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*, 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

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*a 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\textsuperscript{a} that he was prompted by self-interested motives, hoping thereby to re-
habilitate 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 \textit{Jewish War}.\textsuperscript{b} In an interesting proem he tells us something of the genesis, motives, and diffi-
culties 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 Alexanderian 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


\textsuperscript{b} \textit{Ant.} i. 6.
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the race which was now permeating every household.\(^a\)

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 \(\text{Ῥωμαϊκὴ \ Αρχαιολογία} \) (Roman Antiquities). Exactly a century later Josephus produced his \textit{magnum opus}, also in twenty books and entitled \(\text{Ἰουδαϊκὴ \ Αρχαιολογία} \) (Jewish Antiquities). There can be no doubt that this second work was designed as a counterpart to the first. If, in his \textit{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 \textit{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,” \(^b\) 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.\(^c\) 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.\(^d\)

\(^a\) C. \textit{Ap.} ii. 284.
\(^b\) \textit{Ant.} i. 15.
\(^c\) \textit{ib.} iv. 326 note.
\(^d\) \textit{ib.} i. 108 note.
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has also clearly been consulted as a model of style.

In the final paragraph of his work 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. The Life alludes 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.

The work, like the Life and the Contra Apionem which followed it, is dedicated to a certain Epaphroditus, 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 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

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Date.

\[ Ant. \text{ xx. 267. } \]

\[ \text{ib. xx. 259-266. } \]

\[ \text{Vita 359. } \]

\[ \text{Ant. i. 8 f., Vita 430, Ap. i. 1, ii. 1, 296. } \]

\[ \text{Vol. v. p. iii. } \]
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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.a 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" (τεχαλίς πολυτρόποις),b it is tempting to see an allusion to the part which he had played in the death of Nero. But chronology refutes this identification:

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.c 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

a Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14.
b Ant. i. 8.
c Schürer, C.J.V. (ed. 4) i. p. 80 note.
INTRODUCTION

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,a 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 b 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.c Here, as elsewhere,d 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 assertione that he has added nothing to the Biblical narrative, the historian has in fact incorporated a miscellaneous mass of

\[\text{a Ant. iv. 196 ff.} \quad \text{b ib. i. 17, x. 218.} \]
\[\text{c ib. iii. 99 note.} \quad \text{d iii. 126 note.} \]
\[\text{e ib. i. 17, x. 218.} \]
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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 and of the Egyptian campaign against Ethiopia under his leadership, 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.). In the sphere of Halakah—the practical interpretation of the laws according to certain traditional rules, tâ νόμιμα as Josephus would call them—the detailed exposition of the Mosaic regulations in the present volume 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 on Moses prefixed to it betrays clear dependence on the De opificio mundi of Philo; acquaintance with a few other works of the Alexandrian writer is shown elsewhere.

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

\footnotesize
\begin{itemize}
  \item \textit{Ant.} ii. 205 ff.
  \item \textit{ibid.} ii. 238 ff.
  \item i. 41, 52, 70 f., ii. 224 (with notes).
  \item iii. 224 ff., iv. 196 ff.
  \item i. 18-33 (notes).
  \item \textit{De Abrahamo}, i. 177, 225, and perhaps \textit{De migratione Abrahami}, i. 157; \textit{De Josepho}, ii. 41 f., 72.
\end{itemize}
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the Babylonian, Manetho the Egyptian, Dius 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 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; another episode owes touches to Herodotus.

Reference has been made elsewhere to the aid which the historian received from Greek assistants (αὐτοπροσώπων). His indebtedness to them in the Jewish War is acknowledged 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 eom-

a Ant. i. 94, 107 f., 158 f.; cf. vii. 101.
b iv. 92.
c iv. 134 note.
e 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 ἀπεσθαί βουλευμάτων (Soph. Ant. 179), 300 κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπὸλλυσθαί (Phil. 1369), iii. 15 τὰ ἐν ποσὶ κακά (cp. 12 : Ant. 1327), 99 πρὸνοιαν ἔχειν περί τινος (Ant. 283), 141 and 165 περονίς (else only Trach. 925), 264 ἐξεκτεύειν (O.T. 760), iv. 15 θράσσαι e. inf. (Ai. 2), iv. 265 ἄμορφος γῆς (cp. Ai. 1326 f.). Euripides (Her. Fur. 323 f.) is clearly the model in the story of Hagar's expulsion (i. 218). From Homer we have ἐπὶ γῆρως οὖν (i. 222 : cp. Il. xxiii. 60 etc.), πιθαξίων ὀλίγας (iii. 33 : Il. xvi. 825), ἥχλυσεν (iii. 203 : Od. xii. 406), ὥστε παῖδας εὐφράναι 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 ἡλιον ἀνίσχοντα (iv. 305).

Beside this dependence on classical authors, another marked feature of this assistant, which he shares with his xv
favourite poet a 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 φρονίμοι... ὸς δὲ πᾶς δύμλο...). 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, 273 (φωνή, ὀψις, προσηγορία), 283, 326, iii. 22, 45 ὑπὸ ἑαυτὸν καὶ θεατηρίαν, ἀνέμοι (ἵππον εἰσὶν ἀνδρείον ἀσθενέιαν), 80 (ἀνέμοι... ἀστραπαί... κεραυνοί), 319 (ὸι μὲν... οὶ δὲ... πολλοί δὲ...), iv. 26 (οἰκ ἐπισδή... οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ εὐγενεία... οὐδὲ διὰ φιλαδελφίαν), 40 (δέσποτα τῶν ἐπ’ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης, cf. 45), 48 (ἀυτοῖς ἀμα τῇ γενέα καὶ τοῖς ἐπάρχονσιν), 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

a 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 ἀρχεῖσθαι with infinitive, familiar in the New Testament.a

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 b; 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,c 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.

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

b 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.

c 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. lxix. 20, cent. xiv.
Lat. Latin version made by order of Cassiodorus, cent. v or vi.
Exe. Excerpts made by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, eent. x.
E  Epitome, used by Zonaras, and conjectured by Niese to have been made in eent. x or xi.
Zon. The Chronicon of J. Zonaras, eent. 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 Antiquités in the Œuvres complètes de Flavien 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 xviii
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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.
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 μίν αὐτὴν ὅρῳ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αὐτίαν, ἀλλὰ πολλὰς καὶ πλείστον 2 ἀλλήλων διαφερούσας. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λόγων δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς θηρευόμενοι1 δόξαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο τῆς παιδείας τὸ μέρος ὀρμώσων, ἄλλοι δὲ χάριν ἐκείνους φέροντες, περὶ ὅν τὴν ἀναγραφήν εἶναι συμβέβηκε, τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν 3 πόνον καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπέστησαν: εἰσὶ δ' οἰτίνες ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης οἷς πραπτομένοις παρέτυχον ταῦτα γραφῆ ὑθλούσῃ περιλαβείν· πολλοὺς δὲ χρησιμών μέγεθος πραγμάτων ἐν ἄγνοια κεμένων προύτρεψε τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς κοινὴν ὑφέλεων ἐξενεγ- 4 κεῖν. τούτων δὴ τῶν προειρημένων αὐτῶν αἱ τελευταίαι δύο κάμοι συμβεβήκασι· τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενόμενον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῶ πράξεις καὶ τὸ τέλος οὗν ἀπέβη πείρα μαθῶν ἐβιάσθην ἐκδηγήσα- σθαι διὰ τούς ἐν τῷ γράφειν λυμαινομένους τὴν

1 Ο: θηρεύμενοι rel.

a 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 in order to refute those who in their writings were doing outrage to the truth.

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.
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6 ἀλήθειαν, (2) ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστώσαν ἐγκεκεχειρισμαί1 πραγματειάν νομίζων ἀπασὶ φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἐλλησιον ἀξίαν σπουδῆς· μέλλει γὰρ περιέχειν ἀπασάν τὴν παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογίαν καὶ [τὴν]2 διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτεύματος ἐκ τῶν Ἐβραϊκῶν μεθηρμηνεύ-6 μεν γραμμάτων. ἦδη μὲν οὖν καὶ προτερον διενοθήνν, ὅτε τὸν πόλεμον συνέγραψον, δηλώσαι τίνες ὄντες ἔξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαίων καὶ τίσι χρησάμενοι τύχαις, υφ’ οὐκε τε παϊδευθέντες νομοθετή τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἁσκησιν ἀρετῆς, πόσων τε πολέμους ἐν μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς τὸν τελευταῖον ἀκοντες πρὸς Ῥωμαίους κατέστη-7 σαν. ἄλλ’ ἐπειδὴ μείζων ἢ ἢ τοῦδε τοῦ λόγου περιβολῆ, καθ’ αὐτοῦ3 ἐκεῖνον χωρίσας τάς ἱδίας ἀρχαῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ τῷ τέλει τῆς γραφῆς συνεμέ-τρησα· χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ὅπερ φιλεί τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀπετεθαί διανοομένους, ὁκνοὶ μοι καὶ μέλλησις ἐγώντο τηλικαύτην μετενεγκεῖν ὑπό-θεσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπήν ἦμιν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου
8 συνήθειαν. ἦσαν δὲ τίνες οἱ πόθῳ τῆς ἱστορίας ἐπ’ αὐτὴν με προῦτρεπον, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἀνὴρ ἀπασάν μὲν ἱδέαν παιδείας ἡγαπηκώς, διαφερόντως δὲ χαίρων ἐμπειρίας πραγμάτων, ὅτε δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτὸς ὄμιλῆσα πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις πολυτρόπους, ἐν ἀπασὶ δὲ θαυμαστὴν φύσεως ἐπιδειξάμενος ἱσχύν καὶ προαι-9 ρειν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακάνητον. τούτω δὴ πειθόμενος ὡς αἰεὶ4 τοῖς χρήσιμον ἢ καλὸν τι πρᾶττεων δυνα-

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1 προεγκεχειρισμαί SPL. 2 om. O. 3 κατ’ αὐτὸν OE. 4 ὡς aei O; aiei rell.

* Josephus bases the first part of his narrative on the Biblical story; but his role as “translator” is limited.
(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. 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, 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

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.

* 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 ἐμαυτὸν αὐσχυνόμενος,
ev δόξαμι ῥαθυμίᾳ πλέον ἡ τῶν περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα
χαίρεν πόνω, προθυμότερον ἐπερρώσθην, ἐτὶ
κάκεινα1 πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους λογισάμενος οὐ
παρέργος, περὶ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων εἰ
μεταδίδοναι τῶν τοιούτων ἢθελον, καὶ περὶ τῶν
'Ελλήνων εἰ τινὲς αὐτῶν γνώναι τὰ παρ’ ἦμῖν
ἐσπούδασαν.

10 (3) Ἐδρον τοῖνυν ὅτι Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος,
mάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίων
συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας, ἔξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τὸν
ἡμετέρον νόμον καὶ τὴν κατ’ αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς
11 πολιτείας εἰς τὴν 'Ελλάδα φωνὴν μεταβάλειν, δ’ ἐν
tῶν παρ’ ἦμῖν ἀρχιερέων οὐδὲν ἄρετή δεύτερος
'Ελεάζαρος τῷ προειρημένῳ βασιλεὶ ταύτης ἀπο-
λαύσαι τῆς ὑφελείας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε, πάντως ἀν-
teipων ἂν, εἰ μὴ πάτριον ἢν ἦμῖν τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν
12 τῶν καλῶν ἀπόρρητον. κάμαντῷ δὴ πρέπειν
ἐνόμισα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μιμήσασθαι μεγαλό-
ψυχον, τῷ βασιλεὶ δὲ πολλοὺς ὅμοίως ὑπολαβεῖν
καὶ νῦν εἶναι φιλομαθεῖς· οὐδὲ γάρ πᾶσαν ἐκεῖνος
ἐφθῇ λαβέων τὴν ἀναγραφήν, ἀλλ’ αὐτὰ2 μόνα τὰ
tóv νόμον παρέδωσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν
13 ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν 'Αλεξάνδρειαν μυρία δ’ ἔστι τὰ
dηλοūμενα διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ἀτε δὴ
πεντακισχιλίων ἔτῶν ἱστορίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-

1 Ο: κάκεινo rel. Lat.
2 ἀλλὰ (om. αὐτὰ) Ο.

a Ptolemy II. "Philadelphus" (283-245 B.C., E. Bevan).
b The reputed high priest in the Aristaeas story.
c The traditional story of the origin of the Greek version
6
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, a 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, b 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. c 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 d 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. e The things narrated in the sacred Scriptures are, however, innumerable, seeing that they embrace the history of

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a An earlier model: the Greek version of the Law.
b 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.
περιευλημμένης, καὶ παντοῦαι μὲν εἰςι παράλογοι περιπέτειαι, πολλαὶ δὲ τύχαι πολέμων καὶ στρατηγῶν ἀνδραγαθίας καὶ πολιτευμάτων μεταβολαί.

14 τὸ σύνολον δὲ μάλιστα τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθοι τῆς ἱστορίας ἐθελήσας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν θεοῦ γνώμη κατακολούθουσι καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετήντα μὴ τολμῶσι παραβαίνειν1 πάντα κατορθοῦται πέρα πίστεως καὶ γέρας εὐδαιμονία πρόκειται παρὰ θεοῦ· καθ' ὅσον δ' ἂν ἀποστώσι τῆς τούτων ἀκριβοῦς ἐπιμελείας, ἀπορα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δὲ εἰς συμφορᾶς ἀνηκέστους.

15 ὁ τι ποτ' ἂν ὡς ἀγαθῶν δράν ἐπούδάσωσιν. ἡδὴ τούς τοὺς ἐνευξομένους τοὺς βιβλίως παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῶ προσανέχειν καὶ δοκιμᾶξειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τὴν τε φύσιν ἄξιος αὐτοῦ κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει πρεπούσας αἰὲ τὰς πράξεις ἀνατέθεικε πάσης καθαρῶν τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἀλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθο-

16 λογίας· καίτοι γε ὅσον ἐπὶ μήκει χρόνου καὶ πα-

λαίοτητι πολλὴν ἐξεἰν2 ἄδειαις ψευδῶν πλασμάτων·

γέγονε γαρ πρὸ ἑτῶν δισχιλίων, ἐφ' ὅσον πλῆθος

αἰῶνος οὐδ' αὐτῶν οἱ ποιήται τὰς γενέσεις τῶν

θεῶν, μήτι γε τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις ἢ τοὺς

νόμους ἀνενεγκεῖν ἐτόλμησαν. τὰ μὲν ὁμ ἀκριβὴ

τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προΐῶν ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν

οἰκείαν τάξιν σημαίνει· τοῦτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης

ποιήσας τῆς πραγματείας ἐπηγγειλάμην οὐδὲν

προσθεῖς οὐδ' αὐ παραλιπῶν.

1 παραλαβείν R: παριδείν O. 2 potuisset (αν εξεἰ;) Lat.

1 άπορα γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, the reverse of the phrase of Aeschylus (P. V. 904), άπορα πόριμος “making impossibilities

8
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, 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.

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

§ 5. In fact he "adds" some curious legends, on Moses in particular, and there are some few pardonable omissions.
18 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ [τὰ]¹ πάντα σχεδὸν ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἤμων ἀνήρτηται Μωσεός, ἀνάγκη μοι βραχέα περὶ ἐκείνου προειπεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τίνες τῶν ἀναγνωσμένων διαπορώση, πόθεν ἤμων ὁ λόγος περὶ νόμων² καὶ πράξεων έχων τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοσούτον φυσιολογίας κεκοιμώνηκεν.

19 ἵστεον οὖν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκείνων ἀναγκαίωταν ἡγήσατο τῷ καὶ τὸν ἐαυτὸν μέλλοντι βίον οἰκονομήσειν καλῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθετεῖν θεοῦ πρῶτον φύσιν κατανοήσαι καὶ τῶν ἐργῶν τῶν ἐκείνου θεατὴν τῷ νῷ γενόμενον οὕτως παραδειγμα τὸ πάντων ἁριστον μιμεῖσθαι, καθ' ὅσον 20 οἷόν τε, καὶ πειράσθαι κατακολουθεῖν. οὕτε γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτὲ ἁν γενέοθαι νοῦν ἀγαθόν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ταύτης ἀπολειπομένῳ τῆς θέας, οὕτε τῶν γραφήςομένων εἰς ἁρετής λόγον οὐδὲν ἀποβήσεθαι τοῖς λαβοῦσιν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διδαχθεῖν, ὅτι πάντων πατήρ τε καὶ δεσπότης ὁ θεὸς ἄν καὶ πάντα ἐπιβλέπων τοῖς μὲν ἐπομένοις αὐτῷ δίδωσιν εὐδαιμόνα βίον, τοὺς ἐξω δὲ βαϊνοντας ἁρετῆς 21 μεγάλαις περιβάλλει συμφοραῖς. τοῦτο δὴ παideύσαι βουλὴθεις Μωσῆς τὸ παιδεύμα τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ πολίτας τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως οὐκ ἀπὸ συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλληλους δικαίων ήρξατο τοῖς ἄλλοις παραπλησίως, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τὸν θεόν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευὴν τὸς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀναγαγὼν καὶ πείσας, ὅτι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ

¹ om. O. ² περὶ λόγων RE Lat.: παραλόγων Ο.

a 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).

10
(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. 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; 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

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 (προστιβάζειν) the minds of those who were to use his laws, did not at once prescribe what they should do or not do (μὴν ένδοθα καὶ χρή πράττειν ἰ τούναντιον ὑπείπτων), but began with a marvellous account of creation (§§ 1-3 Cohn-Wendland).
JOSEPHUS

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 ἀνδρός εὐθὺς διότοι 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; 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. I shall now accordingly turn to the narrative of events, first mentioning what Moses has said concerning the creation of the world,

\[\text{De op. mundi 3.}\]

\[b\] 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

toіs іεραіs бібλоіs еυρον ἀναγεγραμμένα. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως:

27 (i. 1) Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἐκτίσεν ο θεὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν καὶ τὴν γῆν. ταύτης δ’ ὑπ’ ὄψιν οὐκ ἐρχομένης, ἀλλὰ βαθεῖ μὲν κρυπτομένης σκότει, πνεύματος δ’ αὐτῆς ἀνωθεν ἐπιθέοντος, γενέσθαι φῶς ἔκέλευσεν ὁ θεὸς. καὶ γενομένου τούτου κατανοήσας τὴν ὅλην ὑλὴν διεχώρισε τὸ τε φῶς καὶ τὸ σκότος καὶ τῷ μὲν ὅνομα ἔθετο νύκτα, τὸ δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκάλεσεν, ἐσπέραν τε καὶ ὀρθρόν τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φωτὸς καὶ 28 τὴν ἀνάπαυσιν προσαγορεύσας. καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἂν εἰς πρώτῃ ἡμέρᾳ, Μωυσῆς δ’ αὐτῆς μίαν εἰς τὴν δε αἰτίαν ἰκανὸς μὲν εἰμὶ ἀποδοῦναι καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ δ’ ὑπέσχημαι τὴν αὐτολογίαν πάντων ὕδα συγγραφάμενον παραδώσεω, εἰς τότε καὶ τὴν περὶ 29 αὐτῆς ἐρμηνείαν ἀναβάλλομαι. μετὰ δὴ τούτο τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἡμερῶν τῶν οὐρανῶν τῶν ὅλως ἐπιτίθησαν, ὅτ’ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων διακρίνας καθ’ αὐτὸν ἡζίωσε τετάχθαι, κρύσταλλόν τε περιπήξας αὐτὸν καὶ νότιον αὐτὸν καὶ ῥετόδη πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δρόσων ὠφέλειαν ἁρμοδίως τῇ 30 γῇ μηχανησάμενον. τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ ἱστησι τῆς γῆς ἀναχέας περὶ αὐτὴς τὴν θάλασσαν· καθ’ αὐτὴν δὲ ταύτῃ τὴν ἡμέραν εὐθὺς φυτά τε καὶ σπέρματα γῆθεν ἀνέτειλε. τῇ τετάρτῃ δὲ διακοσμεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἥλιον καὶ σελήνη καὶ τῶν ἄλλως άστροις κινήσεις αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλας καὶ ἰδρύμους, οἷς ἄν

1 LE: ἁρμονίως rell.

a Or “founded”: Josephus, in common with the later translator of Scripture, Aquila (2nd cent. A.D.), writes ἐκτίσευ, not ἐποίησεν of the earlier Alexandrian translators.

b Gen. i. 5 “There was evening and there was morning,
as I find it recorded in the sacred books. His account
is as follows:

(i. 1) In the beginning God created 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; I could
explain why he did so now, but, having promised to
render an account of the causes of everything in a
special work, 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 from the soil. On the
fourth he adorned the heaven with sun and moon and
the other stars, prescribing their motions and courses
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: ώμεραν ὁ ποιών ἐκάλεσε, καὶ ἰμέραν
οὐχὶ πρώτην, ἀλλὰ μίαν, ἢ λεκται διὰ τὴν τοῦ νοητοῦ κόσμου
μόνωσιν μοναδικὴν ἔχοντος φύσιν, De opif. (9) § 35.

"§ 25 note.

So Philo, op. cit. (12) § 40 (quoted by Weill): ἐβεβριθεὶ δὲ
πάντα καρποῖς εὐθὺς ἀμα τῇ πρώτῃ γενέσει κατὰ τὸν ἐναντίον
τρόπον ἢ τὸν νυνί καθεστώτα.
JOSEPHUS

32 αἱ τῶν ὄρων περιφοραί σημαίνοντο. πέμπτῃ δ' ἡμέρα ζωὰ τε κατ' αὐτὴν νηκτὰ καὶ μετάρρη τὰ μὲν κατὰ βάθος¹ τὰ δὲ δι' ἀέρος ἀνήκε συν-
δησάμενος αὐτὰ κοινωνία καὶ μὲξει γονῆς ἐνεκα καὶ
τοῦ συναίξεσθαι καὶ πλεονάζειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν.
τῇ δὲ ἐκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ δημιουργεῖ τὸ τῶν τετραπόδων
γένος ἢρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ ποιήσας· ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ
33 τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἔπλασε. καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ταῖς
πάσαις ἡμέραις Μωσῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ
φησι γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἐβδομῇ ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ
λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐκεχερίαν, οὖν καὶ ἥμερις
σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόνων κατὰ ταύτῃ ἀγομέν τὴν
ἡμέραν προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν σάββατα· δηλοῖ
δὲ ἀνάπαυσιν κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον
τοῦνομα.

34 (2) Καὶ δὴ καὶ φυσιολογεῖν Μωσῆς μετὰ τὴν
ἐβδομῆς ἡρξατο περὶ τῆς ταυθρώπου κατασκευῆς
λέγων οὕτως· ἔπλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἄνθρωπον χοῦν
ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβὼν, καὶ πνεῦμα ἐνῆκεν αὐτῷ καὶ
ψυχῆν. ὁ δὲ ἄνθρωπος οὕτος Ἄδαμος ἐκλήθη·
σημαίνει δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ γλῶτταν τὴν Ἑβραίων
πυρρόν,² ἐπειδήπερ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρᾶς γῆς φυρα-
θείσης ἐγεγόνει· τοιαύτῃ γὰρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος γῆ
35 καὶ ἀληθινή. παρίστησι δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἄδαμῳ
κατὰ γένη τὰ ζῶα θῆλυ τε καὶ ἢρεν ἀποδει-
ξάμενος, καὶ τούτως ὄνοματα τίθησιν οἷς ἐτί καὶ
νῦν καλοῦνται. βλέπων δὲ τὸν Ἄδαμον οὐκ
ἐχοντα κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ συνδιάιτησιν,

¹ βυθὸν SPL. ² πυρρὸς SPL Lat.

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,\(^a\) Moses begins to interpret nature,\(^b\) 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.\(^c\) And God brought before Adam the living creatures after their kinds, exhibiting both male and female, and gave\(^d\) 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

\(^{ab}\) Greek "physiologize"; cf. § 18.

\(^{ac}\) Adōmah = "ground," from which Adam or man was formed (Gen. ii. 7): Adōm = "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).

\(^{ad}\) 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.
οὐδὲ γάρ ἦν, ἐνιξόμενον δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις οὖτως ἔγονες, μιᾶν αὐτοῦ κομμωμένου πλευρᾶν 36 ἐξελὼν εἷς αὐτῆς ἔπλασε γυναίκα. καὶ ὁ "Ἀδαμὸς προσαχθείσαν αὐτήν ἐγνώρισεν εἷς αὐτοῦ γενομένην. ἐσσα δ' καθ' Ἥβραιων διάλεκτον καλεῖται γυνή, τὸ δ' ἐκείνης ὄνομα τῆς γυναίκος Εὐα ἦν· σημαινεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πάντων [τῶν ζώων]² μητέρα.

37 (3) Φησὶ δὲ τὸν θεόν καὶ παράδεισον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καταφυτεύσαι παντοῦ τεθηλότα φυτῶν· ἐν τούτοις δ' εἶναι καὶ τῆς ζωῆς τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως, ἡ δ' διεγινώσκετο τί [τε] 38 εὑρέθηκεν καὶ τί τὸ κακόν. εἰς τοῦτον δὲ τὸν κῆπον εἰσαγαγόντα τὸν τε "Ἀδαμὸν καὶ τὴν γυναίκα κελεύσα τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. ἄρδεται δ' οὖτος ὁ κῆπος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ποταμοῦ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὴν γῆν περιφρέωντο, ὅσι εἰς τέσσαρα μέρη σχίζεται. καὶ Φεισῶν μέν, σημαινεῖ δὲ πληθών τούτων, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰουδαίην φερόμενον ἐκδίδωσιν εἷς τὸ πέλαγος 39 ὑφ᾽ Ἑλληνῶν Γάγγης λεγόμενος, Ἐυφράτης δὲ καὶ Τίγρις ἐπὶ τὴν Ἐρυθρᾶν ἀπίσσοι βάλασαν· καλεῖται δὲ ὁ μὲν Ἐυφράτης Φοράς, σημαινεῖ δὲ ἡτοι σκεδασμὸν ἡ αὖθις, Τίγρις δὲ Δυνάλαθ, εἰς οὗ φράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος ὀξύν. Γῆῶν δὲ διὰ

1 RO: τὴν γυναίκα rell.
2 om. RO.
3 RO: ἔ rell.
4 RO Lat.: Φθρά rell.

Οικήθη α' εἰς ἐν Ηρόλ. γούνα καὶ ἐπὶ τοῖς ζώοις οὖτως ἔγονες, μιᾶν αὐτοῦ κομμωμένου πλευρᾶν 36 ἐξελὼν εἷς αὐτῇς ἔπλασε γυναίκα. καὶ ὁ "Ἀδαμὸς προσαχθείσαν αὐτήν ἐγνώρισεν εἷς αὐτοῦ γενομένην. ἐσσα δ' καθ' Ἥβραιων διάλεκτον καλεῖται γυνή, τὸ δ' ἐκείνης ὄνομα τῆς γυναίκος Εὐα ἦν· σημαινεῖ δὲ τοῦτο πάντων [τῶν ζώων]² μητέρα.

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1 RO: τὴν γυναίκα rell.
2 om. RO.
3 RO: ἔ rell.
4 RO Lat.: Φθρά rell.
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; but the name of that first woman was Eve, which signifies "mother of all (living)."

(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 (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 Sea: the Euphrates is called Phoras, signifying either "dispersion" or "flower," and the Tigris Diglath, expressing at once "narrowness" and "rapidity"; identifies "the land of Havilah where there is gold" with India.

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.

Heb. Peræth: derived by Josephus from either (?) Παράς "divide" or Παράη "be fruitful." Philo adopts the second interpretation, rendering by καρποφορία (Leg. Alleg. i. 23, § 72). These etymologies are probably taken over from others.

Diglath is the Aramaic equivalent of Heb. Hiddekel; Josephus quotes the Aramaic form but translates the Hebrew! Had = "sharp" (ḏēḇ), dak = "thin" (στενὸς); this, though it leaves out the last syllable el, seems the most satisfactory explanation.
τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δηλοῖ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑναντίας ἀναδιδόμενον ἷμίν, ὁν δὴ Νείλον "Ελληνες προσ-αγορεύουσιν"

40 (4) Ο δὴ τοῖνων θεὸς τον Ὀδαμον καὶ τήν γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν ἅλλων φυτῶν ἐκέλευε, γενέσθαι, τοῦ δὲ τῆς φρονήσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, προειπὼν ἁφαί-
41 μένοις ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὀλεθρόν γενησόμενον. ὁμοφωνοῦσιν δὲ κατ' ἐκεῖνο καιρὸν τῶν ζωῶν ἀπάντων ὁφις συνδιαιτῶμενος τῷ τε Ὀδαμῷ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φθονερῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ' οίς αὐτοὺς εὐδαιμονίησεν ὑποτε πεπεσσεῖον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
42 παραγγέλμασιν, οἷον οἷος δὲ συμφορὰ περιπεσεῖσθαι παρακύναντας ἀναπείθει κακοθῆς τῆς γυναίκας γεύσασθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς φρονήσεως ἐν αὐτῷ λέγων εἶναι τὴν τε τάγαθον καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ διά-
γνωσιν, ἦς γενομένης αὐτοῖς μακάριον καὶ μηδὲν
43 ἀπολείποντα τοῦ θείου διάξεων βλον. καὶ παρα-
κρούεται μὲν οὕτω τῆς γυναίκας τῆς ἑντολῆς τοῦ
θεοῦ καταφρονήσας· γευσαμένη δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ
ἡσθείσα τῷ ἐδέσματι καὶ τὸν Ὀδαμὸν ἀνέπεισεν
44 αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι. καὶ συνεσάν τε αὐτῶν ἣδη
γεγυμνωμένων καὶ τήν αἰσχύνην ὑπαιθρὸν ἔχοντες
σκέπην αὐτοὺς ἐπενόουν· τὸ γὰρ φυτὸν ἰζύτητος
καὶ διανοίας ὑπῆρχε. φύλλοις οὐν ἑαυτοῦ συκῆς
ἐσκέπασαν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς αἰδοῦς προβαλλό-
μενοι μᾶλλον ἐδόκουν εὐδαιμονεῖν ὡς ὡν πρότερον

1 RO: ἀνατολῆς rell. 2 προβαλλόμενοι Niese with S².

* Heb. Gihon: derived by Josephus, as by modern critics, from gihah "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, a 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, b and the serpent, living in the company of Adam and his wife, Gen. iii. 1 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 "Ἀτλαντὸς τοῦ ὅρους σαφῶς ἀναδίδοται (lxxv. 13).

b 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 ἱοβόλον καὶ γηγενές ἐρπετὸν [ὁφις] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴν προίσθαι (quoted by Weill).
45 ἐσπάνζην εὑρόντες. τοῦ θεοῦ δ' εἰς τὸν κήπον ἐλθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἄδαμος, πρότερον εἰς ὅμιλίαν αὐτῶν φοιτῶν, συνειδῶς αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδικίαν ὑπεχώρει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἐξενίζε τὸ πραττόμενον καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν ἐπυνθάνετο, δι' ἦν πρότερον ἢδόμενος τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅμιλία νῦν φεύγει ταύτην καὶ περιόσταται.

46 τοῦ δὲ μηδὲν φθεγγομένου διὰ τὸ συγγνωσκεῖν ἑαυτῷ παραβάντι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόσταξιν ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ μὲν,' εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, 'ἔγνωστο περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅπως βίον εὐδαίμονα καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀπαθή βιώσετε μηδεμίᾳ ἐξωνόμενοι τὴν ψυχὴν φροντίδι, πάντων δ' ὑμῶν ἀυτομάτων ὡσα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἡδονήν συντελεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἑμὴν ἀνόητων πρόνοιαν χωρίς ὑμετέρου πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, διὸ παρόντων γῆρας τε θάττον οὐκ ἂν ἐπέλθοι καὶ τὸ ζῆν ὑμῶν μακρὸν γένοιτο. νῦν δ' εἰς ταύτην μον τὴν γνώμην ἐνύβρισας παρακούσας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐντολῶν οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἀρετῇ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀγεισ, ἀλλ' ἕπε συνειδότει πονηρῷ.' ὁ Ἅδαμος δὲ παρητεῖτο τῆς ἀμαρτίας καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν θεόν μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῷ, τὴν γυναίκα τοῦ γεγονότος αἰτιώμενος καὶ λέγων ὑπ' αὐτῆς ἐξαπατηθεὶς ἀμαρτείν, ὁ δ' αὐτῇ κατηγόρει τοῦ οἴρους. δὲ θεός ἦττονα γυναίκειας συμβουλίας αὐτῶν γενόμενον ὑπείθει τιμωρία, τῇ γῇ οὐκέτι μὲν οὐθὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναδώσεως αὐτομάτως εἰσὶ, πονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τριβομένους τὰ μὲν παρέξειν, τῶν δ' οὐκ ἄξιοσειν. ἕναν δὲ τοκετοῖς καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ὀδύνων ἀληθοῦσιν ἐκολαζέν, ὅτι τὸν Ἅδαμον οἷς αὐτὴν ὁ ὀφίς ἐξηπάτησε τούτοις παρακρονοσάμενη συμφοραίς περιέβαλεν. ἀφελέτο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὁφίν τὴν φωνὴν ὀργισθείς ἐπὶ τῇ κακοθείᾳ 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,¹ indignant at his

¹ See § 41 (note).
JOSEPHUS

tōn ᾿Aδαμον καὶ ιὸν ἐντίθημαν ὑπὸ τὴν γλώτταν αὐτῶ πολέμιον ἀποδείξας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑπο-
θέμενος κατὰ τὴς κεφαλῆς φέρειν τὰς πληγάς, ὡς ἐν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ τε κακοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κει-
μένου καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς βάστης τοὺς ἀμυνομένους ἐσομένης, ποδῶν τε αὐτῶν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι
51 κατὰ τῆς γῆς ἱλυσσώμενον ἐποίησε. καὶ ὁ μὲν
θεὸς ταύτα προστάξας αὐτῶις πάσχειν μετοικίζει
τὸν ᾿Αδαμον καὶ τὴν Εὐαν ἐκ τοῦ κῆπου εἰς
έτερον χωρίον.
52 (ii. 1) Γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς παίδες ἀρρενεῖς δύο:
προσηγορεύετο δὲ αὐτῶι ὸ μὲν πρῶτος Κάις,
κτῆσιν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτο μεθερμηνεύόμενον τοῦ-
τοις, ᾿Αβελος δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, σημαίνει δὲ οὐθέν.
53 τούτοις γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ θυγατέρες. οἱ μὲν
οὗν ἄδελφοι διαφόροις ἔχαρον ἐπιτηδεύμασιν;
῾Αβελος μὲν γὰρ ὁ νεώτερος δικαιοσύνης ἐπεμελεῖτο
καὶ πάσι τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶι πραττομένοις παρεῖναι
τὸν θεὸν νομίζων ἁρέτης προενεί, ποιμενικὸς δ’
ἡν ὁ βίος αὐτῶ. Κάις δὲ τὰ τε ἅλλα πονηρότατος
ἡν καὶ πρὸς τὸ κερδαίνει μόνον ἀποβλέπων γῆν
τε ἀροῦν ἐπενόησε πρῶτος καὶ κτείνει δὲ τὸν
54 ἄδελφον ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας: θύσαι τῷ θεῷ δόξαν
αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Κάις τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ
φυτῶν καρποὺς ἐπήνεγκεν, ᾿Αβελος δὲ γάλα καὶ
τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοσκήματων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ταύτῃ

1 Rvid O Lat.: πένθος rell. 2 προεβὴ RO.

a 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.

b So the Biblical etymology “I have gotten a man” 
(lxx ἐκτησάμην), from Heb. kanah “acquire.”

24
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.

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

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\(a\) Abel, Heb. \(\text{Hebel} = \text{"vapour" or "vainy";}\) the noun is translated, as here, by \(\text{ov\theta\iota\nu} \) in Is. xlix. 4. The reading \(\pi\epsilon\nu\theta\iota\sigma\) (= Heb. \(\text{\text{ibel}}\)) presents another etymology found also in Philo, De migr. Abr. 13, § 74 δ\(\omega\mu\alpha \delta\text{\text{\epsilon\sigma\tau\iota \text{\theta\iota\nu\tau\a \pi\epsilon\theta\o\u\nu\tau\os\v\o\nu\tau\os\v}}\) (quoted by Weill).

\(b\) Legendary addition: Jubilees iv. 1, 8 names them 'Awan and 'Azura.

\(c\) Or "righteousness."

\(d\) Heb. "fat" and so LXX (\(\sigma\tau\epsilon\alpha\tau\omega\nu\)): Josephus, with a different vocalization of the Heb. \(\text{\text{hilb}},\) reads "milk," showing independence of the Greek Bible.
μάλλον ἦδεταί τῇ θυσίᾳ, τοῖς αὐτομάτοις καὶ κατὰ φύσιν γεγονόσι τιμώμενος, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τοῖς κατ' ἐπίνοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου [καὶ] βία πεφυκόσιν. 55 ἐνθεν ο Καύς παροξυνθεὶς ἑπὶ τῷ προτετμήσθαι τὸν Ἀβελον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτείνει τὸν ἀδελφὸν καὶ τὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἀφαίη λῆσει ὑπέλαβεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς συνεῖς τὸ ἔργον ἥκε πρὸς τὸν Καύν περὶ τάδελφοῦ πυνθανόμενος, ποι̑ο̑ς ποτ' εὕη πολλῶν γὰρ αὐτῶν οὐκ ἰδείων ἦμερῶν τὸν ἀλλον χρόνον πάντα 56 μετ' αὐτῶν βλέπων αὐτὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον. ὁ δὲ Καύς ἀπορούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὁ τι λέγοι πρὸς τὸν θεόν ἀμηχανεῖν μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκε τὸ πρῶτον ἑπὶ τάδελφῳ μὴ βλεπομένω, παροξυνθεὶς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λυπαρῶς ἐγκεμένου καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦντος οὐκ εἶναι παιδαγωγοῖς καὶ φύλαξ αὐτοῦ 57 καὶ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πραττομένων ἐλεγεν. ὁ δὲ θεὸς τούντευθεν ἠλεγξεν ἡδη τὸν Καύν φωνέα τάδελφοῦ γενόμενον καὶ " θαυμάζω," φησίν, " εἰ περὶ ἀνδρός ἀγνοεῖς εἰπεῖν τί γέγονεν, ὅν αὐτὸς ἀπολύλεκας." τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τιμωρίας αὐτοῦ ἤφει, θυσίαν τε ἐπιτελέσαντα καὶ δι' αὐτῆς ἰκετεύσαντα μὴ λαβεῖν ὀργῆν [ἔπ'] αὐτῷ χαλεπωτέραν, ἐπάρατον δ' αὐτὸν ἐτίθει καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσεσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἔβδομην ἡπείλησε γενεάν, καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖνης 58 ἑκβάλλει σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ θηρίως ἄλω-

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a Weill quotes Pirkē R. Eliezer xxi "He took the corpse of his brother Abel and hid it in the field."

b 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,\(^a\) 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\(^b\); but He made him accursed and threatened to punish his posterity in \(^c\) the seventh generation, and expelled him from that land with his wife. But, when Cain feared that in his wanderings to him as repentance” (\textit{Pirkê R. Eliezer}, xxi, quoted with other passages by Weill).\(^c\)

\(^a\) The rendering of \textit{katá} by “until” seems unwarranted. Josephus apparently, in common with the Targum (Weill), means that Cain’s penalty is suspended until the seventh generation, \textit{cf.} \textsection 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.
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μενος περιπέθη δεδιότος καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόληται τῶν τρόπων, ἐκέλευε μηδὲν ἕφορᾶσθαι σκυθρωπῶν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, ἀλλ’ ἔνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ θηρίων γενέσθαι δεινῶν διὰ πάσης ἀδεώς χωρεῖν γῆς: καὶ σημείον ἐπιβαλῶν, ὣς γνώριμος ἄν εἴη, προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι.

60 (2) Πολλὴν δ’ ἐπελθὼν γῆν ἠδρύεται μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Καῖς. Ναὶδα τόπον οὕτω καλούμενον καὶ αὐτόθι ποιεῖται τὴν κατοίκησιν, ἕνθ’ αὐτῶ καὶ παῖδες ἐγένοντο. οὐκ ἐπὶ νουθεσία δὲ τὴν κόλασιν ἐλαβεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ αὐξῆσει τῆς κακίας, ἥδονήν μὲν πᾶσαν ἐκπορίζων αὐτῷ τῷ σώματι, καὶ μεθ’ ὑβρεώς τῶν συνόντων δέχεται εἰσὶν. αὐξῶν δὲ τὸν οἰκον πλῆθει χρημάτων ζέ ἀρπαγής καὶ βίας πρὸς ἥδονήν καὶ ληστείαν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας παρακαλῶν διδάσκαλος αὐτοῖς ὑπῆρχε ποιημένος ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀπραγμοσύνην, ἤ πρότερον συνέξαν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, μέτρων ἐπινοίᾳ καὶ σταθμῶν μεστεστήσατο ἀκέραιον αὐτοῖς ὅντα τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἁμαθίας καὶ μεγαλόψυχον εἰς

61 πανοργίαν περιαγαγόν, ὅρον τε γῆς πρώτος ἔθετο καὶ πόλιν ἐδείματο καὶ τείχεσιν ὑψήλωσεν εἰς ταύτων συνελθεῖν τοὺς οἰκείους καταναγκάσας. καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἀνώχου τοῦ πρε-

62 σβυτάτων παιδὸς Ἀνώχαν ἐκάλεσεν. Ἀνώχου δὲ Ἰωράδης υἱὸς ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τούτου Μαρούήλος, οὐ γίνεται παῖς Μαθουσάλας, τοῦ δὲ Λάμεχος, ὥς παῖδες ὑπῆρξαν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐβδομήκοντα ἐκ δυὸ γυναικῶν αὐτῷ φύτες Σελλᾶς καὶ Ἀδας. τούτων

1 + eis E (Lat. in loco).

a Mentioned in a Rabbinical commentary in loc. ("who-
he would fall a prey to wild beasts \(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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.\(^c\) Anoch had a son Jarad,\(^d\) of whom came Marnel,\(^e\) who begat Mathousalas, the father of Lamech, who had seventy-seven children by his two wives, Sella and soever slayeth \(^f\) as assembling to avenge the blood of Abel (Weill).  

\(^{Descendants of Cain.}^{Gen. iv. 16.}\)

\(^a\) Heb. Nod, lxx Nai\(\delta\).

\(^b\) Heb. Nod, lxx Nai\(\delta\).

\(^c\) Heb. and lxx Enoch (city and son).

\(^d\) Heb. Irad, lxx Γαιδάδ.

\(^e\) Heb. Mehujael.

\(^f\) 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 ἐβδομηκοντάκις ἐπτά).
'Ιώβηλος μὲν εὖ Ἄδας γεγονὼς σκηνᾶς ἐπήξατο καὶ προβατεῖαν ἁγάπησεν, Ἰουβαλός δὲ, ὀμομήτριος δὲ ἦν αὐτῶ, μουσικὴν ἰδόνησε καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησεν, Ἰουβηλός1 δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας γεγονότων ἵσχύ πάντας ὑπερβαλὼν τὰ πολεμικὰ διαπρεπῶς μετήλθεν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴ τοῦ σῶματος ἐκπορίζων, χαλκεῖαν 65 τε πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν. πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὸς γενόμενος ὁ Λάμεχος Νοεμᾶς ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ τὰ θεία σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος ἔωρα δίκην αὐτὸν ὑφέξοντα τῆς Κάιως ἀδελφοκτονίας [μείζονα],2 τούτο ταῖς 66 εἰσεβαίνει ἐποίησε φανερόν. ἔτι δὲ ξώντος Ἀδάμου Κάιος τοὺς ἐγγόνους πονηροτάτους συνέβη γενέσθαι κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μίμησιν ἄλλου ἄλλου χείρονα τελευτῶντα· πρὸς τε γὰρ πολέμους εἴχον ἅκρατῶς καὶ πρὸς ληστεῖαν ὁμίληκεν· ἄλλως3 δὲ εἰ τις ὁκινηρὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν, ἄλλῃ4 ἀπὸνοιαν ὑπὸ θράσους ὑβρίζων καὶ πλεονεκτῶν. 67 (3) Ἄδαμος δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ γῆς γενόμενος, ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διήγησις τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, Ἀβέλον μὲν ἑσφαγμένου, Κάιος δὲ διὰ τὸν ἑκεῖνου φόνου πεφευγότος, παιδοποιοῦ ἐφροντίζει, καὶ δεινὸς εἰξέων αὐτοῦ γενέσεως ἔρως ἐτη πριάκουτ' ἦδη καὶ διακόσια ἡμικότα τοῦ βίου, πρὸς οἷς ἐτέρα

RO (Lat.): Θεβέλιος (Θεβ.8.) rell.  
2 om. SPL Exc.  
a conj. Niese: ἄλλος or ὅλος codd.  
4 ἄλλον SP Exc.

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b Heb. Tubal-cain, lxx Θεβέλ (see other reading in Josephus).  
c So lxx: Heb. Naamah.

30
Ada. Of these children, Jobël, a 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; Jubël, b 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 c; and because through his clear knowledge of divine things he saw that he was to pay the penalty d 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.

(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 f years of his life; Gen. v. 3 f.

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.

t Text a little doubtful.

f So rxx: in the Heb. Bible Adam was 130 years old when he begat Seth and lived for 800 years more after that date. Similar numerical divergences will be met with later, §§ 83 ff.
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68 ζήσαι ἐπτακόσια τελευτά. γίνονται μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ παιδεῖς ἄλλοι τε πλείους καὶ Σήθος· ἄλλα περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μακρὸν ἂν εὑρεῖς, πειράσομαι δὲ μόνα τὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σήθου διελθέν, τραφεῖς γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἦδη [τὰ] καλὰ κρύφεω δυναμένην [ἀρετὴν ἐπετήθησε]¹ καὶ γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀριστος μονητὰς τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπο-
69 γόνους κατέλυτεν. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἀγαθὸν φύντες γῆν τε τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτασίαστοι κατὼκησαν εὐδαιμονή-
σαντες, μηδενὸς αὐτοὶς ἄχρι καὶ τελευτῆς δυσκόλου
προσπεσόντος, σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐράνια καὶ
70 τῶν τούτων διακόσμησαν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ
μη διαφυγεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ εὑρημένα μηδὲ
πρὶν εἰς γενόσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι, προερηκότος
ἀφανισμὸν Ἀδάμου τῶν ὀλῶν ἐσεσθαί, τὸν μὲν
κατ᾽ ἱσχῦν πυρὸς τὸν ἐτερον δὲ κατὰ βίαν καὶ
πλῆθος ὑδατος, στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν
ἐκ πλάνῳ τὴν ἐτέραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἀμφοτέραις
71 ἐνέγραψιν τὰ εὑρημένα, ὡς καὶ τῆς πλουθίνης
ἀφανισθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἡ λιθίνη μείναςα
παράσχη μαθεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα
dηλοῦσα καὶ πλουθίνην ὑπ’ αὐτών ἀνατεθηδαι,
μένει δ’ ἄχρι δεύρῳ κατὰ γῆν τὴν Σειρίδα.²
72 (iii. 1) Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐπτὰ γενεὰς διέμειναν θεών
ἤρωμεν δεσπότην εἶναι τῶν ὀλῶν καὶ πάντα
πρὸς ἁρετὴν ἀποβλέποντες, εἶτα προϊόντος χρόνου

1 om. RO. ² Σειρίδα SPE Exc.

¹ See preceding note.
² The Bible mentions “sons and daughters,” but names none except Seth: Jubilee iv. 10 specifies “yet nine sons.”
³ Rabbinical amplification; Enoch in particular was credited with these discoveries (Jubilee iv. 17 and the book that bears his name).
32
he lived for 700⁴ years more before he died. Many other children ⁵ 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 dissen-
sion and in prosperity, meeting with no untoward incident to the day of their death; they also dis-
covered the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array.⁶ Moreover, to prevent their discoveries from being lost to mankind and perishing before they became known—Adam having predicted a destruc-
tion 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.⁷ It exists to this day in the land of Seiris.⁸

(iii. 1) For seven generations these people con-
tinued to believe in God as Lord of the universe and in everything to take virtue for their guide; then, their astronomical discoveries. and later degeneration.

⁴ 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).

⁵ 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.
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μεταβάλλονται πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἑθισμῶν μὴτε τὰς νεομισμένας τιμὰς ἐτι τῶ θεῶ
παρέχοντες μὴτε τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους δικαίου
ποιούμενοι λόγοιν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ πρότερον εἶχον τῆς
ἀρετῆς ζήλωσιν διπλασίονα τῆς κακίας τοῦ ἐπι-
δεικνύμενοι δι' ὅπι ἐπραττόν ἐνθεν ἑαυτοῖς τοῖς
73 θεῶν ἐξεπολέμωσαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ
γνατείς συνιόντες ὑβριστὰς ἐγέννησαν παιδαὶς καὶ
παντὸς ὑπερόπτας καλὸν διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει
πεποίθησαν· ὥμοια γὰρ τοὺς ὑπὸ γιγάντων τε-
τολμήσαν λεγομένοις ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτω
74 δράσαι παραδίδονται. Νῷχος δὲ τοῖς πραττο-
μένοις ὑπ' αὐτῶν δυσχεραίνονταὶ τοῖς ἰσχυρό-
μασιν ἂθικῶς ἔχουν ἐπειθεν ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τῆς
διάνοιαν αὐτοὺς καὶ τὰς πράξεις μεταφέρεν,
ὅρων δ' οὐκ ἐνδιδόντας, ἀλλὰ ἰσχυρὸς ὑπὸ τῆς
ἡδονῆς τῶν κακῶν κεκρατημένους, δείσας μή καὶ
φονεύσωσιν αὐτὸν μετὰ γυναικῶν\(^1\) καὶ τέκνων
καὶ τῶν τούτων συνοικοσυνῶν ἐξεχώρησε τῆς γῆς.

75 (2) Ὅ δὲ θεὸς τούτων μὲν τῆς δικαιοσύνης
ἡγάπησε, κατεδίκαζε δ' οὐκ ἐκεῖνων μόνων τῆς
κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ὅσον ἦν ἀνθρώπινον τότε
δόξαν αὐτῷ διαφθείραι καὶ ποιήσαι γένος ἐτερον
πονηρίας καθαρόν, ἐπιτεμόμενος αὐτῶν τὸν βίον
καὶ ποιήσας ετῶν οὐχ ὁσα πρότερον ἔξοιν, ἀλλὰ
ἐκατὸν εἰκοσιν, εἰς ἡλάσθαν τὴν ἠπειρον μετέβαλε.
76 καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀφανίζονται πάντες, Νῷχος δὲ
σώζεται μόνος, ὑποθεμένου μηχανῆν αὐτῷ καὶ

\(^1\) γυναικὸς Bekker with Lat.

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\(^{a}\) 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 \(^a\) of God now 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,\(^b\) indignant at their conduct and viewing their counsels with displeasure, urged them to come to a better frame of mind and amend their ways\(^c\); 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 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 obliterated, while Noah alone was saved. God having

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\(^a\) 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 τριάκοσίων πεντήκοντα δὲ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τριάκοντα τὸ βάθος, εἰς ταύτην σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν παῖδων καὶ ταῖς τούτων γυναιξίν ἀνέβη̃, τά τε ἀλλὰ ὅσα πρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐπικουρήσειν αὐτοῖς ἐμελλέν ἐνθέμενος, ζώα τε παντοῖα πρὸς διατήρησιν τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἀρρενάς τε καὶ θηλείας συνεισβαλό- μενος ἀλλὰ τούτων ἐπίπλασιόνα τὸν ἁριθμόν.

78 ἢν δ' ἡ λάρναξ τοὺς τε τοίχους καρτερὰ καὶ τὸν ὀροφον, ὡς μηδαμόθεν ἐπικλύζεσθαι μηδ' ἐπτᾶσθαι τῆς τοῦ ὀδατος βίας. καὶ Νώξους μὲν οὕτως μετὰ 79 τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται. ἢν δ' αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ 'Αδάμου δέκατος. Λαμέχου γὰρ ἐστὶν νῦός, οὐ ρατήρ ἢν Μαθονάσαλας, οὗτος δὲ ἢν τοῦ 'Ανώχου τοῦ 'Ιαρέδου, Μαλαήλου δὲ 'Ιάρεδου ἐγεγόνει, ὃς ἐκ Καϊνᾶ τεκνοῦται τοῦ 'Ανώσου σὺν ἀδελφαῖς πλείσσων, 'Ανώσος δὲ Σῆθου νῦός ἢν τοῦ 'Αδάμου.

80 (3) Συνέβη δὲ τούτῳ τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἔξα-
kosioستὸν ἔτος ἦδη Νώξου τῆς ἁρχῆς, ἐν μηνὶ
dευτέρῳ Δίω μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρ-
souánη δ' ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων· οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἱρύπτω
81 τῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἦσαν διατεταχότες. Μουσῆς δὲ τὸν
Νισάν, ὃς ἐστὶ Ξανθικὸς, μῆνα πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς

1 OL: ἐνέβη rell.

a Josephus employs the word used by classical writers of Deucalion's ark (λάρναξ), not κιβωτός of the LXX.
b Three only in Scripture.
c These words must have accidentally dropped out of the Greek text.
d 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\(^a\) of four\(^b\) stories, Gen. vi. 15 f. three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in depth, on which he embarked with [his children,]\(^c\) 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.\(^d\) 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 Mathusala,\(^e\) the son of Anoch,\(^f\) the son of Jared, the son of Malael,\(^g\) who with many sisters\(^h\) was begotten by Cainas,\(^i\) son of Anos,\(^j\) the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

(3) This catastrophe happened in the six hundredth year of Noah’s rulership,\(^k\) in what was once the second month, called by the Macedonians Dius and by the Hebrews Marsuan,\(^l\) according to the arrangement of the calendar which they followed in Egypt. Moses, however, appointed Nisan, that is to say Xanthicus,

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\(^a\) Heb. Methuselah.
\(^b\) Heb. Enoch.
\(^c\) Heb. Mahalalel.
\(^d\) Read perhaps \(\delta\delta\epsilon\lambda\phi\omicron\omicron\acute{s} = \text{“brothers and sisters.”}\)
\(^e\) Heb. Kenan.
\(^f\) Heb. Enosh.
\(^g\) “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.
\(^h\) Heb. Marheshwan (=October-November). Josephus commonly takes the names of the months from the Macedonian calendar, appending the Hebrew post-exilic equivalents.
Josphus ώρισε κατὰ τοῦτον ἐς Λυγύπτου τοὺς Ἕβραιοὺς προσαγαγόν: οὕτως δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπάσας τὰς εἰς τὸ θείον τιμᾶς ἤρχεν, ἐπὶ μέντοι γε πράσεις καὶ ὅνας καὶ τὴν ἄλλην διοίκησιν τὸν πρῶτον κόσμου διεφύλαξε. τῆν δ’ ἐπομβρίαν ἀρξασθαί φησιν ἐβδόμη τοῦ προειρημένου μηνός 82 καὶ εἰκάδι. χρόνος δὲ οὕτως ἀπὸ Ἀδάμου τοῦ πρώτου γεγονότος ἐτῶν ὑπήρχε δισχίλιων δια- κοσίων ἕξηκουνταδύο; ἀναγέγραπται δὲ ὁ χρόνος εν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις σημειουμένων μετὰ πολλῆς δισχίλιων ἕξακοσίων πεντηκονταῖς SPL Lat.

