoever, failing these, be considered her next of kin.<sup>a</sup> If the damsel be then declared innocent, let her continue to live with her accuser, who shall have no right to dismiss her, save only if she furnish him with grave and undeniable reasons for so doing. And for having rashly and precipitately brought a calumnious charge against her, let him undergo a double penalty, receiving forty stripes save one and paying fifty shekels<sup>b</sup> to the father. But should he prove that the young woman has been corrupted, then, if she be one of the people, for not having kept chaste guard over her virginity up to her lawful marriage, let her be stoned; if she be of priestly parentage, let her be burnt alive.<sup>c</sup>

Deut.  
xxii. 18,  
xxv. 3.

“If a man have two wives, of whom the one is held in special honour and affection, be it for love and beauty, or for other cause, while the other has a lesser portion of his regard, should the son of the beloved one, being younger than the offspring of the other, claim, in virtue of his father’s affection for his mother, the rights of the firstborn, to wit to receive a double portion of his father’s substance—for that is what I have ordained in the laws<sup>d</sup>—let this claim be disallowed. For it were unjust that he that is elder by birth should, because his mother holds a lesser place in his father’s affections, be deprived of that which is his due.

Ib. xxi. 15.

<sup>c</sup> This last clause has no authority in Scripture and is not strictly in accord with tradition (see Weill’s note). Scripture mentions only the penalty of stoning for all alike.

<sup>d</sup> Only specified in this passage of Scripture (Deut. xxi. 17; cf. 2 K. ii. 9).

## JOSEPHUS

κατηγγυημένην φθείρας, εἰ μὲν πείσας καὶ πρὸς  
 τὴν φθορὰν συγκάταινον λαβῶν, ἀποθνησκέτω σὺν  
 αὐτῇ· πονηροὶ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἑκάτεροι, ὁ μὲν τὸ  
 αἴσχιστον πείσας ἐκουσίως ὑπομῖναι καὶ προ-  
 τιμῆσαι τοῦτο τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γάμου τὴν κόρην,  
 ἢ δὲ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὴν πεισθείσα δι' ἡδονῆν<sup>1</sup> ἢ διὰ  
 252 κέρδος πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν· εἰ δέ που μόνῃ περιπεσῶν  
 βιάσῃται μηδενὸς βοηθοῦ παρόντος, μόνος ἀπο-  
 θνησκέτω. ὁ φθείρας παρθένον μήπω κατηγ-  
 γυημένην αὐτὸς γαμείτω· ἦν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς  
 κόρης μὴ δόξῃ συνοικίσειν αὐτῷ, πεντήκοντα  
 253 σίκλους τιμὴν τῆς ὕβρεως καταβαλλέτω. γυ-  
 ναικὸς δὲ τῆς συνοικουσύης βουλόμενος διαζευχ-  
 θῆναι καθ' ἀσθηποτοῦν αἰτίας, πολλαὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς  
 ἀνθρώποις τοιαῦται γίνοντο, γράμμασι μὲν περὶ  
 τοῦ μηδέποτε συνελθεῖν ἰσχυρίζεσθω· λάβοι γὰρ  
 ἂν οὕτως ἐξουσίαν συνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ, πρότερον γὰρ  
 οὐκ ἐφετέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου<sup>2</sup> κακωθείῃ ἢ<sup>3</sup>  
 254 τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ θελήσειε γαμῖν ὁ πρότερος,  
 μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῇ<sup>4</sup> ἐπανίεναι. τὴν ἄτεκνον, τὰνδρὸς  
 αὐτῇ τετελευτηκότος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκείνου γαμείτω

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr.: +ιδίαν codd.

<sup>2</sup> conj.: ἐκεῖνον codd.

<sup>3</sup> MLE: καὶ RO: om. SP.

<sup>4</sup> RM: αὐτὴν rell.

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<sup>a</sup> In Scripture the seducer is required to marry the girl and to pay the customary "bride-price" to her father. Josephus is in line with tradition, which required "compensation" to be paid only when no marriage took place (references quoted by Weill).

<sup>b</sup> Deut. "if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found in her some indecency" (lit. "the nakedness of a thing"). This vague phrase gave rise to conflicting interpretations: the school of Shammai (1st cent. B.C.) understanding by it unchastity, that of Hillel extending it to cover



“Should a man violate a damsel who is betrothed to another, if he persuaded her and had obtained her assent to the violation, let him die along with her; for both are guilty alike, he for having persuaded the damsel voluntarily to submit to the worst disgrace and to prefer that to honest wedlock, she for being persuaded to lend herself, for pleasure or for lucre, to this outrage. But if he met her alone somewhere and forced her, when none was at hand to aid, let him die alone. He that violateth a virgin who is not yet betrothed shall marry her himself; but if the father of the damsel be not minded to give her away to him, he shall pay fifty shekels as compensation for the outrage.<sup>a</sup>

Deut. xxii. 23.

Ib. 25.

Ib. 23.

“He who desires to be divorced from the wife who is living with him for whatsoever cause<sup>b</sup>—and with mortals many such may arise—must certify in writing that he will have no further intercourse with her; for thus will the woman obtain the right to consort with another, which thing ere then must not be permitted. But if she be maltreated by the other also or if upon his death her former husband wishes to marry her, she shall not be allowed to return to him.

Divorce. Ib. xxiv. 1.

“When a woman is left childless<sup>c</sup> on her husband’s death, the husband’s brother shall marry her, and the most trivial causes. As Weill remarks, the latter view seems to have prevailed. *cf.* *A.* xvi. 198, *Vita* 426 (the historian’s own divorce); also the question of the Pharisees as reported in Matt. xix. 3 “is it lawful to put away one’s wife for every cause?” (*κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν*), with the saving clause in the reply, *μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ* (v. 9), where the text probably owes its form to its Jewish editor.

Levirate marriage. Ib. xxv. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Deut. “if one die and have no son.” Josephus follows tradition (*Baba Bathra* 109a. Weill); so LXX (*σπέρμα*) and Matt. xxii. 24 with parallels (*τέκνον, ἄτεκνος*).

## JOSEPHUS

καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν γεν<ησ>όμενον<sup>1</sup> τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶ-  
 τος καλέσας ὀνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον·  
 τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις λυσιτελήσει γιγνώ-  
 μενον τῶν οἴκων οὐκ ἐκλείπόντων καὶ τῶν χρη-  
 μάτων τοῖς συγγενέσι μερόντων, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ  
 255 προτέρων ἀνδρῶν συνοικούσαις. ἔαν δὲ μὴ βού-  
 ληται γαμεῖν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἔλθοῦσα  
 ἢ γυνὴ μαρτυράσθω τοῦθ', ὅτι βουλομένην αὐτὴν  
 ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου μένειν καὶ τεκνοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ  
 προσδέχοιτο ὑβρίζων τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῦ  
 μνήμην. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς γερουσίας, διὰ ποίαν  
 αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον, ἂν τε  
 μικρὰν ἂν τε μείζω λέγη, πρὸς ταῦτά<sup>2</sup> ῥεπέτω·  
 256 ὑπολύσασα δ' αὐτὸν ἢ γυνὴ τὰδελφοῦ τὰ σάνδαλα  
 καὶ πτύσασα<sup>3</sup> αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τούτων  
 αὐτὸν ἄξιον εἶναι παρ' αὐτῆς λεγέτω τυγχάνειν  
 ὑβρίσαντα τὴν τοῦ κατοικομένου μνήμην. καὶ ὁ  
 μὲν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπίτω τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνειδος  
 πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, ἢ δ' ὡπερ ἂν βουλευθῆ τι  
 257 τῶν δεομένων γαμείσθω. ἂν δ' αἰχμάλωτόν τις  
 λάβῃ παρθένον ἂν τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένῳ  
 συνοικεῖν μὴ πρότερον ἐξέστω εὐνῆς ἄψασθαι καὶ  
 κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἢ ξυραμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθιμον  
 σχῆμα ἀναλαβοῦσαν ἀποθρηνηῆσαι συγγενεῖς καὶ  
 258 φίλους τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ὅπως τὸ ἐπ'  
 αὐτοῖς κορέσασα λυπηρὸν ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐπ' εὐωχίας  
 τράπηται καὶ γάμους· καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον

<sup>1</sup> γενόμενον (γεννώμενον) codd.

<sup>2</sup> Reinach: ταῦτα codd.

<sup>3</sup> πτύουσα ROM.

<sup>a</sup> Deut. draws no such distinction, "when thou . . . seest among the captives a beautiful woman"; tradition, cited 598

shall call the child that shall be born by the name of the deceased and rear him as heir to the estate; for this will at once be profitable to the public welfare, houses not dying out and property remaining with the relatives, and it will moreover bring the women an alleviation of their misfortune to live with the nearest kinsman of their former husbands. But if the brother be unwilling to marry her, let the woman come before the council of elders and testify that, while she desired to remain in this family and to have children by him, he would not accept her, thereby doing outrage to the memory of his deceased brother. And when the council ask him for what reason he is opposed to the marriage, be his alleged reason slight or serious, the result shall be the same: the wife of his brother shall loose his sandals and spit in his face and declare that he merits this treatment from her for having outraged the memory of the departed. Then let him quit the council of elders to carry this reproach throughout his life, while she shall be free to marry any suitor whom she will.

“Should a man have taken prisoner whether a virgin or a woman who has already been married <sup>a</sup> and wish to live with her, let him not be permitted to approach her couch and consort with her until such time as, with shorn hair and in mourning apparel, she shall have made lamentation for the kinsmen and friends whom she has lost in the battle, in order that she may satisfy her grief for them before turning to the festivities and ceremonies of marriage. For it is honourable and just that, in taking her to bear him by Weill, permitted marriage with a captive previously married (*sc.* to a Gentile).

Deut.  
xxi. 10.

παιδοποιὸν παραλαμβάνοντα θεραπεύειν αὐτῆς τὸ βουλευτόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν διώκοντα  
 259 μόνον τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀμελεῖν κεχαρισμένου. τριάκοντα δ' ἡμερῶν τῷ πένθει διελθουσῶν, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δακρύοις αὐται τῶν φιλτάτων ταῖς φρονίμοις, τότε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον. εἰ δ' ἐμπλησθεῖς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερηφανεύσειεν αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ἔχειν, μηκέτ' ἔξουσίαν ἐχέτω καταδουλοῦν αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὅπη βούλεται χωρεῖν ἀπίτω τοῦτο ἐλεύθερον ἔχουσα.

260 (24) “Ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονῶσι τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς μὴ νέμωσιν ἢ δι' αἰσχύνην ἢ δι' ἀσυνεσίαν' ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν λόγους αὐτοὺς νουθετείτωσαν οἱ πατέρες, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐφ' υἰάσιν οὗτοι δικασταί,  
 261 συνελθεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα λέγοντες οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων αὐξήσεως κοινῶν τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων γενομένων, ἀλλ' ὅπως παίδων τύχωσιν, οἱ γηροκομήσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὧν ἂν δέωνται παρ' αὐτῶν ἔξουσι, “ γενόμενόν τέ σε<sup>2</sup> μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναί τὴν μεγίστην ἀράμενοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεθρέψαμεν μηδενὸς φειδῶ ποιούμενοι τοῦ καὶ δόξαντος εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν σὴν καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἀρίστων  
 262 εἶναι χρησίμου. νῦν δέ, συγγνώμην γὰρ χρῆ<sup>3</sup> νέμειν ἐφ' ἀμαρτήμασι νέων, ἀπόχρη σοι ὅσα τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τιμῆς ὀλιγώρησας, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat. (propter insipientiam): δι' ἀσύνεσιν R: διὰ σύνεσιν rell.

<sup>2</sup> τέ σε Niese: τε RO: δέ γε rell.

<sup>3</sup> RO: δεῖ rell.

<sup>a</sup> i.e. smarting under some disgrace; such seems to be

children, he should respect her wishes, and that he should not, intent solely on his own pleasure, neglect what may be agreeable to her. But when thirty days for the mourning are past—for that period should suffice sensible women for tears for their dearest ones—then let him proceed to the nuptials. Should he, however, sated with his passion, disdain to keep her as his spouse, he shall have no right thenceforth to make her his slave; let her go whither she will and have that liberty granted to her.

(24) "With regard to those youths who scorn their parents and pay them not the honour that is due, but whether by reason of disgrace<sup>a</sup> or through witlessness, break out insolently against them, first of all let the parents orally admonish them,<sup>b</sup> for they have the authority of judges over their sons. Let them tell them that they came together in matrimony not for pleasure's sake, nor to increase their fortunes by uniting their several properties in one, but that they might have children who should tend their old age and who should receive from them everything that they needed. 'And when thou wast born,' they shall proceed, 'it was with joy and deepest thankfulness to God that we raised thee up and devoted our utmost care to thine upbringing, sparing nothing that appeared profitable for thy welfare and training in all that was best. But now—since indulgence must be accorded to the errors of youth—have done with all that scorn of respect towards us and return to

Rebellious  
children.  
Deut.  
xxi. 18.

the meaning. The Biblical phrase is "a stubborn and rebellious son." For the Rabbinical treatment of the subject see the Mishnah, *Sanhedrin* viii. 1-5 (tr. H. Danby).

<sup>a</sup> Bibl. "chasten him," probably including corporal punishment. The Mishnah speaks of his being "warned in the presence of three witnesses and beaten" (*ibid.* viii. 4).

## JOSEPHUS

- τὸ σωφρονέστερον, λογισάμενος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς πατέρας τολμωμένοις χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐστὶ καὶ συνατιμοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν οὐχ ὧν προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν παίδων τυγχανόντων, καὶ νόμος κολαστῆς γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπαραίτητος, οὗ σὺ μὴ
- 263 πειραθείης.” κὰν μὲν τούτοις θεραπεύηται τὸ τῶν νέων αὐθαδές, ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡγνοημένοις ὄνειδῶν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ὁ τε νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς εἴη καὶ οἱ πατέρες εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐπιδόντες οὔτε υἱὸν κολαζόμενον οὔτε θυγατέρα.
- 264 ᾧ δ’<sup>1</sup> ἂν οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἡ παρ’ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία τοῦ σωφρονεῖν τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι φανῶσιν, ἐχθροὺς δ’ ἀσπόνδους αὐτῷ ποιῆ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς συνεχέσι κατὰ τῶν γονέων τολμήμασι, προαχθεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοῦ πλήθους ἐπομένου καταλευέσθω καὶ μείνας δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τὴν ἀπάντων θαπτέσθω νυκτός.
- 265 οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπωσοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναιρεθῆναι κατακριθέντες. θαπτέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ νεκρὸς μηδὲ εἰς ἄμοιρος γῆς κείσθω περαιτέρω τοῦ δικαίου τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνων.
- 266 (25) “ Δανείζειν δ’ Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τόκοις ἐξέστω μηδενὶ μήτε βρωτὸν μήτε ποτόν· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον προσοδεύεσθαι τοῦ ὁμοφύλου τὰς τύχας, ἀλλὰ

<sup>1</sup> ᾧ δ’ Bekker ex Lat. : οὐδ’ (εἰ δ’ etc.) codd.

<sup>a</sup> In Scripture and in tradition (see Weill) the law applies only to sons.

<sup>b</sup> According to the Mishnah, after trial by a court of twenty-three judges, including the three witnesses previously mentioned (*Sanhedrin*, *loc. cit.*).

saner ways, reflecting that God also is distressed at acts of effrontery to a father, since He is himself Father of the whole human race and regards himself as a partner in the indignity done to those who bear the same title as himself, when they obtain not from their children that which is their due. And then there is the Law—that chastiser of all such, and inexorable: never mayest thou make trial of that! If, then, by such means the young men's contumacy is cured, let them be spared further reproach for their sins of ignorance; for thus will be shown the goodness of the lawgiver, while the parents will be happy in seeing neither son nor daughter<sup>a</sup> delivered to punishment. But the youth with whom these words and the lesson in sobriety conveyed by them appear to pass for naught and who makes for himself implacable enemies of the laws by continuous defiance of his parents, let him<sup>b</sup> be led forth by their own hands without the city, followed by the multitude, and stoned to death; and, after remaining for the whole day exposed to the general view, let him be buried at night.<sup>c</sup> Thus shall it be too with all who howsoever are condemned by the laws to be put to death. Let burial be given even to your enemies; and let not a corpse be left without its portion of earth,<sup>d</sup> paying more than its just penalty.

Burial of criminals and enemies. Dent. xxi. 22.

(25) "Let it not be permitted to lend upon usury to any Hebrew either meat or drink; for it is not just to draw a revenue from the misfortunes of a fellow-

Usury. *Ib.* xxiii. 19 (20), etc.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. § 202 note.

<sup>d</sup> Such *e.g.* was the practice of Tobit (Tob. i. 18, ii. 8). But the phrase "portionless (of earth)" is reminiscent of Sophocles, the favourite poet of this assistant of Josephus: cf. *Ajax* 1326 τὰ φῆς ἄμοιρον, *Ant.* 1071 (the later play, turning on the burial of enemies, is doubtless in mind).

## JOSEPHUS

- βοηθήσαντας ταῖς χρεῖαις αὐτοῦ κέρδος εἶναι νομίζειν τὴν τ' ἐκείνων εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενησομένην ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι.
- 267 (26) “ Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἴτε ἀργύρια εἴτε τινὰ τῶν καρπῶν, ὑγρὸν ἢ ξηρόν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρησάντων κομίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδότωσαν τοῖς δοῦσιν ὡσπερ ἀποθέμενοι εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰ δεηθεῖεν ἕξοντες.
- 268 ἂν δὲ ἀναισχυντῶσι περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, μὴ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βαδίσαντας ἐνεχυριάζειν πρὶν ἢ δίκη περὶ τούτου γένηται· τὸ δ' ἐνέχυρον αἰτεῖν ἕξω καὶ τὸν ὀφείλοντα κομίζειν δι' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τῷ μετὰ νόμου βοηθείας ἐπ' αὐτὸν
- 269 ἤκοντι. κἂν μὲν εὐπορος ἦ ὁ ἠνεχυρασμένος, κατεχέτω τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ὁ δεδανεικῶς, ἂν δὲ πένης, ἀποτιθέτω πρὶν ἡλίου δυσμῶν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν ἱμάτιον ἢ τὸ ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως εἰς ὕπνον ἔχη τοῦτο, φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πενομένοις ἔλεον
- 270 νέμοντος. μύλην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην σκεύη μὴ ἐξεῖναι λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως μὴ στερῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ σιτία ὀργάνων μηδ' ὑπ' ἐνδεείας πάθωσί τι τῶν χειρόνων.
- 271 (27) “ Ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου μὲν κλοπῇ θάνατος ἔστω ζημία, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον ὑφελόμενος τὸ διπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω. κτείνας δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ'

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<sup>a</sup> Exodus, Heb. text, (generally) “ a man ”; Deut. (more  
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countryman. Rather, in succouring his distress, ye should reckon as gain the gratitude of such persons and the recompense which God has in store for an act of generosity.

(26) "Those who have borrowed whether silver or produce of any kind, liquid or solid. if their affairs through God's grace proceed to their liking, shall bring back and with pleasure restore these loans to the lenders, as though they were laying them up with their own possessions and would have them again at need. But if they are shameless concerning restitution, one must not prowl about the house to seize a pledge before judgement has been given on the matter; the pledge should be asked for at the door, and the debtor should bring it of himself, in no wise gainsaying his visitor who comes with the law to support him. If he from whom the pledge has been taken be well-to-do, the lender should retain possession of it until restitution be made; but if he be poor, the lender should return it before sun-down, above all if the pledge consist of a cloak, that he may have it for his sleep, God by His nature according pity to the poor. But a mill and its accompanying utensils may not be taken in pledge, that folk be not deprived of the very means of preparing their food nor be reduced by want to the worst sufferings.

(27) "For the stealing of a person<sup>a</sup> the penalty shall be death; the purloiner of gold or silver shall pay double the sum.<sup>b</sup> He that killeth another while en-

precisely) "any of his brethren of the children of Israel." The limitation of the death-penalty to the case of a free-born Israelite is emphasized in tradition (Weill).

<sup>a</sup> In Ex. xxii. 4 the "double" penalty applies to stolen animals found alive in the thief's hands: money is not mentioned

Loans and pledges.

Deut. xxiv. 10 f.

*Ib.* 12 f. (Ex. xxii. 26).

*Ib.* 6.

Theft. *Ib.* 7; Ex. xxi. 16.

## JOSEPHUS

- οἶκον κλεπτομένοις τις ἀθῶος ἔστω κἂν ἢ<sup>1</sup> πρὸς  
 272 διορύγματι τειχίου. βόσκημα δὲ ὁ κλέψας τε-  
 τραπλῆν τὴν ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω πλὴν βοός, πεν-  
 ταπλῆν δ' ὑπὲρ τούτου καταβαλλέτω. ὁ δὲ τὸ  
 ἐπιτίμιον ἄπορος διαλύσασθαι δούλος ἔστω τοῖς  
 καταδεδικασμένοις.<sup>2</sup>
- 273 (28) “ Πραθεῖς δὲ ὁμοφύλῳ τις ἐξ ἔτη δουλευέτω,  
 τῷ δ' ἐβδόμῳ ἐλεύθερος ἀφείσθω· εἰ δὲ τέκνων  
 αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐκ δούλης παρὰ τῷ πριαμένῳ  
 διὰ τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία φιλο-  
 στοργίαν βούληται δουλεύειν, ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνστάτος  
 τοῦ ἰοβήλου, πεντηκοστὸς δὲ ἐνιαυτός ἐστιν,  
 ἐλευθερούσθω καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλευ-  
 θέραν ἐπαγόμενος.
- 274 (29) “ Ἐὰν δέ τις ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον εὔρη  
 καθ' ὁδόν, ἐπιζητήσας τὸν ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ κη-  
 ρύξας τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ εὔρεν ἀποδότω, τὴν ἐκ τῆς  
 ἐτέρου ζημίας ὠφέλειαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαμβάνων.  
 ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ βοσκημάτων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχη τις  
 κατ' ἐρημίαν πλανωμένοις· μὴ εὐρεθέντος [δὲ]<sup>3</sup> τοῦ  
 κυρίου παραχρῆμα παρ' αὐτῷ φυλαττέτω μαρτυρά-  
 μενος τὸν θεὸν μὴ νοσφίζεσθαι ἀλλότρια.

<sup>1</sup> Bernard: *ei codd.*

<sup>2</sup> καταδικασαμένοις MPLÉ.

<sup>3</sup> ins. E: om. rell.

<sup>a</sup> *i.e.* had not got beyond the stage of digging through it. Josephus omits the proviso added in Exodus, “If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness,” in other words, as interpreted by Philo, *εἰ δ' ἡλιος ἀνάσχοι μηκέθ ὁμοίως αὐτοχειρία κτεινέσθω, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἄρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἀγέσθω* (ii. 337 M., quoted by Weill, who adds another fanciful interpretation).

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* “an ox or a sheep” (Ex.): Josephus again omits the Scriptural proviso “and kill it or sell it.”

<sup>c</sup> In Ex., as the text stands, this refers only to the house-

gaged in burglary shall be innocent, even though the thief were yet but breaking through his wall.<sup>a</sup> He that stealeth a head of cattle <sup>b</sup> shall pay fourfold as penalty, save in the case of an ox, for which he shall be fined fivefold. He that hath not the means to defray the imposed amount shall become the slave of those who have had him condemned.<sup>c</sup>

Ex. xxii. 2.

Ib. 1.

Ib. 3.