1 δισχιλιων εξακοσιων πενηκονταεις SPL Lat.

a Cf. Exod. xii. 2.

b 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.: 1. Abrahams in Hastings’ B.D., art. “Time” supports the accuracy of Josephus.)

c So Lxx: Heb. “on the seventeenth day.”

d 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
as the first month for the festivals, because it was in
this month that he brought the Hebrews out of
Egypt; he also reckoned this month as the com-
menement of the year for everything relating to
divine worship, but for selling and buying and other
ordinary affairs he preserved the ancient order. It
was, he tells us, on the seven and twentieth day of
the said month that the deluge began. The time
of this event was 2262 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
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.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEBREW TEXT (Gen. v. 3-31).</th>
<th>GREEK TEXT (LXX and Josephus).</th>
<th>Both Texts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Age at birth of first-born</td>
<td>Age at birth of first-born</td>
<td>Total</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>After life.</td>
<td>After life (LXX).</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>------------------------------</td>
<td>-------------------------------</td>
<td>-----------</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Adam 130</td>
<td>230</td>
<td>930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Seth 165</td>
<td>205</td>
<td>912</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enosh 90</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kenan 70</td>
<td>170</td>
<td>910</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Mahalalel 65</td>
<td>165</td>
<td>895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Jared 162</td>
<td>162</td>
<td>962</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Enoch 65</td>
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<td>365</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Methuselah 187</td>
<td>187</td>
<td>969</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lamech 182</td>
<td>188</td>
<td>565</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Age at Flood (Gen. vi. 5-11)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Noah 600</td>
<td>Age at Flood (Ant. t. 90).</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total = date of Flood</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>anno mundi</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
άκριβείας τῶν τότε καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἐπι-
φανῶν ἀιώρων καὶ τὰς τελευτάς.

83 (1) Ἀδάμῳ μὲν [οὖν] τριακόσιτῳ ἡδή καὶ δια-
kοσιοστῷ έτει γεγονότι παῖς Σήθος γίνεται, ὦς ἐνακόσια καὶ τρίακοντα έτη εβίωσε. Σήθος δὲ κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ διακοσιοστὸν έτος ἐγεννησεν "Ανώσουν, οὐς πέντε ζήσας έτη καὶ ἐνακόσια Καϊνῷ τῷ παιδὶ τῆν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν δίδωσι τεκνώσας αυτοῦ περὶ ἐνενήκοστὸν καὶ ἐκατοστὸν έτος; οὔτος εβίωσεν έτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἐνα-
kοσίους. Καϊνᾶς δὲ βιοὺς δέκα καὶ ἐνακόσια Μαλάγηλου υἱῶν ἔσχεν έτει γενόμενον ἐβδομη-
kοστῷ καὶ ἐκατοστῷ. οὔτος ὁ Μαλάγηλος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκοντα καὶ ὀκτακόσια έτη ἐτελεύ-
tησεν 'Ιάρεδον καταλπῶν υἱῶν, ὅν έτος πέμπτον ἐξηκοστὸν καὶ ἐκατοστὸν γενόμενος ἐγεννησε. 
85 τούτον εἰς δύο1 καὶ ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοὺς ἐνακόσιοις βιώσαντα "Ανώχον υἱὸς διαδέχεται γεννηθείς περὶ έτη δύο καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐκατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶ
υγχάνοντος. οὔτος ζήσας πέντε καὶ ἐξήκοντα πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίως ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θείον,
86 ὃθεν οὐδὲ τελευτὴν αὐτοῦ ἀναγεγράφασι. Μα-
thουσάλας δε 'Ανώχον παῖς κατὰ έτος αὐτῶ γεγονός
πέμπτον καὶ ἐξηκοστὸν καὶ ἐκατοστὸν Λάμεχον υἱῶν ἔσχε περὶ έτη γεγονός ἐπτά καὶ ογδοη-
kοστὸν καὶ ἐκατον, ὦ τὴν ἀρχὴν παρέδωκεν αὐτὸς αὐτὴν
κατασχὼν ἔνεα καὶ ἐξήκοντα καὶ ἐνακόσιοις.
87 Λάμεχος δε ἄρξας ἐπτά καὶ ἐπτακόσιοις ἐτέσι
Νώχον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδείκνυσι προστάτην
υἱόν, ὦς Λαμέχω γενόμενος ὡγδοον καὶ ὡγδοη-
kοστὸν καὶ ἐκατοστὸν ἐτος ἰνικότι πεντήκοντα
88 καὶ ἐνακόσιοις ἐτεσιν ἰρξε τῶν πραγμάτων. ταῦτα
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minute care the birth and death of the illustrious men.

(4) For Adam was 230 years old when his son Seth was born and a lived (in all) 930 years. Seth at the age of 205 begat Anos, b who when aged 905 years delivered the care of affairs to his son Cainas, c whom he had begotten when he was about 190 years old; Seth d lived in all 912 years. Cainas lived 910 years and in his 170th year had a son Malael. e 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, f born when his father was in his 162nd year; Anoch lived 365 years and then returned to the divinity, g whence it comes that there is no record in the chronicles of his death. Mathusalas h 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,

a 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 ὅσον ἐβίωσεν, οὖτος ἐβίωσεν κτλ. may be later marginal insertions which have become misplaced in the text.

b Enosh. c Kenan. d Gr. "he": see note a.

c Mahalalel. f Enoch.
v "God took him" or in LXX "transported him" (μετέβηκεν). Gen. v. 24; Josephus uses the same phrase "return to the divinity" of the passing of Moses, A. iv. 326 (iii. 96).

1 [Lat. 41]
JOSEPHUS

συναγόμενα τὰ ἔτη τῶν προαναγεγραμμένων πληροὶ' χρόνων. ἐξεταζέτω δὲ μηδεὶς τὰς τελευταῖς τῶν ἄνδρῶν, τοὺς γὰρ αὐτῶν παιοί καὶ τοὺς ἐκείνους ἀπογόνους παρεξέτεινον τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν μόνον ὀράτω.

89 (5) Ἐπισημήναντος δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ὕειν ἀρξα-
μένου τὸ ὕδωρ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ὡλαῖς κατ-
εφέρετο, ὥς ἐπὶ πῆχεις πεντεκαΐδεκα τὴν γῆν ὑπερέχειν. καὶ τούτῳ ἦν τὸ αὐτίον τοῦ μὴ δια-
σωθήναι πλεόνας φυγῆς ἀφορμὴν οὐκ ἔχουτας.

90 παυσάμενον δὲ τοῦ υποτοῦ μόλις ἱρξατο ὑπο-
βαίνειν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐκατὸν καὶ πεντήκοντα,
ὡς μηνὶ ἔβδομῳ, ἐσταμένου δὲ ἦν ἔβδομη, κατ'
όλιγον ὑπονοστειν ἀπολήγοντος. ἔπειτα τῆς λάρ-
νακος περὶ ἀκραν τινὰ ὀρους σταθείσης κατὰ τὴν
'Αρμενίαν συνεις ὁ Νώχος ἀνοίγει τ' αὐτὴν καὶ
θεασάμενος γῆν βραχείαν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ χρηστο-
91 τέρας ἢδη γεγονὼς ἐλπίδος ἤρεμει. ὀλίγαις δ' ὑστερον ἡμέραις μᾶλλον ὑποχειροῦντος τοῦ ὑδατος
μεθύησι κόρακα, βουλόμενος μαθεῖν εἰ τι καὶ ἄλλο
tῆς γῆς ἐκλελειμμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὑδατός ἀσφαλές

1 συμπληροὶ SPL.
2 συμπαρεξέτεινον SPL.
3 τ' αὐτὴν Niese: ταύτην codd.

ₐ Greek ὡς "so that" : possibly ἐως should be read.
₄ Gr. "in the seventh month, and it was the seventh (day)
of its first decade."
₅ Such I take to be the meaning: ἀπολήγοντος (sc. τοῦ ωνός)
is the converse of ἰσταμένου and a variant for the normal
ἀπίστως or ποιέωντος, 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
42
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-Subsidence of the flood. Gen. vii. 17, 20. 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 a at the opening of the seventh month, from the seventh day, b it little by little subsided as the month drew to a close. c 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, d 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

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.

a Gen. viii. 6 (J) Noah sends out the raven "at the end of "the "forty days" of the flood.
Condensation of the Scriptural account in which the
dove is sent out three times at intervals of seven days (Gen.
viii. 8, 10, 12).

b πεπηλωμένης: this detail comes apparently from Berosus
(mentioned below), who writes in his account of the flood
44
to disembark; but the bird found the whole land inundated and returned to Noah. Seven days after he sent forth a dove to explore the condition of the earth; it returned bearing the marks of clay 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, who in his description of the events of the flood writes somewhere as follows: "It is said, moreover, that a portion of the vessel still survives in Armenia on the mountain of the Cordyaeans, and that persons carry off pieces of the bitumen, which they use as talismans." These matters are also mentioned by Hieronymus the Egyptian, author of the ancient history of Phoenicia, ταῦτα (τὰ ὄρνεα) δὲ πάλιν εἰς τὴν ναόν ἔλθειν τοὺς πόδας πεπηλωμένους Ἐχοντα, C. Müller, Frag. Hist. Graec. ii. 501.

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).

Or "somewhat." The text quoted by Syncellus differs slightly from that below.

Alias Gordyaeans or Carduchi, occupying approximately the modern Kurdistan.

Otherwise unknown (to be distinguished from Hieronymus of Cardia, historian of the Diadochi, mentioned elsewhere, Ap. i. 213).
Άλλοι πλείον, καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἑνεκοστῇ καὶ ἑκτῇ βιβλίῳ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν ἁγγών οὕτως: "ἔστων ὑπὲρ τὴν Μινάδα μέγα ὅρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὁ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισσοθῆναι καὶ τινὰ ἐπὶ λάρνακος ὄχούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρωτείαν ὀκεῖλαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ξύλων ἐπὶ πολὺ σωθῆναι. γενοῦτο δ’ ἂν οὖσο, ὄντως καὶ Μωσῆς ἀνέγραψεν ὁ Ἰουναϊὼν νομοθέτης."

96 (7) Νῦχος δὲ φοβούμενος, μὴ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν έτος ἐπικλύζῃ τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς φθοράν ἀνθρώπων καταψηφισάμενος, ἵερα καίσας ἔθειτο τῶν θεῶν τοῦ λοιποῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μένειν εὐταξίας καὶ μηδὲν ἐπὶ τοιοῦτον ἐπενεγκεῖν πάθος, ὅπερ οὐ κινδυνεύει πάν ώς ἀπολέσθαι τὸ τῶν ξύλων γένος, ἀλλὰ τετειμωρημένον τοὺς πολυρρόζ φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν διὰ χρηστότητα περιλειψθέντων καὶ τὸ δεινὸν διαφυγεῖν κεκριμένων: κακοδαιμονεστέρους γὰρ ἐκεῖνων ἔσεσθαι καὶ χείρῳ κακίαν καταδικασθέντας, εἴ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς εἴνα σεσωσμένοι, τηρηθέειν δ’ ἐτέρῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τοῦ μὲν πρώτον τοῦ φόβου καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθόντες, τοῦ δεινοῦ τέρου δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν. εὑμενώς τε οὖν αὐτὸν προσδέχεσθαι τὴν θυσίαν παρεκάλει καὶ μηδεμίαν

1 RO Lat. (fana!): ἰερεία rell.
2 v.l. παθόντες, which should probably be inserted after ἀπώλειαν.

* 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.

* Friend and biographer of Herod the Great and author of a Universal History which was one of the main sources 46
by Mnaseas \(^a\) and by many others. Nicolas of Damascus \(^b\) in his ninety-sixth book relates the story as follows: "There is above the country of Minyas \(^c\) 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

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.

\(^a\) 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 (\(\text{A. xx. 24 f.}\)), places the relics of the ark in a region remote from Ararat, viz. at Carrhae, S.E. of Edessa.
99 (8) Νάχου δὲ ταύτας ποιησαμένου τὰς ἱκετείας ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη τὸν ἀνδρὰ ἄγαπῶν ἐπένεεν αὐτῷ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τέλος ἄξειν, οὔτε τοὺς διεθαρμένους λέγων αὐτὸς ἀπολέσαι, κακία δὲ τῇ οἰκείᾳ ταύτην αὐτοὺς ὑποσχεῖν τὴν δίκην, οὔτ' ἂν, εἰ γενομένους ἀνθρώπους ἀφανίσαι διεγνώκει,

100 παραγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν βίον, σῶθρον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ἁρχὴν αὐτοῖς μὴδε χαρίσασθαι τὸ ζῆν ἢ δόντα τούτῳ διαφθείρειν. "'ἀλλ' οἷς ἐξυβρίζου εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἀρετὴν, τούτοις ἐξεβιάσαντό με ταύτην αὐτοῖς ἐπιθεῖναι τὴν δίκην.

101 παύσομαι δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀργῆς τὰς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν εἰσπραττόμενοι καὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον σοῦ παρακαλοῦντος. εἰ δ' ἐπὶ πλέον ποτὲ χειμάσαμι, μὴ δείσητε τῶν ὀμβρῶν τὸ μέγεθος. οὐ γὰρ ἔτι τὴν γῆν ἐπικλύσει τὸ ὕδωρ.

102 παρανύμ μὲντων σφαγῆς ἀνθρωπίνης ἀπέχεσθαι καὶ καθαρεῦειν φόνου τοὺς δράσαντάς τι τοιοῦτον κολάζονται, χρῆσθαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζωοῖς ἀπασὶ πρὸς ἀ βούλεσθε καὶ τὰς ὀρέξεις ἔχετε· δεσπότας γὰρ ἀπάντων ὑμᾶς εἶναι πεποίηκα τῶν τέχνων

1 So most mss. (cf. i. 58): βαλεῖν RO.

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a τάχιον is occasionally used in Josephus as equivalent to πρῶτον, 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. a

(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 b 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

passage in A. xiv. 384), 432 καὶ πάντων μὲν μάλιστα δὲ μετὰ τὴν ὅμοιαν. There is no need, as Weill thinks, to alter the text to τοῖς πάλαι.

b εὐσέβεια, 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.”
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καὶ νηκτῶν καὶ ὅσα τὴν μετάρρυμον αὐώραν ἔχει καὶ φορὰν, χωρὶς αἰματος· εν τούτῳ γὰρ ἐστὶν ἡ
103 ψυχή. σημανω1 δὲ ύμίν παύλαν ἐσομένην τοξεία
tῇ ἐμῇ, τὴν ἰρν ἀποσημαίνων· τὸξον γὰρ ἑναι
tοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς έκεῖ νενόμισται. καὶ ο μὲν
θεός ταύτ' εἵπων καὶ ύποσχόμενος ἀπαλλάσσεται.

104 (9) Νάχος δὲ βειοὺς μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν πεντή-
konta καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη καὶ πάντα τὸν χρόνον
tούτον εὐδαιμόνως διαγαγὼν τελευτὰ ζῆσας ἐτῶν
105 ἀριθμὸν ἐνακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα. μηδεις δὲ
πρὸς τὸν νῦν βίον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἐτῶν
ἄ ζωμεν συμβαλῶν τὸν τῶν πολλαίων ψευδή νομί-
ζέτω τὰ περί ἐκείνων λεγόμενα τῷ μηδένα νῦν
tosou̇ton en τῳ βίῳ παρατεινειν χρόνον τεκμαίρο-
μενος μηδ̄' ἐκείνους εἰς ἐκεῖνο τὸ μήκος τῆς ζωῆς
106 ἀφίχθαι. οἱ μὲν γὰρ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
tοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδεω-
tέρας πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὕσας εἰκότως ἔξων
πλῆθος τοσοῦτον ἐτῶν· ἐπειτα καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν καὶ
tὴν εὐχρηστίαν ὤν ἐπενόουν, ἀστρονομίαις2 καὶ
γεωμετρίας, πλείον ζῆν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν.
ἀπερ οὐκ ἦν ἀσφαλῶς αὐτοῖς προειπέν μη ζήσαι
ἐξακοσίους ἐνιαυτούς διὰ τοσοῦτων γὰρ ὁ μέγας
107 ἐνιαυτὸς πληροῦται. μαρτυροῦσι δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ
πάντες οἱ παρ' Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις συγγραφά-
μενοι τὰς ἀρχαιολογίας· καὶ γὰρ καὶ Μανέθων ὁ
τὴν Λιγυπτίων ποιησάμενος ἀναγραφῆν καὶ Βηρω-
σός ὁ τὰ Χαλδαίκα συναγαγὼν καὶ Νάχος τε καὶ
Ἐστιαίος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Λιγυπτίως Ἰερώ-
νυμος, οἱ τὰ Φοινικικὰ συγγραφάμενοι,3 συμ-

1 SPL.: σημαίνω rell. Lat.
2 ἀστρονομίαι SP Lat. Eus.
3 ROE: συνταξάμενοι rell.
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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.a 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-

a 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 υἱὸς.
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108 φωνοῦν τοῖς ὑπ' ἑμοῦ λεγομένους, Ἡσίοδος τε καὶ Ἐκαταίος καὶ Ἐλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτους Ἐφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἵστοροῦσι τοὺς ἀρχαίους ζήσαντας ἐτη χίλια. περί μὲν [οὖν]1 τούτων, ὡς ἂν ἐκάστοις ἤ φίλον, οὕτω σκοπεῖτοςαι.

109 (iv. 1) Οἱ δὲ Νώχου παίδες τρεῖς ὄντες, Σήμας καὶ Ἰάβθας καὶ Χάμας, ἔτεσιν ἐκατὸν ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἐπομβριάς γεγονότες, πρῶτοι κατελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὅρων εἰς τὰ πεδία τὴν ἐν τούτους οἰκησιν ἐποίησαντο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφόδρα δεδίτας διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τὰ πεδία καὶ ὁκνηρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν υψηλῶν τόπων κατάβασιν ἐπεισάν θαρσήσαντας μυητᾶς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πεδίον, εἰς δὲ πρῶτον αὐτῷ κατώκησαν,2 καλεῖται Σεναάρ3· τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτοὺς διὰ πολυναθρωπίαν στέλλειν ἀποικίας, ἵνα μὴ στασίαζοιν πρὸς ἀλλήλους, ἀλλὰ γῆν πολλὴν γεωργοῦντες ἁθονίας ἀπολαύονεν τῶν καρπῶν, ὑπὸ ἀμαθίας παρῄσκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντες ἔσθοντο τῆς ἀμαρτίας. 111 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἠθουν νεότητος πλήθει, πάλιν ὁ θεὸς

1 om. ROE.
2 So most mss. (supported by lxx): Niese αὐτῶς κατῴκησαν.
3 Σέναρον L.

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a For Nicolas as last of the list see note on § 94.
b 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. 458. 1 Κρινέτω δὲ ὦς ἐκαστος τῶν ἀκουόμενων 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,\(^a\) report that the ancients lived for a thousand years. But on these matters let everyone decide according to his fancy.\(^b\)

(iv. 1) The three sons of Noah—Shem, Japhet and Ham—born a hundred years\(^c\) before the deluge, were the first to descend from the mountains to the plains and to make their abode there; the rest,\(^d\) who by reason of the flood were sore afraid of the plains and loath to descend from the heights,\(^e\) they persuaded to take courage and follow their example. The plain where they first settled is called Senaar.\(^f\) 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-

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\(^a\)\(\text{Presumably the grandsons and later descendants, unless this is a relic of some version of the story in which others beside the family of Noah survived the flood.}\)

\(^b\)\(\text{A rule for historians. "And should any myth come into question, it should be related but not wholly credited: rather it should be left open (in μεγῳ θετός) for readers to conjecture about it as they will, but do you take no risks and incline neither to one opinion nor to the other," Lucian, Quomodo hist. sit conscribenda 60 (67).}\)

\(^c\)\(\text{Noah was 500 years of age when he begat them (Gen. v. 32) and 600 at the date of the flood (vii. 6).}\)

\(^d\)\(\text{Presumably the grandsons and later descendants, unless this is a relic of some version of the story in which others beside the family of Noah survived the flood.}\)

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

\(^f\)\(\text{LXX form of the Heb. Shinar.}\)
αὐτοῖς συνεβούλευσε ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀποικίαν· οἱ δὲ οὐ κατὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν ἑκείνου νομίζοντες ἔχειν τὰ ἀγαθὰ, τὴν δ’ ἰσχὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οἰκείαν αἰτίαν τῆς εὐπορίας ύπολαμβάνοντες οὐκ ἐπεί-

112 θοντο. προσετίθεσαν δὲ τῷ παρακολούθῳ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης καὶ τὸ κατ’ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ὑπονοεῖν εἰς ἀποικίαν αὐτοὺς παρομάν, ἵνα διαφεύγεσθε εὐ-

επιχειρητότεροι γένωνται.

113 (2) Ἐξῆρε τε αὐτοὺς πρὸς τε ὑβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καταφρόνησον Νεβρώδης,1 ὡς οὐκείον μὲν ἦν Χάμου τοῦ Νόχου, τολμηρός δὲ καὶ κατὰ χείρα γενναίος· ἐπείθεν ὁν οὐν αὐτοὺς μὴ τῷ θεῷ διδόναι τὸ δὲ ἐκεῖνον εὐδαιμονεὶ, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ἄρετὴν
taúta paradeuch ev autois ηγείσθαι, kai periwsta de
cat’ òllyn eis tūranvidta tâ prâgmata, mònoi
sûtôs nomizoun aposthsin toûs anthrâpous toû
phòbou toû para toû theou, ei xroîmenoi tî autou
dunámie diateleïen, âmnisteiâ te tôn theon palw
ηπειλε τὴν γῆν ἑπικλύσαι θελήσαντα· πύργων γâr
oikodómhsen ùphlôteron ò to údwr anavênai
dunthēi, meteleusësthai de kai tîs tòn progyônôn
apòwleias.

114 (3) To ðe plhôs prothîmou òn tois Nébrôdou
ëpesthai dôgmasi douleiaî ògouménoi2 to ékeiwn tî
theou, kai tôn pûrgwv òkodômous oudeân apô-
leîontes spoudhîs oudeî prôs to ërgon ókynrhôs
êkontes· elâmbevæ de thattou úpos ò prosegdo-

115 kîsen an tîs ùpò poluxêirias. to ménou páchos

1 So most (with lxx): Niese with other mss. Ναβρώδης.
2 Î: ògouménoi rell.

a Nimrod, l.xx Νεβρώδ. His connexion with the tower
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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, a 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 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.

(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).

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.
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δὲν ἰσχυρὸν τοσοῦτον, ὡσθ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ μειοῦσθαι τοῖς ὀρῶσι τὸ μήκος. ὑκοδομεῖτο δὲ ἐκ πλίθου ὀπτής ἀσφάλτω συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιπρέοι. οὐτως δὲ μεμηνότας αὐτοὺς ὀρῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀφαινόσαι μὲν ἐκ παντὸς οὐκ ἔκρινεν, ὅτι μηδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν 117 πρώτων ἀπολωλότων σφφρονισθεῖν, εἰς στάσιν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλεν ἀλλογλώσσους ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ ύπὸ πολυφωνίας ποήσας ἐαυτῶν ἀσυνέτους εἶναι. ὃ δὲ τόπος ἐν ὧ τῶν πύργων ὑκοδόμησαν νῦν Βαβυλών καλεῖται διὰ τὴν σύγχυσιν τοῦ περὶ τὴν διάλεκτον πρώτων ἔναργος. Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ τὴν 118 σύγχυσιν βαβέλ καλοῦσι. περὶ δὲ τοῦ πύργου τοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἀλλοφωνίας τῶν ἀνθρώπων μέμνηται καὶ Σίβυλλα λέγουσα οὕτως: "πάντων ὀμοφώνων ὄντων τῶν ἀνθρώπων πύργων ὑκοδόμησαν τινὲς υψηλότατον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανοὺ ἀναβησόμενοι δὲ αὐτοῦ. οἶ δὲ θεοὶ ἀνέμους ἐπιπέμψαντες ἀνέτρεψαν τὸν πύργον καὶ ἰδίαν ἐκάστω φωνῇ ἔδωκαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλώνα συνέβη κληθῆναι τὴν 119 πόλιν." περὶ δὲ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σεναάρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνία χώρα μημονεῦε Εστιαίος λέγων οὕτως: "τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τοὺς διασωβέντας τὰ τοῦ Ἐνναλίου Διὸς ἱερώματα λαβόντας εἰς Σεναάρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἔλθειν."

a So the Heb. and lxx (using the same Greek word σύγχυσις).

b 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’ ὁπότ’ ἄν μεγάλοιο θεοῖ τελέωται ἀπειλαί, ἂς ποτ’ ἐπηπείλησε βροτοῖς, ὅτε πύργον ἔτευξαν χώρῃ ἐν 'Ασσυρίᾳ ὀμόφωνοι ὦ ἦραν ἀπαντες
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." This tower and the confusion of the tongues of men are mentioned also by the Sibyl in the following terms: "When all men spoke a common language, certain of them built an exceeding high tower, thinking thereby to mount to heaven. But the gods 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 speaks as follows: "Now the priests who escaped took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius and came to Senaar in Babylonia."

\[\text{Gen. xi. 3.}\]

The plural comes from Alexander's paraphrase (ap. Rzach), tois de theois anemos emfwnasonta anatrepsi. "The Warlike" (Enyo = Lat. Bellona), in Homer epithet of Ares, here only applied to Zeus; Gutschmid proposed to read Z.'Evaiios, i.e. Poseidon (T. Reinach).
120 (v.) Σκίδνανται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐντεῦθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλογλωσσίας τὰς ἀποικίας πουρσάμενου πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἐκαστοὶ κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχούσαν καὶ εἰς ἧν αὐτοὺς ἤγεν ὁ θεός, ὡς πληρωθῆναι πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ὤπειρον μεσόγεων τε καὶ παράλιων· εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ καὶ περαισσάμενοι υαυτὶ τὰς νῆσους κατώκησαν.

121 καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔνα μὲν διασώζει τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων κεμένας προσηγορίας, ἕνα δὲ καὶ μετέβαλεν, ὁ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον εἶναι δοκοῦν τοῖς παρουκοῦσι τροπὴν ἐλαβον. ἑλλήνες δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τούτων καταστάντες αὐτοῖς ῥυχύσαντες γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ύπερθεν ἱδίαι ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν πάλαι δόξαν, καλλώπισαντες τὰ ἕθνη τοῖς ὀνόμασι πρὸς τὸ συνετὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ κόσμον θέμενοι πολιτείας ὡς ἄφι αὐτῶν γεγονόσιν.

122 (vi. 1) Ἡσαν δὲ τῶν Νόχου παιδῶν υἱὸι, ὁν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῖς ἐθνεῖσι τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπετίθεσαν οἱ γῆν τινα καταλαβόντες. Ἱαφθα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νόχου παιδὸς ἦσαν ἐπτὰ υἱοί. κατοικοῦσι δὲ οὗτοι ἀπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάνου τῶν ὁρῶν ἀρξάμενοι καὶ προῆλθον ἐπὶ μὲν τῆς Ἀσίας ἄχρι ποταμοῦ Τανάιδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἐως Γαδείρων γῆν ἰν ἐτυχον καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ μηδενὸς προκατακολοῦος τὰ ἕθνη τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν ὄνομα μασιν. τοὺς [μὲν] γὰρ νῦν υφ' Ἑλλήνων Γαλάτας καλουμένους, Γομαρέως δὲ λεγομένους, Γόμαρος ἐκτισε. Μαγώνης δὲ τοὺς ἄπ' αὐτοῦ Μαγώγας

1 μετέβαλον codd. 2 Γαζίρων RO (Gazirorum Lat.).

* Or “to sojourners among them.”  
 b Greek “Japhtha.”  
 c The Don, regarded in antiquity as the boundary between Asia and Europe.  
 d Cadiz.  
 e Or “provinces.”  
 f Biblical Gomer: in reality the Gamir of the Assyrian

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(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. 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.

(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, son of Noah, had seven sons. These, beginning by inhabiting the mountains of Taurus and Amanus, advanced in Asia up to the river Tanais and in Europe as far as Gadeira, occupying the territory upon which they lit, and, as no inhabitant had preceded them, giving their own names to the nations.

Thus those whom to-day the Greeks call Galatians were named Gomarites, having been founded by Gomar. Magog founded the Magogians, thus 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.
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όνομασθέντας ὕκισεν, Σκύθας δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν
124 προσαγορευομένους. τῶν δὲ 'Ἰάφθα παίδων 'Ἰανά-
νου' καὶ Μάδου ἀπὸ μὲν τούτου Μαδαίου γένονται ἔθνος, οἱ πρὸς Ἐλλήνων Μῆδοι κέκληται, ἀπὸ δὲ 'Ἰανάνου 'Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἐλλήνες γεγόνασι. κατοικίζει δὲ καὶ Θεοβήλους Θεοβήλος, οὕτως εἰν
125 τοῖς νῦν Ἰβηρες καλοῦνται. καὶ Μεσχήνου δὲ ὑπὸ Μέσχου κτισθέντες Καππάδοκες μὲν ἀρτι κέκληται, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαιας αὐτῶν προσηγορίας σημείων δείκνυται: πόλις γάρ ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν Μάζακα, δηλοῦσα τοῖς συνιέναι δυναμένους οὕτως ποτὲ προσαγορευθέν τάν τὸ ἔθνος. Θείρης δὲ Θέιρας μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ὅν ἦρξεν, Ἐλλήνες δὲ Ἐφρα-
126 κας αὐτοὺς μετωνόμασαν. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθνη ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰάφθου παιδῶν κατοικεῖται Γομάρου δὲ τριῶν νῦν γενομένων Ἀσχανάξης μὲν Ἀσχα-
νάξους ὕκισεν, οἱ νῦν Ἐργυνας υπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων καλοῦνται, Ριφάθης δὲ Ῥιφαθιάους τοὺς Παφλα-
γόνας λεγομένους, Θυγράμης δὲ Θυγραμάιους, οἱ
127 δὸξαν "Ελληνι Φρύγες ὑνομάσθησαν. Ἰανάνου δὲ τοῦ Ἰάφθου τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παιδῶν γενομένων

¹ 'Ἰανάνου RO: 'Ἰωνάνου SPL (similar variants below).

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a Bibl. Madai (the common Heb. name for Media and the Medes).

b Bibl. Tubal (LXX Θωβέλα).

c Bibl. Meshech (Μοσάχ). 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 Τυβαρηνοί 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, named after him, but who by the Greeks are called Scythians. Two other sons of Japheth, Javan and Mados, gave birth, the latter to the Madaeans—the race called by the Greeks Medes—the former to Ionia and all the Greeks. Theobel founded the Theobelians, nowadays called Iberians. The Meschenians, founded by Meschos, 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, indicating to the expert that such was formerly the name of the whole race. Theires 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 founded the Aschanaxians, whom the Greeks now call Reginians, Riphathes the Riphataeans—the modern Paphlagonians—and Thugrames the Thugramaeans, whom the Greeks thought good to call Phrygians. Javan, son of Japhet, also had three sons: of these

\[ a \] The name had in fact been changed to Caesarea when Cappadocia became a Roman province under Tiberius.
\[ b \] Bibl. Tiras: now conjectured to be identical with the Tyrolean 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).
\[ c \] 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).
\[ d \] Name unknown, perhaps corrupt.
\[ e \] Bibl. Ripath; otherwise unknown.
\[ f \] Bibl. Togarmah (lxx Θργαμά, Θργαμά); “traditionally associated with Armenia” (Skinner).
JOSEPHUS

'Αλισάς μὲν 'Αλισαῖος ἐκάλεσεν ὄν ἠρχέν, Αἰολεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσὶ, Θάρσος δὲ Θαρσεῖς· οὕτως γὰρ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἡ Κυλικία. σημεῖον δὲ· Ταρσός γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἡ ἀξιολογικὴ τάτη καλεῖται, μητρόπολις οὔσα, τὸ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν κλήσιν ἀντὶ τοῦ θῆτα μεταβαλόντων. Χέθυμος δὲ Χέθυμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε, Κύρος αὐτὴ νῦν καλεῖται, καὶ ἀπ' αὐτῆς νῆσοί τε πᾶσαι καὶ τὰ πλεῖω τῶν παρὰ θάλασσαν Χεθύμα· ὑπὸ Εβραίων ὄνομάζεται· μάρτυς δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ μία τῶν ἐν Κύρῳ πόλεων ἰσχύσασα τὴν προσηγοριὰν φυλάσσει. Κίτων γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐξελληνισάντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται μηδ' οὕτως διαφυγούσα τοῦ Χεθύμου τὸ ὄνομα. Ἰάφθα μὲν δὴ παίδες τε καὶ υἱῶν τοσάτα ἔσχον ἐθνῆ.

128 ο δ' ἱσως υφ' Ἑλλήνων ἄγνοεῖται, τούτῳ προειπών τρέψομαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφήγησιν ὧν κατέλιπον. τὰ γὰρ ὄνοματα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς εὐπρεπές ἡλήνισται πρὸς ἠδονή τῶν ἐντευκσμένων· οὐ γὰρ ἐπιχώριος ἦμιν ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος, ἀλλ' ἐν τε αὐτῶν σχήμα καὶ τελευτὴ μία. Νῶχὸς γέ τοι Νῶς καλεῖται καὶ τούτων τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ παντὸς τηρεῖ σχήματος.

130 (2) Οἱ δὲ Χάμου παῖδες τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ 'Αμάνου καὶ Λιβανιον τῶν ὄρων γῆν κατέσχον, ὥσα

1 Lat. (Cethim): Χθήν (ημ) etc. codd.

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

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

c Bibl. Kittim (Κητίων); the view here given and still prevalent that Cyprus is primarily intended has recently been questioned, a site farther west being desiderated.
Halisas \(^a\) gave his name to his subjects the Halisaean — the modern Aeolians — and Tharsos \(^b\) 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 \(^c\) held the island of Chethima — the modern Cyprus — whence the name Chethim given by the Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries \(^d\); 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 \(^e\) is not far removed from the name of Chethimos. \(^f\) 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. \(^g\) 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, \(^h\) 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

\(^a\) In the phrase “ships of Kittim” it denotes the coasts of the Mediterranean generally, including in one instance (Dan. xi. 30) Greece.

\(^b\) Mod. Larnaka.

\(^c\) Josephus omits one name, Dodanim (lxx Πόδανι), also omitted in one group of mss. of the Greek Bible.

\(^d\) 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.)

\(^e\) The usual lxx transliteration of the Hebrew NH (in the vocalized Masoretic form Noah).
πρὸς θάλασσαν αὕτης ἐτέτραπτο καταλαβόντες καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ὦκεανοῦ ἐξιδιωσάμενοι· αἱ μὲντοι προσηγορίαι τῶν μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἐξῆτηλοι γεγόνασι, ἐνίων δὲ μεταβαλοῦσαι καὶ μεταρρυθμισθέισαι πρὸς ἔτερας δύσγνωστοι τυνχάνονσιν, ὅλγοι δὲ οἱ φυλάχαντες ἄκεραίους τὰς προσ-
131 ἡγορίας ὑπάρχουσιν. τεσσάρων γὰρ Χάμου παῖδων γενομένων Χουσαίου μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβλαφεῖν ὁ χρόνος· Ἀδῆσιπτες γὰρ ὄν ἦρξαν ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ ἑαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων Χουσαίου καλοῦνται.
132 ἐτηρήθη δὲ καὶ Μερσαίους ἡ κατὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν μνήμη· τὴν γὰρ Ἀγυπτίου Μέροσην καὶ Μερσαίους τοὺς Ἀγυπτίους ἀπαντῶν οἱ ταύτῃ καλοῦμεν. ἐκτισθεὶσα δὲ καὶ Φούτης τὴν Λιβύην Φούτους ἄφ' αὐτοῦ καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Μαύρῳ χώρα τούτῳ ἔχων τὸ ὅνομα, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν ἱστοριογράφων ἔστιν ἰδεῖν μεμνημένους τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ τῆς παρακειμένης αὐτῶν χώρας Φούτης λεγομένης. μετέβαλε δὲ ὁ νῦν αὐτῇ ἔστων ὅνομα ἀπὸ τῶν Μερσαίους νῦν Λίβνους λεγομένου· μετ' οὗ πολὺ δ' ἐροῦμεν τὴν αὐτίαν, δι' ἧν αὐτὴν καὶ "Αφρικαν
133 προσαγορεύσθαι συμβεβηκε. Χαναναῖος δὲ τέταρτος ὁ Χάμου παῖς τῆς νῦν Ἰουδαίαν καλομένην οἰκίας ἄφ' αὐτοῦ Χαναναίαν προσηγόρευσεν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ἐξ αὐτῶν Χούσου μὲν ἔξα, ὁν Σάβας μὲν Σαβαίους, Εὐλίας δὲ Εὐλίαν ἔκτισεν,

1 Μεστραίως SPE and so (with Μέστρην) below.
2 Niese (cf. § 132): Μεσ(τ)ράμον codd.

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a The Mediterranean.
b The Indian Ocean.
c Bibl. Cush (lxx Χούσ). 
d Or (with v.l.) "Mestraeans": Bibl. Mizraim (lxx, some mss., Μεστραίμ).
of the sea\(^a\) and appropriating the regions reaching to the ocean.\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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\(^d\) also have kept their memory alive in their name, for we in these parts\(^e\) all call Egypt Merse\(^f\) and the Egyptians Mersaeans.\(^d\) Phut\(^g\) 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.\(^h\) But this country has changed its name into that which it now bears, taken from one of the sons of Mersaeus\(^i\) named Libys; I shall state shortly why it also came to be called Africa.\(^j\) Chananaeus,\(^k\) 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\(^l\) had six, of whom Sabas\(^m\) founded the Sa-\(^n\)baeans,\(^n\) Evilas\(^o\) the Evilaeans, the Gaetulians of

\(^a\) The author, writing in Rome, adopts the standpoint of his native Palestine.
\(^b\) Or "Mestre."
\(^c\) Bibl. Cūṣ, called Chusaeus above.
\(^d\) Bibl. Cūṣ, called Chusaeus above.
\(^e\) Bibl. Seba.
\(^f\) Unverifiable.
\(^g\) §§ 239-241.
\(^h\) Or "Mestramus."
\(^i\) Bibl. Canaan (lxx Xαναάν).
\(^j\) Bibl. Cush, called Chusaeus above.
\(^k\) Bibl. Havilah, probably to be located in N. Arabia, not in N.W. Africa, as here.
ΟΙ ΒΑΛΤΟΥΧΟΙ ΛΕΙΟΤΑΙ, ΣΑΒΑΘΗΣ ΔΕ ΣΑΒΑΘΗ-
ΝΟΥΣ, ΟΝΟΜΑΖΟΝΤΑΙ ΔΕ 'ΑΣΤΑΒΑΡΟΙ ΠΑΡ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ. 135 ΟΙΚΙΖΕΙ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΣΑΒΑΚΤΑΣ ΣΑΒΑΚΤΗΝΟΥΣ. ΡΑΜΟΣ ΔΕ 'ΡΑΜΑΙΟΥΣ ΩΚΙΣΕ ΚΑΙ ΔΥΟ ΠΑΙΔΑΣ ΕΣΧΕΝ, ΔΝ ΙΟΥΔΑΙΑΣ ΜΕΝ 'ΙΟΥΔΑΔΑΙΟΥΣ ΑΙΩΝΙΚΟΝ ΕΔΟΥΣ ΤΩΝ ΕΣΠΕΡΙΩΝ ΟΙΚΙΣΑΣ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΤΕΛΙΠΕ, ΣΑ-
ΒΑΙΟΥΣ ΔΕ ΣΑΒΑΙΟΣ. ΝΑΒΒΡΩΔΗΣ ΔΕ ΧΟΥΣΟΥ ΨΩΣ
ΥΠΟΜΕΙΝΑΣ ΠΑΡΑ ΒΑΒΥΛΩΝΙΟΥΣ ΕΤΥΡΑΝΝΗΣΕΝ, ΏΣ ΚΑΙ
136 ΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΟΙ ΔΕΔΗΛΩΤΑΙ. ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΜΕΡΟΙΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΩΝ ΟΚΤΩ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΟΙ ΠΑΙΝΤΕΣ ΤΗΝ ΑΠΟ ΓΑΞΗΣ ΕΩΣ ΑΙΓΥΠΤΟΥ ΓΗΝ ΚΑΤΕΣΧΟΝ, ΜΟΝΟΝ ΔΕ ΦΥΛΙΣΤΙΝΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΙΑΝ Η χώρα διεφύλαξε. ΠΑЛАΙΩΤΗΝ 137 ΓΑΡ ΟΙ 'ΕΛΛΗΝΕΣ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΤΗΝ ΜΟΙΡΑΝ ΚΑΛΟΥΣΙ. ΤΩΝ ΔΕ ΆΛΛΩΝ, ΛΟΥΜΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ 'ΑΝΝΑΙΑ ΚΑΙ ΛΑΒΗΜΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΜΟΝΟΥ ΚΑΤΟΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΕΝ ΛΙΒΥΗ ΚΑΙ ΩΔΕ ΤΗΝ ΧΩΡΑΝ ΑΦ' ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΛΕΣΑΝΤΟΣ, ΝΕΔΕΜΟΥ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΠΕΘΡΩΣΙΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΕΣΛΟΙΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΧΕΦΘΩΜΟΥ ΠΕΡΑ ΤΩΝ ΟΝΟΜΑΤΩΝ ΟΥΔΕΝ 'ΙΣΜΕΝ. ΓΑΡ ΑΙΩΝΙΚΟΣ ΠΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΠΕΡΙ ΟΥ ΟΠΛΩΣΟΜΕΝ ΨΩΤΕΡΟΝ, ΑΝΑΣΤΑΤΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΑΣ ΠΟΛΕΙΣ 138 ΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝ. ΕΓΕΝΟΝΤΟ ΔΕ ΚΑΙ ΧΑΝΑΝΑΙΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΕΣ, ΣΙΔΩΝΙΟΣ ΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΙΝ ΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝ ΕΚΤΙΣΕΝ ΕΝ ΤΗ ΦΟΙΝΙΚΗ, ΣΙΔΩΝ ΩΣ ΥΦ' 'ΕΛΛΗΝΩΝ ΚΑΛΕΙΤΑΙ, 'ΑΜΑ-

1 Β.Ι. ΜΕΣΤΡΑΙΟΥ.

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a Bibl. Sabtah.
b 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 (2 M. ii. 249).
c Bibl. Sabteca.
d Bibl. Raamah (LXX 'Pey'má).
e 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, Sabathes⁶ the Sabathenians, whom the Greeks call Astabarians, Sabactas ⁷ the Sabactenians, and Ramus ⁸ the Ramaeans; the last-named had two sons, Judadas, ⁹ founder of the Judadaeans, a people of western Aethiopia to whom he bequeathed his name, and Sabaeus, ⁹ who stood in the same relation to the Sabaeans. Nabrodes, ⁷ [the sixth] son of Chus, remained in Babylonia, where he held sway, as I have previously related.

Mersaeus ⁹ 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 ⁵—who alone settled in Libya and thus gave his name ⁷ to the country,—Nedemus, Pethrosimus, Chesloimus and Cephthomus, ⁹ we know nothing beyond their names; for the Ethiopian war, of which we shall speak later, ⁶ reduced their cities to ruins.

Chananaeus also had sons, of whom Sidonius built ¹⁰ in Phoenicia a city named after him, still called Sidon by the Greeks, and Amathus ⁹ founded Amathus, ⁶

⁶ Bibl. Sheba. ⁹ Another mention of this ubiquitous name: the Heb. refers to the great state in S.W. Arabia.  ⁱ⁰ Nimrodi.  ⁹ § 113.  ⁹ i.e. Mizraim.  ⁶ Bibli. Ludim, Anamim, Lehabim.  ⁵ Given differently as Libys in § 133.  ⁹ Bibli. "Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence went forth the Philistines) and Caphtorim." Pathros = Upper Egypt; Caphtor = Crete.  ⁶ A. ii. 238 ff.  ⁹ Bibli. "the Hamathite" (lxx Ἄμαθι). Josephus here deserts the Biblical order of names.

² Hamath on the Orontes, modern Hamah: the "Macedonian" or Seleucid name was short-lived.
JOSEPHUS

...ōvĭs dē Ἀμάθουν κατώκισεν, ἦτις ἔστι καὶ νῦν ὕπο μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀμάθη καλουμένη, Μακεδόνες δὲ αὐτὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπισωμάσαν, Ἀρουδαῖος δὲ Ἀραδοῦν τὴν νῆσον ἔσχεν, Ἀρουκαῖος δὲ Ἀρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἐπτά, Εὐαίον Χετταῖον Ἐβουσιαίον Ἀμορραίον Γερησαίον Σειναίον Σαμαραίον, πλῆν τῶν ὄνομάτων ἐν ταῖς Ἰσραίλι βιβλίοις οὐδὲν ἔχομεν. Ἐβραῖοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνέστησαν ταῖς πόλεις ἐκ τουαύτης αἰτίας ἐν συμφορᾶ γενομέναι.

139 (3) Νάχος μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβριάν τῆς γῆς κατασταθείσης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἐπ᾽ ἔργα χωρεῖ καὶ καταφυτεύσας αὐτὴν ἄμπελοι, ἦνικα τοῦ καρποῦ τελεσφορηθέντος καθ᾽ ὦραν ἐτρύγησε καὶ παρῆν εἰς χρήσιν ὁ οἶνος, θύσις ἐν εὐωχίαις ἦν.

140 μεθυσθεὶς δὲ εἰς ὑπνόν καταφέρεται καὶ γεγυμνωμένος παρακόσμως ἐκεῖτο. θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ νεώτατος τῶν παιδῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπιγελῶν δεῖκνυσιν· οἱ δὲ περιστέλλουσι τὸν πατέρα. καὶ Νάχος αἰσθόμενος τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις παισίν εὐδαιμονίαν εὐχεταῖ, τῷ δὲ Χάμα διὰ τὴν συγγενείαν αὐτῶ μὲν ὡς κατηράσατο, τοῖς δ’ ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπεφυγώτων τὴν ἄραν τοὺς Χαναιαίοι παίδας μέτεισιν ὁ θεὸς· καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς εξής ἐροῦμεν.

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a Bibl. “the Arvadite” (lxix τὸν Ἀράδον): Arvad (1'Ezek. xxvii. 8), or Aradus, an island off the north coast of Phoenicia, founded, according to Strabo (xvi. 2. 13), by exiles from Sidon.
b So lxx, Heb. “the Arkite”: Area 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 Epiphaniea after one of Alexander's successors. Arudaeus\textsuperscript{a} occupied the island of Aradus, and Arucaeus\textsuperscript{b} Arce in Lebanon. Of the seven others—Euaeus,\textsuperscript{c} Chettaeus,\textsuperscript{d} Jebuseus, Amorreus, Gergesaeus, Seinaeus, Samaraeus\textsuperscript{e}—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\textsuperscript{f} 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 Canaanaeus. But of this I shall speak hereafter.

and the birthplace of the Roman emperor, Alexander Severus.

\textsuperscript{a} So LXX, Heb. "Hiv(v)ite."

\textsuperscript{b} So LXX, Heb. "Heth": the wide range of the Hittite empire has been revealed by modern exploration.

\textsuperscript{c} Bibl. Jebusite, Amorite, Girgashite, Sinite (LXX 'Aσενναίος), Zemarite (LXX as in Josephus).

\textsuperscript{d} 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.

69
143 (4) Σήμα δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Νώχου νῦν πέντε γύνονται παίδες, οἳ τὴν μέχρι τοῦ κατ᾽ Ἰνδιαν ὀκεανοῦ κατουκόσιν Ἀσίαν ἀπ’ Εὐφράτου τὴν ἀρχὴν πεποιημένοι. Ἐλυμος μὲν γὰρ Ἐλυμαίους Περσῶν ὅντας ἀρχηγεῖτας κατέλιπεν. Ἀσσούρας δὲ Νίνον οἰκίζει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἀσσυρίους ἐπιωνόμασεν, οἳ μάλιστα εὐδαιμόνησαν.  

144 Ἀρφαξάδης δὲ τοὺς νῦν Χαλδαίους καλομένους Ἀρφαξαδαίους ὅνομασεν ἀρξας αὐτῶν. Ἀράμαιος δὲ Ἄραμος ἔσχεν, οὗς Ἐλληνες Σῦρους προσαγορεύουσιν. οὗς δὲ Λυδοὺς νῦν καλοῦσι, Λοῦδους.  

145 δὲ τότε, Λοῦδας ἐκτισε. τῶν δὲ Ἄράμου παῖδων τεσσάρων ὅντων Οὐσῆς μὲν κτίζει τὴν Τραχωνίτων καὶ Δαμασκόν, μέση δ᾽ ἐστὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ κοίλης Συρίας, Ἀρμενίαν δὲ Ὁὗρος, καὶ Γεθέρης Βακτριανοὺς, Μήσας δὲ Μησαίαν, Ἱππασίουν ħάρας ἐν τοῖς νῦν καλεῖται. Ἀρφαξάδου δὲ παῖς γίνεται Σέλης, τοῦ δὲ Ἐβερος, ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς Ιουδαίους Ἐβραίους ἀρχήθεν ἐκάλουν. Ἐβερος δὲ Ἰουκταν καὶ Φάλεγος ἐγέννησεν ἐκλήθη δὲ Φάλεγος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἀποδασμόν τῶν οἰκήσεων τίκτεται: φαλέκ γὰρ τὸν μερισμὸν Ἕβραίοι

1 Niese: "Ὀτρός most mss.: ὄλος (after lxx) SP.  
2 LM: τὸν ἀπόστολον (τὴν ἀποστολὴν E) the rest.

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a First in age, but Josephus follows Scripture in naming his descendants, the progenitors of the Hebrews, last.  
b Bibl. Elam (Ἄλαμ), a non-Semitic people.  
c Bibl. Asshur.  
d 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.  
e Bibl. Lud: the equation with Lydia in Asia Minor presents difficulties.
(4) Shem, the third of Noah's sons, had five sons, who inhabited Asia as far as the Indian Ocean, beginning at the Euphrates. Elymus had for his descendants the Elymaeans, ancestors of the Persians. Assyras founded the city of Ninus, and gave his name to his subjects, the Assyrians, who rose to the height of prosperity. Arphaxad named those under his rule Arphaxadaeans, the Chaldaeans of to-day. Aramus ruled the Arameans, whom the Greeks term Syrians; while those whom they now call Lydians were then Ludians, founded by Ludas.

Of the four sons of Aramus, Uses founded Trachonitis and Damaseus, situated between Palestine and Coele Syria, Urus founded Armenia, Getherses the Bactrians, and Mesas the Mesanaeans in the region to-day called Spasini Charax. Arphaxad was the father of Seles and he of Heber, after whom the Jews were originally called Hebrews. Heber begat Juctas and Phaleg, who was thus called because he was born at the time of the partition of territories, Phalek being the Hebrew for "division." Juctas,

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\[\text{Descendants of Shem.} \quad \text{Gen. x. 21.}\]
JOSEPHUS

147 καλοῦσιν. Ἰούκτα δὲ τῶν Ἐβέρου παιδών ἠσαν ύιὸι Ἠλμόδαδος Σάλεφος Ἀζερμώθης Εἰράς Ἐδώραμος Οὐζάλης Δάκλης Ἡβαλος Ἀβμάφλος Ἔφας Ὀφίρης Εὐίλης Ἰόβηλος. οὕτως ἀπὸ Κωφήνος ποταμοῦ τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτὴν Σηρίας1 τινὰ κατοικοῦσι. ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν Σῆμα παιδῶν ἱστορήσθω.2

148 (5) Ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ Ἐβραίων τῶν λόγων. Φαλέγου γὰρ τοῦ Ἐβέρου γίνεται παῖς Ἰεούς· τούτῳ δὲ Σερούγος, ὁ Ναχώρης ύιὸς τίκτεται· τούτῳ δὲ Θέρρος· πατὴρ δὲ ὁ ὅτι τοῦ Ἀβράμου γίνεται, ὁ δὲ δεκατος μὲν ἔστων ἀπὸ Νώχου, δευτέρῳ δὲ ἔτει καὶ ἑνενήκοστῳ πρὸς ἑνακοσίους μετὰ τῆς ἑπομβρίαν ἐγένετο. Θέρρος μὲν γὰρ ἐβδομη-

1 M: Σιρίας the rest.  
2 Bekker: ἱστορεῖσθω codd.  
3 δὴ RSP: read perhaps δὴ ἡμῖν.

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1 So lxx: Heb. Almodad.
2 Bibl. Sheba (lxx Σαβέων or the like).
3 Bibl. Havilah (Εὐειλᾶ).  
4 Bibl. Jobab, and so ('Ἰωβαβδος or the like) some mss. of Josephus.
5 Tributary of the Indus.
6 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 Σωφηρ 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 eis τὴν πάλαι μὲν Σωφηραν νῦν δὲ χρυσῆν γῆν καλουμένην, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἕστων αὐτῆς.
7 Bibl. Terah (Θαρά).
8 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 72
Heber's other son, was the father of Elmodad, a Saleph. Azermoth, Ira. Edoram, Uzal, Dacles, Ebal, Abimael, Saphas, b Ophir, Evil, c Jobel. d These, proceeding from the river Cophen, e inhabited parts of India and of the adjacent country of Seria. f 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 g; 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. h For Therrus 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 (Kauvâr). The three schemes run thus:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>HEBREW TEXT (Gen. xi. 10-26)</th>
<th>LXX</th>
<th>Josephus</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Shem</td>
<td>Years after flood at birth of first-born</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpachshad</td>
<td>Age at birth of first-born</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Karsia</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelah</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eber</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>34</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peleg</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reu</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>32</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serug</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahor</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>29</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terah</td>
<td>&quot;&quot;</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**TOTAL = Years from flood to birth of Abraham**

|                  | 292  | 1072 | 993 |

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κοστῷ ποιεῖται τὸν "Αβραμον. Ναχώρης δὲ Θέρρου εἰκοστὸν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκατοστὸν ήδη γεγονός ἐγέννησεν Σερούγω δὲ Ναχώρης τίκτεται peri ἐτος δεύτερον καὶ τριακόστον καὶ ἐκατοστόν.