(28) "A Hebrew sold to another Hebrew shall serve him for six years: in the seventh let him go free.<sup>d</sup> But if, having had children by a slave woman at the house of the master who bought him, he, out of love and affection for his own,<sup>e</sup> desires to continue to serve him, then on the coming of the year of jubilee—which returns every fifty years—let him be liberated, taking his children and wife, also free, along with him.<sup>f</sup>

Slavery and emancipation.

Ib. xxi. 2: Deut. xv. 12.

(29) "If anyone find gold or silver on the road, after diligent search for the loser and public proclamation of the place where he found it,<sup>g</sup> let him duly restore it, reckoning it dishonest to profit by another's loss. Similarly in the case of beasts which one meets straying in a desert place; but if the owner be not found forthwith, let him keep them at his home, calling God to witness that he has not appropriated the goods of another.

Restitution of lost property. Ib. xxii. 1.

breaker, but the verses have perhaps been displaced (Driver); the law as applied to housebreakers is found in *A.* xvi. § 3, of theft in general in Philo and Jewish *Halachah* (Weill).

<sup>d</sup> And his wife, if he has one (Ex. xxi. 3).

<sup>e</sup> The neut. ("his own" or "his home surroundings") includes his master, Ex. xxi. 5.

<sup>f</sup> In Scripture the master bores the ear of the willing servant, and he serves him "for ever": the jubilee is not mentioned here.

<sup>g</sup> Detail not in Scripture, but attested by tradition (Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

- 275 (30) "Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ παριέναι κτηνῶν τινα κακοπαθούτων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πεπτωκότων ἐν πηλῷ, συνδιασώζειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πόνον οἰκείον ἡγησάμενον βοηθεῖν.
- 276 (31) "Μηνύειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ μὴ γέλωτα θηρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐμποδίζειν πλάνη τὴν ἐτέρου χρεῖαν.
- (32) "Ὅμοίως μηδὲ βλασφημείτω τις τὸν ἄοπτον<sup>1</sup> καὶ τὸν ἐνεόν.
- 277 (33) "Ἐν μάχῃ τις, ὅπου μὴ σίδηρος, πληγεῖς παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀποθανὼν ἐκδικείσθω ταύτῳ παθόντος τοῦ πεπληχότος. ἂν δὲ κομισθεῖς παρ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ νοσήσας ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἔπειτ' ἀποθάνῃ, ἀθῶος ἔστω ὁ πλήξας, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ δαπανήσαντος εἰς τὴν νοσηλείαν ἀποτινέτω πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς κατακλίσεως
- 278 ἀνάλωσε καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔδωκεν. ὁ γυναικα λακτίσας ἔγκυον, ἂν μὲν ἐξαμβλώσῃ ἢ γυνὴ ζημιούσθω χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ὡς παρὰ τὸ διαφθαρὲν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μειώσας τὸ πλήθος, διδόςθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ

<sup>1</sup> SP: ἀπόντα rell.: ἄοπτον Bernard.

<sup>a</sup> Scripture speaks of "making the *blind* to wander out of the way," "putting a stumbling-block before the blind." Josephus, by generalizing the statement, seems to put into the mouth of Moses a refutation of the scandalous precept attributed to him in the historian's day, "non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti" (Juv. *Sat.* xiv. 103).

<sup>b</sup> Text and meaning doubtful. For the first adjective most mss. have the erroneous reading "the absent": the mss. followed in the text have a word which in its one occurrence elsewhere means "unseen" (not "unseeing"); a

(30) "It is not permissible to pass by unheeding, when a man's beasts of burden, buffeted by tempest, have fallen in the mire: one must help to rescue them and lend aid as though one laboured for oneself." Assistance to beasts in distress. Deut. xxii. 4.

(31) "One must point out the road to those who are ignorant of it, and not, for the pleasure of laughing oneself, impede another's business by misleading him."<sup>a</sup> Directions on the road. *Ib.* xxvii. 13 (Lev. xix. 14).

(32) "Similarly, let none revile the sightless or the dumb."<sup>b</sup> Respect for blind and dumb. *Cf.* Lev. xix. 14.

(33) "In a fight without use of the blade,<sup>c</sup> if one be stricken and die on the spot, he shall be avenged by a like fate for him that struck him. But if he be carried home and lie sick for several days before he dies, he that struck him shall go unpunished; howbeit, if he recover and hath spent much on his doctoring, the other shall pay all that he hath expended during the time of his confinement to his couch and all that he hath given to the physicians."<sup>d</sup> He that kicketh a woman with child, if the woman miscarry, shall be fined by the judges for having, by the destruction of the fruit of her womb, diminished the population, and a further sum shall be presented by Quarrels and bodily injuries. Ex. xxi. 18, 12, 21.

*Ib.* 22.

similar word (*ἄφωνος*) has been conjectured meaning "speechless." The passage in Leviticus mentions "deaf" and "blind."

<sup>c</sup> Paraphrase of the Biblical "if men contend and one smiteth the other with a stone or with his fist."

<sup>d</sup> Josephus here amalgamates two separate laws in Exodus: (1) *ex.* 18 f. relating to quarrels; (2) *ex.* 20 f. relating to the beating of a slave by his master. The last clause corresponds to the Heb. "he shall pay for *shibtō* and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed"; here *shibtō* may mean either "his sitting down" (from *yāshab*, as Josephus takes it) or "his cessation" *i.e.* "unemployment" (from *shābath*, as LXX takes it, translating by *ἀργίας*).

## JOSEPHUS

χρήματα· θνησκούσης δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς καταθέσθαι δικαιοῦντος τοῦ νόμου.

279 (34) “Φάρμακον μήτε θανάσιμον μήτε τῶν εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐχέτω μηδὲ εἰς· ἐὰν δὲ κεκτημένος φωραθῆ τεθνάτω, τοῦτο πάσχων ὁ διέθηκεν ἂν ἐκείνους καθ' ὧν τὸ φάρμακον ἦν παρεσκευασμένον.

280 (35) “[Ὁ]<sup>1</sup> πηρώσας πασχέτω [τὰ ὅμοια]<sup>2</sup> στερούμενος οὐπερ ἄλλον ἐστέρησε, πλὴν εἰ μήτι χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πεπηρωμένος, αὐτὸν τὸν πεπονθότα κύριον τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντος τιμήσασθαι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος καὶ συγχωροῦντος, εἰ μὴ βούλεται γενέσθαι πικρότερος.

281 (36) “Βοῦν τοῖς κέρασι πλήττοντα ὁ δεσπότης ἀποσφαττέτω· εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἄλως κτείνειέ τινα πλήξας, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλευσθεὶς ἀποθνησκέτω μηδ' εἰς τροφήν εὐχρηστος εἶναι κατηξιωμένος, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἐλέγχηται προειδῶς αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μὴ φυλαξάμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ὡς αἷτιος τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοῦς ἀνηρημένῳ  
282 γεγεννημένῳ. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλον ἢ θεράπαιναν ἀπο-

<sup>1</sup> om. RO.

<sup>2</sup> om. R.

<sup>a</sup> Misunderstanding of Scripture, which (though the text is uncertain) appears to contemplate one fine only payable to the husband; and so tradition (Weill).

<sup>b</sup> The traditional interpretation of the Heb. “if any mischief happen”; LXX and Philo interpret otherwise.

<sup>c</sup> The nearest Biblical parallel to this section is Ex. xxii. 18, “thou shalt not suffer a sorceress (LXX *φαρμακούς*) to live.” On that passage Philo ii. 315 ff. M. dilates on poison.

<sup>d</sup> *i.e.* ask an exorbitant sum. Scripture names no alternative to the *talio*, “eye for eye” etc. Josephus here approximates to the ruling of the Pharisees who, in contrast

him to the woman's husband.<sup>a</sup> If she die of the blow,<sup>b</sup> he also shall die, the law claiming as its due the sacrifice of life for life.

(34) "Poison, whether deadly or of those designed for other injurious ends, let no Israelite possess; if one be caught with it in his keeping, let him die, undergoing the fate that he would have inflicted on the intended victims of the drug.<sup>c</sup>" Poison forbidden.

(35) "He that maimeth a man shall undergo the like, being deprived of that limb whereof he deprived the other, unless indeed the maimed man be willing to accept money; for the law empowers the victim himself to assess the damage that has befallen him and makes this concession, unless he would show himself too severe.<sup>d</sup>" Lex talionis.  
Ex. xxi. 24 :  
Lev. xxiv. 19.

(36) "An ox that goreth with its horns shall be slaughtered by its owner.<sup>e</sup> If on the threshing-floor it killeth any man by goring him, it shall itself be stoned to death and rejected as unfit even for consumption; but if the owner himself be convicted of having known of its nature beforehand and taken no precautions,<sup>f</sup> he also shall die,<sup>g</sup> as answerable for the death of the beast's victim. If a slave or a maid-  
to the Sadducees, substituted damages: these, however, The vicious  
ox.  
Ex. xxi. 28. ib. 32. were fixed not by the injured individual, but by the competent tribunal (*Baba Kamma* 83b, with Weill's note).

<sup>e</sup> According to Scripture, only if it has caused a death. An ox with known vicious propensities must be "kept in" but need not be slaughtered. However, as Weill remarks, the statement of Josephus finds support in a saying attributed to R. Eliezer, "The best precaution is a knife"; similarly LXX for "keep in" substitutes ἀφαισθη, "make away with (him)."

<sup>f</sup> Bibl. "hath not kept him (in)."

<sup>g</sup> Josephus ignores v. 30, which admits of a money compensation in lieu of death. According to Philo (ii. 323 M.), the court decides ὁ τι χρεὶν παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

κτείνῃ βοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλιθούσθω, τριάκοντα δὲ σίκλους ὁ κύριος τοῦ βοῦς ἀποτινέτω τῷ δεσπότη τοῦ ἀνηρημένου. βοῦς δὲ εἰάν οὕτως πληγείς ἀποθάνῃ, πωλείσθωσαν καὶ ὁ τεθνεὺς καὶ ὁ πλήξας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀμφοτέρων οἱ δεσπότες αὐτῶν διανεμέσθωσαν.

- 283 (37) “Οἱ φρέαρ ἢ λάκκον ὀρύξαντες ἐπιμελὲς ποιείσθωσαν ὥστε σανίδων ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχειν κεκλεισμένα, οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς εἴργοιντο ὑδρείας, ἀλλ’
- 284 ἵνα μηδεὶς κίνδυνος ὡς ἐμπροσθεν ἦ. οὐδ’ ἂν εἰς ὄρυγμα τοιοῦτον μὴ κλειστὸν ἐμπροσθεν βόσκημά τινος διαφθαρῇ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότη καταβαλλέτω. περιβαλλέσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στέγεσιν ἅπερ ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ὄντα οὐκ ἔασι τινὰς ἀποκυλισθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.
- 285 (38) “Παρακαταθήκην δὲ ὥσπερ ἱερόν τι καὶ θεῖον χρῆμα ὁ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιούτω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἀποστερηῆσαι θρασυθεΐῃ τὸν πεπιστευκότα μήτ’ ἀνὴρ μήτε γυνή, μηδ’ εἰ χρυσὸν ἄπειρον μέλλοι κερδαίνειν, καταφρονῶν τῷ μηδένα εἶναι
- 286 τὸν ἐξελέγξοντα. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπιστάμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ προσῆκεν ἕκαστον εὖ πράττειν, καὶ μάρτυρι ἀρκούμενος αὐτῷ πάντα ποιείτω ἅ παρ’ ἄλλων ἔπαινον αὐτῷ παρέξει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πονηρὸς ὢν λανθάνει.
- 287 εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον δρῶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς ἀπολέσειεν,

<sup>a</sup> In Scripture apparently only the live ox is sold: the dead beast is literally “divided” between them. Josephus omits the special provisions of v. 36.

<sup>b</sup> *i.e.* at night, the roof being the usual sleeping-place in the east; Deut., more generally, speaks of a “fall.” It has been suggested that Josephus, in uniting two laws (concerning wells and battlements) which are separated in



servant be killed by an ox, it shall be stoned, and the owner of the ox shall pay thirty shekels to the victim's master. If it be an ox that is killed by such a stroke, let them be sold, both the dead beast and its assailant, and let their owners divide the price of the pair between them.<sup>a</sup> Ex. xxi. 35.