Ροῦμος δὲ Σερούγων [ἔσχεν] ἐτη τριάκοντα γεγονός πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐτεσί καὶ Ροῦμον Φάλεγος ἔσχεν· Ἐβερος δὲ τετάρτῳ καὶ τριακόστῳ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατόν γεννᾷ Φάλεγον γεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Σέλου τριακόστον ἐτος ἐχοντος καὶ ἐκατοστόν, δι' Ἀρφάξαδος ἐτέκνωσε κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ τριακόστων ἐτος πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατόν· Σήμα δὲ νῦν Ἀρφαξάδης ἤν μετὰ ἐτη δώδεκα τῆς ἐπομβρίας γενόμενος. Ἀβραμος δὲ ἔσχεν ἄδελφους Ναχώρην καὶ Ἀράνην· τούτων Ἀράνης μὲν νῦν καταλιπὼν Λώτον καὶ Σάρραν καὶ Μελχαῖν θυγατέρας ἐν Χαλδαίοις ἀπέθανεν ἐν πόλει Οὐρή λεγομένη τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ μέχρι νῦν δείκνυται. γαμοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἄδελφιδὰς Μελχαῖν μὲν Ναχώρης Σάρραν δὲ Ἀβραμος. Θέρρου δὲ μισήσαντος τὴν Χαλδαίαν διὰ τὸ Ἀράνου πένθος μετοικίζονται πάντες εἰς Χαρράν τῆς Μεσοποταμίας, ὅπου καὶ Θέρρου τελευτήσαντα θάπτουσιν ἐτη βιώσαντα πέντε καὶ διακοσία· συνετέμνετο γάρ ἡδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ζῆν καὶ βραχύτερον ἐγώνετο μέχρι τῆς Μωσσεός γενέσεως, μεθ' ὅν ὄρος ἦν τοῦ ζῆν ἐκατόν ἐτη πρὸς τοῖς εἰκοσὶ τοσαῦθος; ὁρίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡσα καὶ Μωσσεΐς συνεβίωνε βιώναι. Ναχώρη μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς Μελχᾶς ὀκτὼ παῖδες ἐγένοντο, Όδησος Βαοδήσος

1 Dindorf: ταῦθ' mss.

* Called Reus above (Heb. Reu): "Ράγαυος, the reading of other mss. of Josephus is doubtless derived from the LXX ("Ραγαύ").
begat Abraham at the age of 70; Nachor was 120 when he begat Therrus, and Serug about 132 when Nachor was born; Rumus 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. Aran left a son, Lot, and daughters, Sarra 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 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.

Bibl. Haran.

Bibl. Sarai, later in the narrative Sarah: the spelling Σάρα of Josephus (for סרה) has the support of one important group of LXX mss. According to Gen. xi. 29 Haran’s two daughters were Milcah and Iseah: 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.

Bibl. Haran (חראן), the Latin Carrhae.

A combination of Gen. vi. 3 with Deut. xxxiv. 7.

Bibl. Uz and Buz (עז, בז).
JOSEPHUS

Μαθούηλος¹ Χάζαμος Ἀζαούς Ἱαδελφᾶς Ἱαδαῖς Βαθούηλος· οὗτοι μὲν Ναχώρου παῖδες γνήσιοι. Ταβαίος γὰρ καὶ Γάδαμος καὶ Τααῖος καὶ Μαχᾶς ἐκ Ἀρώμασ παλλακῆς αὐτῶ γεγόνασι. Βαθούηλιω δὲ τῶν Ναχώρου γυνησίων παῖδων γίνεται Ἐρεβέκκα θυγάτηρ καὶ Λάβανος νύσ.

154 (vii. 1) Ἀβραὰμος δὲ Λωτον τὸν Ἀράνου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ὑπὸ τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ Σάρρας ἀδελφὸν εἰσεποιήσατο γυνηῖν παιῶν ἀπορῶν, καὶ καταλείπει τὴν Χαλδαίαν ἐβδομήκοντα καὶ πέντε γεγονὼς ἐτη τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Χαλδαίαν μετελθεῖν, ἐν ἣ [καὶ] κατώκησε καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις κατέλιπε, δεινὸς ὡν συνιέναι τε περὶ πάντων καὶ πιθανὸς τοῖς ἀκροωμένοις περὶ τε ὧν εἰκάσειν οὐ διαμαρτάνων. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ φρονεῖν μεῖζον ἐν ἀρετῇ τῶν ἄλλων ἠγριμένος καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ἢν ἀπασι συνεβαίνεις εἰναι, κανίσαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐχῦν. πρῶτος οὖν τολμᾶ θεόν ἀποφήμασθαι δημιουργὸν τῶν ὀλὸν ἐὰν, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν εἰ καὶ τι πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαν συντελεῖ κατὰ προσταγῆν τὴν τούτου παρέχειν ἐκαστὸν καὶ οὐ κατ' οἰκείαν ὠχῦν. εἰκάζε² δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης παθήμασι τοῖς τε περὶ τὸν ἠλιον καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς κατ' οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσιν: δυνάμεως γὰρ αὐτῶς παροῦσας καὶ³ προνοῆσαι τῆς καθ' αὐτοὺς εὐταξίας, ταῦτας δ' ἡ Ο.]

¹ So or Μανουηλος mss.: Camuel (with lxx) Lat.
² εἰκάζεται R.O.
³ Niese: καὶ codd.

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¹ a Bibl. Kemuel.
² b Bibl. Chesed.
³ c So lxx: Heb. Hazo.
⁴ d Bibl. Pildash and Jidlaph.
⁵ e So lxx: Heb. Bethuel.
⁶ f Bibl. Tebah (Tabek).

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Mathuel, a Chazam, b Azau, c Iadelphas, Iadaphas, d Bathuel. e These were Nachor’s legitimate children; his other sons, Tabai, f Gadam, Taau, and Machas, g 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, h but, since they lacked this last, it was

9 Bibl. Gaham, Tahash, Maacah.

h 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.
JOSEPHUS

υστερούντας φανεροὺς γίνεσθαι μηδ’ ὡς πρὸς τὸ χρησιμώτερον ἢμῖν συνεργοῦσι κατὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύντος ἱσχὺν ὑπογρεῖν, ὥς καλῶς ἔχει μόνῳ τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονέμειν. δὲ ἀπερ Χαλδαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιτῶν στασιασάντων πρὸς αὐτὸν μετοικεῖν δοκιμάσας κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ βοηθειάν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χανααίαν ἔσχε γῆν, ἰδρυθεὶς τε αὐτόθι βωμόν ὕκωδόμησε καὶ θυσίαν ἐτέλεσε τῷ θεῷ.

157 (2) Μνημονεύει δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἢμῖν Ἀβράμου Βηρωσός, οὐκ ὀνομάζων λέγων δ’ οὖτως: "μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτη γενεὰ παρὰ Χαλδαίως τις ἢν δίκαιος ἀνήρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἐμπειροῦ. Ὁ καταίστηκε δὲ καὶ τοῦ μνησθήναι πλεῖον τι πεποίηκε: βιβλιών γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνταξάμενος κατέλιπε. Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει οὖτως: "Ἀβράμης ἐβασίλευσεν ἡπτής σὺν στρατῷ ἄφιγμένος ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ύπὲρ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγο-159" μὲν. μετ’ οὐ πολὺν δὲ χρόνον μεταναστᾶς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας σὺν τῷ σφητέρῳ λαῷ εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χανααίαν λεγομένην νῦν δὲ Ἰου- δαίαν μετώπισε καὶ οἱ ἄπ’ ἐκείνου πληθύσαντες,

1 RO: ἐβασίλευσε Δαμασκοῦ rell.

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¹ 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 ἄστρων οὐδεν ἀιτίων τὸ παράπαν, ἀλλ’ ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων αἰ περίοδοι τα τε α’ γαθα καὶ τα ἐναντία ἐκάστῳ τῶν ὄντων ἀπονέμουσι 78
manifest that even those services in which they co-operate 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, 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.

(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.

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.

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.
περὶ ὧν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ διεξευμένα τὰ ἱστοροῦμένα. τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκηνῇ τὸ ὄνομα δοξάζεται καὶ κώμη δείκνυται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ Ἀβράμου οἴκησις λεγομένη.

161 (viii. 1) Λυμοῦ δὲ χρόνως ὑστερον τὴν Χαναναίαν1 καταλαβόντος Ἀβραμὸς Αἰγυπτίως εὐδαιμονεῖν πυθόμενος μεταίρειν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν πρόθυμος τῆς τε ἀφθονίας τῆς ἑκείνων μεθέξων καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀκροατῆς ἐσόμενος ὦν λέγοιεν περὶ θεῶν· ἣ γὰρ κρείσσοσιν εὑρεθέισιν κατακολουθήσειν ἡ μετακοσμημένως αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτὸς ἀμεινον.

162 φρονῶν. ἐπαγόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Σάρραν καὶ φοβοῦμενος τὸ πρὸς τὰς γυναίκας τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἐπιμανόμεν, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐμορφίαν τῆς γυναίκος ἐβασιλεύσειν αὐτόν ἀνέλη, τέχνην ἐπενόησε τοιαύτην· ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς εἶναι προσεπούμεθα κακεῖνην τούθ'.

163 ὑποκρίνασθαι, συμφέρειν γὰρ αὐτῶς, ἐδίδαξεν. ὡς δ’ ἦκον εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτὸν, ἀπέβανε τῷ Ἀβράμῳ καθὼς ὑπενόησε· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἐξεβοηθή τῆς γυναίκος αὐτοῦ, διὸ καὶ Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οὐ τοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένοις ἀρκεσθεῖς ἀλλὰ καὶ θεᾶσθαι σπουδάσας οἰός τ’

164 ἦν ἀφασθαὶ τῆς Σάρρας. ἐμποδίζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀδικοῦν ἐπιθυμίαν νόσῳ τε καὶ στάσει τῶν πραγμάτων· καὶ θυμόμενω περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς κατὰ μὴν θεοῦ τοῦ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρείναι ἀπεσήμαινον

1 Ιουδαιαν 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 Damascum (the eponymous king) Azelus, mox Adores et Abrahames et Israhel reges 80
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.'

(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 Pharaoh, 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

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.

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

οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ᾿ οίς ἠθέλησεν υβρίσαι τοῦ ἐξένου τὴν
165 γυναῖκα. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἤρωτα τὴν Σάρραν, τίς
tε εἶπ· καὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἐπάγοντο, πυθόμενος τε
tὴν ἀλήθειαν Ἀβραμοῦ παρηγέτῳ· νομίζων γὰρ
ἀδελφὴν ἄλλον γυναῖκα αὐτοῦ σπουδαίας περὶ
avtʰn συγγενεῖαν ποιήσασθαι βουλόμενος, ἄλλον
ἐνυβρίσαι κατ᾿ ἐπιθυμίαν ὁμμημένον· ὑπείραται
tε αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς χρήμασι, καὶ συνήν Ἀιγυπτίων
toῖς λογιστάτοις, τὴν τε ἁρετὴν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν
ἐπ᾿ αὐτῇ δόξαν ἐντεύθεν ἐπιφανεστέραν συνέβη
gενέσθαι.

166 (2) Τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων
ἐθεσὶ καὶ τὰ παρ᾿ ἀλλήλους ἐκφαντιζόμενον νόμιμα
καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυσμενῶς ἔχοντων πρὸς ἀλλήλους,
συμβαλὼν αὐτῶν ἐκάστοτε καὶ διαπτώσαν τοὺς
λόγους οὐσ ἐποιούντο περὶ τῶν ἱδίων κενοὺς καὶ
167 μὴδέν ἔχοντας ἀληθῶς ἀπέφαυνε. θαυμασθεὶς οὖν
ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὦσ συνετῶτατος
καὶ δεινὸς ἀνὴρ οὐ νοήσαι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ πεῖσαι
λέγων περὶ ὃν ἐν ἐπιχειρήσει διδάσκεω, τὴν τε
ἀριθμητικὴν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστρο-
168 νομίαν εὐαρδιδώσει. πρὸ γὰρ τῆς Ἀβράμου
παρουσίας Αἰγυπτίων τούτων εἶχον ἀμαθῶς· ἐκ
Χαλδαίων γὰρ ταῦτ᾽ ἐφότισεν εἰς Αἰγυπτόν, ὁδεν
ἡλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἑλλήνας.

169 (3) Ὡς δ᾿ εἰς τὴν Χαναάναν ἀφίκετο, μεριζέται

1 συνεῖναι RO.  
2 ἀστρολογιαίν L Lat. Eus.
3 Euseb., Eustath.: εἰς Αἰγυπτόν RO: the rest have a
conflate text.

a Amplification of Scripture; cf. Eupolemus (c. 150 B.C.,
ap. Euseb. Praep. Ev. ix. 17, quoted by Weill) μάρτεις δὲ ἀυτοῦ
καλέσαντος τοῦτο φάναι, μὴ εἶναι χήραν τὴν γυναῖκα.
b Or perhaps with the other reading "permission to
the wrath of God, because he had wished to outrage the stranger's wife.\(^a\) 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 \(^b\) 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.\(^c\) 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.

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

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\(^a\) Artapanus (c. 2nd cent. B.C.) states that Abraham migrated with his household to Egypt and taught Pharathones astrology (ap. Eus. \textit{Praep. Ev.} ix. 18).
πρὸς Λῶτον τὴν γῆν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτῶς στασια-
ζώντων περὶ τῆς χώρας ἐν ἡ νέμοιεν τῇ ἐκλογῇν
170 μεντοι καὶ τὴν αἵρεσιν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Λῶτῳ, λαβὼν
δ᾽ αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπ᾽ ἐκείνου καταλειμμένην ὑπό-
ρειαν ὥρκει ἐν τῇ Ναβρῶ χώλει: παλαιοτέρα δὲ
ἐστὶν ἐτεσίν ἐπτὰ πρὸ Τάνιδος τῆς Αἰγύπτου.
Λῶτος δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον κειμένην καὶ ποταμὸν
ʿΙόρδανον εἶχεν οὐκ ἀπωθεὶ τῆς Σοδομίτῶν
πόλεως, ἣ τότε μὲν ἦν ἀγαθῆ, νῦν δὲ ἥφανονται
κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν κατὰ χώραν
σμαίνω.

171 (ix.) Κατ᾽ ἐκείνου δὲ τὸν καιρὸν Ἀσσυρίων
κρατοῦντων τῆς Ἀσίας Σοδομίταις ἦν θέει τὰ πράγ-
ματα έἰς τε πλοῦτον αὐτῶν ἐπιδεδωκότων καὶ
νεότητα πολλῆν· βασιλείς δὲ αὐτοίς πέντε διείπον
τὴν χώραν, Βάλας Βαλαίας Συναβάνης καὶ Συμ-
μόβορος δ᾽ τε Βαλῆνων βασιλεὺς· μοίρας δ᾽ ἦρχον
172 ἐκαστός ἰδίας. ἐπὶ τούτους στρατεύσαντες Ἀσ-
σύριοι καὶ μέρη τέσσαρα ποιήσαντες τῆς στρατιᾶς
ἐπολιόρκουν αὐτοὺς· στρατηγὸς δ᾽ ἐκάστοις ἦν
εἰς ἐπιτηταμένος· γενομένης δὲ σχῆμα νυκτόςαν
tοί Ἀσσύριοι φόρον ἐπιτάσσοντες τοὺς Σοδομίτων

173 βασιλεύσαν· δύσκεκα μὲν οὖν ἐτὴ δουλεύοντες καὶ
τοὺς ἐπιταχθέντας αὐτοῖς φόρους τελοῦντες ὑπ-
ἐμειναν, τὸ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτω ἀπέστησαν, καὶ
diαβαίνει στρατὸς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπ᾽ αὐτοὺς στρατη-

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a Bibl. Hebron. This name takes a variety of forms in
different parts of Josephus: Ὁαβρῶ (or Ὁαβρῶν), Ὁεβρῶν,
Παβρῶν, Ἕβρῶν and Ἡεβρῶν.

b 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
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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, a city that is more ancient by seven years than Tanis in Egypt. Lot for his part occupied the district in the direction of the plain and the river Jordan, 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.

(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, Symmobor, and the king of the Baleni—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 against them, under the command "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 (Χερσόν) as 2300 years old, and "more ancient than Egyptian Memphis."

" 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.

§ 194.

Biblical names Bera (lxx Βάρα), Birsha (Βαρσά), Shinab, Shemeber, Bela (Βάλακ).

Or "crossed over" (sc. the Euphrates).
γούντων Ἄμαιραψίδου Ἀριόχου Χοδολαμόρου Θα-

dάλου. οὕτω τῆς τε Συρίαν ἀπασαν διηρπάσαντο καὶ
tοὺς τῶν γυγάντων ἀπογόνους κατεστρέψαντο,
γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ Σόδομα στρατοπεδεύοντο κατὰ
tὴν κοιλάδα τῆν λεγομένην φρέατα ἀσφάλτου· κατ’
ἐκείνων γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν φρέατα ἢν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ,
νῦν μέντοι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως ἀφαιρεσθείης
ἡ κοιλάς ἐκείνη λίμνη γέγονεν ἡ Ἀσφαλτῖτις
175 λεγομένην. περὶ μὲν οὖν τῆς λίμνης ταύτης αὕτης
μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν, τῶν δὲ Σοδομιτῶν συμ-
βαλόντων τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις καὶ καρτερὰς τῆς máχης
γενομένης, πολλοί μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, οἱ λοιποὶ
dὲ ἡχιμαλωτίσθησαν, σὺν οἷς καὶ Λῶτος ἤγετο τοῖς
Σοδομίταις σύμμαχος ἐληλυθός.
176 (χ. 1) Ἀβράμῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντι τὴν συμφοράν
αὐτῶν φόβος τε ἀμα περὶ Λῶτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς
eἰσῆλθε καὶ οἴκτος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν φίλων
177 ὡντων καὶ γειτνιώντων. καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκι-
μάσας οὐκ ἀνέμεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπειχθεῖς καὶ κατὰ
πέμπτην ἐπιπεσών νῦκτα τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις περὶ
Δάνου, οὕτως γὰρ ἡ ἑτέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσ-
ἀγορεύεται πηγή, καὶ φθάσας πρὸς ἐν ὀπλοῖς
γενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις ὄντας ἀπέκτεινε
μηδ’ ἐπίνοιαν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ μῆπω
πρὸς ὑπνὸν τετραμμένοι μάχεσθαι δ’ ὑπὸ μέθης

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a Bibl. Amraphel (Ἄμαρφᾶλ).
b Bibl. Chedorlaomer (Χοδολλαομόρ).
c Bibl. Tidal (Θαλγά or the like).

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of Amarapsides, a Arioch, Chodolamor b and Thadal. c These ravaged the whole of Syria and subdued the descendants of the giants d; 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 e; to that lake, however, I shall shortly revert. f 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.

(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 g fell upon the Assyrians in the neighbourhood of Dan h (such is the name of one of the two sources of the Jordan), i 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

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a Gen. xiv. 5, "the Rephaim" (LXX τῶν γίγαντων).

b "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.

c § 203, describing the fate of Sodom, does not mention the lake: a description is given in B.I. iv. 476 ff.

d These details of time and circumstances are legendary.

e So Gen. xiv. 14: the older Laish, renamed Dan in the period of the Judges.

f Josephus appears to countenance the popular etymology, which saw in the name a compound of two alleged sources of the river, Jor and Dan!

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178 άδύνατοι ἔφυγον. Ἀβραμός δὲ διώκων εἶπε τὸν μέχρι καὶ δευτεραίους συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ὀβᾶ τής Δαμασκηνῶν γῆς, ἐπιδείξας ὅτι τὸ νικᾶν σύκο ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ κείσθαι συμβεβήκεν, ἀλλὰ προθυμία τῶν μαχομένων καὶ τὸ γενναῖον κρατεῖ παντὸς ἀριθμοῦ, τριακοσίων καὶ δεκακοκτῶν οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ τρισὶ φίλοις τοσούτου στρατοῦ περιγεινόμενος. ὅποσοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον ἀδόξως ἀνέστρεφαν.

179 (2) Αβραμός δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σοδομιτῶν σώσας αἰχμαλώτους, οἱ λῃσθέντες ἔφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ τῶν συγγενῶν Δώτον ἀνέζευξεν μετὰ εἰρήνης. ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ ὁ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς τόπον τινὰ ὡς καλοῦσι πεδίον βασιλικόν. ἔνθα οί τῆς Σολομῶν ὕποδέχεται βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Μελχισεδέκ· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο βασιλεὺς δίκαιος· καὶ ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁμολογομένως, ὡς διὰ ταύτην αὐτὸν τῆν αἰτίαν καὶ Ειρέα γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ· τῆν μέντοι Σολομὼν ύστερον ἐκάλεσαν·

180 Ἰεροσόλυμα. ἔχορηγε δὲ οὗτος ὁ Μελχισεδέκ τῷ Ἀβράμῳ στρατῷ ξένω καὶ πολλήν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων παρέσχε καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτῶν τε ἐπαινεῖν ἤρξατο καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐλογεῖν

1 ἐκάλεσεν ROP.

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a Weill quotes a striking parallel from Philo, De Abr. (40) § 233 Cohn: ἐπιπίπτει τοῖς πολεμοῖς δεδειπνοοιμένοις ἦδη καὶ πρὸς ὑπὸν μέλλουσι τρέπεσθαι· καὶ τοὺς μὲν εἰς εὐναῖς ἱέρεις, τοὺς δὲ ἀντισταθέντας ἄρδην ἀνήρει, πάντως δὲ ἔρρωμένως ἑπεκράτει τῷ θεαράλεῳ τῆς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἡ ταῖς παρασκευαῖς.
b Bibl. Hobah (Χωβάλ), Gen. xiv. 15.
• “The King’s Vale,” mentioned in the story of Absalom
took to their heels. Abraham followed hotly in pursuit until on the following day he had driven them all into Oba 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 and three friends 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." There he was received by the king of Solyma, Melchisedek; this name means "righteous king," and such was he by common consent, insomuch that for this reason he was moreover made priest of God; Solyma was in fact the place afterwards called Hierosolyma. 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

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

† Bibl. Salem (Σαλήμ).

¢ The usual Jewish interpretation—"king of righteousness" (zedek)—repeated in B. J. vi. 438 (βασιλεὺς δίκαιος, ἥν 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.

§ The Hellenized form of Jerusalem (ι.ΧΧ Ἰερουσαλήμ) 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).
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υποχειρίους αὐτῷ ποιήσαντα τοὺς ἔχθρους. Ὁ Ἀβράμος ὁ 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 ἀπολαβεὶν ἥξιον, οὐς παρὰ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων ἔσωσεν οἰκεῖους ὄντας. Ὁ Ἀβραμος δὲ οὐκ ἔφη τοῦτο ποιήσειν, οὔτ᾽ ἂν ἄλλην ὁφέλειαν ἐκ τῆς λείας ἐκείνης ἐῖς αὐτὸν ἥξιον πλῆν ὀσα τροφῆ τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ γένοιτο. μοῖραν μέντοι τινὰ τοῖς φίλοις αὐτοῦ παρέσχε1 τοῖς συντρατευμένοις. "Εσχῶν δ᾽ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκαλείτο [καὶ] Ἑννηρος καὶ Μαμβρής.

183 (3) Ἑπαυνέσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἄρετὴν ὁ θεὸς, ἀλλ᾽ οὐκ ἀπολεῖς," φησί, "μισθούς οὖς ἄξιον ἐστὶν σε ἐπὶ τοιαύτας εὐπραγίας κομίζεσθαι." τοῦ δ᾽ ὑπολαβόντος καὶ τίς ἂν εἶχ χάρις τούτων τῶν μισθῶν οὐκ οὖν ὁι διαδέχονται μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐτι γὰρ ἢν ἀπαίς, ὁ θεὸς καὶ παίδα αὐτῷ γενῆσθαι καταγγέλλει καὶ πολλὴν εἰς ἐκείνου γενεάν, ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἐσεβαί τὸν ἀριθμὸν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀκούσας θυσίαν προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ κελευσθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἢν δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς θυσίας τοιοῦτος· δάμαλιν τριετίζουσαν καὶ αἴγα τριετίζουσαν καὶ κριόν ὁμοίως τριετῆ καὶ τρυγόνα καὶ περιστερὰν κελεύσαντος διελεί, 185 τῶν ὄρνεων οὐδέν διελόν. εἶτα πρὶν στῆναι τῶν βωμὸν ὁμοίων ἐφιπταμένων ἐπιθυμία τοῦ αἰματος φωνὴ θεᾶ παρὴ προῆ ἀποσημαινοῦσα πονηροὺς αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐγγόνοις γείτονας ἐπὶ ἐτη τετρακόσια2 γενησομένους κατὰ τὴν Λίγυπτον, ἐν οἷς κακοπαθήσαντας

1 ROM: παρασχεῖν rell.
2 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, the others Ennèr and Mambres.

(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

a Bibl. Eshcol: Josephus agrees with lxx in placing this name "first," not second.

b Bibl. Aner (lxx Aναρ).

c Bibl. Mamre.
Josephus

186 (4) "Αβραμός δὲ κατάκει μὲν περὶ τὴν 'Ογνύχην καλομυηνὴν δρῦν, ἐστὶ δὲ τὴς Χαναναίας τὸ χωρίον οὐ πόρρω τῆς 'Εβρωνίων πόλεως, δυσφορῶν δὲ ἐπὶ γυναικὶ μὴ κυνοῦσῃ ἤκετεύει τὸν θεὸν γυνὴν
187 αὐτῷ παιδὸς ἄρσενος παρασχεῖν. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ θαρσεῖν αὐτὸν παρακελευνόμενον τοῖς τε ἀλλοις ἀπασώ ὢς ἐπ’ ἀγαθοῖς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἡγμενὸν καὶ παιδῶν ἔσομενον, Σάρρα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπικλίνει μιὰν τῶν θεραπαινίδων Ἀγάρην ὄνομα, γένος οὗσαν Αἰγυπτίαν,
188 ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδοποιησμένῳ. καὶ γενομένη ἐγκύμων ἡ θεραπαινὶς ἐξυβρίζειν εἰς τὴν Σάρραν ἐτόλμησε βασιλίζουσα, ὡς τῆς ἡγεμονίας περιστησιμένης εἰς τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τεχθησόμενον.
'Αβράμου δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς αἰκίαν παραδίδοντος τῇ Σάρρᾳ δρασμὸν ἐπεβούλευσεν οὐχ ὑπομένους τὰς παλαιώριας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἴκετευν οὐκτόν αὐτῆς
189 λαβεῖν. ὑπαντάζει δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου προϊοῦσαν αὐτὴν ἀγγελος θείος κελεύων πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανεναι. βιοὺ γὰρ μείζονος τεύξεσθαι σωφρονόσαν καὶ γὰρ νῦν εἰς τὴν δέσποτας ἄγνωστα καὶ αὐθάδη γενομένην ἐν τούτοις εἶναι τοῖς κακοῖς
190 παρακοουσάν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προσωτέρω χωροῦσαν ἐλεγεν ἀπολείσθαι, νοστήσασαν δὲ αὐτὴν ὅπισώ γενήσεσθαι μητέρα παιδὸς τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης βασιλεύσοντος. τούτοις οἶδηται καὶ ἐπανελθοῦσα

a Bibl. "the oaks (or "terebinths") of Mamre," and so Josephus, following the lxx, writes below, § 196 πρὸς τῇ ὄρνῃ 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, 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. Therewith 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, 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

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.

b Greek Agare : Bibl. Hagar,
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πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας συγγνώμης ἔτυχε· τίκτει δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Ἰσμαήλου, θεόκλυτον ἀν τις εἶποι, διὰ τὸ εἰσακοῦσαι τὸν θεὸν τῆς ικεσίας.

191 (5) Ἀβράμῳ μὲν οὐν ἔκτον ἡδή καὶ ὀγδοηκοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότι ὁ προερημένος ἐγεννήθη, εἰς ἔνατον δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἑνενήκοστον παρελθόντι ἐπιφανεῖς ὁ θεὸς ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἐσοιτο· κελεύει δ’ αὐτὸν καλέσαι Ἰσακον δηλῶν ἐσόμενα ἔθνη μεγάλα ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλείς, καὶ ὅτι πολεμήσαντες καθέξουσι τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀπασαν

192 ἀπὸ Σιδώνος μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, προσέταξε τε βουλόμενος τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῷ γένος μένειν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὐ συμφύρομεν περιτέμνεσθαι τα ἁίδοια καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὀγδόη ἡμέρα μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι. τὴν αἰτίαν δὲ τῆς περιτομῆς ἡμῶν ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσω. 193 πιθομένῳ δὲ Ἀβράμῳ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσμαήλου, εἰ ζησεῖται, πολυχρόνιον τε ἀπεσήμαινεν ὁ θεὸς καὶ μεγάλων ἔθνων πατέρα. καὶ Ἀβραμος μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦτοις εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ περιτέμνεται παραχρῆμα καὶ πάντας οἱ παρ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰσμάήλος, οὐ κατ’ ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν τρισκαιδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἑνενήκοστον πρὸς τοῖς ἐννέα διήγεν.

194 (κι. 1) Ἡ πό δὴ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν οἱ Σοδομίται πλήθει τι καὶ μεγεθεὶς χρημάτων ὑπερφρονοῦντες εἰς τὲ ἀνθρώπους ἥσαν υβρισταί καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον

1 ROE: πλοῦτῳ rell.

a 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 ἄκοη 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," because God had hearkened to her petition.

(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)c, 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, 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.

Abraham then inquiring concerning Ishmael also, whether he was to live, 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 ib 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

b Motive not mentioned in Scripture.

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

d Josephus seems to have read Gen. xvii. 18 as a question, Ἰσμαήλ οὗτος ζήσεται (so one MS. of LXX for ἐζήσει) ἐναντίον σου Ηεβ. "Oh that I. might live before thee!"
The μισοξενία of the Sodomites is mentioned in Wisdom xix. 13 f., and emphasized in Rabbinical writings, e.g. Pirkē 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.a 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, b 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.c 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 d and find that she had become a mother. Thereat the woman smiled e and said that child-bearing was impossible, seeing that she was ninety years old and

a In Genesis "tent": Josephus introduces the idea of a Greek house.

b In Genesis "tent": Josephus introduces the idea of a Greek house.

c Gen. xviii. 8, "they did eat." The "Docetic" paraphrase of Josephus reappears almost verbatim in Philo: τεραστιον δε . . . το μη εσθιοντας εσθιοντων παρεχειν φαντασιαν, De Abrahamo, 23 § 118 (cf. § 116 παρεσχον υποληψιν). Cf. also the Palestinian Targum, "He (Abraham) quieted himself (to see) whether they would eat." Such avoidance of anthropomorphism is characteristically Rabbinic.

d εις το μελλον (cf. Lk. xiii. 9): the Heb. is taken to mean "a year hence."

e Gen. "laughed within herself."
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έχούσης τοῦ δ' ἄνδρός ἐκατόν, οὐκέτι κατέσχον λανθάνοντες ἀλλ' ἐμήνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς ὅντας ἄγγελούς τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεμφθεὶ μὲν ὁ εἰς σημανῶν περὶ τοῦ παιδός, οἱ δύο δὲ Σοδομίτας καταστρεφόμενοι.

199 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας "Αβραμος ἠλήγησεν ἑπὶ τοῖς Σοδομίταις καὶ τὸν θεον ἀραστὰς ἴκετενσε παρακαλῶν, μη τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἄγαθοὺς συναπολλύναι τοῖς πονηροῖς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος μὴ δένα εἶναι τῶν Σοδομίτων ἄγαθον, εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐδέκα εἶεν συγχωρεῖν ἀπαί τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρ-200 τίμαισι τιμωρίαν, ὁ μὲν "Αβραμος ἱσοίχασεν1. οἱ δὲ ἄγγελοι παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν τῶν Σοδομίτων πόλιν, καὶ ὁ Λώτος αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ἕξεναν παρεκάλει· λίαν γὰρ ἣν περὶ τοὺς ἕξενοις φιλάνθρωποι καὶ μαθητής τῆς Ἀβράμου χρηστότητος. οἱ δὲ Σοδομίται θεασάμενοι τοὺς νεανίσκους εὐπρεπεία τῆς ὁφεις διαφέροντας καὶ παρὰ Λώτῳ καταχθέντας 201 ἐπὶ βιαν καὶ ὑβρὶν αὐτῶν τῆς ὤρας ἐτράπησαν. τοῦ δὲ Λώτου παρανυνοῦντος σωφρονεῖν καὶ μη χωρεῖν ἐπ' αἰσχύνη τῶν ἔξων, ἀλλ' ἐχειν αἰδὼ τῆς παρ' αὐτῶ καταγωγῆς, εἰ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἀκρατῶς, τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ ἑκεῖνων ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν λέγοντος παρέξεων, οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπειδήθησαν.

202 (4) "Ο θεὸς οὖν ἀγανακτήσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμήμασι τοὺς μὲν ἡμαύρωσεν, ὡς μὴ δυνηθῆναι τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρεῖν, Σοδομίτων δὲ κατέκρινε πάνδημον ὀλεθρον. Λώτος δὲ τοῦ

1 ἱσοίχασεν RO.

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*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 98*
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.a

(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.b 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).

a 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” (Pirke R. Eliezer, xxv.).
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θεοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀπώλειαν τῶν Σωδομιτῶν αὐτῶ φράσαντος ἀπαλλάσσεται τὴν τε γυναίκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἔτι παρθένοι, ἀναλαβὼν· οἱ γὰρ μνηστήρες περιεφρόνησαν τῆς ἐξόδου εὔθειαν ἐπικαλούντες τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Λάωτον 203 λεγομένους, καὶ οὗθεσ ἐνσκήπτει βέλος εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ σύν τοῖς οἰκήτορισι κατεπίμπρα τὴν γην ὀμολά πυρόωσε ἄφανίζον, ὥσ μοι καὶ πρῶτον λέλεκται τὸν Ἰουδαϊκὸν ἀναγράφοντι πόλεμον. ἢ δὲ Λάωτον γυνὴ παρὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν συνεχῶς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρέφομεν καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν, ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰς στήλην ἀλῶν μετέβαλεν· ἱστῴσεαι δ’ 204 αὐτὴν, ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. διαφένει δ’ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων εἰς βραχὺ τὶ χωρίον κατασχῶν περιγραφέν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. Ζωὼρ ἔτι καὶ νῦν λέγεται: καλοῦσι γὰρ οὔτως Ἑβραιοὶ τὸ ὁλίγον. εἰμαθαί τοῦν ὑπὸ τε ἀνθρώπων ἑρμηνεύς καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίας ταλαιπώρως διήγεν.

205 (5) Αἰ δὲ παρθένοι πάν ἡφανίσαθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπινον ὑπολαμβούσα τῷ πατρὶ πλησιάζουσι προνόησασαι λαθεία· ἔποιον δὲ τοῦτο ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ τὸ γένος ἐκλιπεῖν. γίνονται δὲ παίδες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς προσβυτέρας Μώαβος· ἐποίει δ’ ἃν τις ἀπὸ πατρός. Ἀμμανοῦ δ’ ἡ νεωτέρα ποιεῖται· γένους νῦν

1 RO: ὑπερεφρόνησαν rell.

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*a* The phrase recalls Hdt. iv. 79 ἐς ταύτην (τὴν οἰκίην) ὁ θεὸς ἐνέσκηπε βέλος· καὶ ἡ μὲν κατεκάθ πᾶσα.

*b* B.J. iv. 483-485.

*c* 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 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.

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. Lot himself escaped with his daughters, finding refuge in a tiny spot forming an oasis in the flames: it is still called Zoor,

There, isolated from mankind and in lack of food, he passed a miserable existence.

(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, the name 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).

\( ^{d} \) Bibl. Zoar (lxx Σήγωρ), usually located to the S.E. of the Dead Sea, some five miles from the present shore. Heb. za'\( \dot{i} \)r = "little," "insignificant."

\( ^{e} \) So lxx (Heb. Ben-ammi). From the lxx also Josephus takes over the interpretation of both names.
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206 ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ κτίζει δ’ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν Μωαβίτας μέγιστον ὄντας καὶ νῦν ἐθνὸς, 'Αρμανί- τας δὲ ὁ ἔτερος. Συρίας τῆς κοίλης ἐστὶν ἀμφότερα. καὶ Λάτω μὲν τοιαύτῃν συνέβη τὴν ἐκ Σοδομιτῶν ἀναχώρησιν γενέσθαι.

207 (xii. 1) Ἀβραμος δὲ μετώκησεν εἰς Γέραρα τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐν ἀδελφῆς ἐπαγόμενος σχῆματι τὴν Σάρραν, ὡμοια τοῖς πρῶν ὑποκρινάμενοι διὰ τὸν φόβον· ἐδεικε γὰρ 'Αβριμέλεχον τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς ἐρασθεὶς τῆς Σάρρας.

208 φθείρευν οἶδο τῇ ἰν. εἰρρεται δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ νόσου χαλεπῆς αὐτῶ προσπεσοῦσθε ἐκ θεοῦ, καὶ τῶν ἱατρῶν αὐτῶν ἀπεγνωσκότων ὑπνώσας ὄναρ ὅρα μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν τὴν τοῦ ξένου γυναῖκα, καὶ ρᾶν διατεθεὶς φράζει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ ταύτην ἐπαγάγοι τὴν νόσον ὑπὲρ ἐκδίκιας τοῦ ξένου φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον αὐτῶ τὴν γυναῖκα, μὴ γὰρ ἀδελφὴν οὗσαν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμῳ δ’ αὐτῶ συν- οικοῦσαν, ἐπαγγέλλεται τε παρέξειν αὐτὸν εὐμενῆ τὸ λοιπὸν ἀδειοῦς ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα γενο- 209 μένου. ταύτα εἰπὼν μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἀβραμον συμβουλευσάντων τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἐτὶ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῶν ὡς πεισομένης τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν ἐκέλευσε δεδέναι, θεοῦ γὰρ αὐτῶν κήδεσθαι, καὶ κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεμενηκυίαν ἀνύβριστον κομίζεσθαι τοῦ τε θεοῦ μάρτυρος ὑντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς συνεδότος· ἐλεγε <τε>3 μηδ’ ἄν ὀρεχθῆναι τὴν ἀρχὴν, εἰ γαμετὴν

signifying "son of the race." The former was the progenitor of the Moabites, still to-day a mighty nation, the latter of the Ammanites, both being peoples of Coele-Syria. 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 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 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

a So LXX (Heb. "children of Ammon").

b "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).

c In Egypt, § 162.

d Amplification of Scripture.
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, 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 covenanted to deal honestly with each other, swearing an oath over a well which they call Bêrsubai, that is 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 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

\[ \delta \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \iota \delta \gamma \not \delta \delta \epsilon \lambda \phi \iota \]; but the latter can be used loosely = ”kinswoman.” According to Genesis she was Abraham’s half-sister.

\[ ^{a} \text{Heb. Beer-sheba, strictly = ”well of seven” (or “seven wells”)}. \]

Josephus takes over the Biblical etymology: LXX translates by \( \phi \rho \lambda \alpha \rho \delta \rho \kappa \sigma \mu \omicron \omicron \omicron \) (or \( \tau \omicron \omicron \delta \rho \kappa \omicron \omicron \)). 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.”

\[ ^{b} \text{§ 198.} \]

105
214 tìktetai ðè paìs ékatéōrons toù uostatów ëtēi, òn
eùthòs met' ògìdôn ëméràn peritémounoi, kàs ëkeïnou
metà tosaútas ëthòs ëxouou òi' ìoudaïoi poieïšai
tàs peritomàs, "Àrabes ðè metà ëtós trisçiain-
dékaton" Ἰσμάηlos ñàr ðì kûstíth is autòw toù
ëthòu 'Àbràmw wènòmenos ek tìs pallakìs èn
toutò peritèmnetai tìs xronóv peri ðì toû pànta
lògòn ëkthìsoumai metà pollÌs àkribeias.

215 (3) Sàrra ðè gëvνhènta tòn Ἰσμάηlon ëk tìs
doúlyh àutìs Ἄgàrhì to múen pròton ëstèrgen
ouðèn àpòleítousa tìs [òws]1 pròs ìðion ùìon
euniais, ètrèfeto ñàr ëptì tì tìs èmèmnìs dia-
dóxì, tekouïsa ðì àutì tòn 'Ìsàkon ouk ëxìon para-
trefèsthai toutò wènòmenos tòv Ἰσμάηlon ònta
prèsbùteron kai kakourgeìèn ðìnàmènon tòv
patròs autòs àpò-

216 ñàntòs. èpèithèn ouðì toû 'Àbràmw eìs àpòkìan
èkppèmpèn àutòn metà tìs mìtròs. ðì ðè kata
mèn àrkhìs ou pròstètheto tìn àutòi gnìwình oìs
rà Sàrra èspòudàkei pàntwn wòmòtaton èmòmènon
eìnà pànda nòmpion kai gnàdà àpòron tòn

217 kàiwôn èkppèmpèw. ùstéron ðè, kai ñàr ðì ðèos
ìråìketo toûs ùpò tìs Sàrras pròstàtòtòmenos,
pèstheìs parèdidòw tòn Ἰσμάηlon tì mìtrì mìpìw
ðì àutòi xwreiì ðìnàmènon, ùdòw te ënu ìskì kai
âròn fèrmènhì èkèlèven àpìëñà ðìnhì tì

218 xronìnhì. òws ðì àpìòùsan ètrìlèòïpé òtà ànàg-
ìkà, èn kàkòi ënhì, ùdàtas ðè spànìzòntos ùp'
èlàtì tìvì ðèisìa tò pàdòv ðìkòroì ðìkòroì, òws mì

1 om. ROE.

a 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.

106
A child was born in the year after (that prediction).\(^a\) 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.\(^b\)

(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

As \(\pi\dot{\omega}\tau\omicron\) in late Greek is used for \(\pi\rho\dot{\omicron}\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\) and \(\dot{\epsilon}\sigma\chi\alpha\tau\omicron\) in \(\text{LXX}\) for “latter,” so Josephus may have used \(\dot{\upsilon}\sigma\tau\alpha\tau\omicron\) for \(\upsilon\sigma\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron\). The obvious rendering, “in the last year of both,” is impossible; the parents, we are told, lived for many more years.

\(^a\) See § 192 note.
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219 συντυχών δ’ αυτῇ θείος ἄγγελος πηγὴν τε φράζει παρακειμένη καὶ κελεύει προνοεῖν τῆς ἀνατροφῆς τοῦ παιδίου. μεγάλα γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀγάθα περιμένει ἐκ τῆς Ἰσμαήλου σωτηρίας. ἡ δ’ εὐθαρσησε τοὺς προκατηγγελμένους καὶ συμβαλοῦσα ποιμέσι διὰ τὴν εὖ αὐτῶν ἐπιμέλειαν διαφέυγει τὰς ταλαιπωρίας.

220 (4) Ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ τῷ παιδὶ γύναιον ἀγεταὶ τὸ γένος Αἰνύπτιον, ἐνθεύς ὧν καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, εὖ οὖ παιδεῖ Ἰσμαὴλι γίνονται δύδεκα πάντες, Ναβαώθης Κήδαρος Ἀβδέηλος Μάσσαμος Μάσμα- σος Ἰδοὺμᾶς Μάσμησος Χόδαμος Θάιμανος Ἰεσοῦ- 221 ρος Νάφαισος Κάςμασος. οὕτω πᾶσαι τὴν ἅπ’ Ἐυφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἑρυθρὰν θάλασσαν κατοικοῦσαν Ναβατηνὴν τὴν χώραν ὄνομάσαντες. εἰσὶ δὲ οὕτω, οὐ τὸ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος καὶ τὰς φυλὰς ἀδ’ αὐτῶν καλοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὸ Ἀβράμον ἄξιομα.

222 (xiii. 1) Ἰσακον δὲ δ’ πατὴρ Ἀβραμος ὑπερηγάτα μονογενὴς ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ γῆρως οὐδῷ κατὰ δωρεὰν αὐτῶ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον. προεκλεῖτο δὲ εἰς εὐνοιαν καὶ τὸ φιλεῖσθαι μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων

1 καὶ τὰς] κατὰ Lat. (secundum tribus).
2 Bekker: ἀπ’ αὐτῶν codd.

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*a* Modelled on Eurip. Hercules Furens, 323 f. ὃς μὴ τέκνε
εἰσίδωµεν, ἀνάστιον θέαν, ἔνει στήρεται καὶ καλοῦτα μητέρα. That play seems to have been a favourite of the author, or rather of his assistant.  
*b* Amplification of Scripture.  
*c* So one group of lxx mss.: Heb. Adbeel.  
*d* So lxx : Heb. Mibsam.  
*e* After lxx : Heb. Mishma.
farther on, that she might not be there when he gave up his spirit. 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, 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, Abdeel, Massam, Masmas, Idum(as), Masmes, Chodam, Thaiman, Jetur, Naphais, Kadmas. These occupied the whole country extending from the Euphrates to the Red Sea and called it Nabatene; and it is these who conferred their names on the Arabian nation and its tribes in honour both of their own prowess and of the fame of Abraham.

(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" 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
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς ἐπιτηδεύων πᾶσαν ἀρετήν καὶ τῆς τε τῶν πατέρων θεραπείας ἐχόμενος καὶ περὶ τῆν 223 τού θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδακώς. Ἀβραμος δὲ τὴν ἴδιαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τὸν υἱόν ἀπαθῆ καταλιπὼν ἐξελθεὶν τοῦ ζῆν ἐτίθετο. τούτου μέντοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεων ἔτυχεν, ὃς διάπειραν αὐτοῦ βουλώμενος λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείας ἐμφανισθείς αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα ὡσα εἰς παρεσχημένος 224 καταρθημάτως, ὡς πολέμιων τε κρέιττονα ποιῆσει καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπουδῆς ἔχοι καὶ τὸν υἱὸν Ἡσακον, ὡς τοῦτον αὐτῷ θύμα καὶ ἱερεῖον [αὐτὸν] παραγόντα, ἐκείνεν τε εἰς τὸ Μώριον ὄρος ἀναγαγόντα ὀλοκαυ- τῶσαι βωμὸν ἑδρυσάμενον· οὕτως γὰρ ἐμφανίσειν τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν, εἰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ τέκνου σωτηρίας προτημήσει τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον.

225 (2) Ἀβραμος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ κρίνων παρακούειν τοῦ θεοῦ δίκαιον ἀπαντά δὲ ὑπουργεῖν, ὡς ἐκ τῆς ἐκείνου προνοίας ἀπαντώντων εἰς ἀν εὐμενής ἢ, ἐπικρυφάμενος πρὸς τὴν γυναίκα τὴν τε τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν καὶ ἤν εἰχὲν αὐτὸς γνώμην περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ τῶν οἰκετῶν των δηλώσας, ἐκώλυτο γὰρ ἄν ὑπηρετήσαι τῷ θεῷ, λαβὼν τὸν Ἡσακον μετὰ δύο οἰκετῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἐπισάξας ὡς ἀπήγει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 226 καὶ δύο μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτῷ συνώδευσαν οἱ οἰκέται,

1 ἀπαντά τ' ROE.
2 ἀπάντων ζώντων ed. pr. with Lat. is attractive, but cf. for ἀπαντάν § 234: perhaps ἀπάντων has dropped out before ἀπ. (Niese).

Genesis (xxii. 2) speaks of "one of the mountains" in "the land of Moriah" (lxx τὴν γῆν τὴν ὕψηλήν). "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, a 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, b 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, c 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 temple. The locality here intended is unknown; its identification by Josephus (§ 226) and by Rabbinical tradition with the temple mount cannot be sustained.

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

c Cf. Philo, De Abr. 32, § 170 μηδενι των ένδον εξειπων το λόγιον.
τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ὡς κάτοπτον ἵνα αὐτῷ τὸ ὄρος, κατα-
λιπών ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τοὺς συνόντας μετὰ μόνου τοῦ
παιδὸς παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ᾽ οὐ τὸ ἱερὸν
227 Δαυιδῆς ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπερων ἴδρυται. ἐφερον δὲ
σὺν αὐτοῖς ὁσα λοιπὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἵνα πλὴν
ἱερείου. τοῦ δ᾽ Ἰσὰκον πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν
ἔτος ἐχοντος τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάζοντος καὶ πυθο-
μένου, τῇ καὶ μέλλονες θύειν ἱερεῖον μὴ παρόντος,
[ὁ δὲ]¹ τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρέξεως ἐλεγεν ὅντα
ἰκανόν καὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀνθρώπους²
παραγαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς παρασκυνών
ἀφέλεσθαι. δύσειν οὖν κἀκεῖνῳ ἱερεῖον, εἰτερ
ἐμενής μέλλει τῇ θυσίᾳ παρατυχχάνειν αὐτοῦ.
228 ᾗς δ᾽ ὁ βωμὸς παρασκεύαστο καὶ τὰς σχίζας
ἐπεννοόχει καὶ ἣν εὐτρεπὴ, λέγει πρὸς τὸν ύιὸν
"ὡ παῖ, μυρίαν εὐχαῖς αἰτησάμενος σε γενέσαι
μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθες εἰς τὸν βίον,
οὐκ ἔστω ὃ τι μὴ περὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνατροφήν ἐφιλο-
τυμησάμην οὐδ᾽ ἐφ᾽ ὃ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονήσειν
ἥμην, ὡς εἰ σὲ τ᾽ ἱδομὶ ἱνδρωμένοι καὶ τελευτῶν
dιάδοχον τῆς ἀρχής τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ καταλύσωμι.
229 ἀλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ θεοῦ τε βουλομένου σὸς πατὴρ ἐγενόμην
καὶ πᾶλιν τούτω δοκοῦν ἀποτίθεμαι σε, φέρε
γενναῖως τὴν καθιέρωσιν τῷ θεῷ γὰρ σε παραχωρῶ
ταύτης ἀξιωσαντὶ παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τῆς τιμῆς, ἀνθ᾽ ὃν
ἐμενής γέγονε μοι παραστάσης καὶ σύμμαχος,
230 νῦν ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγεννήθης * * ἀπιθή νῦν³ οὗ

¹ om. RO. ² ed. pr.: ἀνθρώποις codd. ³ ἀπιθή νῦν SP: ἀποθάνης most mss.; text doubtful and probably defective.

⁴ Or rather “Solomon . . . in the place that David had appointed” (2 Chron. iii. 1). But see § 224 note.

112
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 \(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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)\(^c\) quit thou now this life not by the

\(^a\) Age unrecorded in Scripture.
\(^b\) Apparent lacuna in the Greek.
\(^c\) Apparent lacuna in the Greek.
τὸν κοινὸν ἐκ τοῦ ξῆν τρόπον, ἀλλ’ ύπὸ πατρὸς ἵδιον θεῷ τῶν πάντων πατρὶ νόμῳ θυσίας προ- πεμπόμενος, ἀξίων οἷμα σε κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μήτε νόσῳ μήτε πολέμω μήτε ἄλλω τυί τῶν παθῶν, ἀ συμπίπτει πέμφειν ἀνθρώποις, ἀπαλλαγῆναι

231 τοῦ βίου, μετ’ εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἑρωργίας ἐκείνου ψυχῆν τὴν σὴν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ καθέξοντος. ἐσθ’ τ’ ἐμοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηρω- κόμον, διὸ καὶ σὲ μάλιστα ἀνετρεφόμην, τὸν θεὸν ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ παρεσχημένος.”

232 (4) Ἰσακος δὲ, πατρὸς γὰρ ἦν οἷον τετυχηκότα γενναῖον ἔδει τὸ φρόνημα εἶναι, δέχεται πρὸς ἥδονὴν τοὺς λόγους καὶ φήσας, ὡς οὐδὲ γεγονέναι τὴν ἄρχην ἦν δίκαιος, εἰ θεοῦ καὶ πατρὸς μέλλει κρίσιν ἀπωθείσθαι καὶ μὴ παρέχειν αὐτὸν τοὺς ἀμφοτέρων βουλήμασιν ἔτοιμος, ὅτε καὶ μόνου τοῦ πατρὸς ταῦτα προαιρουμένου μὴ ὑπακούειν ἄδικον ἦν, ὦρμησεν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ τὴν σφαγὴν.

233 καὶ ἐπράξη τὸ ἔργον μὴ στάντος ἐμποδῶν τοῦ θεοῦ. βοᾷ γὰρ ὄνομαστί τὸν Ἀβραμον εἰργών τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας αἰματος ἀνθρωπίνου τὴν σφαγὴν αὐτῷ προστάξαι τοῦ παιδὸς ἐλεγεν, οὐδὲ οὐ πατέρα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς ἀφελέσθαι τοῦτον βουλόμενον μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀ- σβείας, ἀλλὰ δοκιμάσαι θέλων αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν, 234 εἰ καὶ τοιαῦτα προστασσόμενος ὑπακούοι. μαθῶν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόθυμον καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς θρησκείας ἦδεσθαι μὲν οἷς αὐτῷ παρέσχεν, οὐχ ύπετρήσειν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸ γένους ἄξιοῦτα, ἐσθηθαὶ τε τὸν οἶδον αὐτοῦ πολυ- χρονωτάτον καὶ βιώσαντα εὐδαιμόνως παιῶν 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

\[\text{\textsuperscript{1} v.l. } \beta\omega\iota\kappa\ell\iota\mu\alpha\sigma\iota\nu.\]
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235 μονίαν. προεδήλου τε τὸ γένος τὸ αὐτῶν εἰς ἑθηνη πολλὰ καὶ πλούτων ἐπιδώσειν, καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον αὐτῶν ἐσεσθαι τοὺς γενάρχαις, τὴν τε Ἑχαναίαν ὁπλοὺς κατακτησμένους ζηλώτοις ἐσεσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ταύτα δ' θεος εἰτῶν κρίνων ἐκ τὰφανοὺς παρῆγαγεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερούργιαν. οἱ δὲ παρ' ἐλπίδας αὐτοὺς κεκομισμένοι καὶ τοιούτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπαγγελίας ἀκηκότες ἥσπαζον τε ἄλληλους καὶ θύσαντες ἀπενόστησαν πρὸς τὴν Σάρραν καὶ δήγγον εὐδαιμόνιον, ἐφ' ἀπασών οἰς ἔθελησεν τοῦ θεοῦ συλλαμβάνοντος αὐτοῖς.

236 (xiv.) Καὶ Σάρρα μὲν οὐ πολὺ ὕστερον ἀποθνῄσκει βιώσασα ἐτη ἐπτα καὶ εἰκοσὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατόν. θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὴν ἐν Νεβρῶι συγχωρούντων μὲν τῶν Ἑχαναίων καὶ δημοσία χοῦν αὐτῆς τὸν τάφον, Ἀβράμοι δὲ ἀνησυχεῖν τὸ χωρίον σίκλων τετρακοσίων παρ' Ἐφραίμων τωδ' ἐκ τῆς Νεβρῶις. καὶ τὰ μνήμεια ᾿Αβραμός τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κατεσκευάσαντο.