(37) "They that dig a well or a pit are to take care to keep them closed in by laying planks above, not to preclude any from drawing water, but to avoid all risk of falling into them. Should any man have a cavity of such sort not closed, and another man's beast fall into it and perish, he shall pay the price of it to its owner. Let roofs also be surrounded by something in the nature of a wall, to prevent any from rolling off<sup>b</sup> and being killed. Safeguards for wells and roofs. Ib. 33.

(38) "Let the receiver of a deposit<sup>c</sup> esteem it worthy of custody as of some sacred and divine object,<sup>d</sup> and let none venture to defraud him that entrusted it to him, neither man nor woman, no not though he might make gain of untold gold, in the assurance of having none to convict him. For by all means,<sup>e</sup> from the mere knowledge that he has of his own conscience, ought everyone to act aright—let him be content with that for witness and do all that will bring him praise from others—but chiefly from his knowledge of God, whose eye no criminal escapes. But if, without any act of treachery, the depositary lose the deposit, let him come before the Deut. xxii. 9.

Scripture, is following the lead of Philo, who does the same (ii. 324 M.). Deposits. Ex. xxii. 7.

<sup>c</sup> Cf. *Ap.* ii. 208, 216.

<sup>d</sup> Philo (ii. 341 M.) uses the same phrase, λαβών ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα παρακαταθήκην (and a little above ἱερωτατον παρακαταθήκη).

<sup>e</sup> Or "to be sure" (καθόλου = Lat. *omnino*).

## JOSEPHUS

- ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ κριτὰς ὀμνύτω τὸν θεόν, ὅτι μηδὲν<sup>1</sup> παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀπόλοιτο καὶ κακίαν, οὐδὲ χρησαμένου τινὶ μέρει αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἀνεπαιτίατος ἀπίτω. χρησάμενος δὲ κἂν ἐλαχίστῳ μέρει τῶν πεπιστευμένων, ἂν<sup>2</sup> ἀπολέσας τύχη τὰ λοιπά, πάντα ἃ ἔλαβεν ἀπο-  
 288 δοῦναι κατεγνώσθω. ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ περὶ παρακαταθηκῶν κἂν μισθὸν τις ἀποστερήσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένων, μεμισήσθω· ὅθεν<sup>3</sup> οὐκ ἀποστερητέον ἀνδρὸς πένητος μισθόν, εἰδότας ὡς ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τοῦτον εἶη παρεσχηκώς· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἐκτίνειν ὡς οὐ βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐξ ὧν πεπόνηκε χρήσεως ὑστερεῖν τὸν εἰργασμένον.<sup>4</sup>
- 289 (39) “Παῖδας ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας πατέρων μὴ κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οἴκτου μᾶλλον ἀξιοῦν, ὅτι μοχθηρῶν ἐγένοντο πατέρων, ἢ μίσους φύντας<sup>5</sup> ἐκ φαύλων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πατράσιν υἱῶν ἁμαρτίαν λογιστέον, τῶν νέων πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεπόντων ὑπερηφανία τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι.
- 290 (40) “Γάλλους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ σύνοδον φεύγειν τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀφελομένων αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδοποιίας καρπὸν, ὃν ἀνθρώποις ἐπ' αὐξήσει τοῦ γένους ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχεν, ἐλαύνειν

<sup>1</sup> MLE: μηδὲ rell.

<sup>2</sup> RO: om. rell.

<sup>3</sup> μεμνήσθω (M) ὅτι ed. pr.

<sup>4</sup> ἐργασάμενον RO.

<sup>5</sup> ed. pr.: φύντες codd.

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<sup>a</sup> Cf. § 214. Tradition (cited by Weill) mentions a tribunal of three (or five) judges in such cases, not of seven.

seven judges<sup>a</sup> and swear by God that nothing had been lost through his own intention or malice, and that he had not appropriated any part of it to his own use, and so let him depart exempt from blame. But if he has used but the smallest portion of the trust and happen to have lost the remainder,<sup>b</sup> he shall be sentenced to restore all that he received. And as with deposits, so if anyone withhold the wages of those who labour with their bodies, let him be execrated; since<sup>c</sup> one must not deprive a poor man of his wages, knowing that this, instead of land and other possessions, is the portion which God has granted him. Nay, one must not even defer payment, but discharge it the selfsame day, for God would not have the labourer kept waiting for the enjoyment of the fruits of his toil.

Wages to be promptly paid. Deut. xxiv. 14.

(39) " Punish not children for the wrongdoing of their fathers, but by reason of their own virtue deem them deserving rather of pity for having been born of depraved parents than of hatred for their base lineage.<sup>d</sup> Nor yet must one impute to the fathers the sin of the sons, for the young permit themselves much that is contrary to our instruction in their disdain of discipline.

Individual responsibility. *Ib.* xxiv. 16.

(40) " Shun eunuchs and flee all dealings with those who have deprived themselves of their virility and of those fruits of generation, which God has given to men for the increase of our race; expel them even as

Banning of eunuchs, etc. *Ib.* xxiii. 1.

<sup>b</sup> I think τὰ λοιπά must be taken as dependent on ἀπολέσας, not (as by Hudson and Weill) with πάντα. Josephus summarizes without strictly following Scripture.

<sup>c</sup> Greek "whence" ("wherefore"). For "let him . . . since" one text reads "let him remember that."

<sup>d</sup> Reinaeh, I think needlessly, suspects the text.

## JOSEPHUS

- δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνων σφαγῇ καὶ πρὸς τούτω<sup>1</sup>  
 291 ἀπολλύντας τὸ ἐκείνων αἴτιον· δῆλον γάρ, ὡς  
 τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς τεθηλυσμένης μετεκοσμήσαντο  
 πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ σῶμα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ  
 νομιζόμενον τέρας τοῖς ὀρώσι· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ  
 ποιεῖν ἐκτομίας μήτε ἀνθρώπους μήτε τῶν ἄλλων  
 ζώων.  
 292 (41) “ Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν εἰρηνικὴ τῶν νόμων  
 κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν διάταξις ἔστω· καὶ ὁ θεὸς  
 εὐμενῆς ἀστασίαστον αὐτῆς τὸν κόσμον παρέξεται,  
 γένοιτο δὲ χρόνος μηδὲ εἰς, ὃς καινίσει τι τούτων  
 293 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβαλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη  
 τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἢ κατὰ προ-  
 αἴρεσιν ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν, φέρε καὶ  
 περὶ τούτων βραχέα προσδιατάξωμεν, ὡς ἂν προ-  
 εἰδότες ἂ χρῆ ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ χρειᾷ τῶν σωτηρίων  
 εὐπορήτε καὶ μὴ τότε ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπιζητούντες  
 ἀπαρασκευάστοι τοῖς καιροῖς περιπέσητε.<sup>2</sup>  
 294 “ Γῆν ὑμῖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε πόνων καταφρονοῦσι  
 καὶ ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡσκημένοις ἀπόλεμον μὲν  
 νέμεσθαι παράσχοι τε<sup>3</sup> κεκτημένοις αὐτήν, μήτε  
 ἀλλοτρίων εἰς αὐτήν ἐπὶ κακώσει στρατευσάντων  
 295 μήτε στάσεως ἐμφυλίου κατασχούσης ὑμᾶς, ὑφ’  
 ἧς τὰναντία πατράσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πράττοντες  
 ἀπολείτε τὰ ἐκείνοις νομισθέντα, χρώμενοί τε  
 νόμοις οὓς ἀγαθοὺς δοκιμάσας ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσι  
 διατελοῖητε· ἔργον δ’ ὅ τι ἂν πολεμικὸν ἢ νῦν

<sup>1</sup> RO: πρὸ τούτων *rell.*: per hoc *Lat.*

<sup>2</sup> Bekker: *παρπέσητε codd.*

<sup>3</sup> τοῖς *Dindorf.*

<sup>a</sup> Another text reads “before them” *i.e.* “before the infants’ birth.”

<sup>b</sup> *Cf.* iii. 287 for a similar transition from civil to military

infanticides who withal <sup>a</sup> have destroyed the means of procreation. For plainly it is by reason of the effeminacy of their soul that they have changed the sex of their body also. And so with all that would be deemed a monstrosity by the beholders. Ye shall castrate neither man nor beast.

Cf. Lev. xxii. 24 LXX.

(41) "Such then shall be for you in peace-time <sup>b</sup> the legal constitution of your state; and God in His mercy will keep its shapely order unmarred by strife. May there never come a time for amending aught therein and establishing the contrary in its place! Yet since humanity <sup>c</sup> must needs be plunged into troubles and perils, be they involuntary or premeditated, come let us append on these matters also some brief ordinances, that, forewarned how ye must act, ye may, in your need, be furnished with the means of salvation, and not then go searching what ye ought to do and plunge unprepared into those times of crisis.

Provisions for war and prayers for peace.

"This land which God hath given to you that are contemptuous of fatigue and whose souls are schooled to valour—may He grant you to occupy it in peace, once ye have conquered it: may neither foreigner invade it for its injury, nor civil strife o'ermaster you, whereby ye shall be led to actions contrary to those of your own fathers and destroy the institutions which they established: and may ye continue to observe laws which God has approved as good and now delivers to you! Yet whatever warfare it may be yours to wage, be it now in your own time or here-matters; and as there, so here, in this "brief appendix" (§ 293), the "Thucydidean" assistant appears to lend his aid.

<sup>c</sup> τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, a Thucydidean phrase, characteristic of A. xvii.-xix.

## JOSEPHUS

296 ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἢ ὕστερον ἐπὶ παίδων ὑμετέρων γένηται  
 τοῦθ' ὑπερόριον πραχθείη. μέλλοντας δὲ πολεμεῖν  
 πρεσβείαν καὶ κήρυκας πέμπειν παρὰ τοὺς ἔκουσίως  
 πολεμίους· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὄπλων καλὸν εἶναι χρῆσθαι  
 λόγοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς, δηλοῦντας ὅτι καὶ στρατιὰν  
 πολλὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὄπλα καὶ πρὸ  
 τούτων εὐμενῆ τὸν θεὸν καὶ σύμμαχον, ὅμως  
 ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ τὰ  
 ἐκείνων ἀφαιρουμένους ἀβούλητον αὐτοῖς κέρδος  
 297 προσλαμβάνειν. καὶ πειθομένων μὲν καλῶς ὑμᾶς  
 ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάττειν, εἰ δὲ φρονοῦντες  
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἰσχύι διαφέρουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοιεν,  
 στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάγετε,<sup>1</sup> στρατηγῶ μὲν  
 αὐτοκράτορι χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, ὑποστράτηγον  
 δὲ χειροτονήσαντες ἕνα τὸν ἀρετῇ προύχοντα·  
 πολυαρχία γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τοῖς ὀξέως τι πράττειν  
 ἀνάγκην ἔχουσιν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι καὶ βλάπτειν  
 298 πέφυκε τοὺς χρωμένους. στρατὸν δ' ἄγειν καθαρὸν  
 ἐκ πάντων τῶν ῥώμη σωματῶν καὶ ψυχῆς εὐ-  
 τολμία διαφερόντων τὸ<sup>2</sup> δειλὸν ἀποκρίναντας,<sup>3</sup> μὴ  
 τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τραπὲν εἰς φυγὴν  
 ὠφελήσῃ. τοὺς τε νεωστὶ δειμαμένους οἰκίας,  
 οἷς οὐπω χρόνος ἀπολαύσεως αὐτῶν ἐνιαύσιος,  
 καὶ φυτεύσαντας οὐπω δὲ καρπῶν μετεσχηκότας,  
 εἶαν κατὰ χώραν, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσαμένους δὲ  
 καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας, μὴ πόθω τούτων φει-  
 δόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τηροῦντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τού-  
 των ἀπόλαυσιν ἐθελοκακήσωσι [περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας].<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> ἀγάγοιτε RO.

<sup>2</sup> E: τὸ δὲ codd.

<sup>3</sup> M: ἀποκρίνοντας rell.

<sup>4</sup> om. Lat.

<sup>a</sup> στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, after Thuc. vi. 72 τοὺς τε στρατη-  
 γοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας χρῆναι ἐλίσθαι.

after in the days of your children, may this action take place beyond your frontiers.

“When ye are on the verge of war, send an embassy with heralds to your aggressive enemy; for, before taking arms, it is meet to parley with them and to represent that, though possessed of a large army, horses and munitions, and above all blest with God’s gracious favour and support, nevertheless ye desire not to be constrained to make war on them and, in robbing them of what is theirs, to annex to yourselves unwanted profit. If, then, they yield to those representations, it behoves you to keep the peace; but if, confident of their superior strength, they wish to do you wrong, lead out an army against them, taking God for your supreme commander<sup>a</sup> and electing as His lieutenant the one man who is pre-eminent for valour; for divided control, besides being a hindrance to those for whom prompt action is imperative, is withal apt to injure those who practise it.<sup>b</sup> The army under him must be immaculate, made up of all who excel in vigour of body and hardihood of soul, after rejection of the cowardly, for fear lest they turn to flight during the action to the advantage of the enemy. Those too who have lately built themselves houses and have not yet had a year to enjoy them, with those who have planted and have not yet partaken of the fruits, must be left on the land, as also the betrothed and recently married, lest regret for these things should make them chary of their lives and, reserving themselves to enjoy them, they deliberately shirk danger.

Preliminaries before battle. Deut. xx. 10.

*Ib.* 1, 4.

*Ib.* 5-8 (xxiv. 5).

<sup>a</sup> After Thuc. *ibid.* μέγα δὲ βλάψαι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν πολυαρχίαν.

- 299 (42) “ Στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ προνοεῖσθε, μὴ τι τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ἐργάσησθε. πολιορκοῦντας δὲ καὶ ξύλων ἀπορουμένους εἰς ποίησιν μηχανημάτων μὴ κείρειν τὴν γῆν ἡμερα δένδρα κόπτοντας ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι, λογιζομένους ἐπ’ ὠφελεία ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, καὶ φωνῆς ἂν εὐπορήσαντα δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν αἷτια τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότα πάσχοι κακῶς παρὰ δίκην, εἰ δύναμις αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ μετοικήσαντα ἂν καὶ πρὸς  
300 ἄλλην μεταβάντα γῆν. κρατήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους κτείνετε, τοὺς δ’ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ τελεῖν ὑμῖν φόρους σώζετε πλὴν τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους· τούτους γὰρ πανοικὶ χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι.
- 301 (43) “ Φυλάσσειν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὡς μήτε γυναικα ἀνδρικῆ σκευῆ χρῆσθαι μήτ’ ἀνδρα στολῆ γυναικεία.”
- 302 (44) Πολιτείαν μὲν οὖν τοιάνδε Μωυσῆς κατέλιπε, νόμους δ’ ἔτι πρότερον τεσσαρακοστῶ ἔτει γεγραμμένους παραδίδωσι, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ λέξομεν. ταῖς δ’ ἐξῆς ἡμέραις, συνεχὲς γὰρ ἐξεκκλησίασεν, εὐλογίας αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ζησομένους ἀλλὰ  
303 παραβησομένους τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς διωρισμένα. ἔπειτα ποίησιν ἐξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω, ἣν καὶ κατα-

<sup>a</sup> The writer, while following Scripture, doubtless also has in mind the practice of the Romans in the recent war: *B.J.* v. 523, vi. 6 “ sites formerly beautified with trees and parks now reduced to an utter desert and stripped bare of timber.”

<sup>b</sup> Words not in Scripture, where the prohibition is doubtless



(42) "Once encamped, take heed to refrain from any of the more outrageous actions. When ye are engaged in a siege and lack timber for the construction of your engines, do not shear the ground by cutting down the cultivated trees<sup>a</sup>: nay, spare them, reflecting that they were created for the service of men and that, were they gifted with a voice, they would plead with you and say that they were in no way answerable for the war, that they were being maltreated unjustly and that, had they the power, they would have migrated and moved to another country. Having won the battle, slay those that have resisted you, but leave the rest alive to pay you tribute, save the race of the Canaanites: for them ye must exterminate wholesale.

Abstention from barbarities. Deut. xx. 19.

*Ib.* 13.

(43) "Beware, above all in battle,<sup>b</sup> that no woman assume the accoutrements of a man nor a man the apparel of a woman."

Costume of the sexes. *Ib.* xxii. 5.

(44) Such then is the constitution that Moses left; he further delivered over those laws which he had written forty years before and of which we shall speak in another work.<sup>c</sup> On the following days—for assembly was held continuously—he gave them blessings, with curses upon such as should not live in accordance with the laws but should transgress the ordinances that were therein. Then he recited to them a poem in hexameter verse, which he has more-

Moses delivers the laws and other writings to the people.

*Ib.* xxviii. (xxvii.).

*Ib.* xxxii. 1-43.

"directed against the simulated changes of sex which occurred in Canaanite and Syrian heathenism" (Driver). But Weill finds support for them in the opinion of R. Eliezer ben Jacob (1st cent. A.D.), who based upon this verse of Deut. the rule that a woman might not bear arms.

<sup>c</sup> The projected "Customs and Causes" often mentioned; see iii. 223.

## JOSEPHUS

λέλοιπεν ἐν βίβλῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρόρρησιν περι-  
 έχουσαν τῶν ἐσομένων, καθ' ἣν [καὶ] γέγονε [τὰ]  
 πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκείνου διημαρτηκότος  
 304 τῆς ἀληθείας. ταῦτ' οὖν τὰ βιβλία παραδίδωσι  
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, εἰς ἣν καὶ τοὺς  
 δέκα λόγους γεγραμμένους ἐν δυσὶ πλαξὶ κατέθετο,  
 καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν· τῷ τε λαῷ παρήνευσε κρατήσαντι  
 τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰδρυθέντι μὴ λήθην λαβεῖν τῆς Ἀμα-  
 ληκιτῶν ὕβρεως, ἀλλὰ στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς  
 τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνον-  
 305 τας<sup>1</sup> ἐποίησαν κακῶς, ἐξελόντας δὲ τὴν Χανααίων  
 γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν διαφθείραντας τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πληθὺν  
 καθὰ πρέπει, τὸν βωμόν τε ἀναστήσαι πρὸς ἥλιον  
 ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Συκιμίων<sup>2</sup>  
 πόλεως [ἐμπεριάγειν]<sup>3</sup> μεταξὺ δυοῖν ὄροιν, Γαρι-  
 ζαίου<sup>4</sup> μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ' ἐκ  
 λαιῶν Βουλῆ<sup>5</sup> προσαγορευομένου, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ  
 τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἕξ φυλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖν δυοῖν ὄροιν

<sup>1</sup> ed. pr., Lat.: τυγχάνοντες codd.

<sup>2</sup> Συκιμίων R'O. <sup>3</sup> om. ed. pr., Lat.

<sup>4</sup> Γριζίου M: Γριζαίοι Niese.

<sup>5</sup> Γιβάλου ed. pr.: Hebal Lat.

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<sup>a</sup> Not, as in one ms. (followed by Hudson and Weill), "in the holy book." Similar references to "writings deposited in the temple" occur in *A.* iii. 38, v. 61; the fact that these passages refer to lyrical portions of Scripture, taken with the statement that this song of Moses, like that other song at the Red Sea (*A.* ii. 316), was composed "in hexameter verse," suggests that Josephus was acquainted with a collection of chants, drawn from the Bible or from elsewhere, and set to music for the use of the temple choir. I may refer to my *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929), pp. 90 f.

<sup>b</sup> *A.* iii. 39 ff. (esp. 60), Ex. xvii. 8-16. The passage in 622

over bequeathed in a book preserved in the temple,<sup>a</sup> containing a prediction of future events, in accordance with which all has come and is coming to pass, the seer having in no whit strayed from the truth. All these books he consigned to the priests, together with the ark, in which he had deposited the ten commandments written on two tables, and the tabernacle. He also exhorted the people, once they had conquered the country and were established therein, not to forget that insolence of the Amalekites, but to take the field against them and exact vengeance for the wrong which they had done them when they were in the desert.<sup>b</sup> Furthermore, when they had utterly vanquished the land of Canaan and destroyed its whole population, as was meet, they were to erect the altar pointing towards the rising sun,<sup>c</sup> not far from the city of Sikima<sup>d</sup> between two mountains, the Garizaeon<sup>e</sup> on the right and that called "Counsel"<sup>f</sup> on the left; and the army, divided into two portions of six tribes each, was to take up its station on these

Deut. xxxi. 9, 25.

Ib. xxv. 17.

Blessings and curses inscribed on the altar. Ib. xxvii. 4. 12 ff.

Dent. xxv., "Remember what Amalek did," was one of the earliest of the "lessons" from the Law to be read in Jewish worship.

<sup>a</sup> Direction not named in Scripture: the phrase "towards the sun-rising" seems to be taken from Herodotus (*B.J.* vii. 281 note).

<sup>d</sup> Shechem: some mss. read "the Sikimites." The word *ἰμπεριάγειν* ("to bring round"), which follows in the Greek mss., looks like a gloss on *ἀναστῆσαι* ("to erect"), or rather a correction of the assistant (*B.J.* v. 367, the only other instance known to the Lexicons), to indicate that the altar, inscribed by Moses (§ 308), was to be taken with them, and not, as in Scripture, to be erected *ex tempore* on the spot.

<sup>e</sup> Heb. Gerizim, לxx גריזים.

<sup>f</sup> Heb. Ebal, לxx עבאל: Βουλή ("Counsel") of Josephus is an instance of the frequent Hellenization of a Hebrew name; the Heb. is perhaps connected with the god Bel.

ἀναστήναι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λευίτας τε καὶ ἱερέας.  
 306 καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Γαριζεῖν<sup>2</sup> γενομένους  
 εὐχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ  
 θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων φυλακὴν σπουδάσασιν ὡς  
 τε Μωσῆς εἶπε μὴ παρακροασαμένοις,<sup>3</sup> εὐφημεῖν  
 δὲ τὰς ἐτέρας, καὶ τούτων πάλιν εὐχομένων  
 307 τὰς προηγμένας ἐπαιεῖν. ἔπειτα κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς  
 παραβησομένοις κατάρας τίθεσθαι ὑποφωνούσας  
 ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τῇ κυρώσει τῶν λεγομένων. ἀν-  
 ἔγραψε δὲ τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰς κατάρας αὐτός,  
 ὡς μηδέποτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ  
 308 τοῦ χρόνου, ἃς δὴ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ τελευτῶν ἐν-  
 ἔγραψε κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν, ἧ καὶ στάντα φησὶ  
 τὸν λαὸν θύσαι τε καὶ ὀλοκαυτῶσαι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην  
 τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ<sup>4</sup> ἐπενεγκεῖν ἱερεῖον ἕτερον, οὐ γὰρ  
 εἶναι νόμιμον. ταῦτ' οὖν Μωσῆς διέταξε καὶ τὸ  
 'Εβραίων ἔθνος ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ποιοῦν διατελεῖ.  
 309 (45) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὸν λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν ἅμα  
 καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν, ὡς παρῆναι  
 καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ὄρκου τῶν νόμων αὐτοῦς  
 φυλακὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διανοίας  
 ἀκριβεῖς λογιστὰς γινομένους ἢ μηδὲν<sup>5</sup> αὐτοῦς  
 μήτε συγγενεία χαριζομένους μήτε εἰκοντας φόβῳ  
 μήτε ἄλλην καθάπαξ αἰτίαν κυριωτέραν τῆς τῶν  
 νόμων φυλακῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντας παραβῆναι τού-

<sup>1</sup> RO: + τοὺς rell.

<sup>2</sup> Γρίζειν ROM.