237 (xv.) Γαμεῖ δ' αὐτὸς Κατούραν ὕστερον, ἐξ ἂς αὐτῶν παῖδες ἔξ γίνονται πρὸς τε πόνους καρτεροί καὶ δεινοὶ συνενέα, Ζεμβράνης Ἰαζάρης Μαδάνης Μαδιάνης Λουσοῦβακος Σοῦδος. φύονται δ' καὶ τούτως παῖδες· καὶ Σοῦδο μὲν Σαβακίνης γίνεται καὶ Δαδάνης, τούτον δὲ Λατούσιμος ῾Ασσουρίς Λούουρις· Μαδάνου δὲ ῾Ηφᾶς Ἐώφρην ῾Ανωχος ῾Εβιδάς ῾Ελδᾶς. τούτως ἀπασί τοῖς παισι καὶ τοῖς νύνων ᾿Αβραμοὶ ἀποκινῶν στόλους μη-

1 αὐτοῦ κεκομισμένον ROE.

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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, a where the Canaanites offered burial-ground for her at the public expense, but Abraham bought the spot for four hundred shekels of Ephraim, b a native of the place. Here too Abraham and his descendants built their own tombs.

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

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a Lxx (some mss.): Heb. Midian.

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Death of Sarah.
Gen. xxiii. 1, Abraham's descendants by his second wife.
Gen. xxv. 1.
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χανάται, καὶ τὴν τε Τρωγλοδότων καταλαμβάνονσι καὶ τῆς εὐδαίμονος Ἀραβίας ὅσον ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑρυθρὰν καθήκει θάλασσαν. Λέγεται δ’ ὡς οὕτος ὁ Ἕωφρην στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λιβύην κατέσχεν αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ νῦνοι αὐτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκείνου ὄνοματος "Ἀφρικαν προσηγόρευσαν.

240 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ πολυστορ λέγων οὕτως: "Κλεόδημος δὲ φησιν ὁ προφήτης, ὁ καὶ Μάλχος, ἱστορών τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μωυσῆς ἰστόρησεν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, ὃτι ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας Ἀβράμῳ ἐγένοντο παῖδες ἰκανοί.

241 λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὄνοματα ὄνομάζων τρεῖς Ἀφέραν Σούρην Ἰάφραν, ἀπὸ Σούρου μὲν τὴν Ἀσσυρίαν κεκλῆθαι, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο Ἰάφρα τε καὶ Ἀφέρου πόλιν τε Ἀφραὶ καὶ τὴν χώραν Ἀφρικαν ὄνομασθήναι. τούτους γὰρ Ἡρακλεῖ συστρατεύσαι ἐπὶ Λιβύην καὶ Ἀνταῖον, γῆμαντα τε τὴν Ἀφράνου θυγατέρα Ἡρακλέα γεννηθῆαι ὑέν εἰς αὐτῆς Δίδωρον τούτου δὲ γενέσθαι Σόφωνα, ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς βαρβάρους Σόφακας λέγεσθαι.

242 (xvi. 1) Ἰσάκῳ δὲ περὶ πεσσαρακοστὸν ἐτὸς γεγονότι γυναῖκα γυνὸς ἀγαγέσθαι ὁ πατὴρ Ἀβραμὸς Ἐβέκκαν, Ναχώρου παιδὸς θυγατέρα τάδελφοι, τὸν πρεσβύτατον πέμπει τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μνηστείαν ἐνδησάμενος μεγάλαις πίστευσι.

1 Ἐφραῖν most mss. 2 δὴ ML.

* 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."

* Cf. § 133.

* 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 118
to found colonies, and they took possession of Troglo-
dytis and that part of Arabia Felix which extends
to the Red Sea. It is said moreover that this Eòphrèn
led an expedition against Libya and occupied it and
that his grandsons settled there and called the land
after his name Africa. I have a witness to this
statement in Alexander Polyhistor, whose words are
as follows: "Cleodemus the prophet, also called
Malchus, in his history of the Jews relates, in con-
formity with the narrative of their lawgiver Moses,
that Abraham had several sons by Katura. He
moreover gives their names, mentioning three—
Apheras, Sures, Japhras—adding that Sures gave his
name to Assyria, and the two others, Japhras and
Apheras, 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, 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, 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
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).

\[a\] The fluctuating spelling leaves it uncertain which son is
intended.

\[b\] Gen. xxv. 20.
243 γίνονται δὲ αὐταὶ τούτων τῶν τρόπων· ὑπὸ τούς μηροὺς ἀλλήλους τὰς χείρας ἐπαγαγόντες ἐπειτα ἐπικαλοῦνται τὸν θεὸν μάρτυρα τῶν ἑσομένων. ἐπεμπε δὲ καὶ δῶρα τοῖς ἑκεὶ διὰ τὸ σπάνιον
244 ἦ μηδ’ ολως ἐπιχωριάζειν ἐκτετμημένα. οὕτος ἀπερχόμενος χρόνων διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαλεπὴν ὁδεύσθαι τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, χειμῶνι μὲν ὑπὸ πηλῶν βάθους θέρους δ’ ὑπὸ ἀνυδρίας, ἐτὶ δὲ καὶ λῃστηρίων οἰντῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, ἃ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐνήν μὴ προνοοῦσα τούτων τοῖς ὁδεύσωσιν, εἰς πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται Χάρραν, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς προαστεῖοι παρθένοις ἐνυγγανεὶ πλείοσιν ἐφ’ ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις.
245 εὐχεταί μὲν οὖν τῷ θεῷ Ῥεβέκκαν, ἣν τῷ παιδὶ Ἀβραμος μυνηστευσόμενον ἐξαπέστειλαν, εἴ κατὰ νοῦν τὸν αὐτοῦ μέλλει ὁ γάμος οὕτος συντελεῖται, ἐν ἑκείναις εὐρεθῆναι γνωρισθῆναι τε αὐτὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἴτουτι ποτὸν ἀρνομένων ἑκεῖνης δὲ αὐτῶ παρασχοῦσης.
246 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὕποι τῆς διανοίας ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγίνεται καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὰς παρθένους ποτὸν αὐτῶ παρασχεῖν· τῶν δ’ ἐκτρεπομένων ὡς Χρησσῶν οὐκαδὲ κομίζειν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἑκεῖνω παρασχεῖν, καὶ γὰρ οὖν εὐληπτον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, μία ἐξ ἀπασῶν ἑκείναις τε τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἐξένον ἐπιπλήττει δυσκολίας, τίνος ἄλλου κοινωνήσειν πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτάς ποτε, αἰ μηδ’ ὑδατος μετέδοσαι
247 λέγουσα, καὶ παρέχει αὐτῶ φιλοφρόνως. ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐλπίδι μὲν τῶν ὁλῶν γενόμενος, βουλόμενος δὲ τῆν ἀλήθειαν μαθεῖν, ἐπήνειε τε τῆς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος, ὅτι καὶ μετ’ οἰκείου πόνου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν οὐκ ἐφυγεν, ἐπινθάνετο
1 Κάρραν most ms. 2 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. 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 re-buked 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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te τίνων εἰθ γονέων καὶ κατεύχεται αὐτοῖς ὄνησιν
tοιαύτης παιδός καὶ "νυμφεύσειαν," φησιν, "ὡς
αὑτοῖς ἐστὶ κεχαρισμένον, εἰς οἶκον ἀνδρὸς ἀγαθοῦ
248 παῖδας αὐτῷ τεξομένην γυναῖκι." ἡ δὲ οὖδὲ
τούτων ἐφθάνησεν αὐτῷ βουλομένως μαθεῖν, ἀλλὰ
καὶ τὸ γένος ἀπεσήμαινε καὶ "Ῥεβέκκα μὲν,"
φησίν, "ἐγὼ καλοῦμαι, πατὴρ dein μου Βασιλῆς
ἥν ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἦδη τεθνήκε, Λάβανος δὲ ἀδελφὸς
ἐστιν ἡμέτερος τοῦ τε οἴκου παντὸς σὺν τῇ μητρὶ
προνοούμενος καὶ τῆς ἐμῆς παρθένιας ἐπιμελο-
249 μενος." τούτων ἀκροασάμενος ἔχαρε τε τοῖς
γεγονόσι καὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ὅρων
αὐτῷ τῆς ὅδου σαφῶς συλλαμβανόμενον,1 καὶ
προκομίσας ὀρμίσκον τε καὶ τινὰς κόσμους, οὓς
ἐυπρεπές φορεῖν παρθένους, ἀνεδίδου τῇ κόρῃ τῆς
ἐπὶ τῷ πιεῖν χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν εἶναι καὶ γέρας,
δίκαιον λέγων τοιοῦτων αὐτὴν τυγχάνειν ἀγαθὴν
250 παρὰ τὰς τοσαύτας παρθένους γενομένην. ἦξιον
τε παρ' αὑτοῖς καταχθῆναι, τοῦ προσωτέρω χωρεῖν
τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτὸν ἀφαιρομένης, κόσμου τε φέρων
γυναικεῖον πολυτέλῃ πιστεύειν αὐτὸν οὐκ ἄσφα-
λεστέρως ἐφασκεν ἡ τοιοῦτος, οἷς2 αὐτῆς ἐπει-
ραθή. τεκμιὰρεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῆς μητρὸς καὶ
tάδελφον φιλανθρωπίαν αὐτῆς ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὖν
δυσχερανοῦσιν, ἐκ τῆς περὶ αὐτὴν ἀρετῆς οὖδὲ γὰρ
ἐσεσθαι βαρὺς μιαθὸν τε τῆς φιλοξενίας τελέσας
251 καὶ δαπάναις ἠδίᾳς χρησάμενος. ἢ δὲ περὶ μὲν
tῆς τῶν γονέων φιλανθρωπίας αὐτῆς ὀρθῶς
εἰκάζειν αὐτὸν εἶπεν, ἐπεμέμφετο δὲ ὡς μικρο-

1 συλλαμβανόντα RO.
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, 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 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 kindliness 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

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

*b* Gen. xxiv. 22, "a golden ring (lxx, 'gold earrings')... and two bracelets."
λόγους ὑπειληφότα: πάντων γὰρ ἀμισθὶ μεθέξειν. δηλώσασα μέντοι Λαβάνῳ πρότερον τάδελφῷ συγχωροῦντος ἄξειν αὐτὸν ἔλεγεν.

252 (3) Ὡς οὖν τούτου γενομένου παρῆγγε τὸν ξένον, τὰς μὲν καμήλους αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντες οἱ Λαβάνου θεράποντες ἐτημέλους, αὐτὸς δὲ δειπνήσων εἰσήγετο σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ δείπνὸν φησὶ πρὸς τε αὐτὸν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς κόρης "Ἄβραμος Θέρρου" μὲν ἐστὶν υἱός, συγγενής δ᾿ ὑμετέρος. Ναχώρης γὰρ ὁ τούτων, ὃ γώνα, τῶν παιδῶν πάππος ἀδελφὸς ἦν Ἄβραμος ὁμοπάτριος τε καὶ

253 ὁμομήτριος. πέμπει τούς υἱοὺς πρὸς ύμᾶς ἄξιων τὴν κόρην ταύτην παιδὶ τῷ ἔαυτοῦ λαβεῖν πρὸς γάμον, ὅ γενησίος ἐστὶν αὐτῷ καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς πᾶσι τεθραμμένοις: ώ τῶν μὲν ἐκεῖ γυναικῶν δυνατὸν ὑπὲρ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστάτην λαβεῖν οὐκ ἥξιωσεν ἀγαγέσθαι, τιμῶν δὲ τὸ γένος τὸν γάμον πολιτεύει

254 τούτων. οὐ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν μὴ ὑβρίσητε: κατὰ γὰρ θεοῦ βούλησαν τὰ τε ἄλλα μοι κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀπῆντησε καὶ τὴν παίδα καὶ τὸν ὑμετέρον οἶκον εὐροῦν. ἔπει γὰρ πλησίον τῆς πόλεως ἐγενόμην, παρθένους ἵδων πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ παραγινομένας ἡξάμην εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσεῖν,

255 δὲ δὴ γέγονε. γάμον οὖν ὑπὸ θείας μυστενόμονον ἐπιφανείας καὶ ύμεῖς κυρώσατε καὶ "Ἄβραμον τὸν μετὰ τοσαῦτης ἀπεσταλκότα σπουδῆς τῷ κατανέσας τὴν κόρην τιμήσατε." οἱ δὲ, καλὰ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς καὶ κεχαρισμένα, τὴν τε γυνώμῃν τοῦ θεοῦ συνήκαν καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐφ᾿ ὁδ᾿ ἥξιον τὴν θυγατέρα. γαμεί δὲ ταύτην ὁ "Ἰσακὸς 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 Tharrus 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

\[ ^a \text{ Or Tharrus (Bibl. Terah), § 148.} \]

\[ ^1 \text{ v.l. Θάρρου, Θάρρα.} \]
αὐτὸν ἀφικομένων· οἱ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας εἰς τὰς ἀποικίας ἐξεληλύθεισαν.

256 (xvii.) Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ "Αβραμος μετ' ολίγον, ἀνὴρ πᾶσαν ἀρετήν ἀκρος καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἀξίως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετμημένος. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν ἐβδομηκονταπέντε πρὸς τοῖς ἐκατὸν καὶ θάπτεται ἐν Νεβρῶν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Σάρρας ὑπὸ τῶν παίδων Ἰσάκου καὶ Ἰσμαήλου.

257 (xviii. 1) Ἰσάκω δὲ μετὰ τῆς 'Αβράμου τελευτήν ἐκεῖ τὸ γύναιον, καὶ τῆς γαστρός ἐπὶ μείζων ογκουμένης ἀγωνιάσας ἀνήρετο τον θεόν. φράζει δ' αὐτῷ διδύμους τέξεσθαι τὴν 'Ρέβεκκαν καὶ φερόνυμα ἐσεσθαι τοῖς παισῶν ἐθνη, τοῦ δὲ μείζωνος προτερήσεις τὸ δοκοῦν ἐλασσον εἶναι. τίκτεται δ' αὐτῷ μετ' ολίγον κατὰ πρόρρησιν τοῦ θεοῦ δίδυμα παιδία, ὥν τὸ μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας περισσῶς ἢν δασύ, τὸ δὲ νεὼτερον εἰκετο προϊόντος αὐτοῦ κατὰ πτέρναν. ἡγάπα δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τον πρεσβύτερον Ἰσαίων λεγόμενον κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς τριχώσεως. 'Εβραῖοι γὰρ τὸ ἤσαυρον τρίχωμα λέγουσιν. Ἰάκωβος δὲ ὁ νεώτερος τῇ μητρὶ προσφιλὴς ἦν.

258 (2) Λυμοῦ δὲ τὴν γῆν καταλαβόντος Ἰσακος, δόξαν αὐτῶ ἐστὶν εἰς Λευκουπτον τῆς χώρας ἀγαθῆς ὑπαρχοῦσης, ἐπὶ Γεράρων ἀπῆγε τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύ- σαντος. ὑποδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβιμέ-

1 Σήιερον MSLE, Seirion Lat.: after τριχώσεως SP ins. εἴχε δὲ καὶ ἔτερον δοῦμα Σήειερον λεγόμενον τῆς τριχώσεως (doubtless a gloss).

ᵃ 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.

(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.

(xviii. 1) Now after Abraham’s death Isaac's young wife conceived, and seeing her inordinately big with child her husband anxiously consulted God.\(^a\) 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 \(\text{esauron}^b\); but Jacob the younger was the darling of his mother.

(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.\(^c\) 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.

\(b\) 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.

\(c\) Gerar in Philistia.
κατὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαν τὴν Ἀβράμου καὶ πολλῆ πάνυ πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοία χρησάμενος κατ’ ἀρχάς ἐπὶ ταῦτης ὑπὸ φθόνου μεῖναι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν ἑκατολύθη. ὅρων γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἰσάκῳ συμπαρόντα καὶ τοσαῦτη περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴ χρώμενον ἀπόσατο αὐτὸν. ὁ δὲ τουτούτῳ πάλιν ἐκ μεταβολῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασικάνου πειραθεὶς Ἀβιμελέχου τότε μὲν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Φάραγγα χωρίων οὐ μακράν Γεράρων, ὄρυσσοντι δ᾽ αὐτῷ φρέαρ ποιμένες ἐπιπεσόντες εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησαν κωλύοντες τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος φιλονικεῖν ἐδοξαν κεκρατηκέναι. ὑποχωρῆσας δὲ ὄρυσσεν ἑτερον, καὶ βιασαμένων ἄλλων τινῶν Ἀβιμελέχου ποιμένων καὶ τούτῳ καταλιπὼν ἀπεχώρησεν εὐγνώμονα λογισμῷ κτῶμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἅδειαν.

262 εἶτα <τ>αὐτομάτου παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν φρεωρυχίαν ἀνεπικώλυτον, Ἐρωβώθ τὸ φρέαρ υἱόμασεν εὐρύχωρον ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ προτέρων τὸ μὲν Ἕσκον καλεῖται μάχην ἀν τις αὐτὸ φήσεις τὸ δ᾽ ἑτερον Στένα1. ἐχθραν ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα.

263 (3) Ἰσάκω μὲν οὖν ἀκμάζειν συνεβαίνει τὴν ἰσχύν ὑπὸ μεγέθους πραγμάτων, Ἀβιμελέχος δὲ καθ' αὐτοῦ φύσεις νομίζων τὸν Ἰσακον, ὑπόπτου μὲν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς συνδιατήσεως γενομένης, ἐπ᾽ οὐ φανερά δὲ ἐχθρα τοῦ Ἰσάκου ὑπεκόσταντος, δεύσας μὴ τῆς προτέρας αὐτῶς φιλίας οὐδὲν ὀφελός γένηται πρὸς ἄμων ὑπὸ ἐπαθεν Ἰσακον τραπέντος φιλίαν ἀνωθέν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἕνα τῶν στρατηγῶν

1 After Niese (Στένα): Σύνανναν or Σύνναν(ν) codd.

a § 212.
former friendship and hospitality to Abraham 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 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 Rooboth, a name which denotes "spacious." Of the former wells one was called Eskos, that is to say "Combat," the other Stena, signifying "Hatred."

(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, one of his generals.

After LXX, taking φαραγγις as a proper name: Heb. "in the vale of Gerar."

After LXX (ἐπικαλή): Heb. Rehoboth = "broad places."

Heb. Esek, "contention": LXX ἀδικία.

Heb. Sitnah, "enmity": LXX εχθρία.

Heb. Phicol: the same transposition of consonants occurs in some mss. of LXX.
264 Φίλοχον ἐπαγόμενος. πάντων δὲ τετυχηκώς ὤν ἤξιον διὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου χρηστότητα, ὀργῆς προσφάτου πρεσβυτέραν χάριν εἰς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα γεγενημένην προτιμῶντος, ἀπῆρεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

265 (4) Τῶν δὲ Ἰσάκου παιδῶν Ἰσαῦς, περὶ δὲν μάλιστα δὲ πατὴρ ἐσπουδάκει, τεσσαράκοντα γεγονὼς ἦτη γαμεῖ Ἀδαν τὴν Ἁλώνος καὶ Ἀλιβάμην τὴν Ἐυσεβεῶνος, ἰ δυναστεύοντων ἐν Χαναναίως ἀνδρῶν θυγατέρας, έαυτὸν ποιῆσας τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἔξουσίας κύριον καὶ μηδὲ τῷ πατρὶ συμ-βουλευσάμενος· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἄν ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰσακὸς ἐπ’ αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης γενομένης· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ δι’ ἱδονῆς συνάψασθαι συγγένειαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπικυρίους. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπεχθῆς εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ κελεύων ἀφίστασθαι τῶν γυναικῶν σιγάν ἐκρίνε.

266 (5) Γαμαῖς δὲ ὅν καὶ τὰς ὀψεῖς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἡφαίστειας προσκαλεσάμενος τῶν Ἰσαῦν καὶ τὸ γῆρας εἰπὼν ὡς καὶ δίχα τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὀψεῖς πάθους ἐμποδοῦν ἢν αὐτῷ θερα-πεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἐκέλευσεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ κυνηγέσιον καὶ θηρασάμενον ὡς καὶ αὐτῷ δυνατὸν γάνηται παρασκευάσαι δείπνου, ἵνα μετὰ τοῦτο ἰκετεύσῃ τὸν θεόν σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργὸν εἰς ἀπαντα παρεῖναι τὸν βίον, ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι λέγων, ὅποτε καὶ τελευτήσειε, πρὸ δὲ τοῦτο παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ

1 Ἐυσεβεῶνος 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 a Ada and Alibame, b daughters respectively of Helon c and Eusebeon, d 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.

(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 e 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

a 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.

b Bibl. Oholibamah (LXX 'Ελιθεμά or 'Ολ.).

c Bibl. Elon ('Ελωμ).

d Bibl. Zibeon (Σεβεγών).

e He could not procure a sacrifice himself: such seems to be the meaning.
JOSEPHUS

βούλεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένον.

269 (6) Καὶ Ἡσαΐς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγήσιον ἐξώριμησεν· ἔν δὲ Ῥεβέκκα τὸν θεὸν εἰς τὴν εὐνοιαν ἀξιοῦσα τὴν Ἰακώβου παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου γνώμην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἐρίφους κατασφάξαντα δεῖπνον παρασκευάζειν. ο ὃς Ἰακώβος ὑπηρέτει τῇ μητρί

270 πάντα παρ' αὐτῆς πεπυσμένος· ἐπεὶ δ᾽ εὐτρεπές ἢν τὸ δεῖπνον, ἐρίφου δέρμαι τὸν βραχίονα περιβαλὼν, ὡς πιστεύοιτο παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὴν διασύνητα Ἡσαΐς εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντ᾽ ἃν ἄμοιος διὰ τὸ εἶναι δίδυμος τούτω μόνῳ διέφερε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς εὑρεθείς κακουργῶν εἰς τούναντίον παροξύνη τὸν πατέρα ποιήσασθαι ταύτας, προσέφερε τῷ πατρὶ τὸ δεῖπ-

271 νον. καὶ ὁ Ἰσακος ἐπαισθόμενος τῷ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἴδιω προσκαλεῖται τὸν υἱόν· τοῦ δὲ τὸν βραχίονα προτείναντος, ὃ τὴν αἰγέαν περιβέβλητο, ταύτης ἐπαφώμενος "фωνεῖς μὲν," εἶπεν, "Ἰα-
κόβῳ παραπλήσιοι, κατὰ δὲ τῇ τριχὸς βάθος

272 Ἡσαΐς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς." καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαβὼν κακουργοῦν διεπινήσας τρέπεται πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ "δέσποτα," λέγων, "παντὸς αἰώνοις καὶ δημουργεῖ τῆς ὀλής οὐσίας· σὺ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ μεγάλῃ ἵσχυν προύθηκας ἀγαθῶν καμὲ τῶν παρὸντων ἥξιώσας καὶ τοῖς ἔς ἐμοῦ γενομένοις ὑπέσχον βοηθός εὔμενής ἡ καὶ δοτήρ

273 αἰ τῶν κρείττονῶν ἐσεσθαι· ταῦτ' οὖν καὶ βεβαιῶσον καὶ μὴ περιώθης με διὰ τὴν παρούσαν ἀσθένειαν, διι ἢν καὶ μᾶλλον σου δεόμενος τυγχάνων, καὶ μοι παίδα τούτων εὐμενῆς σῶζε καὶ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ κακοῦ διαφυλαττε δοὺς αὐτῷ βίον εὐδαιμονα

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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, 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 goatskin, 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, \(^a\) "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-

\(^a\) Wholly independent of Gen. xxvii. 27 ff.
καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσων σοι δύναμις παρασχεῖν, 
ποιήσας δ’ αὐτὸν φοβερὸν μὲν ἔχθροῖς φίλοις δὲ 
tίμουν 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 δια- 
μαρτίας Ἰσακος αἰσθόμενος ἦσυχίαν ἀγεί, Ἡσαῦς 
de ήξίου τῶν ὁμοίων τάσελθ᾿ παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς

275 τυγχάνειν· τοῦ δὲ [πατρὸς]¹ ἀριστοῦν διὰ τὸ 
πάσας εἰς Ἰάκωβον τὰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλωκέναι πένθος 
ηγεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ. καὶ αὐτοῦ τοῖς δάκρυσιν 
αἰσθόμενος ὁ πατὴρ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον καὶ 
δύναμιν σώματος ἐν ὄπλοις καὶ πάσιν ἔργοις 
eὐδοκιμήσειν αὐτὸν ἐφάσκει καὶ καρπῶσεσθαι² τὴν 
ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δόξαν δι’ αἰώνος καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ γένος, 
dουλεύσειν δὲ τάσελθω.

276 (8) Ἰάκωβον δὲ φοβοῦμενον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τιμω- 
ρίαν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν³ τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς⁴ δι- 
αμαρτίας η μήτηρ ρύεται· πείθει γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα 
Μεσοποταμίαν ἀγαγέσθαι τῷ Ἰακὼβῳ γυναῖκα

277 συγγενῆ. ἦδη γὰρ τὴν Ἰσμαήλου παῖδα Ἡσαῦ 
παρειλήφη πρὸς γάμον Βασεμάθην· οὐ γὰρ εὐνόουν 
τοῖς Ἱαναναῖοις οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἰσακον, ὡστε ἐπὶ 
τοῖς πρότερον αὐτοῦ γάμοις δυσχερῶς διακει- 
μένων εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνοις κεχαρισμένον τὴν Βασεμάθην 
παρέλαβε μάλιστα περὶ αὐτὴν σπουδάσας.

278 (xix. 1) Ἰάκωβος δὲ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν 
στελλόμενος ύπὸ τῆς μητρὸς κατὰ γάμον τῆς 
Δαβάνου θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἐκείνης ἀδελφοῦ, ἑπι- 
τρέψατος Ἰσάκου τὸν γάμον διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι 
τοῖς βουλήμασι τῆς γυναικός, διὰ τῆς Ἱαναναίας 

¹ om. O Lat. ² 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.

(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, 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.

(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

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The prediction upon Esau. Gen. xxvii. 30.
Esau’s third wife. Gen. xxvii. 41.
Jacob’s journey to Mesopotamia. Gen. xxviii. 1, 11.

Heb. Mahalath (Gen. xxviii. 9); but the small group of LXX MSS., to which the text of Josephus is most closely allied, reads Μασεμάθ.

3 ἀπολαβεῖν MSPL. 4 ἀραῖς OMSP.
ἐπορεύετο καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους μέσος
279 παρ’ οὔδενι μὲν ἦςίον κατάγεσθαι, ύπαθρος2 δὲ
ηὐλίξετο τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθους ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ συμ-
φορομένου επιτίθεσι καὶ τοιαύτην κατὰ τοὺς
ὕπνους ὀφιν ὀρᾶ παραστᾶσαν αὐτῷ· κλίμακα γῆθεν
ἐδοξέν ἐφικνουμένην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βλέπειν καὶ δι’
αὐτῆς ὀφεὶς κατιούσας σεμνότερον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπον
φύσιν ἐχούσας, καὶ τελευταίον ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τῶν
θεῶν ἐναργῶς αὐτῷ φαινόμενον ὁνομαστὶ τε
280 καλέσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι τοιούτους λόγους· "ἲα-
κῳβε, πατρὸς ὄντα σε ἁγαθοῦ καὶ πάππου δόξαν
ἀρετῆς μεγάλης εὐραμένου κάμνειν ἐπὶ τοῖς
παροῦσιν οὐ προσήκειν, ἀλλ’ ἐλπίζειν τὰ κρείττονα·
281 καὶ γὰρ ἀφθονος ἐκδεξεταὶ σε μεγάλων ἁγαθῶν
παρουσία πρὸς τὸ πάν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπικουρίαν.
"Αβραμόν τε γὰρ ἐγὼ [ἐκ]3 τῆς Μεσοποταμίας
ἐδυρ ἡγαγον ἐλαυνομένον ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ
πατέρα τοῦ σὸν εὐδαίμονα ἀπέφηνα· ἄν οὐχ ἦττο
282 μοῖραν εἰς σε καταθήσομαι. θαρρῶν οὖν καὶ
ταύτην πορεύον τὴν ὄδον ἐμοὶ προπομπὸ4 χρύ-
μενος· ἀνυσθήσεται γὰρ σοι γάμος, ἐφ’ ὄν ἐσποῦ-
δακας, καὶ γενήσονται σοι παΐδες ἁγαθοὶ, τὸ δὲ
πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀριθμοῦ κρείττον ἔσται, μεῖζον
νίοις αὐτῶν καταλμπάνοντες· οἷς ἐγὼ τὸ ταύτης
κράτος τῆς γῆς δίδωμι καὶ παισί τοῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ
πληρώσουσιν ὅσην ἦλιος ὀρᾶ καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν.
283 ἀλλὰ μῆτε κάνδυνον ὕφορῳ μηδένα μήτ’ εὐλαβοῦ
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόνων, ἐμοὶ ποιομένου τῶν σοι
πραχθησομένων πρόνοιαν ἐν τε τοῖς νῦν καὶ πολὺ
πλέον ἐν τοῖς ὑστερον·"
284 (2) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβῳ προαγορεύειν·
1 οὐδένα ROE. 2 ύπαθρος 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 shall be beyond number and shall leave their heritage to a yet greater posterity. 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,
ο δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐωραμένοις καὶ κατηγγελμένους φαίδρυνε τε τοὺς λίθους ὡς τηλικοῦτων ἁγαθῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς προρρήσεως γεγενημένης καὶ εὐχὴν ποιεῖται θύσεων ἐπ’ αὐτῶν, εἰ κτησάμενος βίον ἀπαθῆς ἑπανοί, τῷ θεῷ [δὲ] 1 δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως [αὕτης] 2 ἀφικόμενος, τίμιον τε κρίνει τὸ χωρίον ὅνομα αὐτῷ Βῃθῆλ θέμενος· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο θείαν ἐστίναν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώτταν.

285 (3) Προϊόν δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσσοποταμίας χρόνῳ παρῆν εἰς τὴν Ἑξαρράν, καὶ ποιμένας ἐν τοῖς προ- αστείωσι καταλαβὼν καὶ παίδας εἵφθους καὶ παρθένους ὑπὲρ τινος ἱδρυμένους φρέατος συν- διέτριβεν αὐτοῖς χρήζων ποτὸν, εἰς τε λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀφικνούμενος ἀνέκρινε τινά, εἰ τυγ- χάνουσι Λάβανον τίνα παρ’ αὐτοῖς εἰδότες ἐτι 286 περιόντα. οἳ δὲ πάντες ἐπίστασθαί τε ἐφασαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοιοῦτον ὡςτε ἀγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ συμ- ποιμαίνειν αὐτοῖς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἦν θαυμάζειν ὅτι μῆπῳ παρείη· “παρὰ γὰρ ταύτης μεμαθήκεις ἃν ἀκριβέστερον ὥσα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαι ποθεῖς.” ταῦτα δ’ αὐτῶν ἐτι λεγόντων παρῆν ἡ παῖς σὺν 287 τοῖς ἐπικατιστοῦσι τῶν ποιμένων. καὶ δεικνύουσι τὸν Ἱακώβον αὐτῇ λέγοντες, ὃς ξένος οὗτος ἦκοι τὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀναπυρβανόμενος. ἢ δὲ ἡσθείσα ὑπὸ νηπίοτητος τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Ἱακώβου ἀνέκρινεν αὐτὸν, τίς τε ὁ ἦν καὶ πόθεν ἦκοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τίνος χρείας ἡγμένος, ἡμίχετο δὲ δυνατὸν εἶναι αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ὡς ἀφικνεῖται δεόμενος.

288 (4) Ἰακώβος δὲ οὖχ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας οὐδὲ

1 ins. L: om. RO: τῷ δὲ θεῷ (καὶ τῷ θεῷ) rell.

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overjoyed at these visions and promises, polished 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 ὑεία ἑστία—"God's hearth-stone." (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 desirlest 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.

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

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\[\text{Consecration of Bethel.} \]
\[\text{Gen. xxviii. 18.} \]

\[\text{Meeting with Rachel.} \]
\[\text{Gen. xxix. 1} \]

\[\text{So. 1 LXX ὠἰκὸς θεοῦ.} \]
\[\text{om. R.O.} \]

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τῆς διὰ ταύτην εὐνοίας, ἀλλ' ἔρωτι τῆς παιδὸς ἡττηθεὶς ἐκπέπληκτό τε τοῦ κάλλους ὁρῶν οὕτως ἔχουσαν, ὡς ολίγαι τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἤνθουν, καὶ φήσων "ἀλλ' ἐμοὶ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν σῶν, εἴπερ Λαβάνου παῖς τυγχάνεις, οἰκείοτης ἐστὶ πρεσβυτέρα τῆς τε σῆς καὶ ἐμῆς γενέσεως.

289 ἐκ Θέρρου γὰρ Ἀβραάμος καὶ Ἁρράνης καὶ Ναξώρης ἦσαν υἱοὶ, ὅπως Βαδοῦζηλος ὁ σῶς πάππος Ναξώρου γίνεται παῖς, Ἀβράμον δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἁρράνου Σάρρας Ἰσακὸς ὁ ἐμὸς πατὴρ. ἔγγυον δὲ καὶ νεώτερον τούθ' ἤμεις τῆς συγγενείας ομή-

290 ἐνεπτὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους έχομεν. Ἡ Ἐβέκκα γὰρ μήτηρ ἐμὴ Λαβάνου πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ ἀδελφῆ πατρός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρός, ἀνεψιοὶ δ' ἐσμὲν ἤμεις ἐγὼ τε καὶ σύ. καὶ νῦν δεῦρῳ ἤκω ἀσπασόμενος τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν προὐπάρχουσαν ἤμιν συγγένειαν

291 ἀνανεωσόμενον." ἡ δὲ ἕπος μνήμης, ὅποια φιλεῖ συντυγχάνει τοὺς νέοις, προπεπυμένη παρὰ τοῦ πατρός τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἡ Ἐβέκκας καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς εἰδοὺ πολοῦντας αὐτῆς τὸ ὄνομα, ὕπο τῆς περὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐνοίας ἐνδακρύς γενομένη περιβάλλει

292 τὸν Ἰάκωβον, καὶ καταστασαμένη τὴν εὐκταιο-

τάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἠδονὴν αὐτοῦ κομίσαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπασίων ἔλεγεν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ κεμένης καὶ πρὸς μόνη ταύτη τυγχάνοντι φανεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῶ παντὸς ἀντάξιον ἄγαθον, χωρεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἡδὴ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἔστεθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἠγουμένη καὶ τῆς ἠδονῆς μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ πλέον αὐτῶν βραδύνοντα.

293 (5) Ταύτ' εἴπονσα παρῆγεν αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸν Λάβανον, καὶ γνωρισθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ μήτρωος αὐτὸς

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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\(^a\) and Nahor were sons of Therrus,\(^b\) and to Nahor was born Bathuel thy grandsire, 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\(^c\); and being recognized by his uncle he for his

\(a\) Bibl. Haran.  
\(b\) Bibl. Terah.  
\(c\) In Genesis Laban runs to meet him, and brings him into his house.

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te ἀδείης ἢν ἐν φίλοις γενόμενος κάκεινος πολλὴν
294 ἡδονὴν παρεῖχεν ἀδοκήτως ἐπιφάνεις. μετὰ δὲ
οὗ πολλὰς ἁμέρας ὁ Λάβανος χάρειν μὲν ἐπὶ
αὐτῷ παρόντι μειζόνως ἢ ὡς τῶν λόγων δηλώσειν
έλεγε, τὴν δ' αἰτίαν δ' ἢν ἀφίκειν μητέρα τε καὶ
πατέρα πρεσβύτας καταλιπὼν καὶ θεραπείας τῆς
παρ' αὐτοῦ δεομένους ἀνεπυνθάνετο· παρέξειν γὰρ
295 αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπασαν ἐπαμμενεῖν χρείαν. Ἰάκωβος
δὲ πᾶσαν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν διηγείτο λέγων Ἰσάκῳ
γενέσθαι παῖδας διδύμους αὐτὸν τε καὶ Ἰσαὰκι,
ὅν, ἐπεὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχῶν διήμαρτε σοφίᾳ
τῆς μητρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων, ἀποκτείνας ζητεὶν
αὐτὸν ὡς ἀφηρημένον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βασι-
296 λείας καὶ ἀγαθῶν δὲν ὦ πατὴρ ηὐξατο· ταύτην
τε εἴναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε παρουσίας κατὰ
τὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἔντολήν. "πάπποι τε γὰρ ἡμῖν
ἀδελφοὶ τυχχάνουσι καὶ πλέον τοῦ κατ' ἐκείνους
συγγενοὺς ἡ μήτηρ προσλαμβάνει. ἔρμια δὲ τῆς
ἐμῆς," φησίν, "ἀποδημίας σὲ τε καὶ τὸν θεὸν
ποιομένος θαρρῶ τοῖς παροῦσι." 297

(6) Λάβανος δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπο-
ισχυείται πάσης αὐτῷ μεταδώσειν φιλανθρωπίας
καὶ διὰ τὴν μητέραν, πρὸς ἢν τὴν εὐνοιαν διὰ τῆς
περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδῆς ἐνδείξεσθαι καὶ μὴ παροῦσις·
ποιμνίων τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελητὴν καταστήσειν
ἔφασε καὶ προνοιάς ἀντὶ τοῦτων ἀξιώσειν, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς ἱδίους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γονεῖς βουλόμενον
μετὰ δώρων ἐπανήξειν καὶ τιμῆς ὀσχῆς εἰκὸς ἢν
298 τυχεῖν τὸν οὕτω συγγενῆ. Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἀσμένως
ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος καὶ φήσαντος ἢδέως πάντα
μένων παρ' αὐτῷ πόνον εἰς ἡδονὴν ὑπομενεῖν ἡν

1 Naber: ἐπαμύνε αν 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 grandparents 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
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ἐκεῖνον, μισθὸν δὲ υπὲρ τοῦτον λαβεῖν ἄξιοντος τὸν 'Ραχῆλας γάμον, διά τε τὰ ἄλλα τημῆς ἄξιας παρ' αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν οὕσης καὶ ὅτι διάκονος τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄφιξεως γένοιτο· ὦ γὰρ τῆς παιδὸς ἔρως αὐτὸν ἴναγκασε ποιήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τοῦτον λόγους. Λάβανος δὲ ἥσθεις τούτοις ἐπινευεί τοὺς γάμον αὐτοῦ τῆς παιδὸς ὅυκ ἄλλου ἀμείνῳ γαμβρόν εὐξάμενος ἐλθεῖν· εἰ μέντοι παρ' αὐτῷ μένοι τινὰ χρόνον, τοῦτο ποιήσει· εἰς γὰρ Χαναναίους οὐκ ἂν πέμψει τὴν θυγατέρα, μεταμέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἄδελφης κήδους ἑκεῖ συναφθέντος. 299 τοῦ δ' Ἦακώβου τούτου συγχωρόντος ἐπτὰ ἐτῶν χρόνων συννίθηται· τοσάδε γὰρ αὐτῷ κέκριται θητεύσαι τῷ πενθερῷ, ὡς τῆς ἀρετῆς πεῖραν δοὺς ἐπιγνωσθῆ μᾶλλον τίς εἴη, καὶ προσδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον Λάβανος τὸν χρόνον διελθόντος προωτίθει 300 τὴν εὐωχίαν τῶν γάμων. νυκτὸς δ' ἐπιγενομένης οὖδὲν προσθηκεῖν τῷ Ἦακώβῳ παρακατακλίνει τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων πρεσβυτέραν τε τῆς Ἦακηλας καὶ τῆν ὄμων οὐκ εὐπρεπῆ. συνελθὼν δ' ἐκεῖνος ύπὸ μέθης καὶ σκότους, εἶτα μεθ' 301 ἡμέραν γνωσάς, ἀδικίαν ἐπεκάλει Λαβάνως. δ' ὡς συγγνώμην ἢτείτο τῆς ἀνάγκης, ὡς ταῦτα πράξειν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κακοργίαν αὐτῷ τὴν Λείαν παρασχεῖν, ἄλλ', ὡς ἢτερον μείζονος νενικημένον. τοῦτο μέντοι γ' οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὸν Ἦακηλᾶς γάμον, ἄλλ' ἔρωτι δώσειν ταῦτην μετ' ἄλλην ἐπταστίαν. πείθεται δ' ὦ Ἦακώβος, 1 πέμψαι Niese.

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

b Greek, here and throughout, "Leia."

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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. a 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 b but from another more overpowering motive. c 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

a 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.”
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑτερον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὅ τῆς κόρης ἔρως ἐπέτρεπε, καὶ διελθοῦσις ἄλλης ἐπταετίας τὴν Ῥαχήλαν παρέλαβεν.

303 (7) Ὅσαν δὲ ἐκατέρας θεραπαυώμεθα τοῦ πατρὸς δόντος, Ζέλφα μὲν Λείας Ῥαχήλας δὲ Βάλλα, δοὺλαί μὲν γὰρ ὑποτεταγμέναι δὲ, καὶ τῆς Λείας ἦπτετο δεινῶς ὅ πρὸς τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἔρως τάνδρος, προσέδοκα τε παίδων γενομένων ἐσεθαί 304 τιμία ἱκέτευε τῷ τὸν θεὸν δυνηκώς. καὶ γενομένου παιδὸς ἄρрενος καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπεστραμμένον τάνδρος Ῥουβήλου ὄνομάζει τὸν νιόν, διότι κατ’ ἐλεον αὐτῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο· τοῦτο γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα, τεκνοῦνται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τρεῖς ἑτερον μετὰ χρόνον. Συμεών, ἀποσημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐπήκοον αὐτῆ τὸν θεὸν γενομένων, ἐστα Λείας, κοινωνίας ὁ ὁ ἐβεβαιωθῇς, μεθ’ ὅν 305 Ιουδας, εὐχαριστίαν τοῦτο δηλοῖ. Ῥαχήλα δὲ φοβομένη, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἡττότων παρά τάνδρος μοίρας τυγχάνῃ, παρακατακλίνει τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τὴν αὐτής θεραπαυώμεθα Βάλλαν. γίνεται δὲ παιδίων ἐξ αὐτῆς Δάν, θεόκριτον ἀν τινες εἴποιεν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλήνων γλῶτταν· καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν Νεφθάλεις, μηχανήτος ὁ ὁ, διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐτεκνίαν τῆς ἀδελφῆς.

1 + οἶν RO. 2 Σεμεών Μ.

1 O Lat. (ex machinationibus): ἀμηχανήτος (εὐμηχάνητος) rell.

a So lxx (Gen. xxx. 9) : Heb. Zilpah.
b So lxx (Gen. xxix. 29) : Heb. Bilhah.
c Bibl. Reuben (Ῥοῦβηλ), “because,” according to Scriptural etymology, “Jehovah hath looked upon my

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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 to them by their father—Leah had Zelphah and Rachel Balla—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, 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 to her, then Levi(s), that is to say a “surety of fellowship,” and after him Judas, which denotes “thank-giving.” 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, which might be rendered in Greek by Theocritos (“adjudged of God”), and after him Nephthali(s), that is to say “contrived,” because his mother had outmanœuvred

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.

In Biblical etymology (Gen. xxix. 34) connected with the root lavah, “join,” “adhere”; now thought to be the gentilic name for the Leah tribe as a whole.

Meaning in Heb. “he judged.”

Bibl. Naphtali (Neφθαλει): the verb niphtal (translated “wrestle”), from which Scripture derives the name, means rather “twist,” suggesting tortuousness, cunning.
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306 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λεία ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔργον ἀντιτυχνασαμένη· παρακατακλίνει γὰρ τὴν αὐτῆς θεράπαιναν, γίνεται τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ζέλφης υἱὸς Γάδας, τυχαῖον ἄν τις καλέσειν αὐτὸν, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν Ἂσηρος, μακαριστής λέγοιτ' ἄν εξ

307 ὁν πρὸς εὐκλειαν' προσελάμβανε. ῾Ρουβήλου δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν υἱῶν Λείας μανδραγόρου μήλα κομίζοντος τῇ μυτρί ῾Ραχήλα θεσαμένη παρακαλεῖ μεταδοῦνα δι' ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ βρώματος γενομένη. τῆς δ' οὐ πειθομένης, ἀρκεῖσθαι δ' αὐτῆς ἀξιόουσας, ὅτι τῆς τιμῆς αὐτῆς ἀφέλοιτο τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρός, ῾Ραχήλα πεπαίνουσα τὸν υἱοῦν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παραχωρήσειν αὐτῆς τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐλεγε κομησομένου παρ' αὐτῆς κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐσπέραν.

308 τῆς δὲ προσιμιένης τὴν χάριν Ἰάκωβος συγκαθεύδει τῇ Λείᾳ ῾Ραχήλα χαρίζομενος. πάλιν οὖν γίνονται παῖδες αὐτῆς, ᾿Ισσαχάρης μὲν σημαίνων τὸν ἐκ μισθοῦ γενόμενον, Ζαβουλῶν δὲ ῥήμαχροσμένον εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς αὐτῆν, θυγατὴρ δὲ Δείνα. χρόνοις δ' ὡστερον καὶ ῾Ραχήλα γίνεται [5] ᾿Ιωσήφος υἱός· προσθήκην γενησομένου τινὸς δήλοι.

309 (8) Τούτων ἀπαντα τῶν χρόνων, ἐτη δ' ἐστὶν εἴκοσιν, ἐποίμανε τῷ πενθερῷ· μετὰ τούτων δ' ἥξιον τὰς γυναικὰς ἀναλαβὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν· τοῦ δὲ πενθεροῦ μὴ συγχωροῦντος κρύφα

310 τούτῳ ποιεῖν ἐπενοεί. τῶν γυναικῶν οὖν ἀπεπειρᾶτο, πῶς ἔχουν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, τῶν

1 RO: +τῇ Λείᾳ rell.
2 μετὰ τὸν δ' RO: μετά τούτο δὲ most mss.

a Gad, “the name of an Aramaean and Phoenician god of Luck, mentioned in Is. lxv. 11” (Skinner).
b Bibl. Asher (῾Ασήρ), 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) — “Godsend” we may call him—and after him Aser, 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, meaning “one born of hire,” Zabulon “pledged by affection towards her,” and a daughter, Dinah. Later on Rachel also bare a son, Joseph, signifying an “addition of one to come.”

(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.”

=either “man of hire” or “there is a reward.”

=d Genesis (xxx. 20) offers two derivations, from zabad, “endow” (zebed, “dowry”), or zabal, “dwell”: Josephus seems to connect the word with habol, “a pledge.”

=Or “of something to come.” Josephus adopts the second of the two Biblical etymologies of his own name, “May Jehovah add” (LXX προσβήτω ο θεός μοι ἐτερον νῦν, Gen. xxx. 24).
Δ’ ἐξουσῶν ἤδεως Ῥαχήλα καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν θεῶν, οὓς σέβειν πατρίους ὄντας νόμιμου ἦν, συνανελομένη συμπεπεδίδρασκε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς οἵ τέ ἐκατέρων παύδες καὶ αἴ θεραπανίδες σύν
311 τοῖς νύσσι ἐν τε τις τῆς κτῆσις αὐταῖς. ἔπήγετο δὲ Ἰάκωβος καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς ἡμίσειαν Λαβάνου μὴ προεγκόκτος. τοὺς δὲ τύπους ἐπεφέρετο τῶν θεῶν ἡ Ῥαχήλα καταφρονεῖν μὲν τῇς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τῶν θεῶν διδάξαντος αὐτήν Ἰακώβου, ἵνα δ’ εἰ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς διωχθέντες ἔχοι τούτους προσφυγοῦσα συγγνώμης τυγχάνειν.
312 (9) Λάβανος δὲ μεθ’ ἤμεραν πρώτην γνοὺς τὴν τε Ἰακώβου ἀναχώρησιν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων δεινοπαθῶν ἡλαυνεὶ ἡπ’ αὐτῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπειγόμενος, καὶ καθ’ ἐβδόμην ἤμεραν ἐπὶ τίνος λόφου λαμβάνει προκαθιδρυμένους. καὶ τότε μὲν, ἔσπερα γὰρ ἢν, ἡσύχαζεν ὄναρ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς αὐτῶ παρήντες λαβόντι τὸν γαμβρὸν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἤρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θυμὸν τολμᾶν, σπονδᾶς δὲ ποιεῖσθαι πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, αὐτὸς λέγων ἑκεῖνω συμμαχήσειν, εἰ καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς ὀλυγότητος χωρῆσειν αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης.
314 Λάβανος δὲ τοιαύτης αὐτῶ προφέρεσες γεγονημένης μεθ’ ἤμεραν τὸν Ἰάκωβον εἰς λόγους προκαλεσάμενος καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῶ τὸ ὄναρ, ἐπεὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἤλθε πεισθεῖς, ἦξατο κατηγορεῖν αὐτοῦ προφέρων ὦτι καὶ πένητα αὐτῶν ἐλθόντα πρὸς αὐτῶν καὶ πάντων ἀπορον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ

a Midrashic addition. For other motives given for the theft of the Teraphim cf. Pirke 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.\(^a\)

(9) Laban having, a day later,\(^b\) 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) Jacob had fled, and not only that, but also to remove idolatrous worship from her father's house.\(^\text{22}\) 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.

\(^a\) After the lapse of a whole day = Bibl. "on the third day."
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παράσχοι πάσαν ἀφθονίαν τῆς αὐτοῦ κτήσεως· "καὶ γὰρ καὶ θυγατέρας ἐμᾶς συνεζευγὰ τὴν εὐνοούν σου τῆν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούτους αὐξήσεσθαι
315 λογιζόμενος. όυ δὲ οὐτε τῆς μητρὸς τῆς σαυτοῦ καὶ [κοινωνίας] ἤς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμὲ συγγενείας οὐτε γυναικῶν ἀς ἐγγῆς αἰῶν ποιησάμενοι οὐδὲ τέκνων ὧν εἰμὶ πάππος φροντίσας, ἔχρησον μοι πολέμου νόμω, κτήσιν μὲν ἀγών τῆν ἐμὴν θυγα-
τέρας δὲ ἀναπείσας ἀποδράναι τὸν γεγενηκότα,
316 ἵερα τε πάτρια βαστάσας οὐχὶ φερόμενοι υπὸ τε τῶν ἐμῶν τιμηθέντα προγόνων καὶ ὑπ᾽ ἐμοῦ θρησκείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἔκεινοι ἀξιωθέντα· καὶ ταύτα ἃ μηδὲ οἱ πολεμήσαντες τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐδρασαν δ ἁγγευμὸν σὺ καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς νύσι, θυγατέρων δὲ τῶν ἐμῶν ἀνήρ, Ξένων δὲ καὶ ἐφέστιον τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας γεγενημένος
317 ἐδρασας." ταῦτα εἰπόντος Λαβάνου Ἰάκωβος ἀπελογείτο μη μόνω πατρίδος ἔρωτα τῶν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμφύσαι, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον
318 καλῶς ἐχειν αὐτῶ κατελθείν ἐις ταύτην. "ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς λείας ἢς ἐγκαλεῖς," φησίν, "ἀδικῶν αὐτὸς ἂν εὑρεθείς ἐπ᾽ ἄλλω κριτῇ. ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἢς ἔχρην σε χάριν ἡμῶν ἔχειν καὶ φυλαχθείσης ωφ᾽ ἡμῶν καὶ πλείωνος γεγενημένης, ὑπὲρ ταύτης πῶς ὀδη-
μαρτάνεις τῶν δικαίων χαλεπαίνων ἐμοί, εἰ μοιρὰν αὐτῆς ῥήγην λαβώντες ἐχομεν; περὶ μέντοι γε τῶν θυγατέρων ἢσθι μὴ κατ᾽ ἐμὴν κακουργίαν ἀπ- αναστήσαντος ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ εὐνοοι δικαίων, ἢν γυναῖξι γαμεταις πρὸς τοὺς συνοικοῦντας εἶναι συμβέβηκεν· ἐπονται τοίχων οὐχ ὄς ἐμοὶ τοσοῦτον, 319 ὁςον τοῖς παισιν αὐτῶν." καὶ ταύτα μὲν ὑπὲρ

1 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
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toù μηδὲν ἄδικεῖν αὐτὸς ἐλεγε, προσενεκάλει δὲ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μητρός ὄν ἄδελφος τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ συζευγίας αὐτῶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐπιτάγμασιν ἐκτρυχώσει τοῖς χαλεποῖς εἰκοσιν ἐτῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς κατασχόν. καὶ τὰ μὲν προφάσει τῶν γάμων ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γενόμενα καῖπερ ὅντα χαλεπὰ κουφότερα ἐφασκε, χείρῳ δὲ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς γάμους καὶ α’ τις ἄν ἐπαθεὶν ἔχθρος.¹ καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα κακοῦργως ὁ Λάβανος ἔχρησατο τῷ Ἰακώβῳ ὁρῶν γὰρ αὐτῷ τῶν θειῶν πρὸς ὁ τι θελήσεις συλλαμβανόμενον ὑπισχνεῖτο τῶν τεχθησομένων αὐτῷ παρέξειν ἔσθ’ ὅτε μὲν ὁ τι καὶ γένοιτο λευκόν, ποτὲ δ’ αὐ τὰ μέλανα τῶν γεννωμένων. πληθυντῶν δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ οἴνοματι τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τυκτομένων, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ παρὸν οὐκ ἐφύλαττε πίστιν, εἰς ἔτος δὲ παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο² διὰ τὸ ἐποθαλμιὰν τῷ πλήθει τῆς κτήσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσελπιστὸν γενέσθαι τοσαύτα, ἕυνόμενοι δὲ ἑπὶ γεννωμένοις.

322 (10) Περὶ μὲν τοῦ τῶν ἱερωμάτων ἐκέλευεν ἔρευναν ποιεῖσθαι: δεξαμένου δὲ Λαβάνου τὴν ἔρευναν Ἡραχήλα πυνθανομένη κατατίθεσι τοὺς τύπους εἰς τὴν σάγην τῆς φεροῦσας αὐτὴν καμήλου· ἐκαθέζετο δὲ φάσκουσα τὴν κατὰ φύσιν κάθαρσιν αὐτῆς ἐνοχλεῖν, καὶ Λάβανος μὲν ἀφίσταται τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἐρευνῆς οὐκ ἂν οὐθεὶς τῆν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοιοῦτον πάθους τοῖς τύποις προσελθεῖν, ποιεῖται δ’ ὀρκοὺς πρὸς Ἰάκωβον οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μυθισκακήσειν τῶν γεννωμένων, ἀλλὰ κάκεινος

¹ τις ἔχθρος ἐφηγεῖν ἂν SPL: α’ τις ἄν ἐπαθεὶ (om. ἐπαθεῖ)
² ROE: τὸ εἶτ’ 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. 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. 

(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

"Or (with the other text) "such as an enemy would have refrained from inflicting."
324 άγαπήσειν αύτού τάς θυγατέρας. καὶ τάς πίστεις τάς ἐπὶ τούτους ἐποιήσαντο ύπέρ ὄριων τινῶν, ἐφ' οἷς στήλην ἀνέθεσαν κατὰ βωμοῦ σχῆμα, ὥστε Γαλάδης¹ λέγεται [ὁ] βουνός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ νῦν Γαλάδην ἐκαλοῦσι τὴν γῆν. ἐστιαθέντων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρκοῖς ὁ μὲν Λάβανος ἀνέζευξεν.

325 (xx. 1) Ἰακώβῳ δὲ εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν προϊόντι φαντάσματα συνετύχανεν ἄγαθας ἐλπίδας ὑπογεγραμμένα περὶ τῶν ἐς ὦστερον· καὶ τῶν μὲν τῶν ἔκεινον προσαγορεύει θεοῦ στρατόπεδον, βουλόμενος δὲ εἰδέναι, τί ὁ ἄδελφος αὐτοῦ φρονεῖ, τῶν γνωσμομένων ἔκαστα μετὰ ἀκριβείας προὔπεμψε,

326 δεδωκὼς αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑποψίαν. ἐνετέλεστο δὲ τοῖς περιπομένοις λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Ἡσαύν, ὅτι νομίσας Ἰακώβος ἄδικον συνδικτασθαι αὐτοῦ τῇ ὑργῇ τῆς χώρας ἐκών ὑπεξέλθοι, καὶ νῦν τοῦ χρόνου ἱκανοῦ ἤγομένος εἶναι διαλλάκτην ἐπανήκου γυναῖκάς τε καὶ παιδάς ἐπαγόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πορισθέντος βίου, μετὰ τῶν τιμωτάτων ἐαυτοῦ ἐκείνων παραδιδοὺς, ὅτι κρύοι μέγιστοι ἀγαθόν τὸ τῶν ἄδελφῶν συμμεταλαμβάνει τῶν.

327 ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένων. καὶ οί μὲν ταῦτα ἐδήλουν, Ἡσαύς δὲ περιχαρῆς γίνεται καὶ τῶν ἄδελφων ὑπήρτα σὺν ὅπλαίσι τετρακοσίοις, καὶ Ἰακώβος πυθανόμενος ἦκεν αὐτὸν ὑπαντησόμενον μετὰ τοσοῦτων ἵνα περίφοβος, τῷ μέντοι θεῷ τὴν ἐλπίδα τῆς σωτηρίας ἐπέτρεπε καὶ πρόνοιαν ἰσχεῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὡς αὐτῶς ἀπαθὴς σώζοι τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ κρατήσας τῶν ἐχθρῶν εἰ δέλοιεν ἀδικεῖν.

¹ Γαλάδης Μ.: Γαλάδην rell.

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¹ Strictly “a slah”: Josephus takes over the Greek word ἐκεῖ 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 in the form of an altar; hence comes the name Galad(es) given to the hill, and hence to this day they call the district Galadene. 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." 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.

\[\text{Gen. xxxi. 47.}\]

\[\text{Jacob's return to Canaan. Gen. xxxii. 1.}\]

\[^b\] Bibl. Galeed = "cairn of witness" (i.xx βουνὸς μαρτυρεῖ).\[\text{Galad} = \text{"cairn of witness" (i.xx βουνὸς μαρτυρεῖ).}\]

\[^{\text{Bibl.}}\text{Gilead.}\]

\[^{\text{Bibl.}}\text{Mahanaim = "two hosts" (i.xx παρεμβολή or παρεμβολαί).}\]
328 νείμας οὖν τούς σὺν αὐτῷ τούς μὲν προύπεμπε, τούς δὲ λειτομένους ἄσον ἐκέλευσεν ἀκολούθειν, ὅπως εἰ βιασθεῖν οἱ προπεμφθέντες ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ, καταφυγὴν ἔχοιεν τοὺς ἑπομένους.

329 καὶ τοῦτον διατάξας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τρόπον πέμπει τινὰς δῶρα κομίζοντας τάδελφον· ὑποψίαν δὲ ἦν τὰ πεπόμενα καὶ πλήθος τετραπόδων πουκίλων, ἀ δὴ τίμια τοῖς ληψομένοις ἐμελλέν

330 ἔσεσθαι παρὰ τὸ σπανίζειν αὐτῶν. ἡσαν1 δὲ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, ἣν συνεχέστερον ἐντυχάνοντες πολλοὶ δοκῶσιν· ἀνήσεων γὰρ ύπὸ τῶν δωρεῶν τῆς ὀργῆς, εἰ διαμένου τεθυμωμένον· ἔτι μέντοι καὶ λόγους χρηστοῖς ὀμιλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἴρητο τοῖς πεπομένοις.

331 (2) Ταῦτα συνθεῖος διὰ πάσης τῆς ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἐκέινε τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· καὶ χειμάρροιν τινὰ Ἰάβακχον λεγόμενον διαβεβηκότων Ἰάκωβος ὑπολειμμένος φαντάσματι συντυχῶν διεπόλαειν, ἐκείνου προκατάρχοντος τῆς μάχης, ἐκράτει τε τὸν φαντάσματος, ὁ δὴ καὶ φωνὴ χρῆται καὶ λόγους πρὸς αὐτὸν, χαίρειν τε τοῖς γεγενεμένοις παραίνοιν καὶ μὴ μικρὸν2 κρατεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ θείον ἀγγέλου νευκηκέναι, καὶ σημεῖον ἤγεισθαι τοῦτο μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὸ γένος ἐκλείψειν αὐτῷ, μηδὲ υπέρτερον ἀνθρώπων

332 τινὰ τῆς ἱσχύος ἔσεσθαι τῆς ἑκεῖνου. ἐκέλευε τε καλεῖν3 αὐτὸν Ἰσράήλην· σημαινεῖ δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γλώτταν τὸν ἀντιστάτηρ4 ἀγγέλῳ

1 ἡσαν codd.
2 μικρὸν MPL.
3 καλείσθαι SPL Lat.: perhaps αὐτὸν should be read for αὐτῶν.
4 RO: ἀντιστάντα rel.,
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 Jabaechos, 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, which in the Hebrew tongue denotes the opponent of an angel of God. This revelation indeed

\[ a \] Bibl. Jabbok.
\[ b \] = "striver with God," or "God strives."
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theou. taúta méntoi prou légen the akóbov déthentos: aiôsthómenos gár ággelov eînai theou, tína moíran éxei sêmmainen parékalei, kai to mên

334 fántasimá tautê éipôn afanês ginetai. hêthésis dê tou tôn akóbboj Fanoújlon ónomazêi tôn tôn, ó sêmmainet theou prósostov. kai genoménon diâ tîn máxhîn alghîmatos autw peri to neîron to platw autós te ápêxeta tîs tou tôn bwrósewos kai diê ekéînon oudê ̓ hîmîn éstîn édôdîmon.

335 (3) Plhíssion d' ̓ ëthê tôn adelfwôn puvthanómenos keleuei prôîenai tîn ãnuakikôn ekatéravan kath' autêê meta tôn therapaiwsâw, ùna prórôxhen aforowen ta érga twn anôrôwn maçoménon, eî tou tou thelîsâein 'Hsâws: prosekúnei d' autwos tôn adelfwôn égyns autw génomev nou dén peri autw ódôlou

336 prosvnata. kai d' 'Hsâws aspsasúmenos autôn ánthrwtê tîn wâdôn tîn ókhn kai tás ãnuakikas, ̓ ëzîw te maðw peri autôn tî paív kai autwos suvbâdizew autôis prôs tîn patêrâ, akóbboj dê prophasiaîmênu tûn kópton tîn ùpoxynwôn uphechorhsev eîs 'Sâeirwv: èntaûtha gár épopoîte òhîn diâtaion prosvagoreúas tî chrîwv àpò thîs autw trîkhwosas [daskéâw].

337 (xxi. 1) akóbboj dê afiketo eîs tûs òtî nûn Skhnas leumênav, ùthên eîs 'Sikymov parîn. Xanavaiw d' èstîn ò pólis. tûn dê Sikymitôn èfôrtîn ãgôntaîn ðeîna, therâthìr ãn akóbboj

1 Probably a gloss ("Bushy").

a Bibl. Peniel (lxx eîdos theou).

b Commonly explained as the sciatic nerve, running from thigh to ankle.

c Bibl. Seir (Σείρη).

d So lxx renders, correctly, the Heb. Succoth, Gen. xxxiii. 17.

e After lxx: Heb. Shechem, 160
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 Phanuel, a that is to
say, "the face of God." And because in the contest
he had suffered injury near the broad sinew, b 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 him-
self 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, c 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," d whence he passed to Sikim, e
which is a city of the Canaanites. As the Sikimites
were holding a festival, f Dina(h), Jacob's only

1 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 Δείναν
πάρθενον οὗτον εἰς τὰ Σίκιμα ἔλθειν πανηγύριας οὕτως, βουλομένην
θέασαν τὴν πόλιν. The passage, with Rabbinical parallels,
is quoted by M. Weill.
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μόνη, παρῆλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁφομένη τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν. θεασάμενος δ’ αὐτὴν Συχέμης ὁ Ἐμμώρου τοῦ βασιλέως νῦν ψευδεῖ δι’ ἀρπαγής καὶ διατεθεῖσα ἐρωτικῶς ἐκείνη δὲ τὸν 338 πατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον τὴν κόρην. ὥστε πεισθεὶς ἦκε πρὸς τὸν Ἰάκωβον δεόμενος τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Συχέμης συζεύξαι Δεῖνων κατὰ νόμον. Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὔτ’ ἀντλέγειν ἐχὼν διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ παρακαλοῦντος οὔτε νόμιμον ἡγούμενος ἀλλο- φύλῳ συνοικίζει τὴν θυγατέρα ἦξισον ἐπιτρέψαι 339 αὐτῷ βουλῆν ἀγαγεῖν περὶ ὀν παρακαλεῖ. ἀπέχει μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζων Ἰάκωβον παρέξειν τὸν γάμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τοὺς παιδί δηλώσας τὴν τε θυράν τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἐμμώρου τὴν δέσσιν ἦξιον βουλεύεσθαι τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἡσύχαζον γνώμης ἀποροῦντες, Σιμεὼν1 δὲ καὶ Λευίς ὁμομήτοροι τῆς κόρης ἀδελφοῦ συν- 340 τίθενται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιαῦτα τω ἀράξειν οὔσης ἐφορτῆς καὶ τῶν Σικημιτῶν εἰς ἀνεσίν καὶ εὐ- χίαν τετραμμένων νῦκτωρ πρῶτοι ἐπιβαλόντες τοῖς φύλαξι κτείνουσι κοιμώμενος καὶ παρελ- θόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἁναρωσίν πᾶν ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν νῦν αὐτοῦ, φείδονται δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν. πράξεντες δὲ ταῦτα δίχα τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμης ἐπανάγουσι τὴν ἀδελφήν. 341 (2) Ἰακώβῳ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων καὶ χαλεπάνυστι πρὸς τοὺς νῦν ὁ θεὸς παραστὰς ἐκέλευσε βαρρεῖν, ἀγνίσαντι δὲ τὰς σκηνὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖν, ἂς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπιὰν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁψὶ τοῦ ὅνειρον ηὔξατο. 1 Σεμεὼν RM. 8 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, a 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, 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


b This second feast is another importation into the Biblical narrative.
342 ἂγνίζων ὁδὸν τοὺς ἔπομένους ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς Λαβάνου θεοῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἠπίστατο ὑπὸ τῆς 'Ραχήλης κλαπέντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκρυφεν ἐν Σικίμοις εἰς γῆν ὑπὸ των δρῶν, ἀπάρας τῷ τουντεῦθεν ἐν Βαιθήλους ἐθνεν, ὅποι ὁ ὅνειρον ἑθεάσατο χωρῶν πρὸτερον ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας.

343 (3) ἔντεεθεν δὲ προῖὼν ἑπεὶ κατὰ τὴν Ἐφρα-θηνὴν γίνεται, ἐνθάδε Ἐφραήμ έκ τοκετοῦ θανόσαν θάπτει, μόνῃ τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς ἐν Ἐβρῶν τιμής οὐ τυχόσαν. πενθήσας δὲ μεγά-λως τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίον Βενιαμένων ἐκάλεσε διὰ τῆν ἔπ' αὐτῶ γενομένην ὁδύνην τῷ μητρί. οὗτοι Ἱακώβου παῖδες οἱ πάντες, ἀρρενεῖς μὲν δώδεκα θήλεια δὲ μία. τούτων ὁκτὼ γυνήσιοι, ἐκ Λείας μὲν ἐξ, δύο δὲ ἐκ Ἐφραήμ, τέσσαρες δὲ ἐκ τῶν θεραπαινίδων, δύο ἐξ ἐκατέρας, ὃν καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα πάντων προεἶπον.

344 (xxii.) Παρὴν δ' ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Ἐβρῶνα πόλιν ἐν Χαναναίοις κειμένην ἐκεῖ δὲ Ἰσακος τὴν δίαιταν εἰς. καὶ βραχέα μὲν ἄλληλοις συνδιατρίβουσι τὴν γὰρ Ἐβέκκαν Ἰάκωβος οὗ κατέλαβε ζῶσαν, θυήσκει δὲ καὶ Ἰσακος οὗ μετὰ πολὺ τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ νεοῦ καὶ ταφῆς ἐτύχεν ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ ἐν Ἐβρῶνι μνήμειον προγονικὸν ἐν αὐτῇ

345 τυγχάνοντος αὐτοῖς. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἰσακος ἀνήρ θεοφίλης καὶ προνοίας πολλῆς ἡξιωμένος ὑπ'

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\( a \) § 284.

\( b \) Genesis mentions "strange gods" generally, without specifying the Teraphim of Laban.

\( c \) "The burial of idolatrous emblems under this sacred tree
and had seen the dream. While he was purifying his company accordingly, he lit upon the gods of Laban, being unaware that Rachel had stolen them; these he hid in the ground beneath an oak at Sikim, and departing thence offered sacrifice at Bethel, where he had seen the dream when journeying of yore to Mesopotamia.

(3) Thence he proceeded on his way, and when he was come over against Ephratene 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. 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.

(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 has some traditional meaning which we cannot now explain (Skinner).

a Bibl. Ephrath (Εφραθά); in Benjamite territory, otherwise unknown.

b 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").
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, πολυχρονιώτατος as here). But it is unnecessary to alter the superlative to the comparative; the former includes the latter (see note on ὑστατος § 214, and cf. in N.T. Jo. i. 15 πρῶτος μου ἤν).
father Abraham; in longevity he even surpassed him,\textsuperscript{a} having completed one hundred and eighty-five years of a virtuous life when he died.\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{b} Josephus breaks off the book at the end of Gen. xxxv. The recently edited 3rd cent. \textit{Berlin Fragment of Genesis} (ed. Sanders and Schmidt, New York, 1927) breaks off in the same chapter (xxxv. 8), with the subscription \textit{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."
(i. 1) Metà δὲ τὴν Ἰσάκου τελευτὴν οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ μερισάμενοι τὴν οἰκίσαν πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕχ ἦν ἔλαβον ταύτην κατέσχον, ἀλλʼ Ἰσαὰκ μὲν τῆς Ἀβραὰμας ἀπὸ λόγους ἐκχωρῆσας τὸ ὄντως ἐν Σαεῖρᾳ διητάτο καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμεὰς ἤρχεν οὕτω καλέσας τὴν χώραν ἀφʼ αὐτοῦ. Ὅσοι γὰρ ἐπωνομάζετο κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τυχὼν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως, ἡμῖν δὲ πόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸ κυνηγήσιον λιμῶτων ἔπαινηκεν, ἐτὶ δὲ ἦν παῖς τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιτυχών δὲ τάδελφῳ φακὴν ἐσκευακότι πρὸς ἀριστον αὐτῶ, ἤνθην σφόδρα τὴν χροίναν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ὀρεγθὲ εἶξον παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς τροφὴν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδόθαι τὸ προσβείον αὐτῶ τοῦ φαγεῖν συνεργῶν χρησάμενος τῇ πείνῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν, κακεῖνος ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ προαχθεῖς παραγωρεὶ τῶν προσβείων αὐτῶ μεθʼ ὀρκων. ἐνδὲ δὲ τῇ ἤπικτητα τού μέγατος ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν κατὰ παιδίαν ὁ Ἀδωμὸς ἐπικληθεῖς, ἄδωμα γὰρ Εβραῖοι τὸ ἐρυθρὸν καλοῦσιν,

1 Χεβρωνίας SPE. 2 κυνήγιον RE. 3 SP: ἡμάγκασε rell.

* Gen. xxxvi. 7, "For their substance was too great for them to dwell together, and the land of their sojournings 168
(i. 1) After the death of Isaac his sons divided the territory between them, not retaining that which they had inherited.\textsuperscript{a} Esau, for his part, left the city of Hebron to his brother and taking up his abode in Saeira\textsuperscript{b} ruled over Idumaea, calling the country thus after himself: for he bore the surname of Adom,\textsuperscript{c} 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—\textit{adoma}\textsuperscript{d} being the Hebrews' word for "red"—and that was how he

\textsuperscript{a} 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.

\textsuperscript{b} Bibl. Edom.

\textsuperscript{c} Heb. \textit{adóm} = "red."

\textsuperscript{d} Heb. \textit{adóm} = "red."
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tὴν χώραν οὕτως προσηγόρευεν: Ἠλληνες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σεμνότερον Ἰδουμαίαν ὑψομασσαν.
4 (2) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ πατήρ παιδών πέντε τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὡν Ἰάους μὲν καὶ Ἰόλαμος καί Κορής ἐκ γυναικός μιᾶς Ἀλιβάμης τούνομα, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀλιβάζης μὲν ἐξ Ἀδάσης, Ῥαούηλος δὲ ἐκ Βασαμάθης ὑπήρξαν αὐτῶ γεγονότες. καὶ Ἰσαύ μὲν οὕτω παῖδες ἦσαν. Ἀλιβάζη δὲ γίνονται γνησιοὶ πέντε Θημανὸς ὁ Ομερος Σόφους Ἡθαμος Καναξς. Ἀμαλήκης γὰρ νόδος ἦν ἐκ παλλακῆς αὐτῶ γεγονοὺς Θαμνάς ὄνομα. οὕτω κατώκησαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τῆν Γοβολίτων λεγομένην καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἀμαλήκης κληθεῖσαν Ἀμαληκίτων. πολλὴ γὰρ γενομένη ποτὲ Ἰδουμαία τὸ τε σάσος αὐτῆς ἀπέσωξεν ὄνομα καὶ τοὺς μέρεσι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκητῶν προσηγορίαις διεφύλαξεν.
6 (ii. 1) Ἰακώβῳ δὲ συνέβη παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας μέγεθος οὗν οὐκ ἄλλῳ των ῥαδίως. πλούτῳ τε γὰρ ὑπερέβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ παιδῶν ἅρταις ξηλωτός καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν. οὐδενὸς γὰρ ὀλὸς υστέρουν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ πόνων υπομονήν ἦσαν εὑρισκοὺ καὶ δεινοὶ συνιέναι.
8 τοσαύτην δὲ ἄρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔσχε καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιμέλειαν, ὡς καὶ τῶν λυπηρῶν αὐτῶ δοξάντων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν παρασχεῖν καὶ ποιήσαι τῆς ἀπ’ Ἀιγύπτου τῶν ἱμετέρων

1 Niese: Ὅφως (etc.) codd.

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a Bibl. Jeush (Ἰεους).
b Bibl. Jalam (Ἰεγλώω).
c Bibl. Korah (Κορέ).
d Bibl. Oholibamah (Ἀλλιβαμά, the reading of one ms. of the LXX, approximates to the Josephan form).
e Bibl. Eliphaz.
f Bibl. Adah (Ἄδα).
g Bibl. Reuel (Ῥαγουήλ).
h Bibl. Basemath.

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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, Iolam(os) and Korê(os) came of one wife named Alibame; as for the others, Aliphaz(es) was born of Adasa and Raûél(os) of Basamathe. Such were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons—Thèman(os), Omer(os), Sophous, Jotham(os), Kanaz(os): Amalek(os) was a bastard born to him by a concubine named Thamnae. These occupied the region of Idumaea termed Gobolitis 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
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προγόνων ἐναχωρήσεως αὐτῶν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῶν γεγονότας ὑπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.

9 Ἰώσηπον ἐκ Ῥαχήλας πεπαγδοποιημένος Ἰάκωβος διά τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐγένειαν καὶ διὰ ψυχῆς ἀρετῆν, φρονήσει γὰρ διέφερε, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον ὦν ἡγάτα. τούτω παρὰ τῶν ἁδελφῶν ἡ τε τοῦ πατρὸς στοργὴ φθόνον ἐκύησε καὶ μῦσος ἡ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ὑπὸ θεασάμενος τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τούτοις ἐμήνυσεν, εὐδαμονίᾳ καταγγελλομένη, ζηλοτυποῦντων ἁρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς τῶν οἰκειοτάτων ἐυπραγίας. αἰ δὲ ὦφιες, ὡς κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς εἶδεν Ἰώσηπος, τοιαύτε ἦσαν.

10 (2) Ἐκπεμφθείς μετὰ τῶν ἁδελφῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ συλλογῇ τῶν καρπῶν θέρους ἀκμάξοντος ὁ ὄρα πολὺ τῶν κατὰ συνήθειαν ἐπιφοιτώντων κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὀνειράτων διαφέρονταν ὃιν, ἢν περιγενεθείς τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς ὡς κρινοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὸ σημαίνόμενον ἐξέθετο, λέγων ἰδεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ δράγμα τῶν πυρῶν ἠρέμειν ἐφ’ οὗ κατέθηκε τόπου, τα δὲ ἐκεῖνων προστρέχοντα προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸ καθάπερ 12 οἱ δούλοι τοὺς δεσπότας. οἱ δὲ συνέντεις ἵσχυν αὐτῶ καὶ μέγεθος πραγμάτων τὴν ὄψιν προλέγον- σαν καὶ κατ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐξοπλιάν ἐσομένην τῷ μὲν Ἰωσήπῳ τούτων οὐδὲν ὡς οὐ γνώριμον αὐτοῖς τὸ ὅναρ ὁν διεσάφησαν, ἀράς δ’ ἐπονήσαντο μηδὲν εἰς τέλος αὐτῶ παρελθεῖν ὃν ὑπενόσουν καὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐχ’ μᾶλλον ἀπεγερθὼς ἔχοντες διετέλουν.

13 (3) Τῷ δὲ παρ’ αὐτῶν φθόνῳ προσφιλονικήσαν τὸ θείον δευτέραν ὄψιν ἐπιπέμπει τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ

a 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 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 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 his first dream. 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 ever come to pass and continued to hate him yet the more.

b Or "vowed (or "bound themselves under a curse") that nothing . . . should" etc.


14 αὐτῶν. ταύτην τὴν ὄψιν τῷ πατρὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῶν ἁδελφῶν κακοῖς ὑφορώμενος καὶ τούτων παρατυγχανόντων διεσάφησε, τί καὶ βουλείται σημαίνειν

15 φράσαι παρακαλῶν. ὁ δὲ ἡσθήτι τῷ ὀνείρατι, τὴν γὰρ πρόρρησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ συλλαβῶν καὶ μετὰ σοφίας οὐκ ἀσκόπως εἰκάσας ἔχαρεν ἐπὶ μεγάλους τοῖς σημανομένους, ὁ εὐδαιμονίαν τῷ παϊδί κατήγγελλε καὶ καιρὸν ἦξεν θεοῦ δόντος, καθ' ὅν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τε τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν ἁδελφῶν

16 ἔσεσθαι τίμιον καὶ προσκυνήσεως άξιον, τὴν μὲν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἡλίου μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ, τῆς μὲν αὐξουσίας ἀπαντά καὶ τρεφοῦσας τοῦ δ' ἐκτυποῦντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἴσχυν ἐντιθέντος εἰκάζων, τοὺς δ' ἀστέρας τοῖς ἁδελφοῖς καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐνδέκα εἶναι καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπὸ τε ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τὴν ἴσχυν λαμβάνοντας.

17 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ἰάκωβος τοιαύτην οὖκ ἀσυνήτως ἐπούχασα τῆς ὄψεως τῆς κρίσιν, τοὺς δ' ἁδελφοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήφου σφόδρα ἑλύπησε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ διεσέρεσαν ός ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίως τοις μέλλοντι τὰ σημανόμενα διὰ τῶν ὀνειρᾶτων ἀγαθὰ ἦξεν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἁδελφῷ καὶ οὐ συναπολαύσειν αὐτούς εἰκὸς ἦν, κοινοῦσώς ως τῆς γενέσεως οὕτως καὶ τῆς εὐ-

18 δαιμονίας ἐσομένους' ἀνέλειν τὸ ὀρμήκεσαν τὸ μεί-

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1 Hudson, Dindorf: ἃσθεῖς codd.
2 ἦξεν OP.
3 Niese: ὃν συναπολαύσειν αὐτῷ codd.

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a Gen. xxxvii. 10 f. says that “his father rebuked him” but “kept the saying in mind.” Parallels from Midrash 174
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: 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 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.

and Philo for the interpretation put upon these last words by Josephus are quoted by Weill.

*b 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).
ράκιον, καὶ ταύτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλήν, ἐπεὶ τὰ τῆς συγκομιδῆς αὐτοὺς πέρας εἶχεν, ἐπὶ Σικίμων τραπέντες, χῶρα δὲ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ βόσκειν ἀγαθὴ θρέμματα καὶ νομαὶ ἐκτρέφειν;1 αὐτοὶ τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπεμελοῦντο μὴ προδηλώσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐκείσε ἄφιξιν. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιμνίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τινὰ τὸν περὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτῶ τάληθες σημαίνειν δυνάμενον, σκυθρωπότερον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διάνοιαν λαμβάνων καὶ περίδες ὡν πέμπει τὸν Ἰωσήφον εἰς τὰ ποίμνια μαθησόμενον τὰ περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν καὶ τὶ πράττοιες σημανοῦντα.

20 (iii. 1) Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ὡς εἶδον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφιγμένον, ἰσθήσαν μὲν, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείου παρουσία καὶ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλκότος, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπ' ἐχθρόν καὶ ταῖς χερῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ θείαν βουλήσαν παραδοθέντος, ἀναιρεῖν τε ἥδη καὶ μὴ τὸν ἐν

21 ποιήν ὑπερβαλέσθαι καιρὸν ὑμηκέσαν. οὕτως δ' αὐτοὺς Ῥοβήλος ὅρῶν ἐχοντας ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πράξιν ὁμονοικότας ἐπειρᾶτο κατέχειν ὑποδεικνύς τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος καὶ τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῶ μύσος, ὡς πονηρὸν μὲν καὶ θεῶ καὶ ἀνθρώπως ἀνόσιον δοκοῦν καὶ τὸ μὴ συγγενοῦς ἀνθρώπου χειρουργῆσαι φόνον, πολὺ μὲντο μιαρῶτερον τὸ σφαγὴν ἀδελφὸν δράσαντας ὁφθήναι, ὁ πατὴρ τε ἀναιρομένου συναδικεῖται καὶ μήτηρ εἰς πένθος καὶ παιδὸς ἀποστέρησεν οὐ κατ' ἀνθρώπων γενομένην νόμον συγκαταστάται. τοῦ-

1 έκφερειν RO.

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a Amplification of Scripture.  
b Shechem.  
c In Gen. xxxvii. 13 Jacob opines that they are in Shechem.  
d 176
Having determined upon this scheme, they, now that their harvest labours were ended, a betook themselves to Sikima, b 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. c 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, d 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 e into mourning, thus unnaturally bereft of a child. He besought

a Reuben (see i. 304 note). We have here the first of many rhetorical speeches, or pairs of speeches, with which the narrative is diversified.

b Rachel was already dead (i. 343); but Josephus had Biblical warrant for the inconsistency (Gen. xxxvii. 10, interpretation of the second dream).
των οὖν αὐτῶν αἰδῶ λαβόντας καὶ τῶν λογισμῶν τὶ καὶ πείσονται τεθηκότος αὐτοῖς παιδὸς ἀγαθοῦ καὶ νεωτάτου παραθεμένους ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ τολμήματος παρεκάλει, καὶ τὸν θεὸν δείεις τος, ὅσ τεστάτης ἀμα καὶ μάρτυς ἧδη καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γεγενημένος ἀποστάντας μὲν τῆς πράξεως ἀγαπήσει2 μετανοίᾳ καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν.

24 ἐξειςτας, προελθόντας δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ὑπὸ έστιν ἡν οὐκ εὐπράξεται τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας δύκης μιανάς τοῦ τῆς πανταχοῦ παροῦσαν πρόνοιαν καὶ μῆτε τῶν ἐπ' έρημίας3 πραττομένων ύστεροῦσαν μῆτε τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις: ὅπου γὰρ ἄν ἀνθρωπὸς ἦ

25 χρὴ δοκεῖν εὐναῦθα παρεῖναι καὶ θεὸν. τὸ τε συνειδός αὐτοῦ τὸ ὅδον ἐξεις ἐχθρόν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμῆσαιν ἔλεγεν, ὁ μῆτε τοῖς ἀγαθὸν αὐτὸ ἔχουσι μῆτε τοιοῦτον ὑπόθεν αὐτοῖς συνοικήσει4 τὸν ἀδελ-

26 φὸν ἀνελούσων ἔστιν ἀποδρᾶναι. προσετίθει δε καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς προειρημένοις, ὡς ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲ ἀδικήσαντα κτεῖνειν ὅσιον, καλὸν δε καὶ τὸ μὴ μνησικακεῖν τοῖς οὕτω φίλους ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀμαρτεῖν ἐδοξαί. Ἡώσηπον δε οὐδὲ πονηρὸν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον διαφθεροῦσιν, οὐ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀσθενές ἔλεον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν παρ' ἡμῶν ἐρανί-

27 ζεταὶ κηδεμονίαι. ἡ τε αὐτία τῆς ἀναρέσεως πολὺ χείρῳ τὴν πράξιν αὐτοῖς τίθησι, διὰ φθόνον τῶν ἐσομένων ἀγαθῶν αὐτῶ τοῦ ζην ἐξαγαγεῖν διεγνωκότων, ὡν τὸ ὅσιον ἀπολαύσουσι κοινονοῦντες αὐτῶ τῆς μετοφιάς οὐκ ἄλλοτρίων ὄντων ἀλλ' 

28 οἰκεῖων ἴδια γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνεις, ὅσα ο θεὸς Ἰωσήπω δώσει προσήκειν οὖν5 τὴν ὑργίνην καὶ διὰ

1 Bekker: γεγενημένης codd. 2 Ο: ἀγαπήσεως rell. 3 ἐρημία ROE. 4 συνοικήσεων 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-

5 πρὸς ἐκεῖνον οὖν Niese with cod. O: προσεκίνον ῥ R.
JOSEPHUS

tοῦτο [καλῶς ἔχειν] χαλεπωτέραν ἔσεσθαι νομίζειν, εἰ τὸν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένον τῶν ἐλπίζομένων ἁγαθῶν ἄξιον ἀποκτείναντες ἀφαιρήσονται τὸν θεόν ὃ ταῦτα χαρίστει.

29 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ῥουβήλος ταῦτα λέγων καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ἔτι πλείω καὶ δεόμενος ἐπειρᾶτο τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτοῦς ἀποτρέπειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν μετριωτέρος ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἑώρα γεγενημένους, ἀλλὰ σπεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, συνεβούλευε τὸ κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικέστερον ποιῆσαι τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως, [καὶ γὰρ] ἀμεινὸν μὲν ἄν

30 ὡς παρῆνεσε τὸ πρῶτον πεπείθασε λέγων αὐτοὺς, ἐπεὶ δ’ ἠκράτησαν ὡστε ἄνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφόδρα κακοὺς οὗς ἔν παραιτεῖ πεισθέντας· ἐν γὰρ τούτοις εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐφ’ ὧ δ’ σπεύ-

31 δοῦσιν, οὐ μέντοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ὃς ἐν ἀπόροις κουφότερον. ἦξείον γὰρ αὐτοὺς αὐτόχειρας μὲν μὴ γειεῖσθαι ταὐδελφοῦ, ῥῆψατο δὲ εἰς τὸν παρα-

32 κείμενον λάκκον οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν ἑᾶσαι καὶ τὸ γε [μὴ] μιανθήναι τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν κερδαινεῖν. συνανεσάντως δὲ τούτως τῶν νεανίσκων παρα-

laβῶν ὁ Ῥουβήλος τὸ μειράκιον καὶ καλωδίου ἐκδήσας ἥρεμα καθήσειν5 εἰς τὸν λάκκον· καὶ γὰρ ἱκανός ἀνυδρὸς ἦν· καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ποιῆσας ἀπαλλάσσεται κατὰ ζήτησιν χωρίων πρὸς νομὰς ἐπιτηδείων.

1 Probably a gloss on προσήκειν. 2 Bracketed by Niese. 3 ins. edd. with Exc. 4 om. RO (Lat.?). 5 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 dry. This done, he departed in search of grounds suitable for pasturage.

(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-

a Gen. xxxvii. 24, "The pit was empty, there was no water in it." The adverb ἰκανῶς ("sufficiently") in Josephus may be due to misreading of κενῶς ("empty") found in some mss. of the LXX.

b Amplification of Scripture.

His second speech. 
Αἰγυπτίοις ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν 'Ῥουβήλου τοῖς ἄδελφοις συνεβούλευεν ἀνυμή-
σας τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀπεμπολήσαι τοῖς Ἀραβιν. 33 ἐκεῖνον τε γὰρ ὅτι πορρωτάτω γενόμενον καὶ 
tεθνήξεσθαι παρὰ τοῖς ξένοις, αὐτοὺς τε τοῦ 
μιᾶσματος οὕτως ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι. δόξαν οὖν 
tοῦτο, τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀποδίδοντα τὸν Ἰώσηπον 
ἀνελκύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου μνῶν ἑίκοσιν, ἐπτα-
34 καὶ δεκα ἐτῶν γεγονότα. Ῥουβήλος δὲ νῦκτω 
ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἔλθὼν σώσαι τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς λάθων 
tὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐγνώκει, καὶ ὡς ἀνακαλουμένῳ μὴ 
ὑπήκουσε, δείσας μὴ ἐφθάρκασιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν 
ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ κατεμέμφετο τοὺς ἄδελφοὺς. 
tῶν δὲ τὸ πραχθὲν αὐτῷ φρασάντων παύεται τοῦ 
pείθους Ῥουβήλος.
35 (4) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς 
ἐπέπρακτο, τί ποιήσαντες ἂν ἐξῷ τῆς ὑπονοίας 
παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γεννηθεὶν ἐξήνυσαν, καὶ δὴ τῶν 
χιτωνίσκου, ὅπερ ἄφθικτο μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος 
eἰνδεδυμένος, περιηρήκεσαν δὲ αὐτὸν ὅτε καθίσαν 
eἰς τὸν λάκκον, ἐδοξεῖ αὐτοῖς διασπαράξασιν 
ἀιματὶ πράγμα μολύνας καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δεῖξαι φέ-
ρωτος, ὡς ᾧν ὑπὸ θηρίων αὐτῶς φανείη δι-
36 εφθαρμένος. καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες ἢκον πρὸς τὸν 
πρεσβύτην ἥδη τῶν περὶ τὸν υἱὸν εἰς γνῶσιν 
ἀφιγμένον, ἔλεγον δὲ τῶν μὲν Ἰώσηπον οὕτ' ἰδεῖν 
oὐθ' ἢ κέχρηται συμφορᾶ μεμαθήκεναι, χιτῶνα δὲ 
tοῦτον εὑρεῖν ἱμαγμένον καὶ λελακισμένον, ὅθεν 
αὐτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν εἶναι περιπεσόντα θηρίως αὐτῶν

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a Bibl. Gilead.

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dene 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, he being then seventeen years of age. As for Rubel, he returned by night 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 tunic, 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, and told him that they had neither seen Joseph nor discovered what accident had befallen him, but that they had found this tunic, bloodstained and mangled, from which they surmised that he had encountered wild beasts and perished,

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.

Gen. xxxvii. 2. Amplification.
JOSEPHUS

ἀπολωλέναι, είγε τούτον ἐνδεδυμένος ὄκοθεν 37 ἑστάλη. Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπὶ κουφοτέραις ὅπν ἐλπίσων ὡς ἤνδραποδισμένου δῆθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδός, τούτον μὲν ἀφίησεν τῶν λογισμῶν, πίστιν δ᾽ αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτής ἑναργῇ τῶν χειών ὑπολαβών, καὶ γὰρ ἐγνώρισεν [ὡς] ἐκείνου αὐτόν ὅν ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκτείμποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῶ τὸ λοιπὸν οὔτω διέκειτο ἐπὶ τῶ μειρακίων πενθῶν.

38 καὶ ὥσ ἐνὸς πατήρ ὁν καὶ τῆς εἰς ἀλλαν παραμυθίας ἐστερημένοις οὕτως ἦν παρὰ τῷ κακῷ, πρὸς ἡ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συμβαλείν εἰκάζων ὑπὸ θηρίων Ἰωσήπων ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. ἐκαθέζετο δὲ σακκίον ἐξαφαμένους καὶ τῇ λύπῃ βαρύς, ὡς μηθ᾽ ὑπὸ παῖδων παρηγοροῦντων αὐτὸν βάόνα γενέσθαι μήτε κάμνοντα τοῖς πόνοις ἀπαγόρευεν.

39 (iv. 1) Ἰωσήπων δὲ πωλούμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὠνησάμενος Πεντέφρης, ἀνὴρ Αἰγύπτιος ἐπὶ τῶν Φαραώθου μαγείρων τοῦ βασιλέως, εἰχεν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ παιδείαν τε τῆς ἑλευθερίων ἑπαίδευε καὶ διαίτη χρῆσθαι κρείττον τῆς ἐπὶ δούλω τύχης ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐγχειρίζει τε τῆν τῶν κατὰ τὸν οίκον 40 αὐτῶ πρόνοιαν. ὁ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπέλαυε καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν, ἢτις ἦν περὶ αὐτόν, οὐδὲ ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐγκατέλιπεν, ἀλλὰ διεδείξε τὸ φρόνημα κρατεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσκόλων δυνάμενον, οἷς ἄν παρῇ γνησίως καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας τὰς κατὰ καυρὸν μόνον ἡμοσμένον.

41 (2) Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότου γυναικὸς διὰ τῆν

1 om. RO.
2 v.l. Πεντέφρης (and so below).

a Heb. Potiphar: the mss. of Josephus and of the LXX

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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, a Egyptian and chief of the cooks of king Pharaoh; this man held him in the highest esteem, gave him a liberal education, 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.

b So LXX ἄρχωμαγείρος: the Hebrew word (literally "slaughterers") means "apparently the royal cooks or butchers, who had come to be the bodyguard" (Skinner).

c Amplification.
JOSEPHUS

eυμορφίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ δεξιότητα ἐρωτικῶς διατεθείσης καὶ νομιζόσυσης, εἰ ποιήσειν αὐτῷ τοῦτο φανερὸν, ραδίως πείσειν αὐτὸν εἰς ὁμιλίαν ἐλθεῖν εὐτύχισσα ἡγησάμενον τὸ τὴν 42 δεσποιναν αὐτοῦ δεηθήναι καὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τότε δουλείας ἀλλ᾽ οὐ πρὸς τὸν τρόπον ἀφορωσῆς τὸν καὶ παρὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν παραμένοντα, τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῷ ποιησάσης καταφανή καὶ λόγους προσφεροῦσας περὶ μίξεως, παρέπεμπε τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐ κρίνας ὅσιον εἶναι τοιαύτην αὐτῇ διδόναι χάρῳ, ἐν ἣ τοῦ πριμίεις καὶ τοσαύτης ἥξιωκότος τιμῆς ἀδικίαν συνέβαινεν εἶναι καὶ 43 ύβριν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν τε τοῦ πάθους κάκείνην παρεκάλει τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ τεύξεσθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας προβαλλόμενος, σταλῆσθαι γάρ [τε] αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὴ παρούσῃς ἐλπίδος, αὐτὸς τε πάντα μᾶλλον ὑπομενεῖν ἠλεγεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο κατα- πειθῆς ἔσεσθαι καὶ γὰρ εἰ τῇ δεσποίνῃ δοῦλον οὐνα δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἐναντίον, ἢ πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα τῶν προσταγμάτων ἀντιλογία πολλήν ἂν ἔχοι 44 παραίτησιν. τῆς δ᾽ ἐτὶ μᾶλλον ἐπέτευκε τὸν ἐρωτα τὸ μὴ προσδοκόσῃ τὸν Ἰωσήπου ἀντισχεῖν καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ πολυρκουμένη δευτέρα πάλιν πείρα προεθυμεῖτο κατεργάσασθαι.

45 (3) Δημοστελλός οὖν ἐορτῆς ἐπιστάσης, καθ᾽ ἣν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ γυναῖκι φοίτην νόμιμον ἦν, σκήπτεται νόσον πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα θηρωμένη μόνωσιν καὶ σχολὴν εἰς τὸ δεηθήναι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτῃ λιπαρεστέρους ἐτι τῶν

1 Bekker: ὑπομενεῖν codd.
comely appearance 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, 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, 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

\[ \varepsilon \nu\varphi \varphi \varepsilon \]: Philo, De Jos. 9 § 40, uses the same word.

\[ \varphi \\text{Phrase taken from Philo, loc. cit. (περὶ μίξεως λόγους προσέφερεν).} \]

\[ \text{A legendary addition, for which there are Rabbinical parallels (quoted by Weill), invented to explain why "there was none of the men of the house within" (Gen. xxxix. 11).} \]
46 πρώτων αὐτῷ προσηνέγκατο λόγους, ὡς καλῶς μὲν εἶχεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἔξ ἀρχῆς δεήσαν εἰξαί καὶ μηδὲν ἀντειρηκέναι κατὰ τε τὴν τὴς παρα-
καλούσης ἐντροπὴν καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολὴν, ὦφ' οὗ βιασθείη δέσπονα οὐδα τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν'
ἀξιώματος ταπεινοτέρα γενέσθαι, φρονήσει δὲ καὶ νῦν ἄμεινον ἐνδόν καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθόνσιν
47 ἀγιώμοιν διορθώσεται· εἴτε γὰρ δευτέραν δέσησιν ἐξεδέχετο, ταύτην γεγονεναί καὶ μετὰ πλείονος
σπουδῆς· νόσον τε γὰρ προσφαιρασθαι καὶ τῆς ἐορτῆς καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλών
προτιμήσαν· εἴτε τοῖς πρῶτοις ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας ἀντέκρουσε λογισμοῖς, τοῦ μηδεμίᾳν κακουργίαν
eiναι κρίνειν σύμβολον τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν.
48 προσδοκᾶν τε τῶν παρῶτων ἄγαθῶν ὄνησιν, ὃν ἡδὴ μετέχειν,3 προσθέμενον αὐτῆς τῷ ἐρωτ. καὶ
μειζόνων ἀπόλαυσιν4 ὑπήκοον γενόμενον, ἄμμαν
δὲ καὶ μίσος παρ' αὐτῆς ἀποστραφέντα τὴν
ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τῇ δεσποινῆ την τῆς
49 σωφροσύνης δόκησιν ἐπίπροσθε θέμενον. οὐ γὰρ
aurant τοῦτο ὡφελήσειν τραπείσης εἰς κατηγορίαν
αὕτω καὶ καταβεβαιμενής πείραν ἐπὶ τανδρί,
προσέξειν δὲ μάλλον τοῖς αὐτῆς λόγοις Πεντεφρῆι
ἡ τοῖς ἐκέινου, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας
φέρωνται.
50 (4) Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γνωστόν καὶ δακρυοῦσης
οὖτε οίκτος αὕτων μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐπεισεν οὐτ'
ἡνάγκασε φόβος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δεήσεσιν ἀντέσχε καὶ
ταῖς ἀπειλαίς οὐκ ἐνέδωκε, καὶ5 παθεῖν ἀδίκως καὶ

1 κατ' ταύτην ROE. 2 Dindorf with 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.\(^a\)

(4) So spake the woman, weeping withal; yet His chast reply.

\(a\) 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.

\(^3\) \(\mu\varepsilon\tau\varepsilon\chi\varepsilon\) Niese. \(^4\) Niese: \(\alpha\pi\rho\omega\lambda\varepsilon\sigma\varepsilon\nu\) (\(\lambda\alpha\nu\varepsilon\nu\)) codd. \(^5\) O: \(\delta\varepsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma\) (\(\delta\varepsilon\iota\sigma\alpha\varsigma\) και) rell.
JOSEPHUS

υπομένειν¹ τι τῶν χαλεπωτέρων εἰλετο μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαύειν χαρισάμενος ἐφ’ οἷς
51 ἂν αὐτῷ συνειδῆ δικαίως ἀπολογομένῳ. γάρ τιν πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα συμ-βιώσεως καὶ τούτως τὸ πλέον νέμειν ἢ προσκαίρω τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἱδονῆ παρεκάλει, τῆς μὲν καὶ μετά-
νοιαν ἑξούσιας αὕθις ἐπ’ ὀδύνη γενησομένην οὐκ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἡμαρτημένων καὶ φόβον τοῦ ἡ ἔνα ἀναφωροῦν γενέσθαι [καὶ ἡ χάριν τοῦ λαθείν
52 ἰγνοσμένου τοῦ κακοῦ], τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινωνίας ἀπόλαυσιν ἑξούσιας ἀκύδυνον καὶ προσ-
έτι πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν παρρησίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ ὡς αὐτῷ δεσπόσει μᾶλλον μείνασα καθαρὰ καὶ δεσποινή ἑξούσια χρήσεται πρὸς αὐτὸν, ἀλλ’ ὦν συνεξ-
-αμαρτάνοντος αἰδοί. πολὺ δὲ κρείττον εἶναι ταρρεῖν ἐπὶ γνωσικομένου τοῖς εὐ βεβιωμένοις ἡ ἐπὶ λατιθαυνοῦσι κακοπραγία.
53 (5) Ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτως ὀμοια τῇ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁμοίῳ ἐπέχειν ἐπειράτο καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς εἰς λογισμὸν ἐπιστρέφειν, ἢ δὲ βιωτῶρον ἐχρῆτο τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιβαλοῦσα τὰς χειρᾶς ἀναγκάζειν ἀπογνωσία τοῦ πείθειν ήθελεν.
54 ὡς δ’ ἐξεφύγην ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ὁ Ἰωσήφος προσκατα-
-λιπόν καὶ τὸ ἱμάτιον, κατεχούσης καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐκ τούτων μεθεὶς ἐξεπίθησε τοῦ δωματίου, περι-
-δεῆς γενομένη, μὴ κατείπῃ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως περιλαγως ἑξούσα φθάσαι κατα-
-ψεύσασθαι πρὸς τὸν Πεντεφρῆν ἐγνω τοῦ Ἰωσήφου, καὶ τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ τιμωρήσαι μὲν αὐτῇ δεινῶς

¹ κἂν (sic RO) υπομένῃ Niese, ² v.l. ἄλλα.
endure even the severest penalty, rather than take advantage of the moment\textsuperscript{a} 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,\textsuperscript{b} 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

\textsuperscript{a} Cf. Heb. xi, 25, “choosing rather to be evil entreated . . . than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season” (of Moses).

\textsuperscript{b} I follow Reinach in rejecting the obscure words in brackets as a gloss.
JOSEPHUS

υπερηφανημένη, προλαβείν δὲ τὴν διαβολὴν σοφὸν
55 ἁμα καὶ γνωικείων ἡγήσατο. καὶ καθήστω μὲν
κατηφῆς καὶ συγκεκυμένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ διαμαρτείν
τῆς ἐπιθυμίας λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ πείρα διαφθορᾶς
πλασαμένη μετ’ ὀργῆς, ἐλθόντι δὲ τάνδρι καὶ πρὸς
tὴν ὄψιν ταραχθέντι καὶ πυνθανομένῳ τὴν αὐτίαν
tῆς κατηγορίας τῆς Ἰωσήφου κατήρξατο καὶ
“τεθναίης,” εἶπεν, “ἀνερ, ἡ πονηρὸν δοῦλον
56 κοίτην μιᾶνα τὴν σὴν ἐθελήσαντα κόλασον, ὃς
οὔθ’ οἷος ὦν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον ἀφίκται
μνησθεὶς ἐσωφρόνησεν οὔθ’ ὧν ἐκ τῆς σῆς χρη-
στότητος ἔτυχεν, ἀλλ’ ἀχάρος ὄν ἄν, εἰ μὴ
πάντα παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἐπεβού-
λευσεν ὑβρίσας γὰμον τὸν σὸν καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐν ἐρτῆ
τὴν σὴν ἀπουσίαν παραφυλάξας· ὥς ὁσα καὶ
μέτριος ἐδόκει πρότερον διὰ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον
57 ἢρέμει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει χρηστὸς ἦν. τοιοῦτον δ’
ἀρα τὸ παρ’ ἄξιαν αὐτὸν καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας εἰς
tιμὴν παρελθεῖν ἐποίησεν, ὡς δέον ὦ τὴν τῆς
κτήσεως τῆς σῆς πίστιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λαβεῖν
ἐξεγένετο καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἰκετῶν προ-
τυμηθῆναι τούτῳ καὶ τῆς σῆς ψαύειν γνωικός.”
58 παυσαμένη δὲ τῶν λόγων ἐπεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ τὸ
ἰμάτιον, ὡς ὃτ’ ἐπεχειρεῖ βιάσασθαι καταλύοντος
αὐτὸ. Πεντεφρῆς δὲ μὴτε δακρυνοῦσῃ τῇ γνωικῇ
μήθ’ οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ ἐδειν’ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων, τῷ τε
πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐρωτὶ πλέον νέμων, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς
59 ἀληθείας ἐξέτασιν οὐκ ἐτρέπτεο, δοὺς δὲ σωφρονεῖν
τῇ γνωικῇ πονηρὸν δ’ εἶναι κατακρίνας τὸν
Ἰωσήφου τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν κακοὺργῶν εἰρκτὴν

1 + 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) Ἰωσήφος μὲν οὖν πάντ᾽ ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ποιησάμενος τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδ᾽ εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐδ᾽ ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τῶν γεγονότων δήλωσιν ἐτράπῃ, τὰ δεσμὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην σιγῶν ὑπῆλθεν, ἀμεῖνον ἐσεσθαι τῶν δεδεκτῶν θαρρῶν τὸν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συμφορᾶς καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰδότα θεόν,

61 οὐ πείραν τῆς προνοίας εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανεν· ὁ γὰρ δεσμοφυλάξ τὴν ἐπημελείαν καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσας ἐν οἷς τάξειν αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἄξιόμα τῆς μορφῆς ὑπανεῖ τε τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἐλαφρότερον αὐτῷ καὶ κοῦφον ἐποίει, διαίτη δὲ χρήσθαι κρείττοι δεσμωτῶν ἐπέτρεπε.

62 τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὄντων εἰποτε παύσαντο τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔργα ταλαίπωρίας εἰς ὁμιλίαν, οἷα φιλεῖ κατὰ κοινωνίαν τῆς ὁμοίας συμφορᾶς, τρεπομένων καὶ παρ᾽ ἀλλήλων τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ᾽ αἷς κατακριθεῖν

63 ἀναπυνθανομένων, οἰνοχόσ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σφόδρα δ᾽ αὐτῷ τιμώμενος κατ᾽ ὀργὴν δεδεμένος καὶ συνδισφέρων τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ τὰς πέδας συνθέστερος αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο καὶ, συνέσει γὰρ ἐδόκει αὐτὸν προύχειν, ὡνὶ ἵδιν ἐξέθετο παρακαλῶν δηλοῦν εἰ τι σημαίνει, μεμφόμενος ὅτι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κακοῖς ἐτί τὸ θείον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων φροντίδας προστίθησιν.