<sup>3</sup> Holwerda: παρακροασαμενοις (παρακουσ.) codd.

<sup>4</sup> + ἔτ' SP'LE.

<sup>5</sup> ἢ μηδὲν conj.: εἰ μηδὲν εἰς etc. codd.

<sup>a</sup> "And all the people shall say, Amen," Deut. xxvii. 26.

<sup>b</sup> In Scripture the people (not Moses) are to inscribe on the future altar, not the blessings and curses, but "all the words of this law" (xxvii. 3, 8).

two mountains, and with them Levites and priests. And first those on Mount Garizin were to invoke the best of blessings upon such as were zealous for the worship of God and for the observance of the laws and were not disobedient to the words of Moses, and the other tribes were to express pious approval <sup>a</sup>; and when these offered prayers in their turn, the first party should signify their assent. Thereafter, in the same order, they should imprecate curses upon future transgressors, mutually responding in corroboration of the pronouncements. These blessings and curses he put on record himself, to the end that their lesson might never be abolished by time, and indeed at the last he inscribed them upon the altar,<sup>b</sup> on either side, even where he said that the people were to stand <sup>c</sup> and offer sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, but after that day they should offer no further victim thereon,<sup>d</sup> that being unlawful. Such were the ordinances of Moses, and the Hebrew nation continues to act in conformity therewith.

*Cf. Deut.*  
xxvii. 8.

*Ib.* 6 f.  
(*Josh.*  
viii. 31).

(45) On the morrow, having called together the people, women and children included, to an assembly which even the slaves were required to attend, he made them swear to observe the laws and that, taking strict account <sup>e</sup> of the mind of God, they would verily in no whit transgress them, neither through favouritism to kin, nor yielding to fear, nor in the belief that any other motive whatsoever could be more imperative than the observance of the laws; nay more, that

Oath of  
allegiance  
to the Law.  
*Cf. Deut.*  
xxix. 2 ff.

*Ib.* xiii. 6.

<sup>a</sup> Such seems to be the meaning, but the Greek is peculiar and possibly corrupt.

<sup>d</sup> No such injunction in Scripture. "Joseph est ici plus loyaliste que la loi" (T. Reinach).

<sup>e</sup> Lit. "showing themselves strict accountants."

## JOSEPHUS

- 310 τους, ἀλλ' ἄν τέ τις τῶν ἐξ αἵματος συγχεῖν καὶ καταλύειν ἐπιχειρῇ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἄν τε πόλις, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ κρατήσαντας μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾶν θεμελίων καὶ μηδὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων εἰ δυνατόν καταλιπεῖν, εἰ δ' ἀσθενοῖεν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν ἰδίαν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι δεικνύναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ᾤμνουν.
- 311 (46) Ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτούς, ὡς ἄν αἱ θυσίαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον κεχαρισμέναί γένοιτο καὶ ὅπως ἄν οἱ στρατεύοντες ἐξίοιεν τεκμηρίῳ χρώμενοι τοῖς λίθοις, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωκα. προεφήτευσεν
- 312 δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Μωυσέος παρόντος. ἔπειτα πάνθ' ὅσα ποιήσειεν<sup>1</sup> ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην νόμους τε συντιθεῖς καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον συμπορίζων ἀναλογιζόμενος προεῖπεν, ὡς δηλώσειεν αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι παραβάντες τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πειρα-
- 313 θήσονται κακῶν, ὡς ὄπλων τε αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πληρωθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι πόλεις καὶ τὸν νεῶν καταπρησθῆναι καὶ πραθέντας δουλεύειν ἀνδράσιν οὐδένα ληψομένοις οἶκτον ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετανοήσειν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ
- 314 χρησίμῳ ταῦτα πάσχοντας. “ὁ μέντοι θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ὑμᾶς πόλεις τε πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἀποδώσει καὶ τὸν ναόν· ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀποβολὴν οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις.”
- 315 (47) Παρορμήσας δὲ<sup>2</sup> τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς

<sup>1</sup> ποιήσειεν SP.

<sup>2</sup> οὖν RO.

should any person of their blood essay to confound and dissolve the constitution that was based on those laws, should any city do the like, they would rise in their defence, as a nation and as individuals, and, when victorious, would uproot that place from its very foundations, aye and leave not the very ground beneath those miscreants' feet, were that possible ; but should they be powerless to exact that punishment, they would at least demonstrate that these proceedings were contrary to their will. And the people took the oath.

Deut.  
xiii. 12.

(46) He taught them, too, how their sacrifices might be made the more acceptable to God, and how the troops when taking the field should consult the oracular stones, as I have previously indicated.<sup>a</sup>

Exhortation  
and  
warnings.  
Cf. Numb.  
xxviii. 1.

Joshua also prophesied in the presence of Moses. Then, recounting all that he had done for the people's salvation in war and in peace, in compiling laws and in co-operating to procure for them an ordered constitution, Moses foretold, as revealed to him by the Divinity, that, if they transgressed His rites, they would experience afflictions of such sort that their land would be filled with the arms of enemies, their cities razed, their temple burnt ; that they would be sold into slavery to men who would take no pity on their misfortunes, and that their repentance would profit them naught amid those sufferings. "Howbeit," said he, "God who created you <sup>b</sup> will restore those cities to your citizens and the temple too ; yet will they be lost not once, but often."

Deut. xxviii.

(47) Then, after exhorting Joshua to lead a cam-

<sup>b</sup> Reinach " qui a fondé votre empire " : the phrase *θεός ὁ κτίσας* recurs in *B.J.* iii. 379, v. 377. This last sentence is the author's addition, without warrant in Scripture.

## JOSEPHUS

- Χαναναίους στρατείαν<sup>1</sup> ἐξάγειν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργούντος οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπευφημήσας τὴν πληθύν, “ἐπεὶ,” φησί, “πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄπειμι προγόνους καὶ θεὸς τήνδε μοι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀφίξεως ὥρισε,
- 316 χάριν μὲν αὐτῷ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ παρῶν ὑμῖν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ προνοίας τε τῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς μόνον τῶν ὑμετέρων<sup>2</sup> ἐποιήσατο κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεᾶς τῶν κρειττόνων, ὅτι τε πονοῦντί μοι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν<sup>3</sup> τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὑμῶν μεταβολῆς φροντίδα λαμβάνοντι συνηγωνίσασατο καὶ παρέσχεν ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν<sup>4</sup> εὐμενῆ.
- 317 μᾶλλον δ’ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν αὐτῶν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ τέλη χαριζόμενος, ὑποστρατήγῳ χρώμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ ὦν τὸν ἡμέτερον λαὸν
- 318 εὐεργετεῖν ἠθέλησεν. ἀνθ’ ὧν προευλογήσαι<sup>5</sup> τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ᾧ μελήσει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῶν, ἀπαλασσόμενος καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην, αὐτὸς τε ταύτην ὀφειλομένην ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδιδούς καὶ καταλείπων εἰς μνήμην ὑμῖν τὸ σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν προσήκειν τοῦτον ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, πάντων ὧν τε παρέσχηκε καὶ μένων εὐμενῆς ἔτι
- 319 παρέξει δῶρημα κάλλιστον, φυλάττειν· ὡς δεινὸς μὲν ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος νομοθέτης ὑβριζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων καὶ μάτην κειμένων, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ πειραθείητε χαλεπαίνοντος ὑπὲρ ἀμελουμένων νόμων, οὓς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ὑμῖν ἔδωκε.”
- 320 (48) Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τελευτῆ<sup>6</sup> τοῦ βίου φήσαντος καὶ μετ’ εὐλογίας ἐκάστη τῶν φυλῶν

<sup>1</sup> στρατιάν MS.

<sup>2</sup> ex Lat. edd.: ἡμετέρων codd.

<sup>3</sup> ed. Genev.: ἐπινοοῦντι SP (omitting κατὰ): ἐπὶ νοῦν rell.

<sup>4</sup> ὑμῖν RO.



paign against the Canaanites, assured of God's co-operation in all his enterprises, and after addressing auspicious words to the whole assembly, "Seeing," said he, "that I am going to our forefathers and that this is the day that God hath appointed for my departure to them, while yet alive and among you I render thanks to Him, alike for the care which He has bestowed on you, not only in delivering you from your distress, but in presenting you with the best of boons, and then for that, while I was toiling and with utmost endeavour taking thought for the amelioration of your lot, He aided me in those struggles and showed Himself ever gracious towards me.<sup>a</sup> Nay rather it was He who both gave the lead in those endeavours and granted the gracious issues, employing me but as His subaltern and subordinate minister of the benefactions which He was fain to confer upon our people. Wherefore I thought it right, ere departing, to bless the power of God, who will still care for you for the time to come, myself rendering this return that is His due, and leaving in your memory the thought that it behoves you to revere and honour Him, and to *observe* His laws—that choicest boon of all that He has given you or, continuing to be gracious, will give you hereafter. For if even a human legislator is a formidable foe when his laws are outraged and laid down to none effect, then beware of experiencing the wrath of God for laws neglected—laws which He, the begetter of them, presented to you Himself."

(48) When Moses, at the close of life, had thus spoken, and, with benedictions, had prophesied to

<sup>a</sup> Gr. "us" (sing. for plur., as often).

<sup>5</sup> προσευλογῆσαι SPL.

<sup>6</sup> Niese: τελευτήν codd.

Moses renders thanks to God: his last words, *Ib.* xxxi. 7.

*Cf.* Deut. xxxii.

The people's emotion. *Ib.* xxxiii. 1.

## JOSEPHUS

προφητεύσαντος τὰ καὶ γενησόμενα<sup>1</sup> τὸ πλήθος  
 εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας  
 στερνοτυπουμένας ἐμφανίζειν τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεθνη-  
 ξομένῳ πάθος. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ θρηνοῦντες ἔτι  
 μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀσθενέστεροι κρατεῖν λύπης, ἐδήλουν  
 ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλοουργίας παρ' αὐτὴν  
 321 τὴν ἡλικίαν συνίεσαν. ἦν δὲ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς τε  
 νέοις καὶ προηβηκόσιν<sup>2</sup> ἄμιλλα τῆς λύπης· οἱ μὲν  
 γὰρ εἰδότες οἴου στεροῖντο<sup>3</sup> κηδεμόνος περὶ τοῦ  
 μέλλοντος ἀπεθρήνουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὸ  
 πένθος ἦν καὶ ὅτι μήπω καλῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ  
 322 γεγευμένοις ἀπολείπεσθαι συνέβαιεν αὐτοῦ. τὴν  
 δ' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ πλήθους οἰμωγῆς καὶ τῶν  
 ὀδυρμῶν τεκμαίροιο ἄν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ  
 νομοθέτῃ· καὶ γὰρ πεπεισμένος ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ  
 μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ μελλούσῃ τελευτῇ κατηφεῖν, ὡς κατὰ  
 βούλησιν αὐτὸ πάσχοντας θεοῦ καὶ φύσεως νόμῳ,  
 ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις ἐνικήθη δα-  
 323 κρῦσαι. πορευομένῳ δ' ἔνθεν οὐ ἔμελλεν ἀφανισθῆ-  
 σεσθαι πάντες εἶποντο δεδακρυμένοι, καὶ Μωυσῆς  
 τοὺς μὲν πόρρω τῇ χειρὶ κατασείων μένειν ἤρε-  
 μοῦντας ἐκέλευε, τοὺς<sup>4</sup> δ' ἔγγιον λόγοις παρεκάλει  
 μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτῷ δακρυτὴν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπο-  
 324 μένους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι κρί-  
 νοντες, τὸ κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν  
 ἐφέιναι, κατέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις δακρύνοντες.  
 μόνη δ' ἡ γερουσία προύπεμψεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ  
 ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς.

<sup>1</sup> ex Lat.: γενόμενα codd.

<sup>2</sup> RO (+ ἡ): προβηβηκόσιν rell.

<sup>3</sup> ἐστέρηται R: ἐστέρητο O.

<sup>4</sup> τὸ RO.

<sup>a</sup> According to another reading, "that in fact came to pass."

each of the tribes the things that in fact were to come to pass,<sup>a</sup> the multitude burst into tears, while the women, too, with beating of the breast manifested their emotion at his approaching death. Aye, and the children, wailing yet more, in that they were too feeble to suppress their grief, displayed an understanding of his virtues and grand achievements even beyond their years. Yet in the thoughts of their hearts there was conflict between the grief of the young and of their seniors. For these, knowing of what a protector they were to be bereft, lamented for the future ; while those, beside that cause for grief, had the sorrow that, ere they had yet right well tasted of his worth, it was their lot to lose him. How extraordinary was this outburst of weeping and wailing of the multitude may be conjectured from what befell the lawgiver. For he, who had ever been persuaded that men should not despond as the end approached, because this fate befell them in accordance with the will of God and by a law of nature, was yet by this conduct of the people reduced to tears.

On his advancing thence toward the place where he was destined to disappear, they all followed him bathed in tears ; thereupon Moses, by a signal of his hand, bade those in the distance to remain still, while by word of mouth he exhorted those nearer to him not to make his passing a tearful one by following him. And they, deciding to gratify him in this also, to wit, to leave him to depart according to his own desire, held back, weeping with one another. Only the elders escorted him, with Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua the general. But when

The passing  
of Moses.  
Deut.  
xxxiv. 1.

- 325 ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀβαρεῖ καλουμένῳ ἐγένετο, τοῦτο δὲ ὑψηλὸν Ἰεριχοῦντος<sup>1</sup> ἀντικρὺ κείται γῆν ἀρίστην τῶν Χανααίων καὶ πλείστην παρέχον τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατοπτεύειν, ἀπέπεμπε τὴν γερου-  
 326 σίαν. ἀσπαζομένου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομιλοῦντος ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν σάντος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.
- 327 (49) Ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἤρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνὶ λείπον<sup>2</sup> μηνί. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ ὑστάτῳ μηνί τοῦ ἔτους, ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων Δύστρου καλουμένου Ἀδάρου  
 328 δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν νομηγία, συνέσει τε τοὺς πώποτ' ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ χρησάμενος ἄριστα τοῖς νοηθεῖσιν, εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πλήθεσιν ὀμιλῆσαι κεχαρισμένος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτωρ,  
 329 ὡς μηδὲ ἐνεῖναι τούτων τῇ ψυχῇ δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ γινώσκειν μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ

<sup>1</sup> + κατ' SPL.<sup>2</sup> Niese: λείποντι codd.

• Heb. Abarim, Deut. xxxii. 49: the name apparently "applied to the range of mountains 'beyond' (i.e. east of) Jordan in which Nebo formed a particular ridge" (Driver). Josephus ignores "mount Nebo" which is mentioned in Deut. xxxiv. 1 as the precise spot.

<sup>b</sup> The Biblical account runs: "So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD. And He buried him in the ravine . . . but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." The account of Josephus seems to be reminiscent of the passing of the two founders of the Roman race as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus: "But the body of Aeneas could nowhere be found and some conjectured that he had been

he arrived on the mountain called Abaris<sup>a</sup>—a lofty eminence situate over against Jericho and affording to those on its summit a wide view beneath of the best of the land of the Canaanites—he dismissed the elders. And, while he bade farewell to Eleazar and Joshua and was yet communing with them, a cloud of a sudden descended upon him and he disappeared in a ravine.<sup>b</sup> But he has written of himself in the sacred books that he died,<sup>c</sup> for fear lest they should venture to say that by reason of his surpassing virtue he had gone back to the Deity.<sup>d</sup>

Deut.  
xxxiv. 5 f.

(49) He lived in all one hundred and twenty years and was ruler for a third part of that time bating one month. He departed in the last month of the year, which the Macedonians call Dystros and we Adar,<sup>e</sup> on the day of the new moon, having surpassed in understanding all men that ever lived and put to noblest use the fruit of his reflections. In speech and in addresses to a crowd he found favour in every way, but chiefly through his thorough command of his passions, which was such that he seemed to have no place for them at all in his soul, and only knew their names through seeing them in

Encomium  
of Moses.  
Ib. 7.

translated to the gods" (*Ant. Rom.* i. 64. 4), and of Romulus, "The more mythical writers say that as he was holding an assembly (*ἐκκλησιάζοντα*) in the camp darkness descended upon him from a clear sky and . . . he disappeared, and they believe that he was caught up by his father Ares" (*ib.* ii. 56. 2).

<sup>c</sup> Rabbis were divided on the question whether the last eight verses of Deut. were written by Moses or by Joshua (see Weill's note). The view of Josephus has the support of R. Simeon.

<sup>d</sup> The same phrase in i. 85 (of Enoch), iii. 96 (of Moses).

<sup>e</sup> Feb.-March; Rabbinic tradition named the 7th (not the 1st) of Adar (Weill).

## JOSEPHUS

παρ' ἄλλοις αὐτὰ βλέπειν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ.  
 καὶ στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις, προφήτης δὲ οἷος  
 οὐκ ἄλλος, ὥσθ' ὅ τι ἂν φθέγγεται δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ  
 330 λέγοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. πενθεῖ μὲν οὖν  
 αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, λύπη δὲ οὐκ  
 ἄλλη κατέσχευεν Ἑβραίους τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος,  
 331 ὅση τότε Μωυσέος ἀποθανόντος. ἐπόθουν δ'  
 αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ πειραθέντες αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ  
 καὶ οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐτοῦ δεινὴν  
 ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν, τὸ περιὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς  
 ἀρετῆς ἐκ τούτων λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ  
 Μωυσῆν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

others rather than in himself. As general he had few to equal him, and as prophet none, insomuch that in all his utterances one seemed to hear the speech of God Himself. So the people mourned for him for thirty days, and never were Hebrews oppressed by grief so profound as that which filled them then on the death of Moses. Nor was he regretted only by those who had known him by experience, but the very readers of his laws have sadly felt his loss, deducing from these the superlative quality of his virtue. Such, then, be our description of the end of Moses.

## APPENDIX

### AN ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

THERE has come down to us, prefixed to each book of the *Jewish Antiquities*, and introduced by the words "These are the things contained in the . . . book of the histories of Josephus of the *Jewish Archaeology*," a rough table of contents, together with a statement of the number of years covered by each book. The "titles" of the several sections are numbered in Books I-X, but not in the later books. Since these headings stand not only in the oldest mss but already in the Latin version made in the fifth or sixth century, they possess an interest on the score of antiquity, by whomsoever compiled, and are accordingly (for Books I-IV) reproduced below. How much earlier than the date of the Latin version they may be is unknown. The reference to Eusebius in the chronological statement at the end of the heading to Book I betrays a date not earlier than the fourth century; but that these chronological statements are later than the summaries of contents is indicated by their varying position (before or after the summary) and by their absence, in the earlier books, from the Latin version. In his *Jewish War* Josephus himself incorporated a rough summary of the whole in his proem (i. 19-29); and, though it is



## ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

improbable that these more elaborate chapter headings are the production of his pen, they may well be not far removed from him in date. They are ostensibly written by a Jew (I. vii "our forefather Abraham"), and the phraseology occasionally suggests the hand of one of the author's assistants. Referenes to the smaller sections and pages of the present edition are appended.

## BIBΛION A

Προοίμιον περὶ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.<sup>1</sup>

α'. Ἐ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις καὶ διάταξις τῶν στοιχείων.

β'. Περὶ τοῦ γένους Ἀδάμου καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέκα γενεῶν τῶν μέχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.

γ'. Ὡς ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ὃν τρόπον Νῶχος σωθεὶς ἐν λάρνακι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κατώκησεν ἐν τῷ Σινάρῳ πεδίῳ.

δ'. Ὡς πύργον<sup>2</sup> οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐφ' ὕβρει τοῦ θεοῦ ᾠκοδόμησαν,<sup>3</sup> καὶ ὡς τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν μετέβαλε καὶ ὁ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ τοῦτο γέγονε, Βαβυλῶν ἐκλήθη.

ε'. Ὡς οἱ Νώχου ἔγγονοι πᾶσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπόκησαν.

ς'. Ὅτι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἕκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκισάντων<sup>4</sup> προσηγορεύθη.

ζ'. Ὅπως Ἀβραμὸς ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν ἐξεληθὼν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς κατέσχε τὴν τότε μὲν Χανααίαν νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην.

<sup>1</sup> om. Lat. (in which the table of contents stands after the Proem).

<sup>2</sup> πύργον Niese: πύργος ὃν codd.

<sup>3</sup> + κατέπεσεν ed. gr.

<sup>4</sup> Niese: οἰκησάντων codd.

## BOOK I

	In this edition	
	SECTION	PAGE
Preface concerning the whole work . . . . .	1	2
(i) The construction of the world and disposition of the elements . . . . .	27	14
(ii) Concerning the race of Adam and the ten generations from him up to the flood . . . . .	34	16
(iii) How the flood came and how Noah, being saved in an ark with his family, settled in the plain of Sinar . . . . .	72	32
(iv) How his sons built a tower, in God's despite, and how He confounded <sup>a</sup> their languages and the place wherein this was done was called Babylon . . . . .	113	54
(v) How the descendants of Noah colonized all the habitable earth . . . . .	120	58
(vi) How that each of the nations was named after its founder . . . . .	122	58
(vii) How Abraham, our forefather, quitting the land of the Chaldaeans, occupied that which was then called Canaan and now Judaea . . . . .	154	76

<sup>a</sup> Gr. "changed."

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I

η' "Οτι λιμοῦ τὴν Χανααίαν καταλαβόντος εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀπῆρε καὶ διατρίψας ἐν αὐτῇ τινα χρόνον ὑπέστρεψεν ὀπίσω.

θ'. Ἐπτα Σοδομιτῶν Ἀσσυρίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατευσάντων.

ι'. Ὡς Ἀβραμος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ἐκστρατεύσας ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Σοδομιτῶν ἔσωσε καὶ τὴν λείαν ἣν ἔλαβον ἀφείλετο.

ια'. Πῶς τὸ Σοδομιτῶν ἔθνος θεὸς κατεστρέψατο χολωθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτανον.

ιβ'. Περὶ Ἰσμαήλου τοῦ Ἀβράμου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ Ἀράβων.

ιγ'. Περὶ Ἰσάκου, ὃς ἦν γνήσιος παῖς Ἀβράμου.

ιδ'. Περὶ Σάρρας τῆς Ἀβράμου γυναικός, καὶ πῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν.

ιε'. Ὡς ἐκ Κατούρης Ἀβράμῳ γαμηθείσης τὸ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν Ἀράβων<sup>1</sup> ἔθνος ἐγεννήθη.

ισ'. Περὶ τῆς Ἀβράμου τελευτῆς.

ιζ'. Περὶ τῆς Ἰσάκου παίδων Ἡσαῦ καὶ Ἰακώβου γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς.

ιη'. Ἰακώβου φυγὴ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διὰ τὸν ἐκ ταδελεφοῦ φόβον, καὶ ὡς γήμας ἐκεῖ καὶ δώδεκα γεννήσας παῖδας πάλιν εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν ἐπανήλθεν.

<sup>1</sup> om. Lat.

## ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(viii) How that, a famine prevailing in Canaan, he removed to Egypt and, having abode there some time, returned back again. . . . .	161	80
(ix) Defeat of the Sodomites, attacked by the Assyrians . . . . .	171	84
(x) How Abraham marched against the Assyrians and overcame them, delivered the Sodomite prisoners and recovered the booty which the enemy had taken . . . . .	176	86
(xi) How God exterminated the race of the Sodomites, being incensed with them for their sins . . . . .	194	94
(xii) Concerning Ishmael, son of Abraham, and his descendants, the Arabs	[186 214	92 106
(xiii) Concerning Isaac, the legitimate son of Abraham . . . . .	222	108
(xiv) Concerning Sarra, wife of Abraham, and how she died . . . . .	237	116
(xv) How from Katura's marriage with Abraham sprang the race of the Troglodyte Arabs . . . . .	238	116
(xvi) Concerning the death of Abraham . . . . .	256	126
(xvii) Concerning the birth and upbringing of Isaac's sons, Esau and Jacob	257	126
(xviii) Jacob's flight to Mesopotamia from fear of his brother, and how, having married there and begotten twelve sons, he returned again to Canaan . . . . .	278	134
		641

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I-II

ιθ'. Ὡς Ἰσακος τελευτήσας ἐτάφη ἐν Νεβρῶνι.  
Περιέχει ἢ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν ὡς Ἰώσηπος γη',  
'Εβραῖοι ,αωοβ', Εὐσέβιος ,γυνθ'.'