64 (2) Ἐλεγε δ᾽ οὖν ἵδειν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπὸνυς τριῶν κλημάτων πεφυκνίας ἀμπέλου βότρυς ἐξ ἐκάστου

1 ei τι] φ ti O (Lat. quid).

a The same phrase κοσμιότητα καὶ σωφροσύνην is used of Joseph in Philo, De Jos. 9 § 40.

b 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.\(^a\)

(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,\(^b\) 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 The butler's dream. Gen. xii. 9

prisoner to his guard, \(4. \) xviii. 196 \(τὸν \αὐτῷ \) (Agrippa) \(στρατιώτην.\)
ἀποκρέμασθαι μεγάλους ἦδη καὶ πρὸς τρύγητον ὄφραίος, καὶ τούτους αὐτὸς ἀποθλίβειν εἰς φιάλην ὑπέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διηθήσας τε τὸ γλεῦκος δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεὶ πιεῖν, κάκειον δὲξασθαι κεχαρι-65 σμένως. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐωραμένον ἐδήλου τοιοῦτον ὄν, ἦξιον δὲ εἰ τι μεμοιραται συνέσεως φράζειν αὐτῷ τῆν πρόρρησιν τῆς ὁψεως. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκάλει καὶ προσδοκαῖν εὖ τρισών ἡμέραις ἀπο-λυθήσεθαι τῶν δεσμῶν, τοῦ βασιλέως πολέμασιντος αὐτοῦ τῇ διακοίνῳ καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταῦτην αὐτὸν
66 ἐπανάξοντος· καρπὸν γὰρ ἐσήμαινεν ἀμπέλινον ἐπ᾿ ἀγαθῷ τοῦ θεῶν ἀνθρώπων παρασχεῖν, δε αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ σπένδεται καὶ πίστιν ἀνθρώπως καὶ φιλίαν ὁμηρεύει, διαλύων μὲν ἑχθράς τὰ πάθη δὲ καὶ τὰς λύσας ἔξαιρών τοῖς προσφερομένουις αὐτῶν 67 καὶ πρὸς ἡδονὴν ὑποφέρων. “τοῦτον οὖν φῆς ἐκ τριῶν ἀποθλίβεντα βοτρύων χερσί ταῖς σαῖς προσέθαι τὸν βασιλέα· καλὴν τοῖνν ἦσθι σοι τῇ ὁμιν γεγενημένῃ καὶ προμηνύουσαν ἄφεσιν τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις, ἔξ ὁσῶν κλημάτων τὸν καρπὸν ἔτρυγησασ κατὰ τοὺς 68 ὑπίνους. μέμνησο μέντοι τούτων πειραθεῖς τοῦ προκαταγείλαντός σοι τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μὴ περίδης ἡμᾶς ἐν οἷς καταλείψεις πρὸς ἀ δεδηλώκαμεν ἀπερχόμενος· οὐδὲν γὰρ 69 ἐξαμαρτώντες ἐν δεσμοῖς γεγόναμεν, ἀλλ’ ἀρετῆς ἐνεκα καὶ σωφρονύσῃς τὰ τῶν κακοῦργων ὑπο-μένειν κατεκρήθημεν, οὐδὲ γε μετ’ οἰκείας ἡδονῆς τὸν ταῦθ’ ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενον ὑβρίσαι θελήσαντες.” τῷ μὲν οὖν οὐνοχῶ ἑαυτῷ κατὰ τὸ εἰκὸς ἀκού-σαντι τοιαύτης τῆς τοῦ όνείρατος ἐξηγήσεσως

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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.\(^a\) "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-

\(^a\) Cf. the praise of wine in 1 Esdras iii. 18 ff.
70 (3) Δοῦλος δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν σιτουπείων τεταγμένος τοῦ βασιλέως συνδεδεμένος τῷ οἰνοχώρῳ, τουαὐτήν ποιησαμένου τοῦ Ἰωσήφου περί τῆς ὅψεως ἐκείνω τῆν ἀπόφασιν, εὐελπὶς ὥν, καὶ γὰρ καυτὸς ὃναρ ἦν τεθεαμένος, ἦξιωσε τὸν Ἰωσήφον φράσαι, τι κάκειν ὡς δηλοῦν βούλειται τὰ διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης νυκτὸς ὄμολα. ἦν δὲ τοιαύτα: "τρία," φησί, "καὶ καὶ φέρειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδοξεῖ, δύο μὲν ἄρτων πλέα, τὸ δὲ τρίτου ὄψυ τε καὶ ποικίλων βρωμάτων οἷα βασιλεύσι σκευάζεται· καταπαταμένους δὲ οἰνοφυὸς ἀπαντα δαπανήσαι μηδένα λόγου αὐτοῦ ποιομένους ἀποσοβοῦντος." καὶ δὲ μὲν ὁμοίων τὴν πρόρρησιν ἔσεσθαι τῇ τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσεδόκα· δὲ Ἰωσήφου συλλαβῶν ὁ λογισμῷ τὸ ὁναρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτοῦ εἰπὼν, ὡς ἐβούλετ' ἄν ἀγαθῶν ἐρμηνευτής αὐτῷ γεγονέναι καὶ οὐχ οἶων τὸ ὁναρ αὐτῶ ὕλοι, λέγει δύο τὰς πάσας ἐπὶ τοῦ ξῆν αὐτὸν ἐχειν ἡμέρας· τὰ γὰρ κανὰ τοῦτο σημαίνειν· τῇ τρίτῃ δ' αὐτῶν ἀνασταυρωθέντα βο- ρᾶν ἔσεσθαι πετευοῖς οὐδὲν ἀμίνων αὐτῷ δύνα- μενον. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα τέλος ὁμοίων οἷς ὁ Ἰωσήφος εἶπεν ἀμφοτέρους ἔλαβε· τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρα τῇ προ- ειρημένῃ γενέθλιον τεθυκὼς ὁ βασιλεὺς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν σιτουπείων ἀνεσταύρωσε, τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόν τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπηρεσίας κατέστησεν.

74 (4) Ἰωσήφος δὲ διετῇ χρόνων τοὺς δεσμοῖς

1 RO Lat. (cf. ii. 15): συμβαλῶν rell.

a Philo has a similar preface, De Jos. 18 §94 ἐβουλόμην

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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 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 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.

(4) Joseph, however, for two full years endured the . . . ὠνῶ τε γάρ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, εἶναι κακῶν ἄγγελος.

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 οἴνοχοῦ κατὰ μνήμην τῶν προειρημένων ὠφελοῦμενον ὁ θεὸς ἀπέλυσε τῆς εἰρκτῆς τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπαλ-75 λαγῆν μηχανησάμενος· Φαραῶθης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐσπέραν ὦφεις ἐνυπνίων θεασάμενος δύο καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκατέρας ἔξηγησιν ταύτης μὲν ἡμιμιμόνησε, τῶν δὲ ὀνειράτων κατέσχεν. ἀχθό-76 μενος οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐωραμένοις, καὶ γὰρ ἔδοκε σκυθρωπὰ ταῦτ᾽ αὐτῶ, συνεκάλει μεθ᾽ ἡμέραν Λιγυπτίων τοὺς λογιστάτους χρῆζων μαθεῖν τῶν ὀνειράτων τὴν κρίσιν. ἀπορούντων δ′ ἐκείνων ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐταράττετο. τὸν δὲ οἴνοχον ὄροντα τοῦ Φαραῶθου τὴν σύγχυσιν ὑπέρχεται μνήμη τοῦ Ἰωσήπου καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ὀνειράτων77 συνέσεως, καὶ προσελθὼν ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰωσήπου τὴν τε ὄψιν, ἣν αὐτὸς ἔδεικν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀποβαί ἐκείνου φράσαντος, ὅτι τε σταυρω-78 θεῖῃ κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἡμέραν ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν σιτοποιῶν κάκεινω τούτῳ συμβαίνῃ κατ᾽ ἔξηγησιν ὀνειράτος συνέσεως, καὶ προειρημένων· δεδέσθαι δὲ τοῦτον μὲν ὑπὸ Πεντεφρου τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μαγείρων ὡς δοῦλον,79 λέγειν δ′ αὐτὸν Ἐβραίων ἐν ὅλιγοις εἶναι γένους ἀμα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δόξης. “τοῦτον οὖν μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀρτὶ κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνώσες μαθήσῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ὀνειράτων καὶ δηλοῦμεν.” κελεύσαντος οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς οὕτων αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰωσήπου παραγαγεῖν τὸν μὲν ἥκουσιν ἄγοντες οἱ κεκελευσμένοι τημελίσαντες κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως.

80 (5) Ὁ δὲ τῆς δεξιαῖς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος “ὦ νεανία,” φησὶ, “σὺ γὰρ μοι νῦν ἄριστος καὶ
miseries 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 deliveranee. King Pharaoh on one and the same evening saw in his dreams two visions together with the explanation of each of them; 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 prophetical 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. Gen. xii. 15.

* Amplification of Scripture.
σύνεσιν ἰκανώτατος ὑπὸ οὐκέτου τοῦμοι μεμαρτύρησαί τῶν αὐτῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅν καὶ τούτῳ μετέδωκασ, ἀξίωσον καμὲ φράσας ὁσα μοι κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὀνειράτων ὀφείς προδηλοῦσί· βούλομαι δὲ σε μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον φόβῳ κολακεύσαι ψευδέει λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἂν τάληθες σκυθρω-81 πότερον ἦ. ἔδοξα γὰρ παρὰ ποταμὸν βαδίζων βόας ἰδεῖν εὐτραφεῖς ἄμα καὶ μεγέθει διαφεροῦσας, ἐπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος, ἀλλὰς δὲ ταῦτας τὸν ἀριθμὸν παραπλησίας ἐκ τοῦ ἔλους ὑπαντῆσαι λίαν κατισχυμενας καὶ δεινὰς ὀραθήναι, αἱ κατεσθίουσι τὰς εὐτραφεῖς καὶ μεγάλας οὐδὲν ὕφελοντο χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ 82 λιμὸν τετρυχωμέναι. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὡθιν διεγερθεῖς ἐκ τοῦ ὑπνοῦ καὶ τεταραγμένος· καὶ τὴν ἐκ τὸ φάντασμα παρ’ ἔμαυτῷ σκοπῶν καταφέρομαι πάλιν εἰς ὑπνοῦ καὶ δεύτερον ὦναρ ὀρῶ πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου θαυμασιώτερον, ὦ με 83 καὶ μάλλον ἐκφοβεῖ καὶ ταράττει. στάχνας ἐπτὰ ἔωρων ἀπὸ μιᾶς βίζης ἐκφυέντας καρπηβαροῦτας ἡδη καὶ κεκλιμένας ὑπὸ τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀμητὸν ὠρας καὶ τούτους ἔτερους ἐπτὰ στάχνας πλησίον λιφεροῦντας καὶ ἄσθενεζὶ ὑπὸ ἀδροσίας, οὐ δαπανῶν καὶ κατεσθίεν τοὺς ὀραῖους τραπεντες ἐκπληξίν μοι παρέσχον.·

81 (6) Ἰωσήφος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, “ὁνειρος μεν οὕτος,” εἶπεν, “οβασίλευ, καίπερ ἐν δυσὶ μορφαῖς ὁφθεῖς μίαν καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποσημαίνει τελευτῇ τῶν ἐσομένων. τὸ τε γὰρ τὰς βοῦς ίδεῖν, ζῶν επὶ ἀρότρῳ πονεῖν γεγενημένον, ὑπὸ τῶν χειρόνων 85 κατεσθιομενας, καὶ οἱ στάχνες ὑπὸ τῶν ἑλαττῶν δαπανώμενοι λιμὸν Αἰγύπτω καὶ ἀκαρπίαν 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

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1 + ōp ROE.
JOSEPHUS

τοσαύτα προκαταγγέλλουσιν ἐτη τοῖς ἵσοις πρό-
tερον εὐδαιμονησάσης, ὡς τὴν τούτων εὐφορίαν
tῶν ἐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἄριθμον
iosis ἀφορίας ὑπαναλωθῆναι. γενήσεται δὲ η
σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφόδρα δυσκατόρθωτος.
86 σημεῖον δὲ· αἰ γὰρ κατισχυμέναι βοῶς δαπανή-
sασαι τὰς κρείττονας οὐκ ἵσχυσαν κορεσθῆναι. ο
μέντοι θεὸς οὐκ ἔτι τῶς λυπεῖν τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις προδείκνυσιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως προσγνωκότες
κουφοτέρας συνέσεις ποιῶνται τὰς πείρας τῶν
κατηγγελμένων. σὺ τοῖς παμευσάμενοι τά-
γαθὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρῶτον χρόνον γενησόμενα
ποιήσεις ἀνεπαίσθητον Λιγυπτίοις τὴν ἐπελευσο-
mένην συμφοράν·

87 (7) Θεαμάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν φρόνησιν
καὶ τὴν σοφίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήφου καὶ πυθομένου, τίνα
καὶ τρόπον ἄν προοικονομήσειν ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐ-
ετηρίας καιροῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν μετὰ τὰυτὴν, ὡς ἄν
88 ἐλαφρότερα γένοιτο τὰ τῆς ἀφορίας, ὑπετίθετο καὶ
συνεβούλευε φειδώ [ποιεῖσθαι] τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ
μὴ κατὰ περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς χρήσθαι τοῖς Λιγυπ-
tίοις ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ' ὅσα ἄν κατὰ τρυφὴν ἀνα-
λώσωσιν ἐκ περισσοῦ, ταῦτα τηρεῖν εἰς τὸν τῆς
ἐνδείας καιρὸν, ἀποτίθεσθαι τε παρῆνει λαμβά-
nοντα τὸν ὑπὸ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ διάρκη
89 μόνον εἰς διατροφὴν χορηγοῦντα. Φαραώθης δ' ἄμφοτέρων θαυμάσας Ἰώσηφον, τῆς τε κρίσεως
τοῦ ὑνείρατος καὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, αὐτῷ τὴν
οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν, ὥστε πράττειν ἄ καὶ
tῶ πλήθει τῶν Λιγυπτίων καὶ τῶ βασιλείς συμ-
φέροντα ὑπολαμβάνει, τὸν ἐξευροῦτα τὴν τοῦ πράγ-
ματος ὅδον καὶ προστάτην ἀριστον αὐτῆς ὑπο-
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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. Pharaohthes, 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
90 λαβὼν γενήσεσθαι. ὅ δέ, ταύτης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δοθείσης σφραγίδ' τε χρῆσθαι τῇ αὐτῷ καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι, διὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης ἑλαιῶν ἐφ' ἀρματός ἤγε τὸν σίτον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀρκοῦντα πρὸς τε σπόρον καὶ διατροφήν ἐκάστους ἀπομετρῶν, μηδενὶ σημαίνων τὴν αἰτίαν, ύφ' ὅς ταύτα ἐπραττε.

91 (vi. 1) Ἰρακοστὸν δ' ἔτως ἥδη τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διεληλύθει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἀπέλαυε [παρὰ] τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ προσηγορεσσεν αὐτὸν Ψυνθομ-φάνηχον ἀπιδῶν αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς συνέσεως. σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κρυπτῶν εὐρετήν. γαμεῖ δὲ καὶ γάμου ἀξίωλογώτατον ἀγεταί γὰρ καὶ Πεντεφρόοι βυγατέρα τῶν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερέων, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐτὶ 92 παρθένων Ἀσένηθιν ὄνοματι. ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ παΐδες αὐτῷ γίνονται πρὸ τῆς ἀκαρπίας, Μανασ-σῆς μὲν πρεσβύτερος, σημαίνει δ' ἐπίληθον, διὰ τὸ εὐδαιμονήσαντα λήθην εὑρασθαί τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, ο δὲ νεώτερος Ἐφραίμης, ἀποδίδους δὲ τούτο ση-μαίνει, διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθήναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν 93 προγόνων. τῆς δ' Αἰγύπτου κατὰ τὴν ἱωθῆπου τῶν ὀνειράτων ἐξήγησαν μακαριστῶς ἐτή ἐπτὰ διαγγούσης; ὁ λίμος ἢπτετο τῷ υγίῳ ἔτει καὶ διὰ τὸ μῆ προσθημένοις ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ κακὸν πονοῦμενοι χαλεπῶς ὑπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἐπὶ ταῖς

1 Ἐφράδης Ῥ, Ἐυφράθις Μ, Ἐφράνης Niese.
2 διαγγούσης codd.
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, 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 Πσωνθόμπανήχ(os) 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, one of the priests of Heliopolis, the king assisting to bring about the match: she was yet a virgin and was named Asennèthis. By her he had sons before the dearth: the elder Manasses, signifying "cause of forgetfulness," because in his prosperity his father had found oblivion of his misfortunes, and the younger Ephraim, meaning "Restorer," 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

in the Syriac version and in the Targum of Onkelos. The meaning of the underlying Egyptian name is uncertain.
   
   Heb. Asenath.  
   The Biblical and correct interpretation.  
   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").
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94 [τοῦ] βασιλέως θύρας συνέρρεον. ὥ δὲ Ἰώσηπον ἐκάλει, κάκεινος τὸν οὖτος αὐτοῖς ἀπεδίδοτο γεγενημένος σωτὴρ ὁμολογουμένως τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὖ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις προύτιθει μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ἕνοις ἀνείσθαι παρῆν πάντας ἀνθρώπους κατὰ συγγένειαν ἄξιοντος ἐπικουρίας τυγχάνειν Ἰωσήπου παρὰ τῶν εὐδαιμονίᾳ χρωμενῶν.

95 (2) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος τῆς Χαναναίας δεινῶς εκτετρυχωμένης, πάσης γὰρ ήματο τῆς ἥπειρος τὸ δεινὸν, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπαντάς εἰς τὴν Ἀγγέλουν ὑνησυχομένους οὗτον πεπνυμένος ἐφείσθαι τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἕνοις· μόνον δὲ κατέσχε Βεναμείν ἐκ Ῥαχήλας αὐτῶ γεγονότα ὁμομητρίον δὲ Ἰωσήπω. οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀγγέλου έλθόντες ἐνετύχανον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χρῆσοντες ἅγορᾶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν δὲ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης ἐπράττετο τῆς ἐκείνου· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεραπεύει τὸν βασιλέα τότε χρῆσιμον ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου.

96 τιμῆς ἐπιμεληθέειν. ὥ δὲ γνωρίσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμομενόν περὶ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὸ μειράκιον μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλαγήναι, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προελθεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας, ὡς τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐνηλικιών ἄγνωριτος αὐτῶς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τοῦ ἄξιωματος οὐδὲν εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἔλθειν αὐτῶς δυνάμενος διεπείραζεν, ὡς ἔχοιεν γνώμης περὶ τῶν ὀλων.

97 τόν τε γάρ οὖτος αὐτοῖς οὐκ ἀπεδίδοτο κατασκόπους τε τῶν βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν ἢκεῖν καὶ πολλαχόθεν μὲν αὐτοὺς συνεληφθέναι, προ-φασίζεσθαι δὲ συγγένειαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δυνατοὶ ἀνδρὶ ἰδιωτὴ τοιούτους παῖδας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς οὕτως ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκτραφῆναι, δυσκόλου καὶ βασι-

98 λείσων οὕσης [τῆς] τοιαύτης παιδοτρόφιας. ὑπὲρ 208
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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

1 Lat. (ut): καὶ codd.  2 ἡλλαγμένων ROE.  3 Niese: δυναμένως codd.

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dε τοῦ γνώναι τὰ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ μετὰ τὴν ἱδίαν ἀπαλλαγὴν ταύτ’ ἔπραττε μαθεῖν τε βουλόμενος καὶ τὰ περὶ Βενιαμείν τὸν ἀδελφὸν· ἐδείξει γὰρ, μή κάκεινὸν ὁμοίως οἷς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐτόλμησαν εἰetry ἀπεσκευασμένοι τοῦ γένους.

100 (3) Ὅδ’ ἦσαν ἐν ταραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κίνδυνον τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐπηρτῆσθαι νομίζοντες καὶ μιθὲν περὶ ταδελφοῦ κατὰ νοῦν λαμβάνοντες, καταστάντες τε πρὸς τὰς αὑτίας ἀπελογοῦντο 'Ῥουβήλου προηγούμενος, ὡς ἦν πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν.

101 "ἡμεῖς," γὰρ εἶπεν, "οὐ κατ’ ἀδικίαν δεύρο ἡλθομεν οὐδὲ κακονρησομεν τὰ βασιλείας πραγματα, σωθήναι δὲ ζητοῦντες καὶ καταφυγὴν τῶν ἐπεχόντων τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑπολαβόντες, οὐσ οὐχὶ πολίταις μόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔξων ἡκούμεν τὴν ἀγοράν τοῦ σιτου προτεθεικέναι, πάσι το σώζε.

102 οὔθαν τοῖς δεομένοις παρέχειν διεγνωκότας. Ὄτι δ’ ἐσμέν ἀδελφοί καὶ κοινὸν ἡμῶν αἷμα, φανερὸν μὲν καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μὴ πολὺ παρηλαμμένον ποιεῖ, πατὴρ δ’ ἐστιν ἡμῶν Ἱάκωβος ἀνήρ 'Εβραῖος, ὃ γινόμεθα δῶδεκα παῖδες ἕκ γυναικῶν τεσσάρων, ὃν πάντων περιόντων ἡμεν

103 εὐδαίμονες. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰωσὴπου τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν· ὥ τε γὰρ πατὴρ μακρὸν ἔπι αὐτῷ πένθος ἠρταί καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τε τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ τεθνήκοτι συμφοράς καὶ τῆς του πρεσβύτου ταλαιπωρίας

104 κακοπαθοῦμεν. ἡκομεν τε νῦν ἐπὶ ἀγοράν σιτου τῆς τε τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον πρόνοιαν Βενιαμεί τῷ νευτάτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν

1 χρήσοντες MSPL. 2 Ernesti: ἡρται (ἡρκται) codd.

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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. a "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 b 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

a Reuben is not mentioned here in Genesis.

b Or perhaps. "the ill fortune that followed his (Joseph's) death."
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πεπιστευκότες· δύνασαι δὲ πέμψας εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον μαθεῖν, εἰ τι ψευδές ἐστὶ τῶν λεγομένων.

105 (4) Καὶ Ῥουβῆλος μὲν τοιούτους ἐπειράτο πείθειν τὸν Ἰώσηπον περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ ἀμείων φρονήσαι, ὥς ἐπὶ σχολῆς βασανίσων ἐνέβαλε, τῇ δὲ τρίτη
106 τῶν ἡμερῶν προαγαγῶν αὐτοὺς, "ἐπεί," φησί, "διασχυρίζομαι μὴν ἐπὶ κακομαθίᾳ τῶν βασιλέως ἦκεν πραγμάτων εἶναι τε ἁδελφοὶ καὶ πατρὸς οὐ λέγετε, πείσατ' ἂν με ταῦθ' οὕτως ἔχειν, εἰ καταλιποῦσαι μὲν εἴς αὐτῶν ἕνα παρ' ἐμοὶ μηδὲν υβριστικὸν πεισόμενον, ἀποκομίσαστε δὲ τὸν σῖτον πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν ἐλθοῦτε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἁδελφόν, ὅν καταλιπεῖν ἐκεῖ φατέ, μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἀγνοτες· τούτο
107 γὰρ ἕσται πίστωμα τῆς ἀληθείας." οἱ δ' ἐν μείζοσι κακοίς ἦσαν ἐκλαίον τε καὶ συνεχῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀνωλοφύροντο τὴν Ἰωσήπου συμφοράν, ὡς διὰ τὰ κατ' ἐκείνου βουλευθέντα τιμωροῦντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ τούτοις περιπέσοιεν. Ῥουβῆλος δὲ πολὺς ἦν ἐπιπλήττων αὐτοῖς τῆς μετανοίας, εἰς ἂν ὁφελοίς οὐδὲν Ἰωσήπῳ γίνεται, φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς πᾶν ὢ τι καὶ πάθοιν κατ' ἐκδικίαν ἐκείνου δρόμον
108 αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καρτερῶς ήξίου. ταῦτα δ' ἐλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἥγομενοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον γλώσσης τῆς αὐτῶν συνιέναι. κατηφεία δὲ πάντας εἰ ἐπὶ πρὸς τούς Ῥουβῆλου λόγοις καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μετάμελος, ὡσπερ οὖν καὶ τῶν ταῦτα

1 ROE: ὡσπερ οὐκ αὐτῶν rel.
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, for which they

\[\text{\textit{a Text and meaning uncertain. Other mss. read}}\ 
\text{\textit{\ldots for the deeds, as if they had not themselves decreed those deeds.}}\]
ψηφισμένων, ἐφ' ὦς δίκαιον ἐκρίνων τὸν θεὸν 109 κολαζόμενοι. βλέπων δ' οὕτως ἄμηχανούντας [ἀυτούς δ'] Ἰώσηπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς δάκρυα προὔπιπτε καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς γενέσθαι καταφανῆς ὑπεχύρει καὶ διαλιπῶν πάλιν ἤκε 110 πρὸς αὐτοὺς. καὶ Συμεώνα κατασχῶν ὁμηρον τῆς ἐπανόδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν γενησόμενων ἐκείνους μεταλαβόντας τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοῦ σίτου προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι, κελεύσας τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ τάργυριον, ὁ πρὸς τὴν ὤνην εἶχεν τοῦ σίτου κεκομικότες, κρύφα τοῖς φορτίοις ἐνθέντι ἀπολύειν κἀκεῖνο κομίζοντας. καὶ ὁ μὲν τὰ ἐντεταλμένα ἐπράττεν. 111 (5) Οἱ δὲ Ἰακώβου πάπαις ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν ἀπῆγγελλον τῷ πατρὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Αὐγουστον αὐτοῖς συμπεσόντα, καὶ ὅτι κατάσκοποι δόξειαν ἀφίχθαι τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ λέγοντες ἀδελφοί τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐνδέκατον οἶκοι καταλιπεῖν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπιστηθεῖν, ὡς καταλίποιεν τε Συμεώνα παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ μέχρι Βενιαμείς ως αὐτὸν ἀπεὼν πίστις αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰρήμενῶν παρ' αὐτῷ γένοιτο. ἦξιον τε τὸν πατέρα μηδὲν φοβηθέντα πέμπειν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν νεανίσκον. Ἰακώβως δ' οὐδέν ἦρεσκε τῶν τοῖς νῦν νεοῖς πεπραγμένων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Συμεώνος δὲ κατοχῆν λυπηρῶς φέρων ἀνόητον ἤγετὸ προστιθέναι καὶ τὸν Βενιαμεῖν. 112 αὐτῷ γένοιτο. ἦξιοι τε τὸν πατέρα μηδὲν φοβηθέντα πέμπειν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν νεανίσκον. Ἰακώβως δ' οὐδέν ἦρεσκε τῶν τοῖς νῦν νεοῖς πεπραγμένων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Συμεώνος δὲ κατοχῆν λυπηρῶς φέρων ἀνόητον ἤγετὸ προστιθέναι καὶ τὸν Βενιαμεῖν. 113 καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲ Ῥουβήλου δεομένου καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἀντιδίδοντος, ἵνα εἰ τι πάθου Βενιαμείς κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀποκτείνειν αὐτοὺς ὁ πάππος, πεῖθεται τοῖς λόγοις. οἱ δ' ἦποροιν ἔπι τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοὺς ἔταραττε τάργυριον ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις τοῦ σίτου κατακεκρυμμένον εὑρεθέν. 114 τοῦ δὲ σίτου τοῦ κομισθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιλιπόν- 214
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
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tos kai tou lymou malloin ap'toménou biozoménhs
autón tēs anágkes o 'Iákwbos ekpémpein ègnwskhe
115 tôn Beinaimein métá twon adelphon ou gar h' autou
eis Aiýnupoton apelthein µη métà twon èpanggelwv
apercaménous, kai tou páthous ouv cheironos kath'
ékásthν ëméraν gynomévα kai twv uivon deoménon
116 ouk eîchēn o ti xrhþaouto tois parousiαn. Iouda
dê tolmhroû tâllα tēn fúsin àndrōs chrisménou
pros autón parrhoia, òso ou proosthke mēn autón
peri tâdelphoû dedienai oude tâ µη dēnâ d'ì
ùpofías laimbānei, praxhthsetai gar oudein twv
peri tôn adelphon, ò µh parèstai theös, touto dê
symbhsthθai pàntwv kai par' autw' mēnotu.
117 fanerân d' outwv autwv apolλiēan µh katabidkáxei
µhde tēn ek Pharaðhou tēs trofhês [autwv]
eupɔriam autwv afaireståei alloχw peri tou
paḯdoû dedhêta, φροντiζειw de kai tēs Symeównos
swthria, µh fεidw tēs Beinaimei apodhmia
êkeivνs apòlýthaì piştewsaì dê peri autw' tw
theò parainoutos kai autw', òsw h' swvón èpavn-
áxountos autw' tọn uiw'n h' synkatastreþwntosâ
118 êkeiòw tôn bìon, peisthèis 'Iákwbos parédidou tòn
Beinaimein kai tîn tîmhn tòu σitou diplasíaona tòw
tw parà tois Xananaíous genwنموν tò tw tîs
balánhv mu rêv kai staktîn térēbthôn te kai
mêli ðwreás 'Iowtphw komîζein. Pollà de h' òn
parà tòu patróv epì tî twv paḯdow exódw dákrw
119 kâkeiówn autwv' ò mév gar tois uiwv eî koiw÷etai
swous ek tîs apodhmia èfroîtizev, oî d' eî twv

1 RO: êpηγγελμένων rell.
2 Niesè: autwv codd.
3 ed. pr.: -os treψaunts codd.

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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. Thus persuaded, Jacob delivered Benjamin to them, together with double the price of the corn and some of the products of Canaan—balsam, myrrh, terebinth, 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

a Gen. xliii. 9, “If I bring him not unto thee . . . I shall have sinned against thee for ever.”
b Meaning doubtful.
c Or “oil of cinnamon.”
d Probably pistachio nuts.
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πατέρα καταλάβοιεν ἐρρωμένον καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἑπ’ αὐτοῖς λύπης κακωθέντα. ἤμερήσιον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἴνα σθῇ τὸ πένθος, καὶ ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτης κοπωθεὶς ὑπέμεινεν, οἱ δὲ ἐχώρουν εἰς Ἀγγυπτόν μετὰ κρείττων ἐλπίδος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι λύπην ἱώμενοι.

120 (6) Ὁσ δ’ ἤλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀγγυπτὸν κατάγονται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰώσηπον, φόβος δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐχ ὁ τιχών διετάραττε, μὴ περὶ τῆς τοῦ σιτοῦ τιμῆς ἐγκλήματα λάβωσιν ὡς αὐτοὶ τι κεκακουργηκότες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήπου πολλὴν ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο κατ’ οἰκόν τε φάσκοντες εὑρεῖν ἐν τοῖς σάκκοις τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ νῦν ἥκειν ἑπαν-

121 ἀγοντες αὐτό. τοῦ δὲ μηδ’ ὁ τι λέγονσιν εἰδέναι φήσαντος ἀνεἴθησαν τού δέος. λύσας τε τῶν Συμμεῶν ἐτῆμελεί συνεσόμενον τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς. ἐλθόντος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰωσήπου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ τε δώρα παρῆγαγον αὐτῷ καὶ πυθημένως περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἑλεγον ὅτι καταλάβοιεν αὐτὸν ἐρωμένον. ὁ δὲ μαθὼν περι-

122 ὁντα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Βενιαμεὶ εἰ ὦτος ὁ νεώτερος ἄδελφός εἰ, καὶ γὰρ ἤν αὐτὸν ἔωρακος, ἀνέκρινε. τῶν δὲ φησάντων αὐτὸν εἶναι θεὸν μὲν ἐπὶ πᾶσι προστάτην ἐπεν, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ πάθους προαγόμενος εἰς δάκρυα μεθίστατο μὴ βουλόμενος καταφανῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς, ἐπὶ δειπνον τε αὐτοὺς παραλαμ-

123 βάνει καὶ κατακλύνονται οὕτως ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ. πάντας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰωσήπος δεξιοῦμενος

1 λύσας τε . . . ἄδελφοις om. ROE.  
2 παρῆγαγον RO.  
3 + οἰκέτην αὐτοῦ ROE.

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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 a 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, b he exclaimed that God presided over all, c 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

a Cf. § 79 for similar attention to Joseph on release from prison.

b Or, as in other mss., "he was his (humble) servant."

c 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."
διπλασίοσι μοίραις τῶν αὐτῶ παρακειμένων τῶν Βενιαμεὼν ἑτήμα.

124 (7) Ἑπεὶ δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰς ὑπὸν ἔτραποντο, κελεύει τὸν ταμίαν ὑπὸ τὸ σίτον αὐτοῖς δοῦναι μεμετρημένον καὶ τὴν τιμὴν πάλιν ἐγκρύψαι τοῖς σακκίοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμεὶ φορτίον καὶ σκύφον ἀργυροῦ, ὃ πίνων ἤχαρε, βαλόντα κατα-

125 λυπεῖν. ἐποίει δὲ ταῦτα διάπεραν βουλόμενος τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβεῖν, πότερον ποτε βοηθήσουσι τῷ Βενιαμεὶ κλοπῆς ἀγομένω καὶ δοκοῦντι κυνδυ-

νεύειν, ἡ καταλιπόντες ως οὐδὲν αὐτοὶ κεκακουρ-

126 γηκότες ἀπίασι πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκέτου τὰ ἐντεταλμένα μεθ' ἡμέραν οὐδὲν τούτων εἰδότες οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παιδε ἀπῆσαν, ἀπειληφότες τὸν Συμεώνα καὶ διπλῆν χαρὰν χαι-

ροντες ἐπὶ τε τούτῳ κατὶ τῷ Βενιαμεὶ ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί, καθὼς ὑπέσχοντο. περιελαύνουσι δ' αὐτοὺς ἵππεῖς ἁγοντες τὸν οἰκέτην, ὃς ἐναπέθετο

127 τῷ τοῦ Βενιαμεὶ φορτίῳ τὸν σκύφον. ταραχθέντας δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδοκήτου τῶν ἱππέων ἐφόδου καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν πυθομένους δι' ἡν ἐπ' ἁνδρας ἐληλώθασιν,

128 οἱ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τιμῆς καὶ ξενίας τετυχήκασιν αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου, κακίστους ἀπεκάλουν, οἱ μη' αὐτὸ τοῦτο τὴν ξενίαν καὶ τὴν φιλο-

φροσύνην τὴν Ἰωσήφου διὰ μνήμης λαβόντες οὐκ ὠκνῆσαν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικοὶ γενέσθαι, σκύφον δὲ, ὃ πιλοτησίας αὐτοῖς προούπιεν, ἀράμενοι φέροιεν

1 τῷ ταμία ὁ.

* 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.\(^a\)

(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\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) and setting more store

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\(^a\) So Philo, De Jos. 39 § 232 (quoted by Weill) πάντα δ’ ἑσαν ἀπότειρα καὶ ταῦτα . . . πῶς ἔχουσι . . . εὐνοίας πρὸς τὸν ὀμομητῆριον ἀδελφόν.

\(^b\) So Philo, De Jos. 36 § 213 ἐν ὧν προπόσεις προίπων ἐμίν. The parallel in Gen. xlv. 5 has “whereby he indeed divineth.”

\(^c\) So Philo, De Jos. 36 § 213 ἐν ὧν προπόσεις προίπων ἐμίν. The parallel in Gen. xlv. 5 has “whereby he indeed divineth.”
κέρδους ἀδίκου τὴν τε πρὸς Ἰσώσητον φιλίαν τὸν τε ἑαυτῶν εἰ φωραθεὶεν κίνδυνον ἐν δευτέρω
129 θέμενον τιμωρίαν τε αὐτοῖς ὑφέξεων ἡπείλουν οὐ λανθάνοντας τὸν θεὸν οὐδ᾽ ἀποδράντας μετὰ τῆς κλοπῆς, εἰ καὶ τὸν διακονοῦμενον οἰκέτην διέλαθον. πυθάνεσθαι τε νῦν, τι παρόντες ἐήμεν, ὡς ὦκ εἰδότας. γνώσεσθαι μέντοι κολαξομένους αὐτίκα. καὶ ταῦτα καὶ πέρα τούτων ὁ οἰκέτης εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγων ἐνύβριζεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἁγνοίας τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐχλεύαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ τῆς κοινωνίας τῶν οἰκίτην θαύμαζον τολμῶντα αὐτίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἀνδράσων, οἱ μὴ δὲ τὴν τοῦ σιτοῦ τμήμαν ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις αὐτῶν εὐρεθείσαν κατέσχον, ἀλλ᾽ εἰκόμισαν μηδενὸς εἰδότος τὸ πραχθὲν τοσοῦτον ἀποδείξοι τοῦ γνώμης κακουργῆσαι. τῆς μέντοι γε ἀρνησεως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ὑπολαβόντες τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκέλευον ταύτη χρῆσθαι, κἂν εὐρέθη τις υφηγημένος ἀπαντάς κολάζειν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνειδότες ἦγον παρρησίαν, ὡς ἐδόκουν, ἀκίνδυνον. οὶ δὲ τὴν ἔρευναν μὲν ἤξιωσαν ποιήσασθαι, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν ἐνὸς ἐφάσκον εἶναι τοῦ την 131 κλοπῆν εὐρέθντος πεποιημένου. τὴν δὲ ζήτησιν ποιοῦμενοι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπεριελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταίον Βενιαμεῖν ἦκον, οὐκ ἄγνοιοντες ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνον σακκίον τὸν σκύφον εἶπεν ἀποκεκρυφότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τὴν 132 κλοπῆν εὐρεθέντος πεποιημένου. τὴν δὲ ζήτησιν ποιοῦμενοι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπεριελθόντες κατὰ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταίον Βενιαμεῖν ἦκον, οὐκ ἄγνοιοντες ὅτι εἰς τὸ ἐκεῖνον σακκίον τὸν σκύφον εἶπεν ἀποκεκρυφότες, ἀλλ᾽ ἀκριβῆ τὴν 133 ζήτησιν διουλόμενοι ποιεῖσθαι δοκεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἄλλοι τοῦ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέουσαν εν τῇ περὶ τὸν Βενιαμεῖν φροντίδι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν, ἐθάρρων δ᾽ ὡς οὐδ᾽ ἐν ἐκεῖνῷ τῆς κακουργίας εὐρεθησομένης, ἐκάκιζον τε τοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντας

1 αὐτοὺς ΟΕ. 2 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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3 ὃ ΡΟΕ with sing. verbs following (ἡξῆλσε, ἐφασκέν).
ὁς ἑποδίσαντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ὀδὸν δυναμένους ἦδη

134 προκεκοφέναι. ὥς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμίν φορτίον ἐρευνῶντες λαμβάνουσι τὸν σκύφον εἰς οἴμωνας καὶ θρήνους εὐθὺς ἔτράπησαν καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐπικαταρρήξαντες ἐκλαίον τε τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐπὶ τῇ μελλοῦσῃ κολάσει τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτούς τε διαψευσμένους1 τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς Βενιαμίν σωτηρίας.

135 ἐπέτευεν δὲ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ δόξαντα ἦδη διαφυγεῖν τὰ σκυθρωπὰ διαφθονηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν κακῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρός ἐπ’ αὐτῶν λύπης ἐσομένους αὐτοὺς αἰτίους ἔλεγον βιασαμένους ἄκοντα τὸν πατέρα συναποστείλαι.

136 (8) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἱππεῖς παραλαβόντες τὸν Βενιαμίν ἤγον πρὸς Ἐνσηπον καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐσομένων· ο δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰδὼν ἐν φυλακῇ, τοὺς δὲ ἐν πενθήμοροι σχῆμασι, “τί δή,” φησίν, “ὡς κάκιστοι, φρονήσαντες ἣ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλανθρωπίας ἣ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προνοίας τοιαῦτα πράττειν εἰς εὐεργετὴν καὶ ξένον ἐτολμήσατε;”

137 τῶν δὲ παραδιδόντων αὐτοὺς εἰς κόλασιν ἐπὶ τῷ σῶζεσθαι Βενιαμίν καὶ πάλιν ἀναμμηνησκομένων τῶν εἰς Ἐνσηπον τετολμημένων κάκειν ἀποκαλούντων μακαριώτερον, εἰ μὲν τέθηκεν οτι τῶν κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπηλλακτεῖ σκυθρωπῶν, εἰ δὲ περίστην ἵνα τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κατ’ αὐτῶν ἐκδίκιας τυγχάνει, λεγόντων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀλητηρίους τοῦ πατρός, ὅτι τῇ λύπῃ ἦν ἐπ’ ἐκείνω μέχρι νῦν ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Βενιαμίν προσθήσουσι, πολὺς ἦν κάνταθ’ ο Ῥουβῆλος αὐτῶν καθαπτόμενος.

138 Ἐνσηποῦ δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύνοντας, οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς2 ἀδικεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς

1 RO: διαψευσμένουs rel. 2 αὐτῶν RO Lat.
impeding their journey, on which they might by now have advanced far. But when Benjamin's pack was searched and the cup 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 balked 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, 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, roundly rebuked them. But Joseph acquitted them, saying that they were guiltless and that he would be content merely

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a With clothes rent.  
b As before, § 107.
τιμωρία λέγοντος, οὔτε γὰρ τούτον ἀπολύειν διὰ τούς οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτότατας σώφρον ἔλεγεν οὔτε συγκολάξειν ἐκείνους τῷ τήν κλοπήν εἰργασμένῳ, βαδιοῦσι δὲ παρέξειν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένου, 139 τοὺς μὲν ἄλλους ἐκπληξὶς ἔλαβε καὶ πρὸς τῷ πάθος ἀφωνία, Ἰουδαὶ δὲ ὁ καὶ τὸν πατέρα πείσας ἐκπέμψας τὸ μειράκιον καὶ τᾶλλα δραστήρια ὃν ἀνὴρ υπέρ τῆς τάδελφου σωτηρίας ἐκρωμε παραβάλλεσθαι, καὶ " δεινὰ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ζω στρατηγεῖ, πετολμήκαμεν εἰς σὲ καὶ τιμωρίας ἀξία καὶ τοῦ κόλασιν ὑποσχεῖν ἀπαντᾷ ἡμᾶς δικαίως, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἀδίκημα μὴ ἄλλου τινὸς, ἀλλὰ ἐνὸς τοῦ νεωτάτου γέγονεν. ὃμως δὲ ἀπεγνωκόσων ἡμῖν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίς ὑπολέειπται παρὰ τῆς σῆς χρηστότητος ἐγγυωμένη τὴν τοῦ κυνύνου διαφυγῆν. καὶ νῦν μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἡμέτερον ἀφορῶν μηδὲ τὸ κακοῦργημα σκοπῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σαυτοῦ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν σύμβουλον ποιησάμενος ἀντὶ τῆς ὅργης, ἢν οἱ τᾶλλα μικροὶ πρὸς ἵσχυος λαμβάνοσαν οὐκ ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἔπὶ τοῖς τυχόωσιν αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, γενοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν μεγαλόφρων καὶ μὴ νικηθῆς ὑπ’ αὐτῆς, ὅστε ἀποκτείναι τοὺς οὐδ’ αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδίας ἐτὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντιποιομένους, ἀλλὰ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἀξιώντας. καὶ γὰρ οὔδὲ νῦν πρώτον ἢ μιν αὐτὴν παρέξεις, ἀλλὰ [καὶ] τάχιν ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐχαρίσω δοῦσ ἀποκομίζειν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ὡσα κυνυμεύοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ λίμου διαφθαρήναι περιέσωσε. διαφέρει δ’ οὔδεν ἢ μὴ περικεῖν ἀπολυμένους ὑπ’ ἐνδείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἢ μὴ κολάσαι δοξαντας ἀμαρτεῖν καὶ περὶ τῆν
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
euergetiān tēn ἀπὸ σοῦ λαμπρὰν γενομένην θυονηθέντας, ἢ δ' αὐτῇ χάρις ἅλλω μέντοι τρόπῳ
144 διδομένη: σῶσεις γὰρ οὐς εἰς τούτο καὶ ἔτρεφες καὶ ψυχάς, ἃς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καμέιν ὦκ εἰάσας, τηρή-
σεις ταῖς σαυτοῦ δωρεαῖς, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἁμα καὶ 
145 μέγα δοῦναι τε ἴσης καὶ παρασχεῖν δ' ὡν αὐτὰ μενοῦν ἀπορομεῖνου. οἴμαι τε τοῦ θεοῦ, 
αἰτίαν παρασκεύασαι βουλόμενον εἰς ἐπιδείξειν τοῦ 
κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιόντος, ἡμᾶς εἰς τούτο περι-
στήσας συμφορᾶς, ἵνα καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικη-
μάτων συγγινώσκων φανής τοῖς ἑπτακόσιν, ἀλλὰ 
μὴ πρὸς μόνους τοὺς κατ' ἄλλην πρόφασιν δεο-
146 μένους ἐπικουρίας φιλάνθρωπος δοκοῖς. ὡς μέγα 
μὲν καὶ τὸ ποιῆσαι τινας εὐ καταστάντας εἰς 
χρείαιν, ἥγεμονικότερον δὲ σῶσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν 
εἰς ἐαυτὸν τετολμημένων δίκην ὀφείλοντας· εἰ γὰρ 
τὸ περὶ μικρῶν ἐκαμμάτων ἀφεῖναι τοὺς πλημ-
μελήσαντι ἑπαλών ἥνεγκε τοῖς ὑπερισδοῦσι, τὸ γε 
περὶ τούτων ἀόργητον, ὑπὲρ ὡν τὸ ἥμι ὑπεύθυνον 
τῇ κολάσει γίνεται τῶν ἠδικηκότων, θεοῦ φύσει 
147 προσετέθη. καὶ ἐγώγε, εἰ μὴ πατήρ ἡμῖν ἢν 
πῶς' ἐπὶ παῦδων ἀποβολὴ ταλαιπωρεί διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ 
Ἰωσήπων λύπης ἐπιδεδειγμένος, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γε 
καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐνεκα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας λόγους ἐποιη-
σάμην, εἰ μὴ ὁσον τῷ σῷ χαριζόμενος ἦθει σῶζειν 
αὐτῷ καλῶς ἔχον· καὶ τούτους οἱ λυπήσονται 
148 πειραμένους ὁ τι καὶ θελήσεις· νῦν δ', οὐ γὰρ 
αὐτοὺς ἐλευθείτε, εἰ καὶ νέοι καὶ μήπω τῶν κατὰ 
τὸν βίον ἀπολελαυκότες τεθηξόμεθα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ

1 M Lat.: ὡς rell. 2 Dindorf: τελευτῆς codd. 3 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 princeely 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 case 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 perhance 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
πατρὸς λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐκείροντες τὸ ἐκείνου ταύτας σοι τὰς δεήσεις προσφέρομεν καὶ παρατούμεθα ψυχὰς τὰς αὐτῶν, ἂς σοι τὸ ἡμέ-τερον κακούργημα πρὸς τιμωρίαν παρέδωκεν.

149 οὐτε πονηρὸς αὐτὸς οὐτε τοιοῦτοι ἐσομένους ἐγέννησεν, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς ὦν καὶ πειραθῆκα τοιούτων οὐχὶ δίκαιος καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀποδημούντων ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φροντίσι κακοπαθεῖ, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀπολωλότας καὶ τὴν αὐτίαν οὐχ υπομενεὶ ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸν βίον καταλείψει, 1

150 καὶ τὸ ἀδόξον αὐτῶν τῆς ἡμετέρας καταστροφῆς φθησεται διαχρησάμενον καὶ κακῆν αὐτῶ ποιῆσει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγήν, πρὶν εἰς ἀλλοὺς φοιτήσαι τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς σπεύσαντος αὐτῶν εἰς ἀναισθησίαν μεταγαγέων. γενόμενος οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τὸν λογισμὸν, 2 εἰ καὶ ἡ κακία σε παροξύνει νῦν ἡ ἡμετέρα, τὸ κατ’ αὐτῆς δίκαιον χάρισαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ δυνηθῆτω πλέον ὁ πρὸς ἐκείνου ἔλεος τῆς ἡμετέρας πονηρίας, καὶ γῆρας ἐν ἐρημία βιωσόμενοι καὶ τεθυηξόμενον ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων 3 αἴδεσαι, τῷ πατέρων οὖν ματί ταύτην χαρίζομενος

151 τὴν δωρεάν. ἐν γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σὲ φύσαντα τιμῶς καὶ σαυτῷ δίδως, ἀπολαύσων μὲν ἂν τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀπαθῆς δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτὴν φυλαχθησόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρός, εἰς ὁν κατὰ κοινωνίαν καὶ αὐτὸς τοῦ ὑπόματος εὐσεβεῖν δοξεῖς τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς ὀικτὸν λαβῶν ἐφ’ οῖς πείσεται

152 τῶν παίδων στεροῦμενος. σον οὖν, ἃ παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ταύτ’ ἔχοντ’ ἐξουσίαν ἀφελέσθαι, δοῦναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐκείνου διενεγκεῖν τῇ χάριτι: τῆς γὰρ ἐπαμφότερον δυνάμεως τετυχηκότα καλὸν

1 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 sharrest 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-

2 Lat. in hac ratione (= ? ἐν τοίτῳ τοῦ λογίσμοι).  
3 edd.: ἀπολογίανεν codd.
ταύτην ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ παρὸν καὶ ἀπολλύειν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τοῦτο ἐξουσίας ὡς μηδ’ ὑπαρχοῦσῃ ἐπιλανθάνεσθαι, μόνον δ’ ἐπιτατράθαι τὸ σώζειν ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ ὅσῳ τις πλέοσι τοῦτο παρέξει μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι
154 διδόντα. οὐ δὲ πάντας ἡμᾶς σώσεις τάδελφῳ, συγγνώνισ ὑπὲρ ὅν ἤτοίχκεν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῖν βιώσιμα τοῦτο κολασθέντος, οἷς γε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὴ ἔξεστιν ἀνασωθῆναι μόνοις, ἀλλ’ ἐνθά—
de δὲ κοινωνήσας τοῦτῳ τῆς αὐτής καταστροφῆς
155 τοῦ βίου. καὶ δεησόμεθά σου, στρατηγέ, κατα—κρίνας τὸν ἁδελφόν ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖν συγκολάσαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ως τοῦ ἁδικήματος κεκοιμηκότας· οὐ γὰρ ἀξιόσωμεν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἔπι λύπη τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦς ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὅμως αὐτῷ πονηροὶ
156 γεγονότες οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν καὶ νέος ὄν ἡμαρτε καὶ μῆπω τὸ φρονεῖν ἔρημεσιμόνοι καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπων τοῖς τοιοῦτοις συγγνώμην νέμειν, σοὶ καταλυπῶν παῦσαι περαιτέρω λέγειν, ὅτι μὲν κατακρίνειας ἡμῶν, τὰ μὴ λεχθέντα δόξη
157 βεβλαφέναι πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἡμᾶς, εἰ δ’ ἀπολύσεις, κάκεινα τῇ σαυτοῦ χρηστότητι συνιδῶν ἀπειθήσασι νομισθῆς, οὐ σώσας μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ καὶ δι’ οὗ δικαίοτεροι μᾶλλον φανούμεθα τυχεῖν χαρίζουμεν καὶ πλέον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς
158 ἡμετέρας νοθήσας σωτηρίας. εἰτ’ οὐν κτείνειν αὐτὸν θέλεις, ἐμὲ τιμωρησάμενος ἀντὶ τοῦτο τῷ πατρὶ τοῦτον ἀπόπεμψον, εἴτε καὶ κατέχειν σοι δοκεῖ δούλουν, ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰς χρείας σου ὑπηρετικώτερος, ἀμείνων ὡς ὅρας πρὸς ἐκάτερον τῶν
159 παθῶν ὑπάρχων.’’ Ἰούδας μὲν οὖν πάντα ὑπομένειν ὑπὲρ τῆς τάδελφοῦ σωτηρίας ἦδεως ἔχων ῥίπτει
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, shouldst 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, shouldst thou condemn us, it may be my omissions which may appear to have brought this severer injury upon us, and, shouldst 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
πρὸ τῶν Ἰωσήπου ποδῶν ἐαυτόν, εἰ πως ἐκμαλάξειε τὴν ὀργὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπραύνειν ἀγωνιζόμενος, προὔπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες δακρύοντες καὶ παραδόντες ἐαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βενιαμίν ψυχῆς ἀπολογομένους.

160 (9) Ὁ δὲ Ἰωσήπος ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ μηκέτι δυνάμενος τὴν τῆς ὀργῆς φέρειν ὑπόκρισιν κελεύει μὲν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας, ἢν μόνοις αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ποιήσῃ φανερῶν, ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ποιεῖ γνώριμον αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φησι: "τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἡμῶν ἐπαίνῳ καὶ κρέιττονας ἢ προσεδόκων ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ βεβουλευμένων εὐρίσκω, ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας ἐπὶ πεῖρα τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλαδελφίας: φύσει δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ ἐμὲ νομίζω πονηροὺς γεγονέναι, θεοῦ δὲ βουλήσει τὴν τοῦ πραγματευομένου τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τὴν ἐς ύστερον, ἂν εὐμενῆς ἡμῖν παραμείνῃ. πατρὸς τε ὧν σωτηρίαν ἐγνωκὼς οὐδ' ἐλπισθέοις καὶ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὅρων περὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν οὐδ' ὅν εἰς ἐμὲ δοκεῖτε ἀμαρτεῖν ἐπὶ μνημονεύω, παύσομαι δὲ τῆς ἔπὶ αὐτοῖς μισο-πονηρίας καὶ ὡς συναίνεις τῶν τῷ θεῷ βεβουλευμένων εἰς τὰ παρόντα χάριν ἔχειν ὀμολογῶ.

162 ὑμᾶς τε βούλομαι καὶ αὐτοὺς λήθην ἔκεινων λαβόντας ἰδέοις μάλλον, τῆς τότε ἀβουλίας εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐπελθούσης τέλος, ἡ δυσφορεῖν αἰσχυνομένους ἐπὶ τοὺς ἡμαρτημένους. μὴ οὖν δόξῃ λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ κατ' ἐμὸν ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν πονηρῶν καὶ ἡ ἔπ' αὐτὴ μετάνοια τῷ γε μὴ προχωρήσαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα. χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένοις ἀπίτε ταῦτα δηλώσοντες τῷ πατρί, 234
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

1 SP: τε rell.

235
JOSEPHUS

μὴ καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φροντίσων ἀναλωθείς ξημιώση μου τὸ καλλιστὸν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας, πρὶν εἰς ὄψιν ἔλθειν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν

165 παρόντων ἀποθανόντων. αὐτὸν δὲ τοῦτον καὶ γυναῖκας ὑμετέρας καὶ [τὰ] τέκνα καὶ πάσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ὑμῶν ἀναλαβόντες ἐνθάδε μετοκίζεσθε· οὔδὲ γὰρ ἀποδήμους εἶναι δεῖ τῶν ἁγαθῶν τῶν ἡμετέρων τοὺς ἔμοι φιλτάτους ἀλλος τε καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ

166 λοιπὴν ἔτι πενταετίαν περιμενοῦντος." ταῦτ', εἰπὼν Ἰώσητος περιβάλλει τοὺς ἀδελφούς· οἱ δ' ἐν δάκρυσιν ἦσαν καὶ λύπη τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῶ βεβου- λευμένων τιμωρίας τ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπολυπεῖν ἐδόκει τεῦγνωμον τάδελφον. καὶ τότε μὲν ἦσαν

167 ἐν εὐωχίᾳ· βασιλεὺς δ' ἀκούσας ἠκοντᾶς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσητον τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἦσθη τε μεγάλως καὶ ὡς ἐπ' οἶκείω διατεθεὶς ἀγαθῷ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ἀμάξας σῖτον πλῆρεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρὸν ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί. λαβόντες δὲ πλειώ παρὰ τάδελφον τὰ μὲν τῷ πατρὶ φέρεν τὰ δὲ αὐτοὶ δωρεὰς ἔχειν ἑκαστὸς ἱδίας, πλειώνων ἡξιωμένου Βενιαμίν παρ' αὐτοὺς, ἀπήσαν.

168 (vii. 1) Ὡς δ' ἀφικομένων τῶν παῖδων Ἰάκωβος τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσητον ἔμαθεν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον εἰς τὸν θάνατον διαπεφυγός ἐφ' ὧ πενθῶν διηγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ζῇ μετὰ λαμπρᾶς εὐδαιμονίας βασιλεύσαντες συνδέπων τὴν Αἰγυπτον καὶ τὴν ἀπασάν σχέδον

169 ἐγκεχειρισμένοις αὐτῆς ἐπιμέλειαιν, ἀπιστοὶ μὲν οὐδὲν ἐδόκει τῶν ἡγελμένων λογιζόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μεγαλοργίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοῦ εὐνοιαν, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ διέλιπεν, ὑμητο δ' εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσητον.