### BIBAIION B

α'. Ὡς Ἡσαῦς καὶ Ἰάκωβος Ἰσάκου παῖδες  
ὄντες διείλοντο τὴν οἴκησιν καὶ Ἡσαῦς μὲν τὴν  
Ἰδουμαίαν κατέσχευεν, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τὴν Χαναναίαν.

β'. Ὡς Ἰώσηπος ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Ἰακώβου  
παίδων ὄνειράτων αὐτῷ προδεικνύντων τὴν μέλ-  
λουσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐφθονήθη.

γ'. Ὡς αὐτὸς οὗτος εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρᾶθεις  
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μῖσος καὶ  
γενόμενος ἐπίσημος ἐκεῖ καὶ λαμπρὸς<sup>2</sup> τοὺς  
ἀδελφοὺς ἔσχευεν ὑποχειρίους.

[δ'. Ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς  
πάσης πρὸς αὐτὸν μετάβασις διὰ τὸν γενόμενον  
λιμόν.

ε'. Ὅσα τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνέβη  
κακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπ' ἔτη τετρακόσια.

ς'. Ὡς Μωσέως ἠγουμένου τὴν Αἴγυπτον  
ἐξέλιπον.

ζ'. Ἡ Μωσέως γένεσις καὶ ἀνατροφή.

<sup>1</sup> περιέχει . . . γυνθ'] om. SL Lat. : περιέχει ἢ βίβλος χρόνον  
ἐτῶν ,γωλγ' P (the opening words of this ms).

<sup>2</sup> λαμπρότατος RO.

<sup>a</sup> So the Latin version: the Greek mss have "Nebron"  
(i. 170 note).

# ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

SECTION PAGE

(xix) How Isaac died and was buried at Hebron <sup>a</sup> . . . . .	345	164
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The book covers a period of 3008 years according to Josephus, of 1872 according to the Hebrews, of 3459 according to Eusebius.

## BOOK II

(i) How Esau and Jacob, sons of Isaac, divided the territory, Esau occupying Idumaea and Jacob Canaan . . . . .	1	168
(ii) How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's sons, by his dreams foreshowing his future fortune, excited the envy of his brethren . . . . .	9	172
(iii) How the same, being sold into Egypt by his brethren because of the hate that they bore him, and there becoming great and illustrious, had his brethren at his mercy . . . . .	20	176
[(iv) The migration of his father with all his family to join him because of the famine . . . . .	168	236
(v) What befell the Hebrews in Egypt, suffering affliction for 400 years . . . . .	201	250
(vi) How, under the leadership of Moses, they left Egypt . . . . .	[315	302]
(vii) Birth and education of Moses . . . . .	205	252
		643

η'. Ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις διωκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀνακοπέισα φυγὴν δι' αὐτῆς παρέσχεν.

Περιέχει δὲ ἡ βίβλος ἔτη διακόσια εἴκοσι.]<sup>1</sup>

BIBLION Γ<sup>2</sup>

α'. Ὡς Μωυσῆς τὸν λαὸν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου ἀναλαβὼν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος πολλὰ ταλαιπωρήσαντα ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ.

β'. Ὡς πολεμήσαντες Ἑβραίοις Ἀμαληκῖται καὶ οἱ πέριξ ἠττήθησαν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλον.<sup>3</sup>

γ'. Ὅτι τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰεθῆρ Μωυσῆς παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Σιναῖον ἀσμένως ὑπεδέξατο.

δ'. Ὡς ὑπέθετο διατάξαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ χιλίάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους ἄτακτον ὄντα τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὡς<sup>4</sup> ἕκαστα τούτων ἐποίησε Μωυσῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ παραίνεσιν.

<sup>1</sup> The bracketed portion (in MSP) is omitted by ROL Lat.; in place of it cod. O has ὡς Ἑβραῖοι ἐδούλευσαν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις | ὡς Μωϋσῆς τραφεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Φαραώθου παιδὸς καὶ μέγας γενόμενος πληγᾶς προσῆξε τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ | ὡς λαβὼν τὸν λαὸν καὶ διελὼν τὴν ἐρυθρὰν αὐτοὺς διεπέρασεν.

<sup>2</sup> List of contents in ROSP Lat.: om. ML.

<sup>3</sup> Section omitted by O, with corresponding alteration of the subsequent figures: καὶ πολλὴν . . . ἀπέβαλον] et Israhelitae praedam hostium perceperunt Lat.; πολλὴν] τὴν πολλὴν SP.

<sup>4</sup> καὶ ὡς] quomodo Lat., beginning a new section (v), with alteration of subsequent figures.



## ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(viii) How, when the Hebrews were pursued by the Egyptians, the sea recoiled and afforded them flight through itself . . . . .	320	304
And the book covers 220 years.] <sup>a</sup>		

### BOOK III

(i) How Moses, having rescued the people from Egypt, led them to Mount Sinai, after enduring many hardships on the journey . . . . .	1	320
(ii) How the Amalekites and neighbouring peoples, having made war on the Hebrews, were defeated and lost a large part of their army. . . . .	39	336
(iii) How that his father-in-law Jether <sup>b</sup> having come to join him at Sinai, Moses gladly received him . . . . .	63	348
(iv) How he suggested to him to draw up the people, that had not been marshalled aforetime, under captains of thousands and of hundreds, and how Moses did all this in accordance with the counsel of his father-in-law . . . . .	66	348

<sup>a</sup> The principal ancient authorities omit these last five sections. The older division, three sections only, seems to have stopped midway through the book, and to have been supplemented later; another set of "titles" for the latter half appears in one ms, as shown opposite.

<sup>b</sup> Jethro: Raguel in the text of *A.* iii. 63.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III

ε'. Ὡς ἀναβὰς Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἔδωκεν.

ς'. Περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἣν κατεσκεύασε Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥστε ναὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

ζ'. Τίνες τε τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰσιν αἱ στολαὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως· καὶ τῶν ἀγνειῶν οἱ τρόποι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἑορτῶν καὶ ὡς ἐκάστη τῶν ἑορτῶν<sup>1</sup> διατέτακται.<sup>2</sup>

η'. Ὡς ἐκείθεν ἄρας Μωυσῆς ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῶν Χανααίων καὶ τοὺς κατοικομένους αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸ μέγεθος<sup>3</sup> ἐξάπέστειλεν.

θ'. Ὅτι τῶν πεμφθέντων μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ὑποστρεψάντων ἡμέραν καὶ λεγόντων οὐκ ἀξιόμαχους αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν Χανααίων ὑπεξαιρόντων δύναμιν, τὸ πλῆθος παραχθὲν καὶ πεσὼν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ὤρμησεν ὥστε καταλεῦσαι παρὰ μικρὸν<sup>4</sup> τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαι δουλεύειν διεγνωκότες.

ι'. Καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μωυσῆς διαγανακτήσας τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διατριβὴν προεῖπεν<sup>5</sup> ὠργίσθαι,<sup>6</sup> καὶ μῆτ'

<sup>1</sup> ἑορτῶν] ἡμερῶν SP.

<sup>2</sup> καὶ τῶν . . . διατέτακται] et quae purificationes et quemadmodum de festiuitatibus et singulis diebus fuerit constitutum Lat.

<sup>3</sup> τὸ μέγ.] magnitudines Lat.

<sup>4</sup> παρὰ μικρὸν om. SP.

<sup>5</sup> SP Lat.: προειπεῖν rell.

<sup>6</sup> text doubtful (iratum Lat.).

## ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
(v) How Moses, having gone up to Mount Sinai and received the laws from God, gave them to the Hebrews .	75	352
(vi) Concerning the tabernacle which Moses constructed in the wilderness to the honour of God, in semblance of a temple . . . . .	102	364
(vii) What are the vestments of the priests and of the high priest : and the various forms of purification : and concerning the festivals and how each of the festivals <sup>a</sup> is ordered . . . . .	151 224 237	386 424 430
(viii) How Moses, removing thence, led the people to the confines of the Canaanites and sent out men to explore their country and the extent of their cities . . . . .	295	460
(ix) How that the envoys returning after forty days and declaring that they were no match for the enemy and exaggerating the strength of the Canaanites, the multitude, confounded and driven to despair, set upon Moses, so that he was well-nigh stoned, having withal determined to return to Egypt to servitude . . . . .	303	464
(x) And how, indignant thereat, Moses announced that God had in wrath decreed <sup>b</sup> for them a sojourn for forty years in the wilderness, and		

<sup>a</sup> Or, according to another reading, " days."

<sup>b</sup> Text doubtful.

## JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III-IV

εἰς Αἴγυπτον ὑποστρέφειν μήτε λαβεῖν τὴν Χανα-  
ναίαν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν δύο.<sup>1</sup>

### BIBAIION Δ

α'. Ἐβραίων δίχα τῆς Μωυσέος-γνώμης μάχη  
πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ ἦπτα.

β'. Στάσις Κορέου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς  
Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

γ'. Τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ  
ἕτεσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα.<sup>2</sup>

δ'. Ὡς Σηχῶνα καὶ Ὠγην τοὺς Ἀμορραίων  
βασιλεῖς νικήσας Μωυσῆς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν  
[ἄπασαν]<sup>3</sup> αὐτῶν διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν  
τὴν χώραν δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ ἡμισεία τῶν Ἐβραίων.<sup>4</sup>

ε'. Μωυσέος πολιτεία καὶ πῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων  
ἠφανίσθη.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη<sup>5</sup> χρόνον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα  
καὶ ὀκτώ.

<sup>1</sup> μήτε λαβεῖν . . . δύο om. Lat.

<sup>2</sup> + δ' (om. P) ὡς οἱ μὲν τῆς στάσεως κατάρξαντες διεφθάρησαν  
κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δ' ἱερωσύνην Ἰαφάρων ὁ Μωϋσέως  
ἀδελφὸς κάτεσχε καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι (ἐκγ. P) αὐτοῦ: L inserts this  
section between (ii) and (iii).

<sup>3</sup> om. Lat.: trs. αὐτῶν ἄπασαν SP.

<sup>4</sup> + ε' (om. PL) περὶ Βαλάμου τοῦ μάντεως καὶ ποταπὸς (ποτα-  
πὸν S) ἦν τὸ εἶδος. ὡς ἐπὶ Μαδιανίτας Ἐβραῖοι στρατεύσαντες  
ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν SPL. <sup>5</sup> R Lat.: om. rell.

## ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION	PAGE
that they would neither return to Egypt nor conquer Canaan . . . .	311	468

The book covers a period of two years.

### BOOK IV

(i) Battle of the Hebrews against the Canaanites, without the consent of Moses, and their defeat . . . . .	1	476
(ii) Revolt of Korah and the multitude against Moses and his brother concerning the priesthood . . . . .	11	480
(iii) What befell the Hebrews in the wilderness during thirty-eight years . . . . .	59	504
(iv) How Moses, having defeated Sihon and Og, <sup>a</sup> the kings of the Amorites, and destroyed all their army, allotted their country to two and a half of the tribes of the Hebrews . . . . .	85	516
(v) Constitution of Moses, and how he disappeared from among men	176	560
	199	570
	320	628

This books covers a period of thirty-eight years.

<sup>a</sup> Gr. Sēchon and Oges; the latter is more precisely described in the text (*A.* iv. 96) as "king of Galadene and Gaulanitis."



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