236
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 pros-
perity 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 for-
bearance 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, when he reflected
on God's mighty power and His benevolence towards
him, albeit for a while suspended; and he straight-
way sped forth to go to Joseph.

a Josephus omits, or deliberately contradicts, the mention
of his first incredulity: "his heart fainted, for he believed
170 (2) 'Ως δὲ κατέσχεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ὄρκιον φρέαρ, θύσας αὐτόθι τῷ θεῷ καὶ φοβοῦμενος διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀιγύπτῳ τῶν παῖδων ἐμφιλοχωρησάντων τῇ οἰκήσει τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ οὐκέτ' εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν οἱ ἔγγονοι μετελθόντες κατά-σχωσιν αὐτήν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς ἦν ὑπεσχημένος, ἀμα τε μὴ δίχα θεοῦ θυεῖτε πεποίημης τῆς εἰς Ἀἰ- γυπτίῳ ἀφόδου¹ διαφθαρῆ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις δεδιώσ, μὴ προεξῆλθη τοῦ βίου πρὶν εἰς ὁμι 'Ἰωσήπου παραγενέσθαι, καταφέρεται στρέφων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τούτον τὸν λογισμὸν εἰς ὑπνόν.

172 (3) 'Επιστάτας δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ καὶ δὶς ὄνομαστὶ καλέσας πυνθανομένω τις ἐστιν, "ἀλλ' οὐ δίκαιον," εἶπεν, "Ἰακώβῳ θεῷ ἀγνοείσθαι τὸν ἀεὶ παραστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν προγόνοις τε τοῖς σοῖς καὶ μετ' αὐτῶς σοι γενόμενον. στερουμένω τε γάρ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην ἐγὼ παρέσχον, καὶ κατ' ἐμὴν εὐνοιαν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν μόνος σταλείς γάμων τε ἀγάθων ἔτυχες καὶ παίδων ἐπαγόμενοι πλῆθος καὶ χρημάτων ἐνόστισας.

173 παρέμενεν τε σοι γενεὰ πάσα προνοίᾳ τῇ ἐμῇ, καὶ ὃν ἀπολωλέναι τῶν νεών ἐδόκεις Ἰωσήπον [τοῦτον] εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν μειζόνων ἁγάθων ἣγαγον καὶ τῆς Ἀιγύπτου κύριον, ὃς ολίγῳ διαφέρειν τοῦ βα-

174 σιλέως, ἐποίησα. ἤκω τε νῦν ὁδόν τε ταύτης ἥγεμον ἐσόμενοι καὶ βίου σοι τελευτῆν ἐν ταῖς Ἰωσήπου χερσὶ γενησομένην προδηλῶν καὶ μα-κρόν αἰώνα τῶν σῶν ἐγγόνων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καταγγέλλων καταστήσων τε αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν γῆν ἡν ὑπεσχημαι."

¹ ἐφόδου ROI (Lat. adventus).
(2) Halting at the Well of the Oath 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.

(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 princeedom 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.”

* Beer-sheba.
176 (4) Τούτω θαρρήσας τῷ ὀνείρατι προθυμότερον εἰς τὴν Ἀγγυπτὸν σὺν τοῖς νεότις καὶ παιῶν τοῖς τούτων ἀπηλλάττετο. ἦσαν δ’ οἱ πάντες ἐβδομήκοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὄνοματα δηλώσαι τούτων οὐκ ἔδοκιμαζον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν δυσκόλιαν
177 αὐτῶν: ἦν μέντοι παραστήσω τοῖς οὐχ ὑπολαμβάνουσιν ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀλλ’ Ἀγγυπτίων εἶναι, ἀναγκαῖον ἡγησάμην μην βηδῆναι τῶν ὄνομάτων. ἦακαυβόμεν ἦν τοις οὖν παίδες ἦσαν δώδεκα τούτων ἰοσηπος ἦδη προφήκτον οὖν μετ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγονότας δηλώσομεν.

178 Ῥουβήλου μὲν ἦσαν παῖδες τέσσαρες, Ἀνώχης Φαλοῦς Ἑσσαρὼν Χάρμισσος· Συμέωνος δ’ ἐξ’ Ἰούμηλος Ἦαμενος Πούθοδος Ἦαχινος Σόαρος Σαμαρᾶς· τρεῖς δὲ Λευὶ γεγόνασιν νεότις Πολύμην Κάσθος Μαράιρος. Ἐουδα δὲ παίδες ἦσαν τρεῖς. Σάλας Φάρεσος Ἐξελεός, νιώνοι δὲ δύο γεγονότες ἐκ Φαρέου, Ἑσρών καὶ Ἀμουρος. Ἡσακχάρου δὲ τέσσαρες, Θοῦλας Φρουρᾶς Ἡωθὸς Σαμαρᾶων.
179 τρεῖς δὲ Ζαβουλών ἦγεν νεότις, Σάραδον Ἡλωνα Ἦανηλον. τοῦτο μὲν τὸ ἐκ Λευίας γένος· καὶ αὐτῇ συνανῄει καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Δείνα. τρεῖς οὖτοι καὶ τριάκοντα. Ῥαχήλας δὲ παίδες ἦσαν δύο τούτων ἰωσῆπος μὲν γεγόνεσαν νεότις Μανασσῆς καὶ Ἐφραίμης. Βενιμεῖ δὲ τῷ ἐνέρῳ δέκα,

1 + πέντε καὶ ΡΟ (after lxx).

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1 So the Hebrew text of Genesis: lxx, including further descendants born in Egypt, raises the total to 75.
3 So lxx (some ms.): Heb. Pallu.
4 Bibl. Hezron ('Ασρὼν).
5 Carmi.
6 Jemuel.
Encouraged by this dream, Jacob with greater ardour departed for Egypt along with his sons and his sons' children: there were in all seventy 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. 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, Essaron, Charmis(os); Symeon six, Jumel(os), Jamin(os), Pouthod(os), Jachin(os), Soar(os); Levi had three sons, Golgoms, Kaath(os), Marair(os); Judas three sons, Salas, Phares(os), Ezele(os), and two grandsons, born of Phares, Esron and Amour(os); Issachar had four, Thoulas, Phrouras, Job(os), Samaron; while Zabulon brought with him three, Sarad(os), Elon, Janel(os). 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),...
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Βόλος Βάκχαρις Ἀσαβῆλος Γῆλας Νεεμάνης Ἰης Ἀρως Νομψῆς Ὀππαῖς Ἀροδός. 1 οὕτω τέσσαρες καὶ δέκα πρὸς τοὺς πρότερον κατειλεγμένους εἰς ἐπτὰ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γίνονται τῶν ἀριθμῶν. καὶ τὸ μὲν γνήσιον γένος τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τούτῳ ἦν, ἐκ Βάλλας δὲ αὐτῷ γίνονται τῆς Ῥαχήλας θεραπαινίδος Δάνως καὶ Νεφθαλίς, ω τέσσαρες ἐποντο παίδες, Ἐλίηλος Γοῦνις Σάρῆς τε καὶ Σέλλμος, Δάνω δὲ μονογενὲς ἦν παιδίων.

182 Ὅψις. τούτων προσγνωμένων τοῖς προειρημένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων πληρούσιν ἀριθμῶν. Γάδης δὲ καὶ Ἀσήρος ἐκ Ζελφᾶς μὲν ἦςαν, ἦν Δείς αὐτή θεραπαίνης, παιδας δ' ἐπήγγευτο Γάδης μὲν ἐπτά, Ζοφωνίαν Οὐγιν Σοῦνιν Ζάβρωνα.

183 Εὐρήνην Ἐρωδίην Ἀρυῆλην, Ἀσήρω δὲ ἦν θυγάτηρ καὶ ἄρσενες ἀριθμῶν ἐξ, οἷς ὄνοματα Ἰώμης Ἰσούνιος Ἡιουβής Βάρης Ἀβαρός τε καὶ Μελχίελος. τούτων ἐκκαίδεκα ὄντων καὶ προστιθεμένων τοῖς πεντήκοντα τέσσαρων οὗ προειρημένος ἀριθμός πληροῦται μὴ συγκαταλεγέντος αὐτοῖς Ἰακώβου.

184 (5) Μαθὼν δὲ Ἰωσηπὸς παραγινώμενον2 τῶν πατέρα, καὶ γὰρ προλαβὼν Ἰουδᾶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐδηλώσεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀφίξειν, ἀπαντησόμενος ἐξεισι καὶ καθ' Ἡρώων πόλιν αὐτῷ συνεβάλεν. τὸ δ'

1 Σάρωδος codd. 2 RO: παραγενώμενον rell.

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1 Becher (Βοχὼρ with variants).  
2 Ashbel.

c Gera; Josephus follows the Hebrew in reckoning him and the five following persons as sons (not, as in lxx, grandparents) of Benjamin.

So lxx (some mss.): Heb. Naaman.  
Ehi (Ἀγχεῖς).

f Rosh.  
g Muppim (Μαυφεῖν).  
h Huppim (Ὀρφεῖν).

Ard (Ἀράδ); lxx makes him a great-grandson of Benjamin.

Jahzeel (Ἰασεύλ with variants).
Baecar(is), a Asabel(os), b Gélas, c Neeman(es), d Iès, e Gen. xlvi. 21. Arôs, f Nomphthes, g Oppais, h Arod(os). i These fourteen, 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 handmaid of Rachel, Dan and Nephthali(s): the latter was accompanied by four children, Eliël(os), j Gounis, Sares, k and Sellim(os) l; Dan had but one infant, Ousis. m These, added to the foregoing, make up a total of fifty-four. Gad and Asêr were sons of Zelpha, the handmaid of Leah: Gad brought with him seven sons, Zophônias, n Ougis, o Sounis, p Zabron, q Irênês, Erôidês, Ariëles r; Asêr had one daughter s and six sons, whose names were Jômnes, t Isousi(os), u Êioubes, v Bares, w Abar(os), x and Melchiêl(os). y 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, for his brother Judas had gone on before to announce his coming; and he went out to meet him and joined him at Heroopolis. z Jacob from joy, so unlooked-for

k Jezer (Σεζαρ). l Shillem (Σιλημ, some mss. of lxx).
m Hushim (Ἀσώμ). n Ziphion (Σαφών).
o Haggi (Ἄγγεις).
p Sounis (Σουνίς).
q Zabron (Ζαβρών).
r Erî, Arodi, Areli.
s Named Serah in Genesis.
t Ismah (Ἰσμαήλ).
u Ishvah.
w Ishvi (Ἰσχίον).
x Beria (Βερια). y Named Serah in Genesis.
z 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.
After Gen. xlvi. 34 "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians." "While there is evidence that
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 ingratiating themselves with the Egyptians by not following any of their pursuits, for the Egyptians were forbidden to occupy themselves with pasturage.

(6) When Jacob came into the king’s presence and had saluted him and offered his felicitations for his reign, 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, for it was there that his own shepherds had their pasturage.

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).

* Or “realm.”

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.

* This addition of Josephus appears, as it stands, a little inconsistent with the last words of the previous paragraph.
189 (7) Ὁ δὲ λιμὸς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐπετείνετο καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπορώτερον ἔτι καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ἐγένετο μῆτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ [τὴν γῆν] ἐπάρδοντος, οὐ γὰρ ἥξανε, μῆτε ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν τε μηδεμίαν αὐτῶν ὑπ’ ἀγνοίας πεποιημένων. καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφου τὸν σύτον ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτοῖς διδόντος, ὡς ταῦτα αὐτοῖς ἐπέλειπε, τῶν βουκικάτων ἐκοινώντο τὸν σύτον καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων. οἷς δὲ καὶ γῆς τις ἦν μοῖρα ταύτην2 παρεχώρουν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τροφῆς. οὕτως τε τοῦ βασιλέως πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιουσίας κυρίῳ γεγενημένου, μετεκισθησαν ἄλλος ἄλλαχος;3 ὅπως βεβαία γένηται τῷ βασιλεί τῆς χώρας τούτων ἡ κτήσις, πλὴν τῶν ἐρεύνων τούτων γὰρ ἐμενέν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. ἐδοῦ- λον τ’ αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τὸ δεινὸν ἄλλα καὶ τὰς διανοίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀσχήμων τῆς τροφῆς εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς κατηγάκαζε. λυφήσαν- τος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβάντος καὶ ταύτης τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως ἐκφεροῦσης, ὁ Ἰωσήφος εἰς ἑκάστην παραγενό- μενος πόλιν καὶ συλλέγων ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς κρήνης αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐκείνων παραχωροῦτων βασιλεὺς ἔχειν ἤδυνατο καὶ καρποῦσθαι μόνος, εἰς ἀπαν ἔχαριζετο καὶ κτήμα ἰδίων ἔγονόμενος φιλεργείν παρεκάλει τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν τῷ βασιλεί τελοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, ἦν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὡς αὐτοῦ. τοὺς δὲ παρ’ ἐλπίδας κυρίους τῆς γῆς καθισταμένους χαρὰ τε ἐλάμβανε καὶ ὕψισταντο τὰ προστάγματα. καὶ τούτω τῷ τρόπῳ τὸ τε ἀξίωμα παρὰ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτοῦ μειζὸν

1 So Lat.: + δὲ codd. 2 ταύτης E Zon. 3 RO: ἄλλαχος 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, 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 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

\[\text{New law of land tenure in Egypt. Gen. xlvii. 13.}\]

\[\text{This remark, as Reland observed, ignores the fact that Egypt is practically a rainless country.}\]

\[\text{Based on Thuc. ii. 61 δουλοὶ γὰρ φρόνημα τὸ αἰφνίδιον κτλ. (Pericles on the plague of Athens): a favourite phrase of Josephus or his assistant; cf. iii. 56, xix. 42.}\]
'Ιώσηπος ἀπεργᾶζεται πλεύω τε τήν εὐνοιαν τῷ βασιλεί παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὡς τοῦ τελείν τήν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν νόμος ἐμείνε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ὑστερῶν βασιλέων.

194 (viii. 1) Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπτακαιδέκατον ἔτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ διατρίβας καὶ νόσῳ χρησάμενος παρ’ ἅντων αὐτῶν τῶν νῦν ἀπέθανεν, ἑπευξάμενος τοῖς μὲν κτήσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ προειπῶν αὐτοῖς κατὰ προφητείαν, πῶς μέλλει τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτῶν ἑκάστος κατοικεῖν τῇ Χαναάιαν, ὡς δὴ καὶ πολύ

195 λοις ὑστερον χρόνοις ἐγένετο, Ἰωσήπου δ’ ἐγκώμιον διεξελθών, ὅτι μὴ μηνισικακήσεις τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο πλέον χρηστὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοῖς, οἷς οὐδὲ εὑρηγέται τινες ἠμείσαντο, προσέταξε τοῖς ἰδίους παισίν, ἵνα τοὺς Ἰωσήπου παῖδας Ἐφραίμην καὶ Μανασσήν εἰς τῶν αὐτῶν ἀριθμὸν προσώπων διάφορούμενοι μετ’ αὐτῶν τῇ Χαναάιαν, περὶ δὲν

196 ὑστερον ἔροῦμεν. ἦξιον μέντοι καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Νεβρῶν τυγχάνειν τελευτᾷ δὲ βιοῦς ἔτη τὰ πάντα τριῶν δέοντα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἕκατον, μηδενὸς μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἀπολειφθεῖς ἐπ’ εὑσθεῖα τοῦ θεοῦ, τυχῶν δὲ ἀμοιβῆς ἃς δίκαιον ἦν τοὺς οὗτος ἀγαθοὺς γεγονότας. Ἰώσηπος δὲ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς νεκρῶν εἰς

197 Νεβρῶνα κομίσας ἔκει θάπτει πολυτελῶς. τῶν δ’ ἀδελφῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτῶν συνυποστρέφειν, δέος γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐχει μὴ τεθνηκότος αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρήσαι τῇς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπιβουλῆς, οὐκέτ’ ὅντος ὁ χαρίζοιτο τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετρίοτητα, πείθει μηδὲν υφορᾶσθαι μηδ’ ἔχειν αὐτῶν δι’ ὑποψίας, ἄγαγών δὲ μεθ’ αὐτοῦ κτήσιν πολλὴν 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.

(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
εξαρίσατο καὶ πάση περὶ αὐτοὺς σπουδὴ χρώμενος οὐκ ἀπέλιπε.

198 (2) Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ οὕτως ἐτη βιώσας ἐκατὸν καὶ δέκα θαυμάσιοι τὴν ἁρετὴν γενόμενος καὶ λογισμῷ πάντα διουκῶν καὶ τὴν ἔξουσίαν ταμημεύμενος, ὥ δὴ καὶ τῆς τουαύτης εὐδαιμονίας αἶτιον αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις ἀλλαχόθεν ἤκοιτο καὶ μετὰ τουαύτης κακοπραγίας, μὲθ᾽ ἂς προειρήκαμεν,

199 ὑπῆρχε. τελευτῶσι δ᾽ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ ἔσποντες εὐδαιμονίως ἐπὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου. καὶ τούτων μὲν τὰ σώματα κορίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον οἱ ἀπόγονοι [καὶ οἱ παιδείς] ἔθαβαν ἐν Νεβρώνι,

200 τὰ δὲ Ἰωσήπου ὡστὰ ὑστερον, ὅτε μετανέστησαν ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου οἱ Ἔβραιοι, εἰς τὴν Χαναάιαν ἐκόμισαν· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰωσήπος ἔξωρκίσε. τούτων οὖν ἐκαστὸς ὃς ἔσχε καὶ τίς πόνοι ἐκράτησαν τῆς Χαναάιας σημανῶ προδιηγησάμενος τὴν αἰτίαν δι᾽ ἢν τὴν Αἰγύπτου ἐξέλιπον.

201 (ix. 1) Αἰγυπτίους τρυφεροῖς καὶ ῥαθύμοις πρὸς πόνους οὖσι καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ἥδων ήττοσι καὶ δῆ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φιλοκέρδειαν συνέβη δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἐβραίους διατεθῆναι κατὰ φθόνον τῆς εὐ-

202 δαιμονίας. ὡρῶντες γὰρ τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλητῶν γένος ἀκμάζων καὶ δι᾽ ἁρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν εὐφυῶν πλήθει χρημάτων ἑδῇ λαμπροῦς, καθ᾽ αὐτῶν αὔξεσθαι τούτους ὑπελάμβανον, ὅπερ τ᾽ ἦσαν [ἐν] ὑπὸ Ἰωσήπου τετυχηκότες διὰ χρόνου μῆκος λήθην λαβόντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας εἰς ἄλλον οἶκον

1 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 descendands [and their sons] to Hebron and buried there.\(^a\) 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.

(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,

\(^a\) Not mentioned in the Old Testament narrative, but of Acts vii. 16.
Amplification of Scripture, which specifies only the building of "store cities, Pithom and Raamses," Ex. i. 11.

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, which was thus apprenticed to all manner of crafts and became inured to toil. For full four hundred years 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—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 east 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:

where the sojourn in Egypt is reckoned as 430 years, Josephus, following the i.xxx, includes in that period the previous sojourn in Canaan and reduces the stay in Egypt by one-half (to 215 years).

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 αὐτῶς ἐκέλευε μαυσοῦσθαι, αἰ διὰ συγγένειαν ἐμελλον μὴ παραβῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βούλησιν· τοὺς μέντοι καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ προστάγματος καὶ σώζειν λάθρα τολμήσαντας τὸ τεχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναίρεῖσθαι σὺν τῇ γενέᾳ προσ-

208 ἔταξεν. δεινὸν οὖν τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὸ πάθος, οὐ γὰρ παῖδων ἀπεστεροῦντο καὶ γονεῖς ὄντες αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ὑπούργουν τῶν γεννω-

μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπίνοια τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐπιλέψεως, φθειρομένων μὲν τῶν τυκτομένων, αὐτῶν δὲ διαλυθησομένων, χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ

209 δυσπαραμύθητον ἔποιει τὴν συμφοράν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἢσαν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ· κρατήσει δὲ ἀν ὀυδές τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης οὐδὲ μυρίας τέχνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ μηχανησάμενος· οὐ τε γὰρ παῖς, ὅν προείπεν ὁ ἱερογραμμάτευς, τρέφεται λαθῶν τὴν

tοῦ βασιλέως φυλακῆν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεννησομένοις ὁ προειπὼν εὐρέθη. γίνεται δ' οὕτως.

210 (3) Ἀμαράμης τῶν εὖ γεγονότων παρὰ τοῖς Ἐβραῖοις, ὃς διεδιώκ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παντὸς ἐθνοῦς, μὴ σπάνει τῆς ἐπιτραφησομένης νεότητος ἐπιλείπῃ, καὶ χαλεπῶς ἔφ' αὐτῷ φέρειν, ἐκύκε γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ

211 γύναιον, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἢν, καὶ πρὸς ἵκετειν τοῦ θεοῦ τρέπεται παρακαλῶν οἴκτων ἢδη τῶν λαβεῖν αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τῆς εἰς αὐτῶν βρηκείας παραβεβηκότων δοῦναι τ' ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς ὅν παρ' ἐκείνων ἐκακοπάθουν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπ'

212 ἀπωλεία τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἑλπίδοσ. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλεήσας αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἰκεσίαν ἐπικλασθεῖς

1 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: 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), 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

a Contrary to Ex. i. 15 ff., which states that the orders were given to the Hebrew midwives.

b The name Amram, omitted in Ex. ii. 1, is mentioned later (vi. 20).
JOSEPHUS

ἐφόσονταί κατὰ τοὺς ὑπόνους αὐτῶ καὶ μήτε ἀπογυνώσκειν αὐτῶν περὶ τῶν μελλόντων παρεκάλει τὴν τε εὐσέβειαν αὐτῶν ἐλεγε διὰ μνήμης ἐχειν καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἁμοιβήν αἰεὶ παρέξειν, ἣδη μὲν καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν διωρησάμενος τὸ γενέσθαι τοσοῦτον πλῆθος αὐτοῖς ἐξ ὀλίγων·

213 καὶ Ἀβραμον μὲν μόνον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας εἰς τὴν Χανααίαν παραγενόμενον εὐδαιμονήσαι τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῶ πρὸς γονὴν ἀκάρτῳ ἐχούσης πρότερον, ἔπειτα κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀγαθής πρὸς τὸτε γενομένης, τεκνώσαι παιδά καὶ καταλιπεῖν μὲν Ἰσμαιήλω καὶ τοῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀράβων χώραν, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ Κατουρᾶς τὴν Τρωγλοδιτῶν, Ἰσάκω δὲ τὴν Ἐχανααίαν. "ὁσα τε πολεμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμήν," φησί, "συμμαχίαν ἡνδαγάθησε καὶ ἀσεβεῖς εἶναι δόξαιτέ μη διὰ μνήμης ἔχοντες. Ἰάκωβον δὲ καὶ τοῖς οὐχ ὀμοφύλοις γνώριμον εἶναι συμβεβηκεν ἐπὶ τε μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας μεθ' ἢς ἐβίωσε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατέλυσε, οὗ μετὰ ἐμβοηθήκοντα τῶν πάντων εἰς Ἀγυπτὸν ἀφικομένον ὑπὲρ ἐξήκοντα ποι μυριάδες ἡδη γεγόνατε.

215 νῦν δ' ἔμε τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντος ὡμῶν ὑπερ προνοούμενον καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐκλείας. ὁ παῖς γὰρ οὗτος, οὗ τῆς γένεσιν Ἀγυπτίου δεδιότες κατέκριναν ἀπολύον τὰ ἐξ Ἰσραηλίτων τικτόμενα, σος ἔσται, καὶ λήσεται μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ ὀλέθρῳ παρα-

216 φυλάσσοντας, τραφεῖς δὲ παραδόξως τὸ μὲν Ἐβραῖων γένους τῆς παρ' Ἀγυπτίους ἀνάγκης ἀπολύον, μνήμης δὲ ἐφ' ὦσον μενεὶ χρόνον τὰ

1 edd.: δόξητε καὶ codd.
2 μυριάδας E.
sleep,² 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,⁵ to Isaac Canaan. “Aye,” He said, “and all that prowess that he displayed in war under my auspices,⁶ 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.⁴ 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-

² Amram’s dream, an amplification of the Biblical narrative, is mentioned in the oldest Rabbinic commentary on Exodus, known as Mechilla (Weill).

⁵ i. 238 f.

⁶ In the rescue of Lot.

⁴ The traditional exaggerated figure of the adult males who left Egypt (Ex. xii. 37, Numb. xi. 21).
σύμπαντα τεῦξεται παρ' ἀνθρώπως οὐχ Ἕβραίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ἐμοῦ τοῦτο χαριζομένου σοί τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ σοῦ γενησομένοις. ἔσται δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἀδελφὸς τοιοῦτος, ὡστε τήν ἐμὴν ἐξειν ἱερωσύνην αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνον."

217 (4) Ταῦτα τῆς ὀψεως αὐτῶν δηλωσάσης περι-εγερθεῖσ' ὁ Ἀμαράμης ἐδήλου τῇ Ἰωχαβέλη, γυνῇ δ' ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ δέος ἔτι μειζον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὅνειρο πρόρρησον αὐτοῖς συνιστατο· οὐ γὰρ ὡς περὶ παιδὸς μόνον εὐλαβεῖς ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς 218 ἐπὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτης εὐδαμονίας ἐσομένου, τοῖς μέντοι προκατηγγελμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ὁ τοκετὸς τῆς γυναικὸς παρεῖχε λαθοῦσας τοὺς φύλακας διὰ τὴν τῶν ὡδίνων ἐπιείκειαν καὶ τῷ μὴ βιαίας αὐτῆς προσπεσειν τὰς ἀλγηδόνας· καὶ τρεῖς μὲν μῆνας παρ' αὐτοῦς τρέφουσι λανθάνοντες· 219 ἐπειτα δὲ δείσας Ἀμαράμης, μὴ κατάφωρος γενήται καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργὴν αὐτός τε ἀπόληται· μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἐπαγγελίαν ἀφανίσειεν, ἐγὼν μᾶλλον ἐπὶ τούτω ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν ἥ τῷ λήσεσθαι πεπιστευκὼς, τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἄδηλον, ἐναποκινδυνεύειν οὐ τῷ παιδί μόνον 220 κρυφαίως τρεφομένως ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ· τὸν δὲ θεοῦ ἡγεῖτο πᾶσαν ἐκπορείαν ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ψευδεῖς γενέσθαι τῶν εὐρημένων· ταῦτα κρίναντες μηχανώνται πλέγμα βίβλων, ἐμφερεῖς τῇ κατα-σκευή κοιτίδι, μεγέθους αὐτὸ ποιήσαντες αὐ-τάρκους εἰς τὸ μετ' εὐρυχωρίας ἐναποκείσθαι τὸ

1 περιχαρῆς ἐγερθεῖς RO.
2 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 awakinfj disclosed to Jochabel(e),^ a 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. 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;

Bibl. Jochebed (lxx ῾Ιωχαβεθ) Ex. vi. 20 : the final consonant in the form above comes from confusion of the Greek letters Δ and Α and is perhaps attributable to later scribes.

Amplification, with Rabbinic parallel (Weill).
JOSEPHUS

221 βρέφος, ἐπειτα χρύσαντες ἀσφάλτῳ, τῷ γὰρ ύδατι τῆς διὰ τῶν πλεγμάτων ἀποφράττεων εἰσόδον ἢ ἀσφάλτος πέφυκεν, ἐντιθέασθο το παιδίον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαλόντες εἷσαν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τῆς σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς παραλαβὼν ἐφερε, Μαριάμη δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδελφῆ κελευσθεῖσα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀντιπαρεξῆς φερό-μενον ὁποι χωρήσει ὀψομένη τὸ πλέγμα. ἐνθα καὶ διέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς μηδὲν μὲν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν, πάν τί ὁ τι καὶ βουληθεῖσι πράττεσαν αὐτὸ
tέλους ἀγαθὸν τυγχάνον, καὶ διαμαρτάνοντας μὲν τοὺς ὑπὲρ οἰκείας ἀσφαλείας ἄλλων κατακράνοντας ὀλεθρον καὶ πολλῆ περὶ τοῦτο χρησαμένους

223 σπουδῆ, σωξομένους δ᾽ ἐκ παραδόξου καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν κακῶν εὕρισκομένους τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοὺς κυνδυνόμοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ. τοιοῦτον δὲ τί καὶ περὶ τὸν παιδὰ τοῦτον γενόμενον ἐμφανίζει τὴν ἱσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ.

224 (5) Θέρμος ἦν θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλέως, αὐτὴ παῖζουσα παρὰ τὰς ἥόνας τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ φερό-μενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ῥεύματος θεασαμένη τὸ πλέγμα κολυμβητὰς ἐπιτέμπεις κελεύσας τὴν κοιτίδα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐκκομίσαι. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τοῦτο σταλέντων μετὰ τῆς κοιτίδος ἱδοῦσα τὸ παιδίον ὑπερηγάπησε μεγέθους τε ἕνεκα καὶ

225 κάλλους· τοσαύτη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς περὶ Μωυσῆν ἐχρή-σατο σπουδῆ, ὡς ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν τῶν ψηφισαμένων διὰ τῆς αὐτοῦ γένεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους ἀπώλειαν ποιῆσαι τροφῆς καὶ

1 αὐτὸς (ipse) Lat.
2 Bekker: τοῖτο (τοῖτος) codd.
3 Miriam (lxx Μαριάμ) Ex. xv. 20.

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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 Mariam(e), 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. Playing by the river bank and spying the basket being borne down the stream, she sent off some swimmers 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-

b Unnamed in Scripture, this princess bore various names in tradition. That in the text recurs in the Book of Jubilees (xlvii. 5, "Tharmuth"), a Jewish work of c. 100 B.C. with which Josephus elsewhere agrees. Syncellus (i. 227, quoted by Charles) adds a second, Θερμούθης ἤ 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.

c Ex. ii. 5 "her handmaid" (LXX Ῥη ἄβραμ).
JOSEPHUS

ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθῆναι. κελεύει τε γυναῖκον ἡ Θέρ
226 μουθις ἀχθῆναι παρέξου διδήν τῶν παιδίων. μη
προσεμένον δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θηλήν ἀλλ' ἀποστρα-
φέντος καὶ τοῦτ' ἐπὶ πολλῶν ποιήσαντος γυναικῶν,
ἡ Μαριάμη παρατυπγάνουσα τοῖς γυμνομένοις οὐχ
ὡστε ἐκ παρασκευής δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεωρίαν,
"μάτην," εἶπεν, "ὁ βασιλεύς, ταύτας ἐπὶ
tροφῆς τοῦ παιδὸς μετακαλῆς τὰς γυναῖκας, αἱ
μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ συγγενὲς ἑχοὺσιν. εἰ μέντοι
tων τῶν Ἐβραίων γυναῖκῶν ἀχθῆναι ποιήσεις,
227 τάχα ἂν προσοῦτο θηλήν ὀμοφύλου." δόξασαν δὲ
λέγειν εἰ κελεύει τοῦτ' αὐτὴν ἐκπορίσαι καὶ τῶν
gαλουχοῦσών τινὰ μεταθείν.1 ἡ δὲ τοιαύτης ἡξ-
ουσίας λαβομένη παρὴν ἄγουσα τὴν μητέρα μηδένι
γυνωσκομένην. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἰσμενίσαν πως
προσφύεται τῇ θηλή, καὶ δεηθείσης τε τῆς βασι-
lίδου πιστεύεται τὴν τροφήν τοῦ παιδίου πρὸς τὸ
πᾶν.2

228 (6) Καὶ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησαν ταύτην τῶν συμ-
βεβηκότων ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντως τὸ
γὰρ ὕδωρ μῶν Ἀγάπτου καλοῦσαν, ἐστὶς δὲ τοὺς
σωθέντας: συνθέντες οὖν εἰς ἀμφοτέρων τὴν προ-
229 ἡγορίαν αὐτῶ ταύτην τίθενται. καὶ ἡ ὁμολογο-
μένως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν φρονήματός
tε μεγέθει καὶ πόνων καταφρονήσει Ἐβραίων
ἀριστος. Ἀβραὰμος γὰρ αὐτῶ πατὴρ ἐβδομος.
Ἀμαράμοι γὰρ αὐτῶς ἦν παῖς τοῦ Καάθου,
Καάθου δὲ πατὴρ Λευίς ὁ τοῦ Ἰακώβου, ὃς

1 RO: μετέλθειν rell.
2 Niese suspects a lacuna.
3 Lat., Eustath.: + εἰς ἔδατος codd.

a Josephus rejects the Biblical Hebrew etymology (Ex. ii.
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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 möu and those who are saved esës; 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,

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 ὄνομα μῶν ὄνομαξουσιν Αἰγύπτιοι. But “the Coptic etymology, mö ‘water’ and ušē ‘rescued,’” “which for a time obtained general currency,” is now in turn abandoned (Enc. Bibl. art. Moses).
JOSEPHUS

230 σύνεσις δὲ οὖ, κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἐφύετ' αυτῷ τοῦ δὲ ταύτης μέτρου πολὺ κρείττων, καὶ πρεσβυτέρων διεδείκνυεν τάυτῆς τὴν περιουσίαν ἐν ταῖς παιδιαῖς, καὶ μειώνον τῶν ύπ' ἀνδρὸς γενησομένων ἐπιαγγελίαι εἰς τὰ τότε πραττόμενα. καὶ τριετεὶ μὲν αὐτῷ γεγενημένω χαμαστῶν ο θεὸς τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἐξῆρεν ἀνάστημα, πρὸς δὲ κάλλος οὐδεὶς ἀφιλότιμος ἢν οὔτως, ὡς Μωυσῆν θεασάμενος μὴ ἐκπλαγῆναι τῆς εὐμορφίας, πολλοὶς τε συνεβαίνει καθ' ὅδὸν φερομένω συντυχάνουσιν ἐπιστρέφεσθαι μὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ὀψεως τοῦ παιδός, ἀφιέναι δὲ τὰ σπουδαζόμενα καὶ τῇ θεωρίᾳ προσευσχολεῖν αὐτῶν· καὶ γὰρ ἡ χάρις ἡ παιδική πολλῇ καὶ ἀκρατος περὶ αὐτῶν οὐσα κατείχε τοὺς ὀρῶντας.

232 (7) Ὄντα δ' αὐτῶν τοιοῦτον ἡ Θέρμουθις παῖδα ποιεῖται γυνὴς γνησίας οὐ μεμοιραμένη, καὶ ποτε κομίσασα τὸν Μωυσῆν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα ἐπεδείκνυε τοῦτον καὶ ὡς φροντίσεις διαδοχῆς, εἰ καὶ βουλήσῃ θεοῦ μὴ τυχοῦ παιδὸς γνησίου, πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐλεγεν, ἀναθεραμένῃ παῖδα μορφῆ τε θείου καὶ φρονήματι γενναίον, χαμασάως δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ παρὰ τῆς τοῦ ποταμοῦ λαβοῦσα χάριτος ἐμαυτῆς μὲν ἡγησάμην παῖδα ποιήσασθαι, τῆς δὲ σῆς βασιλείας διάδοχον." ταύτα λέγουσα ταῖς τοῦ πατρὸς χερῶν

1 Read perhaps κατείχε τοὺς ὀρῶντας.  
2 + τε codd.

a 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).

b Or "age"; cf. and contrast Lk. ii. 52.

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the son of Jacob, who was the son of Isaac, the son of Abraham.]

His growth in understanding was not in line with his growth in stature, 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 spellbound.

(7) Such was the child whom Thermuthis adopted as her son, 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

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*S. Stephen’s phrase, ἤν ἀστεῖος τὸ θεό (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.”

* Ex. ii. 10; the rest of this section and the chapter following it are amplification of the Scripture narrative.
ἐντίθησι το βρέφος, ὃ δὲ λαβὼν καὶ προστερνισάμενος κατὰ φιλοφρόνησιν χάριν τῆς θυγατρός ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα· καταφέρει δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν γῆν περιελόμενος αὐτὸ κατὰ 234 νηπιότητα δήθεν ἐπέβαινε τε αὐτῷ τοῖς ποσί. καὶ τούτο ἐδοξεῖν οἶων ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρειν. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ ἱερογραμματεύς ὁ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ προειπῶν ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἀρχῆς ἐσομένην ὁρμησεν ἀποκτείναι, καὶ δεινὸν 235 ἀνακραγὼν, "αὐτός," εἶπε, "βασιλεὺς, ὃ παῖς ἐκεῖνος, ὃν κτείνασιν ἦμιν ἐδηλώσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀφόβοις εἶναι, μαρτυρεῖ τῇ προσαγορεύσει (διὰ,) τοῦ γεγονότος ἐπιβεβηκός ἡγεμονία τῇ σῇ καὶ πατῶν τὸ διάδημα. τούτων οὖν ἀνελών Αἰγυπτίους μὲν τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος ἄνει, Ἐβραίοις δὲ τῇ ἐλπίδα τοῦ 236 δι' αὐτοῦ θάρσους ἀφελοῦ." φθάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἡ Θέρμουθας ἐξαρπάσασα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν φόνον ὁκνηρὸς ἢ ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοιοῦτον αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευάσαντος, ὃ πρόνοια τῆς Μωυσέως σωτηρίας ἢν. ἔτρεφετο οὖν πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυγχάνων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν Ἐβραίοις ἐπ' αὐτῷ παρῆν ἐλπίς2 περὶ 237 τῶν ὅλων, δ' ὑποψίας δ' εἴχον Αἰγύπτιοι τὴν ἀνατροφὴν αὐτοῦ· μηδεῖος δ' ὄντος φανεροῦ, δι' ὃν3 καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς [μηθὲν ὄντα]4 ἡ συγγενεύς5 διὰ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἡ τῶν ἄλλων τινός,6 ὃ πλέον ὑπὲρ ὑφελείας τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ

1 ins. Ernesti.  
2 ROE: εἰέλπισιν εἶναι rell.  
3 RO: ὃ rell.  
4 μηθὲν ὄντος O: the words have perhaps come in from the previous line.  
5 μηθὲν ... συγγενεύς v.l. ἡ μηθὲν ὄντα καὶ συγγενῆ.  
6 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; 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 underfoot. 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

a 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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toù προειδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα θαρρεῖν παρῆν, ἀπείχωντο τής ἀναιρέσεως αὐτοῦ.

238 (x. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν [οὖν] τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ γεννηθεὶς τε καὶ τραφεὶς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἥλικίαν φανερὰν τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει μὲν τῇ ἐκείνων, ἐπ’ αὐξήσει δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων γεγονέναι τοιαῦτης ἀφορμῆς λαβόμενος: Αἰθίοπες, πρόσοκοι δ’ εἰσὶ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς χώραν αὐτῶν ἐφερον καὶ ἤγον τὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων. οἱ δ’ ὑπ’ ὀργῆς στρατεύουσιν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀμυνόμενοι τῆς καταφρονήσεως, καὶ τῇ μάχῃ κρατηθέντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔπεσον οἱ δ’ αἰσχρῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθησαν φυγόντες.

240 ἐπηκολούθησαν δὲ διώκοντες Αἰθιόπες καὶ, μαλακίᾳ ὑπολαβόντες τὸ μὴ κρατεῖν ἀπάνης τῆς Αἰγύπτου, τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πλείον ἥπτοντο καὶ γευσάμενοι τῶν ἀγαθῶν οὐκ ἐπείγοντο· ἦτο τὰ γειτνιώντα μέρη πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένων οὐκ ἐτόλμωσαν ἀντιστατεῖν, προύβησαν ἀρξί Μέμφεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδεμιᾶς τῶν πόλεων ἀντισχεῖν δυνηθεῖσιν. τῷ δὲ κακῷ πιεζομένῳ πρὸς χρησμὸς Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ μαντεῖας τρέπονται: συμβουλεύσαντος δ’ αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ συμμάχῳ χρήσασθαι τῷ Ἐβραίω κελεύει ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν θυγατέρα παρασχεῖν τῶν Μωυσῆν στρα-

241 τὴν αὐτῷ γενησόμενον. ἦ δὲ ὅρκος ποιήσα-

1 Lat.: ἀμυνόμενοι codd.

Text corrupt and meaning obscure. I take it to mean that there was no other heir apparent. With the reading δ’ ὃ (for δ’ δο) 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"
of the Egyptians through his foreknowledge of the future,\(^a\) 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.\(^b\) 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 whether by the king, whose relative he was by adoption, or by any other who had greater hardihood in the interests,\(^c\) etc.

\(^a\) 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. Eus. Praep. Ec. ix. 27. 432 d); the narrative of Josephus is more detailed and cannot be derived directly from Artapanus.
μένω, ὡστε μηδὲν διαθεῖναι κακόν, παραδίδωσιν ἀντὶ μεγάλης μὲν ἐυεργεσίας κρίνουσα τὴν συμμαχίαν, κακίζουσα δὲ τοὺς ἱερεὰς, εἰ κτείναι προαιγορεύσαντες αὐτὸν ὡς πολέμιον οὐκ ἣδοῦντο νῦν χρῆζοντες αὐτοῖς τῆς ἐπικουρίας.

243 (2) Μωσοῆς δὲ ὑπὸ τε τῆς Θερμούθιδος παρακληθείς καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἢδεως προσδέχεται τὸ ἔργον· ἔχαρον δὲ οἱ ἱερογραμματεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν εὐνῶν, Αἰγυπτίων μὲν ὡς τοὺς τε πολεμίους τής ἐκείνου κρατήσοντες ἀρέτη καὶ τὸν Μωσοῆν [ἐν] 1 ταύτῳ δόλῳ κατεργασόμενοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων ὡς φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένους τοὺς Αἴγυπτιοὺς πτίονας διὰ τὸ Μωσοῆν αὐτοῖς στρατηγεῖν. ὁ δὲ φθασας πρὶν ἡ καὶ πυθέσθαι τοὺς πολεμίους τὴν ἐφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀναλαβὼν ἤγεν, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐλασίαν ἀλλὰ διὰ γῆς. ἔνθα τῆς αὐτοῦ συνέσεως θαυμαστὴν ἐπίδειξιν

245 ἐπονήσατο· τῆς γὰρ γῆς οὕσης χαλεπῆς ὀδευθῆναι διὰ πλῆθος ἐρπετῶν, παμφορωτάτη γὰρ ἐστὶ τούτων, ὡς καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἄλλους οὐκ ὁντα μόνη τρέφειν δυνάμει τε καὶ κακία καὶ τῷ τῆς ὄψεως ἀσυνήθει διαφέροντα, τυά δ’ αὐτῶν ἔστι καὶ πετειά’ ὡς λαυθάνοντα μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς κακουργεῖν καὶ μὴ προιδομένους ἀδικεῖν ὑπερπετῆ γενόμενα, νοεῖ πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν καὶ ἀβλαβῆ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος

246 στρατήγημα θαυμαστὸν· πλέγματα γὰρ ἐμφερῆ κιβωτοῖς ἐκ βίβλου 2 κατασκευάσας καὶ πληρώσας ἱβεων ἐκόμιζε. πολεμιώτατον δ’ ἐστὶν ὄφει τούτῳ τὸ ἱων’ φεύγοντο τε γὰρ ἐπερχομένας καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι καθάπερ ὑπ’ ἐλάφων ἄρπαζόμενοι κατα-

1 RO: om. rell.
2 βίβλου 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,\(^a\) 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 there-
upon, 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 no-
where 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
ches,\(^b\) 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

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\(^a\) Called Chenephres by Artapanus. \(^b\) Or "arks."
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πάντας χειροθέτεις δ' εἰσίν αἱ ἱβεῖς καὶ πρὸς μόνον
247 τὸ τῶν ὀφεὼν γένος ἀγριοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων
παρῆμι νῦν γράφειν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντων τῶν Ἕλ-
λήνων τῆς ἱβίδος τὸ εἶδος. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν
ἐνέβαλε τὴν θηριοτρόφον, ταῦτας ἀπεράχετο τὴν
τῶν ἑρπετῶν φύσιν ἐπαφεῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ προ-
πολεμοῦνας χρώμενος. τούτων οὖν ὀδεύσας τὸν
248 πρόπον οὐδὲ προμαθοῦσι παρὴν τοῖς Αἴθιοψι, καὶ
συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἐλπίδων,
διὸ εἰχον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀἰγυπτίους, ἀφαιρεῖται τὰς τέ
πολεις αὐτῶν ἐπῆει καταστρφόμενος, καὶ φόνος
πολὺς τῶν Αἴθιωπων ἐπράττετο. καὶ τῆς διὰ
Μωυσῆν εὐπραγίας γευσάμενον τὸ τῶν Ἀἰγυπτίων
στράτευμα πονεῖν οὐκ ἔκαμπνεν, ὡς περὶ ἀνδρα-
ποδίσμοι καὶ παντελῶς ἀναστάσεως τὸν κίνδυνον
249 εἶναι τοῖς Αἴθιοψι καὶ τέλος συνελαθέντες εἰς
Σαβάν πόλιν βασίλειον οὗσαν τῆς Αἴθιοπίας, ἦν
ὑστερον Καμβύσης Μερόν ἐπωνόμασεν ἀδελφῆς
ἰδίας τούτο καλουμένης, ἐπολιορκοῦντο. ἦν δὲ
δυσπολιορκητὸν σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον τοῦ τε Νείλου
περιέχοντος αὐτῆς καὶ κυκλουμένου ἡπατόμων τε
ἀλλῶν Ἀστάπου καὶ Ἀσταβόρα δύσμαχον τοῖς
250 πειρωμένοις διαβαίνειν τὸ ῥέμα ποιοῦντος τῇ
γάρ πόλις ἑντὸς οὖσα ὡς νῆσος οἰκεῖται τείχους
τε αὐτῇ κατερευον περιγιγμένον καὶ πρὸς μὲν

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a I was tempted to read ἔραφοι, "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 ἔραφος from the habit: εἰρητὶ δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐλεόν τὰς ὕβεις, οἶονε ἔραφις τις ὡν! See Mair's Oppian (L.C.L.), ad Cyn. ii. 233, Hal. ii. 289.

b All that Artapanus tells us is that the war lasted ten years and that on account of the size of his army Moses
stags, 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. 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, 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 and the Astabaras, 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 ίσων ἐν αὐτῇ καθερώσας διὰ τὸ ταύτην τὰ βλάπτοντα ζώα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὑπαίρειν).

*Who died there: according to another account, she was his wife (Strabo, xvii. 5. 790).*

*The Bahr-el-Azrek or Blue Nile.*

*A minor tributary; Tacazze is the name given to it in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography.*
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touς πολεμίους πρόβλημα τους ποταμούς ἔχουσα χώματά τε μεγάλα μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους, ὡστε ἀνεπίκλυστον εἶναι βιαστέρον ὑπὸ πληθώρας φερομένων, ἀπερ καὶ τοῖς περαιωσμένοις τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀπορον ἔποιεί τῆς πόλεως τῆν ἀλωσῖν. 251

féronti τοῖς ἁγίοις τῷ Μωσεῖ τῇ τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀργίαι, εἰς χειρας γὰρ οὐκ ἐτόλμων ἀπαντᾶν 252 οἱ πολέμιοι, συνέτυχε τὸ τοιοῦτον. Θάρβις θυγάτηρ ἦν τοῦ Αἰθιόπων βασιλέως. αὕτη τὸν Μωσῆν πλησίον τοὺς τείχει προσάγοντα τὴν στρατιάν καὶ μαχόμενον γενναίον ἄποσκοποῦσα καὶ τῆς ἐπινοιας τῶν ἐγχειρήσεων θαυμάζουσα, καὶ τοῖς τε Αἰγυπτίοις αὕτιοι ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἢδη τὴν ἐλευθερίαν τῆς εὐπραγίας ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰθιοψιν αὐχόσιν ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ' αὐτῶν κατωρθομένοις τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κωδίνου, εἰς ἔρωτα δεινὸν ὤλυσθεν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιόντος τοῦ πάθους πέμπει 253 πρὸς αὐτῶν τῶν οἰκετῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους δια-λεγομένη περὶ γάμου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοθεῖν τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιησαμένου πίστεις ἐνόρκους ἢ μὴν ἀξέσθαι γυναῖκα καὶ κρατήσαντα τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραβῆσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, φθάνει τὸ ἐργὸν τοὺς λόγους. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν Αἰθιόπων εὐχαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ συνέτελε τὸν γάμον Μωσῆς καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῶν.

254 (καὶ 1) Οἱ δὲ ἔξ ὄν ἐσώζωντο ὑπὸ Μωσείους μίσος ἐκ τούτων πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνελάμβανον καὶ θερμότερον ἀπτεσθαί τῶν κατ’ αὐτῶν βουλευμάτων ἤξιον, ὑπονοοῦντες μὲν μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐπραγίαν νεωτερίσειε κατὰ τὴν Αἰγυπτοῦ, διδάσκοντες δὲ 255 τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. δὲ 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 manoeuvres 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.

(xii. 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

1 ROE: πλημμύρας rel.
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αὐτὸν μὲν εἰρέ τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπίνουν ὑπὸ τε φθόνου τῆς Μωσέους στρατηγίας καὶ ὑπὸ δέους ταπεινώσεως, ἐπειχθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερογραμμα-
τέων οὗς τε ἦν ἐγχειρεῖν τῇ Μωσέους ἀναιρεσεί.

256 φθάσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καταμαθεῖν λαθῶν ὑπέξεισι καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν φυλαττομένων ποιεῖται διὰ τῆς ἔρημου τὸν ὄρασιν καὶ ὤθεν ἦν ὑπόνοια μὴ λοβείν τοὺς ἔχθρούς, ἀπορός τε ὅν τροφῆς

257 ἀπηλλάττετο τῇ καρτερίᾳ καταφρονών, εἰς τε πόλιν Μαδιανὴν ἀφικόμενος πρὸς μὲν τῇ 'Ἐρυθραῖ ἀνάληψις κειμένην ἐπώνυμον δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν 'Ἀβράμων γενομένων ἐκ Κατούρας νῦν, καθεσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῶν φρέστάς ἐκ τοῦ κόπου καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἦρέμει μεσημβρίας οὕς ὦ πόρρω τῆς πόλεως. ἐνταῦθ' αὐτῶ συνέβη καὶ πρᾶξις ἐκ διαίτης τῶν αὐτοῦ συντήρασα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὸ κρείττον ἀφορμὴν παρασχοῦσα.

258 (2) Τῶν γὰρ χωρίων δυσόρων ὀντῶν προκατ-
elάμβανον οἱ ποιμένες τὰ φρέατα, ὅπως μὴ προ-
estanλωμένον τοῦ ὕδατος ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων σπανίζοι ποτοῦ τὰ ἱερέματα. παραγινονται οὖν ἐπὶ τὸ φρέαρ ἐπτὰ παρθένου ἄδελφαί, Ῥαγουήλου θυγατὲ-
res ἱερέως καὶ πολλῆς ἥξιωμένου τιμῆς παρὰ τοῖς

259 ἐπιχωρίοις, αὐτῶν τοῦ πατρὸς ποιμῶν ἐπι-
μελούμεναι, διὰ τὸ ταύτην ὑπορώγιαν εἶναι καὶ γυναῖξιν ἐπιχώριοιν παρὰ τούς Τρωγλοδύταις, ἄρασα-
sai τὸ αὐτάρκης ἐκ τοῦ φρέατος ἀνέσπασαν ὕδωρ

1 καὶ ὁδὲν ἐκθροῦς om. Lat.

a Josephus omits the Biblical motive for Pharaoh's wrath, viz. the murder of an Egyptian by Moses.
b Such seems to be the meaning: ὁδὲν = ἐκείσε ὁδὲν.
c Ex. ii. 15, "the land of Midian" (lxx Μαδιάμ). Ptolemy and Arabic geographers mention a place Μαδιάνα, 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. 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; he left without provisions, proudly confident of his powers of endurance. On reaching the town of Madian(e), situated by the Red Sea and named after one of Abraham’s sons by Katura, 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, 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, and, arriving first, they drew from the 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.

d Gen. xxv. 2.

e So lxx (Ex. ii. 18), Heb. Reuel, alias Jethro.

f “Cave-dwellers” inhabiting the region on either shore of the Red Sea (J. i. 239, ii. 213).
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tois poimvnous eis dezamenas, ai proes ekdoxhyn tou
260 udatos egegoniasan. epistantwn de poimewn taix
parthenois, wost' autoi tou udatos krateiv, Mou-
sis deinon yngosamenes einai perideein adikou-
mexas tas koras kai tin biai tin twn an-
droyn easa kreittona genesthai tou twn parthenon
dikaioy, toux men eirxe pleonektein ethelonta,
261 taix de paraseixe tin preposusan1 botheian. ai d' 
evergethiseisai parhisan prois ton patera tin te
ubrin toux poimewn autw diygumenei kai tin
epikouriain tou xenou, parakealoun te mh mataian
autw genesithai tin eypouian mhn' amoubhia ustero-
san. o de tais te paidas apedejato tis peri ton
evergethikota spoudhs kai ton Mousthn eis oym
ekelenen agein autw teuxomemon xartitos dikaias.

262 ws d' heke, tin te twn thugateron autw ap-
esimaive marturian epit tin botheia kai tin Aristis
auton thumamzow ouk eis anaishtitous evergesion
katajetha tin epikouriain elegen, alli' ikanous
ektisa xarin kai tw megethei tis amoubhia uper-
263 balein to metron tis eypouias. poietai d' auton
uidon kai miai twn thugateron prois gamon didwsi
twn te thorematain, ev toutois gar h pása kathos
to palaiow hyn tois barbários, apodeiknusan
epimelethn kai despotin.

264 (xii. 1) Kai Mousths men toioouton tuchon twn
parà tou 'Iebeuglaiou,2 touto gar hyn epitklyma tw
'Agouhlaos, dihyen autóthi poimaínov tâ Boskhp-
mata. chronw d' usteron némovn epit to Sinaio

1 ROE: d'ousan rell.
2 RM: 'Ioudoglaiov O: Getheglech Lat.: 'Ieðorou ('Iothron) rell.
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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 Ietheglæcus—a 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

a So the MSS. followed by Niese; but the form may be a mere conglomerate of the names Ἰδόρος and Ἄγουηλος.
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265 καλούμενον ὄρος ἀγεῖ τὰ ποίμνια· τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶν ὑψηλότατον τῶν ταύτη ὄρων καὶ πρὸς νομαῖς ἄριστον, ἀγαθῆς φυσιμένης πόας καὶ διὰ τὸ δόξαν ἔχειν εὐδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ τῶν θεῶν οὐ κατανεμηθείσης πρότερον, οὐ τολμῶντων ἐμβατεύειν εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποιμένων· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τέρας αὐτῷ
266 συντυγχάνει θαυμάσιον. τῦρ γὰρ θάμνων βάτον νεμόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν χλόην τὸ τε ἄνθος αὐτοῦ παρῆλθεν ἄβλαβες καὶ τῶν ἐγκάρπων κλάδων οὐδὲν ἤφανσε καὶ ταῦτα τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς καὶ
267 ὀξυτάτης ὑπαρχοῦσης. δ' ὅταν καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἔδεισε τὴν ὀφθαλμοῖς παράδοξον γενομένην, κατεπλάγη δ' ἐπὶ μάλλον φωνὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἁφέντο καὶ ὀνομαστὶ καλέσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ ποιησμένον λόγους, οἷς τὸ τε θάρσος αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντος παρελθεῖν εἰς χωρίον, εἰς ὁ μηδεὶς ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἄφικτο διὰ τὸ εἶναι θείον, ἐσήμαινε καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς φλογὸς' πορρωτάτω χωρεῖν καὶ ἄρκεσθαι μὲν οἷς ἐνωρακεν ἀγαθὸν ἤντα καὶ μεγάλων ἀνδρῶν ἐγγονον, 1
268 πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μηδέν τούτοις περισσότερον προηγόρευεν τε τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ τιμὴν παρ' ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος, καὶ ἃρροῦντα ἑκέλευεν εἰς τὴν Αἰγύπτον ἀπείναι στρα-τηγὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἑβραίων πλῆθος ἐσό-μενον καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως τῆς ἑκεὶ τοὺς συγγενείς
269 ἀπαλλάξοντα· "καὶ γὰρ γῆν ὁικήσουσι," φησί, "ταύτην εὐδαίμονα, ἢν Ἄβραμος ὤκησεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πρόγονος καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀπολαύσουσιν ἀγαθῶν, εἰς ταῦτα σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως αὐτοῖς ἡγουμενής." ἐξαγαγόντα μένιτοι τοὺς Ἐβραί-ους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγύπτου θυσίας ἑκέλευε χαριστηρίους

1 + 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
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αφικόμενον εἰς ἐκεῖνον ἐκτελέσαι τὸν τόπον. τοσαῦτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς θεοκλυτεῖται.

270 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένος οἰς τ' εἴδε καὶ πολὺ μάλλον οἰς ἡκουσε, ""δυνάμει μὲν ἀπιστεῖν,"" ἐφη, ""τῇ σῇ, δέσποτα, ἢν αὐτὸς τε θρησκεύω καὶ προγόνοις οίδα φανερᾶν γενομένην, μανιωδέστερον ἢ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρόνησιν ἠγοῦμαι. πλὴν ἀπορῶ, πῶς ἂν ἰδιώτης ἀνήρ καὶ μηδεμᾶς ἢσχύου εὐπορῶν ἢ πείσῳ λόγοις τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἀφεντας ἢν ἀρτί κατοικοῦσι γῆν ἐπεσθαί μοι πρὸς ἢν αὐτὸς ἠγοῦμαι, ἢ κἂν ἐκεῖνοι πεισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν βιασαίμην Φαραώθην ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον τούτοις, ἢν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν οἰκείαν αὐξουσι εὐδαιμονίαν."

271 (3) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῶ περὶ πάντων συνεβούλευε θαρρεῖν ὑπισχυόμενος αὐτὸς παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὗ μὲν ἂν δὴ λόγων, πειθῶ παρέξεων, οὗ δ' ἂν ἔργων, ἢσχύν χορηγήσεων, ἐκέλευε τῇ θαλαττῇ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντα πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖται λαμβάνειν. καὶ ποιήσαντος δράκων εἰρπε καὶ συνειλούμενος σπειρηδόν ὡς διώκουσιν ἐπ' ἀμύνῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἢν ἠγοῦμαι, ἐῖτα πάλιν βάκτρων ἢν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καθεῖν τῇ δεξίᾳ εἰς τὸν κόλπον προσέταξεν· ὑπακούσας δὲ λευκῇ καὶ τιτάνῳ τῇ χρόαν ὁμοίαν προεκόμισεν εἰτ' εἰς τὸ σύνηθες κατέστη. κελευ- σθείς δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλησίον ὑδάτος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τῇ γῆν ἢν 273 ἐκχέατι ὡμᾶ τῇ χρόαν αἵματόδη γενομένην. θαυ- μάζοντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτους θαρρεῖν παρεκαλεύετο καὶ βοηθὸν εἶδέναι μεγίστων αὐτῶ συνεσόμενον καὶ σημείους πρὸς τὸ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι χρήσθαι, ""οτὶ πεμφθεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντα κατὰ τὰς ἔμας τὰς ἐμάς ἡν ἀπορῶ, πῶς ἂν ἰδιώτης ἀνήρ καὶ μηδεμᾶς ἢσχύου εὐπορῶν ἢ πείσῃ λόγοις τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἀφεντας ἢν ἀρτί κατοικοῦσι γῆν ἐπεσθαί μοι πρὸς ἢν αὐτὸς ἠγοῦμαι, ἢ κἂν ἐκεῖνοι πεισθῶσι, πῶς ἂν βιασαίμην Φαραώθην ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν ἔξοδον τούτοις, ἢν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν οἰκείαν αὐξουσι εὐδαιμονίαν."

272 (3) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῶ περὶ πάντων συνεβούλευε θαρρεῖν ὑπισχυόμενος αὐτὸς παρέσεσθαι καὶ οὗ μὲν ἂν δὴ λόγων, πειθῶ παρέξεων, οὗ δ' ἂν ἔργων, ἢσχύν χορηγήσεων, ἐκέλευε τῇ θαλαττῇ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντα πίστιν ὧν ὑπισχνεῖται λαμβάνειν. καὶ ποιήσαντος δράκων εἰρπε καὶ συνειλούμενος σπειρηδόν ὡς διώκουσιν ἐπ' ἀμύνῃ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἢν ἠγοῦμαι, ἐῖτα πάλιν βάκτρων ἢν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καθεῖν τῇ δεξίᾳ εἰς τὸν κόλπον προσέταξεν· ὑπακούσας δὲ λευκῇ καὶ τιτάνῳ τῇ χρόαν ὁμοίαν προεκόμισεν εἰτ' εἰς τὸ σύνηθες κατέστη. κελευ- 

273 ἐκχέατι ὡμᾶ τῇ χρόαν αἵματόδη γενομένην. θαυ- 
μάζοντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτους θαρρεῖν παρεκαλεύετο καὶ 
βοηθὸν εἶδέναι μεγίστων αὐτῶ συνεσόμενον καὶ 
σημείους πρὸς τὸ πιστεύεσθαι παρὰ πᾶσι χρήσθαι, 
"οτὶ πεμφθεῖς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πάντα κατὰ τὰς ἐμὰς
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 Pharaoh to permit the exodus of those to whose toils and tasks his subjects look to swell their own prosperity."

(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; 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
The ineffable tetragrammaton, viz. the four consonants JHVH, 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. Moreover, Moses found those miracles at his service not on that occasion only but at all times whenever 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.

(xiii. 1) Accordingly, on learning that the king of Egypt, the Pharaohthes 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, his wife, daughter of Raguel, and the children whom he had by her, Gĕrsos

Ádonai (I.xx Kúρos) was employed, and JHVH in Hebrew ms. 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.

Γῆρσων καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ὀφρησεν εἰς τὴν Ἀγγυπτον·

278 τῶν δ' ὀνομάτων τούτων Γῆρσως μὲν σημαίνει κατὰ Ἐβραίων διάλεκτον, ὅτι εἰς ἔξενην γῆν, Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ συμμάχω τῷ πατρίῳ θεῷ χρησά-μενον αὐτὸν Ἀγγυπτίους διαφυγεῖν. γενομένῳ δ' αὐτῷ πλησίον τῶν ὄρων ὁ ἀδελφὸς Ἀραὼν ὑπήντησε τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, πρὸς ὄν ἀποσήμαινε τὰ ἐν τῷ ὤρει συντυχόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς. προίσθη δ' αὐτοῖς ὑπηντίαζον Ἐβραίων οἱ ἀξιολογότατοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ μεμαθηκότες, οἷς Μωυσῆς τὰ σημεῖα διηγοῦμένος ἐπεί πιθανὸς οὐκ ἦν παρέσχεν αὐτῶν τὴν ὄψιν. οἳ δ' ὑπ' ἑκπλήξεως τῶν παρὰ δόξαι αὐτοῖς ὄρω-μένων ἀνεθάρσουν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων ἦσαν εὐελπίδες, ὡς θεοῦ προνοούμενον τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν.

281 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπεθεῖς εἰσέχει ἥδη τοὺς Ἐβραίους [δ'] Μωυσῆς καὶ οἷς ἄν κελεύῃ τούτους ἀκολου-θήσειν ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἐρώτας, παραγινεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἡγεμονίαν νεωστὶ παρειληφότα, καὶ οἴσα τε ὡφελήσειεν Ἀγγυπτίους ὑπὸ Ἀἰθιόπων καταφοροῦμενοί καὶ διαρπαξάμενης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐδήλου, στρατηγία καὶ πόνοις χρησάμενος ὡς περὶ οἰκείων, ὅτι δὲ κινδυνεύσειεν ἐπὶ τοῦτος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἁμοιβάς οὐ 282 δικαίας κομιζόμενος ἀνεδίδασκεν, τά τε κατὰ τὸ ν.Π., ὅτι δῆ, ὅτι τε: should perhaps be transposed before στρατηγία with Lat. “et quia militia.”

1 v.11, ὅτι δῆ, ὅτι τε: should perhaps be transposed before στρατηγία with Lat. “et quia militia.”

a Bibl. Gershom (Τροσάμ).

b 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 286
and Eleazar, he hastened thither. Of these two names, the one, Gêrsos, a means in the Hebrew tongue Ex. ii. 22, that he had come to "a foreign land" b; the other, Eleazar, c 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 iv. 27. 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 d: 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.

(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 as gêr shām, "a sojourner there"; according to a sounder etymology (from the verb gārash) it would mean "expulsion" (Driver).

c 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."

d In Ex. iv. 29 the elders of Israel are called together by Moses and Aaron.

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Συναίων ὁρός αὐτῷ συντυχόντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνὰς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πίστιν ὄν ὅτος αὐτῷ προστάξειν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ δειχθέντα σημεῖα καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐξετῖθετο, παρεκάλει τε μὴ ἀπιστοῦντα τούτως ἐμποδοῦν ὑσταθαι τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ.

284 (3) Χλενάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Μωυσῆς ἐργῳ παρείχεν αὐτῷ βλέπειν τὰ σημεῖα τὰ κατὰ τὸ Συναίων ὁρός γενόμενα· ὁ δ’ ἀγανακτήσας πονηρὸν μὲν αὐτὸν ἀπεκάλει καὶ πρῶτον φυγόντα τὴν παρ’ Αἰγυπτίων δουλείαν καὶ νῦν ἐξ ἀπάτης αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀφίξεν πεποιημένον καὶ τερατουργίαις καὶ

285 μαγείας καπαπλῆξαί· ἐπικεχειρηκότα. καὶ ταῦθ’ ἀμα λέγων κελεύν τοὺς ἑρείς τὰς αὐτὰς ὅψεις αὐτῶς παρασχεῖν ὅραν, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν ὄντων καὶ πρ’ τὴν τοῦτων ἐπιστήμην, καὶ ὅτι μὴ μόνος αὐτὸς ἐμπειρὸς ὃν εἰς θεόν δύναται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παράδοξον ἀναφέρων πιθανὸς ὡς παρ’ ἀ-παιδευτοῖς ὑπάρχειν. καὶ μεθεμένων ἐκείνων τὰς

286 βακτηρίας δράκοντες ἠσαν. Μωυσῆς δ’ οὐ κατα-πλαγεῖς, “οὐδ’ αὐτὸς μέν,” εἶπεν, “ὁ βασιλεύ, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καταφρονώ, τοσόποτε μέντοι κρείττονα τὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πραττόμενα τῆς τοῦτων μαγείας καὶ τέχνης φημὶ, ὡς τὰ θεία τῶν ἀνθρω-πίνων διαφέρει. δειξὼ δὲ οὐ κατὰ γοητείαν καὶ πλάνην τῆς ἀλήθους δόξης τάμα, κατὰ δὲ θεοῦ

287 πρόνοιαν καὶ δύναμιν φαινόμενα.” καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν μεθείουσι ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς βακτηρίαν κελεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς ὅψιν μεταβαλεῖν· ἡ δ’ ἐπείθετο καὶ τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βακτηρίας, αἱ δράκοντες ἐδόκουν,

1 καταπλῆξαν codd. 2 ὡς παρ’ ὃς περ RO.

a The “magicians” or rather “sacred scribes” of Ex. vii. 11.

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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 a 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. b 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-

b 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.
περιούσα κατήσθιε μέχρι πάσας ἀνήλωσεν· εἰτ᾽ εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς σχῆμα μεταπεσοῦσαν κομίζεται Μωυσῆς.

288 (2) Ὅ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν τούτω μᾶλλον πραχθέντι καταπλήττεται, προσοργισθεὶς δὲ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῶ προχωρήσειν εἰπὼν ἐκ τῆς κατ᾽ Ἀγνωτών σοφίας καὶ δεινότητος κελεύει τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τεταγμένων μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἁνέσω παρέχειν τοῦ πονείν, ἀλλὰ πλείοσι τῶν πρότερον κακοῖς αὐτοῖς 289 καταναγκάζειν. Ὅ δὲ ἁχυρὸν αὐτοῖς παρέχων εἰς τὴν πλυνθείαν πρότερον οὐκέτι παρέχειν, ἀλλ᾽ ἠμέρας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐποεῖ, νυκτὸς δὲ συνάγειν τὸ ἁχυρον. καὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ διπλασίονος οὐντος αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰτίαις Μωυσῆν ἔχον, ὡς τῶν ἐργῶν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ταλαπωρίας δι᾽ ἐκείνων χαλεπωτέρας γεγενημένης. Ὅ δ᾽ οὐτε πρὸς τὰς βασιλείας ἀπειλᾶς ἐκαμνεν οὐτε πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἑβραίων μὲμβης ἐνεδίδου, τὴν τε ψυχὴν παραστησάμενος πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἐπὶ τῶ πονείν καὶ τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐκπορίζειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ὑπῆρχε. 290 καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἐπειδὴν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπὶ τὸ Σαῦρον ὁρὸς ἐκεῖ θύσοντας τῷ θεῷ, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν κεκελευ- κέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν οἷς ἐκείνως βούλεται, τὴν δ᾽ εὑμένειαν αὐτοῦ περὶ παντὸς ποιούμενον συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἐξοδον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ τούτων κωλυτὴς γενόμενος αὐτὸν αἰτίασθαι πάσχων ὁσα παθεῖν ἐκὸς τὸν ἀντιπράττουτα θεοῦ προστάγμασι. 291 τοῖς γὰρ χόλον ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς κινήσας θεῖον ἐξ ἀπάντων φύσεθαι τὰ δεινὰ καὶ οὐτε γῇ τούτως οὐτε ἄνθρωπος οὔτε γοναὶ τέκνων κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐχθραὶ πάντα καὶ πολέμια. πειραθησεθαί 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 dreadful 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
τε τούτων Αιγυπτίως ἐφασκε μετὰ καὶ τοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἐκ τῆς χώρας αὐτῶν ἀκόντων ἐκείνων.

293 (xiv. 1) Τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἐκφανλίζοντος τοὺς Μωυσέως λόγους καὶ μηδεμίαν ἐπιστροφὴν ἐτι ποιουμένου πάθη δεινὰ τοὺς Αιγυπτίους κατελάμβανεν, ὃν ἐκαστὸν ἐκθήσομαι διὰ τὸ τῇ πρῶτερον τοις συμβάντα τότε [τοῖς] Αιγυπτίοις εἰς πείραν ἐλθεῖν καὶ διὰ τὸ βούλεσθαι Μωυσῆν μηδὲν ὃν προεῖπεν αὐτοῖς ψευσάμενον ἐπιδείξαται, καὶ συμφέρει τοῖς ἀνθρώποις μαθοῦσιν φυλάττεσθαι ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐφ’ ὅις μὴ δυσαρεστησθῆναι1 τὸ θεῖον μηδ’ εἰς ὀργὴν τραπέν2 ἀμυνεῖται3 τῆς ἄδικιας αὐτοῖς. ὁ γὰρ ποταμὸς αὐτοῖς αἰματάδης θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐρρύῃ πίνεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενος, καὶ πηγὴν ἔτεραν ὑδάτων οὐκ ἔχουσιν οὐχὶ τὴν χρόνον μόνον ἣν τοιοῦτος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πειραμένοις ἀλγήματα καὶ πικρὰν ὀδύνην προσέφερεν. ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος μὲν Αιγυπτίοις, Ἑβραίοις δὲ γλυκὺς καὶ πόσιμος καὶ μηδὲν τοῦ κατὰ φύσιν παρηλλαγμένος. πρὸς οὖν τὸ παράδοξον ἀμηχανήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς καὶ δείσας περὶ τῶν Αιγυπτίων συνεχώρει τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἀπιέναι καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ λωφήσαντος πάλιν τὴν γνώμην μετέβαλεν οὐκ ἐπιτρέπων τὴν ἀφοδον αὐτοῖς.

295 (2) Ο θεὸς δὲ ἀγνωμονοῦντος καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς συμφορᾶς οὐκέτι σωφρονεῖν ἐθέλοντος ἄλλην τοῖς Αιγυπτίοις ἐπιθέλει πληγὴν· βατράχων πλῆθος ἀπειρον τὴν γῆν αὐτῶν ἐπεβόσκετο, μεστὸς δὲ τούτων καὶ ὁ ποταμὸς ἦν,

1 O: δυσαρεστήσῃ rell. 2 ROE: περιτραπέν rell. 3 ἀμυνθήτα 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, 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.

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.

(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,

a He omits one, the fifth.
ψι διαμωμένους τὸ ποτόν τῶν ξών ἵχωρι κεκακωμένων λαμβάνειν ἐναποθηκόσκοτοι καὶ συν-
297 διαφθειρομένων τῷ ὕδατι, ἢ τε χώρα μεστὴ
κακῆς ἢν ἰλύσω γεννωμένων τε καὶ ἄποθηκοσκότων,
tάς τε κατ' οἶκον αὐτῶν διαιταὶ ἥφαντον ἐν
βρωτοῖς εὐρύσκομενοι καὶ ποτοῖς καὶ ταῖς εὐναῖς
αὐτῶν ἐπιπολάζοντες, ὅσμῇ τε χαλεψὶ ἢν καὶ
dυσώδης ἄποθηκοσκότων τῶν βατράχων καὶ ξών-
298 των καὶ διεφθαρμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν κα-
kῶν ἑλαυνομένων τῶν Λυγυπτίων τὸν Μωσῆν ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οἰχέσθαι τοὺς Ὁβραίους
λαβῶντα, καὶ παραχρήμα τοῦτ' εἰπόντος ἥφανατο
tῶν βατράχων τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἡ τε γῆ καὶ ὁ
299 ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν φύσιν κατέστησαν. Φαραώ-
θης δὲ ἀμα τοῦ τε πάθους ἀπήλακτο [ἡ γῆ] καὶ
tῆς αἰτίας ἐπελέλυστο καὶ τοὺς Ὁβραίους κατεῖχε,
καὶ ὡσπερ πλειώνων παρημάτων φύσεως βουλό-
μενος μαθεῖν οὐκέτ' ἥφιε τοῖς περὶ τὸν Μωσῆν
ἐξεναί, φόβῳ μάλλον ἡ φρονήσει ταύτην αὐτοῖς
ἐπιτρέπουν.

300 (3) Πάλιν οὖν ἄλλον κακοῦ προσβολὴ μετῆι τὸ
θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπάτην· φθειρῶν γὰρ τοῖς Λυγυπ-
tίων ἐξήνθησεν ἀπειρῶν τι πλῆθος ἐνδοθεν ἁνα-
διδομένων, ύφ' ὅν κακοὶ κακῶς ἀπώλυντο μήτε
λουτροῖς μήτε χρίσει φαρμάκων διαφθειραι τὸ
301 γένος αὐτῶν δυνάμενοι. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν
ὁ τῶν Λυγυπτίων βασιλεὺς ταραχθεὶς καὶ δείσας
ὃμοῦ τὸν ὀλέθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰσχύνην δὲ
τῆς ἀπωλείας λογισάμενος ἐξ ἡμίσους ὑπὸ φαυλο-

1 Probably a gloss.

a Or “scrapped (the soil),” cf. iii. 10 διαμωμένους τὴν ψάμμον. The word is drawn from Thuc. iv. 26, “the soldiers were in
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insomuch that when they delved 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 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 Pharaoh, 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 broke out on the persons of the Egyptians, issuing from their bodies, whereby the miserable wretches miserably perished, neither lotions nor unctions 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 habit of scraping away the shingle (διαμώμενοι τον 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. 21, "And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink."

Or "stores," "comforts," including food and dress.

LXX reads σκυφες (= "gnats," rather than "fleas").
JOSEPHUS

302 τητος ἦναγκάζετο σωφρονεῖν· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις αὐτοῖς ἐδίδου τὴν ἀφοδίων, καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ λωφήσαντος τέκνα καὶ γυναίκας ὁμῆρα τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτῶν καταλπεῖν αὐτοὺς ἡξίουν. προσεξαγριάων δὴ τὸν θεὸν νομίσας ἀπατήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὕστερ πω Μωυσέως ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἔκεινον τιμωροῦντος τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑβραίων.

303 θηρίων γὰρ παντοῖοι καὶ πολυτρόπων, ὥστε ἐν σφιν οὖθεσ’ ἀπηντήκηει πρότερον, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐγέμισεν, ὡς’ δὲν αὐτοῖ τε ἀπώλλυντο καὶ ή γῆ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀπέστερεῖτο, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ διέφυγε τὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνους ἀπώλειαν, νόσω τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπομενόντων ἐδαπανάτο.

304 (4) Τοῦ δὲ Φαραώθου μὴ δ’ οὐτοὺς ἐκοντοσ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναίκας συναπάρειν τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀξιοῦντος καταλείπεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παιδᾶς, οὐκ ἐπόρει τὸ θεόν τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτῶν ποικίλοις κακοῖς καὶ μείζονι τῶν προενδιδημηκότων μετερχόμενον βασανίσαι· ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοῖς ἐξηλκοῦτο τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐντός διαβρέχομένων, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων

305 οὐτός ἀπώλλυτο. μὴ δ’ ὑπὸ ταύτης δὲ τῆς πληγῆς σωφρονιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως χάλαζα, μήτε πρότερον τοῦ κατ’ Αἰγυπτίων ἀέρος τούτου πεπονθότος μὴ θ’ ὁμοία τῇ παρ’ ἄλλοις ὡρα χειμώνος κατιούση, μείζων δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βόρεια καὶ τὴν ἄρκτον

a Detail attached in Ex. x. 10 f. to a later plague.

b 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,” κυψώμα) of Ex. viii. 21. The single Heb. word translated “swarms-of-flies,” viz. ‘ārōb, 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. 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 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.

(4) Yet since even so Pharaoh would not yield to the will of God, but, while permitting the wives to accompany their husbands, required the children to be left behind, the Deity lacked not the means to pursue and torment the sinner with divers chastishments 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

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.

c i.e. the labourers in the fields. But the meaning is doubtful: perhaps "even though the population survived it."

d Detail not in Scripture; in Ex. x. 10 f. wives and children are to remain.

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νεμομένοις, ἕαρος ἀκμάζοντος κατενεχθείσα τοὺς 306 καρποὺς αὐτῶν κατέκλασεν. ἔπειτα φύλον ἀκρί-
δων ἐπινέμεται τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χαλάζης μὴ κατα-
βλαβεῖσαν σποράν, ὥστε πρὸς τάκριβες 1 πάσας
τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίωις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἑλπίδας διολέσαι.
307 (5) Ἡρκεῖ μὲν οὖν τὸν δίχα πονηρίας ἀνόητον
καὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν κακῶν εἰς σύνεσιν καὶ τοῦ
συμφέροντος τὴν ἐπίνουαν ὕφελήσαι, Φαραώθης
δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης ὅσον ὑπὸ κακίας
ομως αἰσθόμενος τῆς αἰτίας ἀντεφιλονίκει τῷ
θεῷ καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο,
καὶ κελεύει μὲν τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τὰ γυναικῶν
καὶ παίδων ἀπάγει τοὺς Ἐβραίους, τὴν δὲ λείαν
αὐτοῖς καταλιπεῖν ἐφθαρμένης αὐτοῖς τῆς οἰκείας.
308 τοῦ δὲ Μωυσέως οὐχὶ δίκαια φήσαντος αὐτῶν
ἀξιόν, δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοῦς τῷ θεῷ τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῆς
λείας ἐπενεγκεῖν, καὶ τριβομένου διὰ ταύτην τὴν
αἰτίαν τοῦ χρόνου σκότος βαθὺ καὶ φέγγους
ἀμοιρὸν περιχεῖται τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίωις, ὡς οὖ τὰς
τε οἴσεις ἀποκλειομένως καὶ τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἐμφρατ-
tομένους ὑπὸ παχύτητος οὐκτρῶς τε ἀποθνήσκειν
συνέβαινε καὶ δεδιέναι μὴ καταποθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ
309 νέφους. εἶτα τούτου διασκεδασθέντος μετὰ τρεῖς
ήμερας καὶ τοσαῦτας νῦκτας, ὡς οὖ μετενοεί πρὸς
τὴν ἕξοδον τῶν Ἐβραίων ὃς Φαραώθης, προσελθὼν
ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν ἃ' ἀχρὶ πότε ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ
θεοῦ γνώμῃ; κελεύει γὰρ οὗτος ἀπολύειν τοὺς
Ἑβραίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν ἐτέρως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν
310 κακῶν χωμᾶς μὴ ταῦτα ποιήσαντας.’’ ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς
ὀργισθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἱπειλήσειν αὐτοῦ τὴν

1 Niese: ἀκρίβες 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.

(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 Pharaoh, 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 he ordered Moses to take off the Hebrews, women and children included, but to leave their live stock 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 Pharaoh 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

a In Exodus these orders follow the plague of darkness.

b λεία, constantly used of cattle.

2 Lat., ed. pr.: + γὰρ codd.

299
κεφαλῆν ἀποτεμεῖν, εἰ πάλιν περὶ τούτων ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῶν προσέλθοι. Μωυσῆς δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι ποιήσεσθαι περὶ τούτων λόγους ἔφησεν, αὐτόν δὲ ἐκεῖνον σὺν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἀγγυπτιῶν παρακαλέσεις τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἀπελθεῖν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

311 (6) Ὅ δὲ θεὸς δηλώσας ἐτι μιὰ πληγῇ τοὺς Ἀγγυπτίους καταναγκάσειν ἀπολύσαι τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐκέλευσεν Ἡ μωυσῆς παραγγείλας τῷ λαῷ ὑσίαν ἐτοίμην ἑχειν, παρασκευασμένον τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ξανθικοῦ μηνὸς εἰς τὴν τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτην, ὅπερ μὲν Ἀγγυπτίους Φαρμουθὶ καλεῖται, Νισᾶν δὲ παρ Ἐβραίους, Μακεδόνες δὲ αὐτὸν Ξανθικόν προσαγορεύουσιν, ἀπάγει τε τοὺς Ἐβραίους πάντα ἐπικομιζομένους. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐτοίμους ἑχὼν ἡδή τοὺς Ἐβραίους πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον καὶ διατάξας εἰς φατρίας ἐν ταῦτῳ συνείχεν, ἐνστάσεις δὲ τῆς τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτης πάντες πρὸς ἀφοδόν ἑχοντες ἔθουν καὶ τῶν αἵματι τὰς οἰκίας ἡγνιζον υσσώπῳ κόμαις ἀναλαβόντες, καὶ δειπνήσαντες τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἐκαυσάν ως ἐξελευ-312 σόμενοι. ὃθεν νῦν ἐτὶ κατὰ τὸ θέον οὕτως θύμομεν τὴν ἐορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες, σημαινεῖ δ' ὑπερβάσια, διότι κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερβάς Ἀγγυπτίως ἐναπέσκηψε τὴν νόσον. ἡ γὰρ φθορὰ τῶν πρωτοτόκων κατ' ἐκείνην ἐπεισὶ τὴν νύκτα τοῖς Ἀγγυπτίοις, ὡς συνελθόντας πολλοὺς

1 ἐκέλευς RO. 2 τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτη ME.

a Not tribes; the Attic φ(ρ)ατρία was a subdivision of the φιλή, 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.

300
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 a 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, b 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. c

For on that selfsame night destruction visited the firstborn of Egypt, insomuch that multitudes of

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a Literally "refreshing them (the houses) with bunches of hyssop": ἀναλαμβάνειν, elsewhere = "refresh," "recover" (e.g. A. xv. 312), is here synonymous with ἀγνίζειν, "purify."

b ἐναπέσακης τὴν νόσον ("launched the plague upon") after Thuc. ii. 47 (of the plague of Athens).
τῶν περὶ τὸ βασίλειον διαιτωμένων τῷ Φαραώθη
314 συμβουλεύειν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους. καὶ Μωυ-
σῆν καλέσαι ἐκεῖνος ἀπιέναι προσέταξεν, εἰ τῆς
χώρας ἐξέλθουσιν παύσεσθαι τὴν Αἰγυπτον κακο-
παθοῦσαν ὑπολαβῶν, δόροις τε τοὺς Ἑβραίους
ἐτίμων, οἱ μὲν ύπὲρ τοῦ τάχιον ἐξελθεῖν, οἱ δὲ
kαὶ κατὰ γειτνιακὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν.
315 (xv. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἔξηγοι κλαίοντων καὶ μετα-
νοοῦντων ὅτι χρήσαιτο χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς τῶν
Αἰγυπτίων, τὴν δὲ πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ Λητοῦς
πόλιν ἔρημον οὐδαν ἐν τοῖς τότε Βαβυλῶν γὰρ
ὕστερον ἐκεῖ κτίζεται Καμβύσου καταστρεφομένου
tὴν Αἰγυπτον. συντόμως δὲ ποιοῦμενοι τὴν ἁφοδον
eis Βεελσεβουντα χωρίον τριταῖοι παραγίνονται
316 τῆς Ἑρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης. μηδενὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
γῆς εὐποροῦντες διὰ τὴν ἔρημίαν πεφυραμένους
τοῖς ἀλέυροις καὶ πεπηγόσι μόνον ὑπὸ βραχείας
θερμότητος τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄρτοις διετρέφοντο,
καὶ τούτοις ἐπὶ τριάκονθο ἡμέρας ἐχρήσαντο πρὸς
πλείωνα γὰρ οὕκ ἐξήρκεσε χρόνον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἐκ
tῆς Αἰγυπτοῦ ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ ταῦτα τὴν τροφὴν
ταμευομένους καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς
317 κόρου αὐτῇ χρωμένους· οθεν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε

1 παίσασθαι eodd.

* 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
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, II. 313-317

those whose dwellings surrounded the palace trooped to Pharaoh 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 xii. 35 f. honoured the Hebrews with gifts, some to speed their departure, others from neighbourly feelings towards old acquaintance.

(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.a Quitting the country by the shortest route they arrived on the xiv. 2. third day at Beelsephon, b a place beside the Red Sea. Being bereft of any sustenance from the barren soil, they kneaded flour, baked it with merely a slight xii. 39. heating, and subsisted on the bread so made; on this they lived for thirty days,c 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 searcey,

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.

b Bibl. Baal-zephon, not identified.

c 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.
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).

3 The Macedonian month (approximately April) equated by Josephus with the Hebrew Nisan.

c These dates conflict with other statements in Josephus (e.g.)
we keep for eight 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.

(2) They left Egypt in the month of Xanthicus, 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. 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.

(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 folk, exhausted by their march. Inquiring,
πωμένων. παρ’ ἐκάστων τε ἀναπυθανόμενοι ἢ χωρήσειαν ἐπέσπευδον τὴν διώξιν, καίτοι χαλεπὴς οὐσῆς ὀδευθῆναι τῆς γῆς οὐ στρατοπέδους μόνον

322 ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ’ ἑνα. Μωυσῆς δὲ ταύτῃ τούς Ἐβραίους ἀπήγαγεν, ὡς εἰ μετανοήσαντες οἱ Λιγύπτιοι διόκειν ἐξέλοιεν τιμωρίαν τῆς πονηρίας καὶ παραβάσεως τῶν ὁμολογιμένων ὑπόσχοιεν, καὶ διὰ Παλαιστίνους, <οὐς> ἐς ἐξοντας κατὰ παλαιάν ἀπέχθειαν ὀὕσαν ὁπωσοῦν ἐβουλέτο ἔλαιθαις ἀπερχόμενος· ὁμορος γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ τῶν

323 Λιγύπτιων χώρᾳ· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ἄγουσαν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνῃ οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν τὸν λαὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πολλὴν ἀνύσας ὁδὸν καὶ κακοπαθήσας ἤθελησεν ἐμβαλείν εἰς τὴν Χαναάιαν· ἐτε τε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἄγειν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Συραίων ὀρὸς ἐκεῖ ποιήσωντας

324 τὰς θυσίας. καταλαβόντες δὲ τούς Ἐβραίους οἱ Λιγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας εἰς ὅλιγον χωρίον· ἐξακόσια γὰρ αὐτοὶς ἁρματα εἶπετο σὺν ἵππευσι πεντακισμυρίους καὶ ὅπλητων μυραίδες ἦσαν εἰκοσι. τὰς δὲ ὀδοὺς ἀπεφράγνυσαν, αἰς φεύγεσθαι τοὺς Ἐβραίους ὑπελάμβανον, μεταξύ κρημνῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσβάτων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης

325 ἀπολαμβάνοντες· τελευτὰ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὄρος υπὸ τραχύτητος ὀδῶν ἀπορον καὶ φυγῆς ἀπολαμβανό-

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1 ins. Niese.
2 LE Lat.: ἐβουλεύετο rell.

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a Ex. "For God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt."

b Josephus is replying to anti-Semitic 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 coterminous with that of the Egyptians.\(^a\) That was why \(^b\) 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.\(^c\) Barring all routes by which they expected the Hebrews to attempt escape,\(^d\) 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\(^e\) and prohibitive for retreat.

Alexandria: Why this route? Whence did they get their arms? etc.

\(^a\) The 600 chariots are Biblical, the other figures imaginary.

\(^b\) The retreat from Syracuse is in mind: τάς τε ὄντως τάς κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ἡ εἰκός ὁ τῶς Ἀθηναίων οὖς, ἀπεφράγνυσαν Thuc. vii. 74.

\(^c\) Or perhaps “whose rugged tracks made it impracticable.”

\(^d\) Thuc.
μενον. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῇ πρὸς θάλατταν τοῦ ὄρους τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἀπέφραττον τῷ στρατο-πέδῳ κατὰ στόμα τούτο ἵδρυσάμενοι, ὡπως τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔξοδον ὅσιν αὐτοῖς ἀφηρημένοι.

326 (4) Μήτ' οὖν ὑπομένειν πολιορκομένων τρόπῳ διὰ τὴν ἐνδειαν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνάμενοι μήτε φυγής εὐπορίαν ὅρωντες, ὅπλων τε σπανίζοντες εἰ καὶ μάχεσθαι δόξειν αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἀπολείσθαι2 καθευστήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ παρα-δώσουσιν ἐαυτοὺς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις ἐθελουσίως.

327 καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἤτιῳτον πάντων ἐπιλελησμένοι τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς σημείων γεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τὸν προφήτην παρορμώντα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ ἐπαγγελλόμενον ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας λίθοις ἐθελήσαι βαλείν παραδίδοναι τε

328 σφᾶς τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις διεγνωκέναι. πένθος τε ἦν καὶ ὀδυμοί γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν πρὸ ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχόντων τὸν ὀλέθρον, ὀρεσί καὶ θαλάττῃ περικεκλεισμένων καὶ πολεμίως καὶ φυγήν οὐδαμόθεν ἐκ τούτων ἐπινοοῦντων.

329 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ καίπερ ἀγριαίνοντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλῆθος οὕτ' αὐτός ἐνέκαμψε τῇ περὶ αὐτοῦς προνοία καὶ τῷ θεῷ κατεφρόνει, τά τε ἀλλα πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ὥσα προεῖπε παρασχηκότος καὶ μηδὲ τότ' αὐτοὺς έάσοντος ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς

330 γενομένους ἠ δουλεύειν ἠ ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ σταῦς ἐν μέσοις "οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις," εἶπε, "καλῶς τὰ παρόντα πεπολιτευμένοι πρὸς ὕμᾶς" δίκαιον ἦν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσομένοις πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νῦν ἀπογινώσκειν ὕμᾶς

1 ROE: προσβολή M: συμβολή rel.
2 Niese: ἀπολέσθαι codd.
3 Niese: ὕμᾶς codd.

308
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.\(^a\)

(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 inerredulity 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

\(^a\) Or "table-land."


JOSEPHUS

331 προνοίας μανίας ἐργὸν ἂν εἴη, παρ’ οὗ πάνθ’ ὕμων ἀπήντηκεν ὡσα δι’ ἐμοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς δουλείας οὐδὲ προσδοκώσιν ὑπέσχετο. μάλλον δ’ ἔχρην ἄπόρους, ώσ δο-κεῖτε, γεγενημένους βοηθοῦν ἐλπίζειν τὸν θεοῦ, οὗ καὶ τὸ νῦν εἰς ταύτην ὑμᾶς περικεκλείσθαι

332 τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἐργὸν, ἢ’ εἴς ἀμηχάνων θεν οὔτ’ αυτοὶ νομίζετε σωτηρίαν ἐξειν οὔθ’ οἱ πολέμιοι, ἐκ τοῦτων ῥυσάμενος τὴν τε ἱσχὺν ἐπιδείξηται τὴν ἐαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς πρόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικρὸς τὸ θεὸν τὴν ἐαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν οἷς ἂν εὖνοις ἡ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἐφ’ οἰς ἀνθρωπίνην ἐλπίδα μὴ βλέποι πρὸς τὸ κρίετον παροῦσαν.

333 οὖθεν τοιούτῳ βοηθῷ πεπιστευκότες, ὃ δύναμις καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαι μεγάλα καὶ τῶν τηλικού-των ἀσθένειαν καταψηφίσασθαι, μὴ καταπέπληκτος τὴν Αἰγυπτίων παρασκευήν, μηδ’ ὅτι θάλασσα καὶ κατόπιν ὑμῖν ὅρη φυγῆς ὀδὸν οὐ παρέχοντα διὰ τοῦτ’ ἀπογυνώσκετε τὴν σωτηρίαν. γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ταῦθ’ ὑμῖν πεδία τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος καὶ γῆ τὸ πέλαγος.’’

334 (xvi. 1) Τοσαῦτα εἰπὼν ἤγεν αυτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὀρώντων’ εν ὦθει γὰρ ἦσαν καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τεταλαιψωμένου τῆς διώξεως εἰς τὴν ύπεραίαν τὴν μάχην ὑπερβαλέσθαι καλῶς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον. ἐπειδ’ δὲ πρὸς τῷ αἰγαλῷ Μωυσῆς ἐγεγόνει, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ ἰκέτευε καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθοῦν ἐκάλει λέγων: οὐδ’ αὐτοῖς μὲν ἁγιοεῖς, ὅτι φυγεῖν ἦμῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὐτε κατὰ ρώμην οὔτε κατ’ ἐπίνοιαν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ’ εἰ δὴ τι πάντως σωτηρίων στρατῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν σήν βουλήσειν 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

1 ROE: ἐν ἀνθρώπιν ῥηλ. 2 + ἀν Bekker.
336 Ἰουνπτον, σὸν ἐστὶν ἐκποριζεῖν. ἢμεῖς τε ἀλλὴν ἀπεγνωκότες ἐλπίδα καὶ μηχανὴν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ μόνου καταφεύγομεν, καὶ εἶ τι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἐλθοὶ προνοίας ἐξαρτάσαι τῆς Ἰουνπτον ὀργῆς ἢμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀφορώμεν. ἀφύκοιτο δὲ τοῦτο ταχέως τὴν σήν ἐμφανίσον ἡμῖν ὄναμιν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑπὸ ἀνελπιστίας καταπεπτωκότα πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἀναστήσον εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας θάρσος. ἐν οὐκ ἄλλοτρίοις δ' ἐσμέν τοῖς ἀπόροις, ἀλλὰ σῇ μὲν ἡ θάλασσα, σὸν δὲ τὸ περικλείον ἢμᾶς ὀρός, ὡς ἀνοιγῆται μὲν τούτῳ σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἤπειρωθῆται δὲ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶναι δὲ ἡμῖν ἀποδράναι καὶ δὴ ἀέρος δοξαὶ ἵσχυ τῇ σῇ τούτων ἢμᾶς σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπων.

337 (2) Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθείασας τύπτει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τήν θάλατταν. ἢ δ' ύπο τῆς πληγῆς ἀνεκόπη καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποχωρήσασα γυμνήν ἀφίησι τὴν Μωυσῆς δὲ ὅρων τῆς ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐκκεχωρηκός αὐτοῖς τῆς ἰδίας ἢπείρου πρῶτος ἐνέβαινεν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπεσθαῖ διὰ θείας ὁδοῦ ποιομένους τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῷ κινδύνῳ τῶν παρόντων πολεμίων ἦδομένους καὶ χάριν ἠχοντας διὰ τὴν παράλογον οὕτως ἐξ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀναφανεῖσαν.

338 (3) Τῶν δ' οὐκετ' ὁκνοῦντων, ἀλλ' ἰεμένων μετὰ σπουδῆς ὡς συμπαρόντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μαίνεσθαι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὸ πρῶτον Ἰουνπτοι ἐδόκουν ὡς ἐπὶ πρόδηλον ὀλθέρον ὄρμωμένους, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐῶρων ἄβλαβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προκεκοφότας καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον μηδὲ δυσχερές ἀπαντῆσαν, διώκειν ὀρμήκεσαν αὐτοῖς ὡς κάκεινοι ἢρεμήσοντος τοῦ οὕτως εἰς κάκεινος ἢρεμήσοντος τοῦ 312
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.

(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 unseathed, unchecked by obstacle or discomfiture, they made speed to pursue them, imagining that the sea would remain motionless for them also, and with

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πελάγους, καὶ προτάξαντες τῇ ἵππον κατέβαινον.

341 Ἔβραιοι δὲ καθοπλιζομένους καὶ τὸν χρόνον εἰς τοῦτο τρίβοντας ἐφθασαν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀντιπέραν γῆν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκφυγόντες, οθὲν καὶ θαρσαλεωτέροις συνέβαιν πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδ’ αὐτῶν

342 πεισομένων εἶναι. Ἀγύπτιοι δ’ ἔλανθανον ὅδιαν ὥστε Ἔβραιοις γεγενημένην, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ κοινὴν ἐπεμβαίνοντες καὶ μέχρι σωτηρίας τῶν κεκυνδυ- νευκότων πεποιημένην, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπ’ ἀπωλείᾳ τῇ τούτων ὁρμημένους χρήσαθαι θέλουσιν.

343 ὡς οὖν ὅ τῶν Ἀγύπτιων στρατὸς ἅπας ἐντὸς ἦν, ἐπιχεῖται πάλιν ἡ θάλασσα καὶ περικαταλαμβάνει ῥοῦδης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων κατιοῦσα τοὺς Ἀγύ- πτίους, ὀμβροὶ τ’ ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ κατέβαινον καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ προσεξαπτομένης ἀστραπῆς καὶ

344 κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηνέχθησαν. ὅλως δ’ οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ἐπ’ ἀπωλείᾳ κατὰ μήνιν θεοῦ συμπιπτόντων ἀνθρώπων, ὦ μή τότε συνήλθε· καὶ γὰρ νῦς αὐτούς ζοφώδης καὶ σκοτεινῇ κατέλαβε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο πάντες, ὡς μηδ’ ἄγγελον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς υπολειμμένους ὑποστρέψαι.

345 (4) Τοὺς δ’ Ἔβραιοις 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 βοή-

346 θοῦντα, καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ τε τῶν κύδυνον οὕτως ἐκφυγόντες καὶ προσέτη τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιδόντες κεκολασμένους, ως οὐκ ἄλλοι τινὲς μνημονεύονται

1 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, there-
fore, 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.\(^a\) 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 them-
selves 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

\(^a\) For these added details cf. Ps. lxxviii. 16-20 (" The waters
saw thee," etc., quoted by Weill).
JOSEPHUS

tōn πρόσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὑμνοῖς ἦσαν καὶ παι-
διαῖς ὀλην τὴν νύκτα, καὶ Μωσῆς ὄδην εἰς τὸν
θεόν ἐγκώμιον τε καὶ τῆς εὐμενείας εὐχαριστίαν
περιέχουσαν ἐν ἑξαμέτρῳ τόνω συντίθησιν.

347 (5) Ἔγω μὲν οὖν ὦς εὐρον ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βι-
βλοῖς οὕτως ἐκαστὸν τούτων παραδέδωκα· θαυ-
μάση δὲ μηδεὶς τοῦ λόγου το παράδοξον,
eἰ ἀρχαίος ἀνθρώποις καὶ πονηρίας ἀπείρους
εὐρέθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης ἐϊτε κατὰ
βούλησιν θεοῦ ἐϊτε κατὰ ταύτοματον, ὅποτε καὶ
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακε-
δονίας χθῆς καὶ πρώην γεγονόσων ὑπεχώρησε τὸ
Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὅδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι
παρέσχε τὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ, καταλύσαι τὴν Περσῶν
ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο πάντες
ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ἀλέξανδρον πράξεις συγ-
γραφάμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων ὦς ἐκάστω
δοκεῖ διαλαμβανέτω.

348 (6) Τῇ δ’ ύστεραια τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Ἀιγυπτίων
προσενεχθέντα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἔβραιῶν ὑπὸ
tοῦ ῥοῦ καὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο
ἐκδιδούσῃς ὁ Μωσῆς καὶ τοῦτο εἰκάσας τῇ τοῦ

1 ME: εἰσδιδούσης rel.

4 A classical metre, to which there is no known analogy
in Hebrew poetry: cf. Ant. iv. 303, where another ποίησις
ἐξάμετρος 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 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. b However on these matters everyone is welcome to his own opinion. c

(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...
theoû προνοία γεγονέναι, ὡς μηδὲ ὁπλων ὑσιν ἀποροί, συναγαγὼν καὶ τούτοις σκεπάσας τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἤγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναίον ὁρος θύσων ἐκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ σώστρα τῆς πληθύνος ἀποδώσων, καθὼς αὐτῷ καὶ προείρητο.

* For these added details, perhaps derived from Demetrius, see § 321 note.
should not be wanting, collected them and, having accoutred the Hebrews therein,\textsuperscript{a} 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.\textsuperscript{b}

\textsuperscript{b} § 269.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Γ

(1. 1) Παραδόξου δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἐβραίοις οὕτως γενομένης δεινῶς ἐλύπει πάλιν αὐτοῖς ἀγομένους ἐπὶ τὸ Σωναῖον ὄρος ἢ χώρα τελέως οὕσα ἔρημος καὶ τῶν τε πρὸς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς ἀπορος, σπανίζουσα δὲ καὶ ὑδατος εἰς τὸ ἐσχατον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις τι παρασχεῖν ἐνδεής, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδ' ἀλλο τί τῶν ξώων ἰκανή βόσκειν· ψαφαρὰ γάρ ἔστι καὶ νοτερὸν εἴς αὐτῆς οὐδὲν οὐ τι καὶ φύσαι καρπὸν δύνατο. τοιαῦταν δὲ οὖσαν τὴν χώραν εἴς ἀνάγκης οὐδενὸς ἐτέραν ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες. ἐπεφέροντο δ' ἐκ τῆς προωδοιπορημένης ύδωρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κεκελευκότος, καὶ τοῦτο δαπανηθέντος ἐκ φρεάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὑδρειαν ἐπιπόνως διὰ σκληρότητα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ εὐρισκόμενον δὲ πικρὸν ἄλλ' οὖν πότιμον ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σπανίον. ἀφικνοῦνται δὲ τοῦτον ὁδεύοντες τὸν τρόπον περὶ δείλην ὄψιν εἰς Μαρ τόπον οὕτως διὰ τὴν τοῦ υδατος κακιάν ὀνομάσαντες· μάρ γὰρ ἢ πικρὰ λέγεται. καὶ αὐτόθι τεταλαιπωρημένοι τῷ τε συνεχεί τῆς ὄδοιπορίας καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορίας, καὶ γὰρ τὸτ' αὐτοῦς τελείως ἐπιπελοῦτει, κατάγονται· φρέαρ γὰρ ἦν, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἐμειναν, οὔτ' αὐτὸ μὲν ἐξαρκεῖν δυνάμενον τοσοῦτω στρατῷ, βραχείαν 320
(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 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, 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

* Amplification of Biblical narrative.

† Bibl. Marah, lxx Μερπά translated, as by Josephus, περπίνα: Heb. Mar = "bitter" or "bitterness."
JOSEPHUS

μέντοι παρέχον αυτοῖς εὐθυμίαν ἐν ἐκείνοις εὑρεθέν τοῖς χωρίωσ· καὶ γὰρ ἦκον παρὰ τῶν ἐξερευνώντων μηδὲν ἐμπροσθεν βαδίζουσιν εἶναι. πικρὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ ἀποτόν ἦν, οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποζυγίοις ἀφόρητον.

5 (2) Ὁρῶν δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀθύμως διακειμένους καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ἀνατύλεκτον, οὐ γὰρ καθαρὸς ἢ οὐκ ὑπόκειτο ὡστε τῷ βιαζομένῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀντιτάξαι τὸ ἀνδρεῖον, ἀλλὰ διέφθειρε τὸ κατ' ἐκείνους γενναίον παιδών1 τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὁχλὸς ἀσθενέστερος τῆς ἐκ λόγων ἦν2 δίδασκαλίας, ἐν χαλεπώτεροι ἡν τῆς συμφορὰν τὴν ἀπάν-6 των ἱδίαν αὐτοῦ ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ οὖν ἐπ' ἀλλον τινα συνέτρεχον ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτόν, ἀντι-βολοῦντες γύναια μὲν ὑπὲρ νηπίων οἱ δ' ἀνδρεῖς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μὴ περιοράν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορίζειν αὑτοῖς ἀφορμὴν τινα σωτηρίας. ἐκετεύειν οὖν τρέπεται τὸν θεὸν μεταβαλεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ ἐκ τῆς παρούσης ἕκακίας καὶ πότιμον αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. καὶ κατα-νεῦσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάριν λαβὼν ἀποτομάδος3 τὸ ἄκρον ἐν ποσίν ἐρρημμένης διαιρεῖ μέσην καὶ κατὰ [τὸ] μήκος τῆς τομῆς ποιησάμενος, ἔπειτα μεθεῖς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἐβραίους τὸν θεον ἐπήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐχῶν γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπεσχῆθαι τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς παρέξειν οἷον ἐπιθυμοῦσιν, ἃν πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελεύομενα μὴ ὁκνηρῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως ὑποργύωσιν. ἐρομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί καὶ ποιούντων ἄν μεταβάλοι τὸ ὕδωρ

1 Lat. (infantum): παιδες codd.
2 ins. Niese.
3.tomádos RO.
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, entreat ing 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, 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. On their asking what they must do to procure the

\[\text{Cf. Ex. vv. 25.}\]

\[a\] 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."

\[b\] 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 ἀκιμὴ περιστάν- 
tas ἐξαντλεῖν λέγων τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἐσεσθαι 
pότιμον αὐτοῖς προεκκενωθέντος τοῦ πλείονος. 
καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπόνουν, τὸ δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πληγῶν 
γεγυμνασμένον καὶ κεκαθαρμένον ἢδη πότιμον ἦν.

9 (3) Ἀραντες δ’ ἐκείθεν εἰς Ἡλίων ἀφικνοῦντα 
πόρρωθεν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὀραθῆναι, καὶ γὰρ φοινικό- 
φυτὸς ἦν, πλησιάζουσα1 δ’ ἀπηλέγχετο πονηρά· 
καὶ γὰρ οἱ φοινικὲς ὄντες οὐ πλείους ἐβδομήκοντα 
δυσαυξεῖς τε ἦσαν καὶ χαμαίζηλοι δι’ ὕδατος

10 ἀπορίαις ψαφαροῦ τοῦ παντὸς ὄντος χωρίου· οὔτε 
γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, διόδικα οὐσῶν τὸν ἀριθμόν, 
νοτερὸν τι καὶ πρὸς ἀρδευοὺς2 αὐτοῖς διεπίδα3 
χρήσμον, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυναμένων ἐκβλύσαι μηδ’ 
ἀνασχεῖν ἰκμάδες ἦσαν ὀλίγαι, καὶ διαμωμένοις 
τὴν ψάμμων οὐδὲν ἀπήντα, κἂν εἰ τι δὲ στάζον 
ἐλαβον εἰς χείρας, ἄχρηστον ἡπρισκὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ

11 θολερὸν εἰναί: καρπὸν τε φέρειν ἢν ἀσθενῆ 
τὰ δείδρα διὰ σπάνω τῆς ἐξ ὕδατος εἰς τουτὸ ἀφορ- 
μῆς καὶ παρακλησεως. εἰκὸν οὗν ἐν αὐτῇ τοῦ 
στρατηγοῦ καὶ κατεβῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν 
καὶ τὴν πείραν τῶν κακῶν δι’ αὐτὸν πάσχεν 
λέγοντες· τριακοστὴν γὰρ ἐκείνην ὅδευντες ἦμέραν 
όσα μὲν ἐπεφέροντο πάντ’ ἦσαν ἀναλωκότες,
μηδὲν δὲ περιτυγχάνοντες δυσελπίδαις ἦσαν περὶ 

12 τῶν ὠλων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ παρόντι κακῷ τὴν διά-

1 v.l. πλησιάζουσιν.

2 καὶ πρὸς ἅρδα] προσαρδεύον RO.

3 conj. after Dindorf (διεπίδα): δι’ ἐλπίδα codd.

* A rationalistic explanation of the miracle: cf. B.J. iv. 8. 3 (quoted by Weill).

b Bibl. Elim, lxx Αἰλείμ.

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.\(^a\)

(3) Departing thence, they reached Elis,\(^b\) 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\(^c\) encountered nothing, even such driblets 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,\(^d\) the provisions which they had brought with them were all exhausted,\(^e\) and, lighting upon nothing whatever, they were in utter despair. With minds obsessed with their present woes, precluding

\(^a\) 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).

\(^b\) So the Palestinian Targum on Ex. xvi. 2: "On that day the bread which they had brought out of Egypt was finished" (Weill).
JOSEPHUS

νοιαν ὄντες καὶ ἐν μνήμῃ εἰναι τῶν ὑπηργιμένων αὐτοῖς ἐκ τε τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωσεός ἀρετῆς καὶ συνέσεως καλυμμένοι, δι' ὀργῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ εἶχον καὶ βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὁμήρους ὡς αἰτωτάτον τῆς ἐν ποσὶ συμφορᾶς.

13 (ὁ δ' οὗτος ἀνηρεθισμένον τοῦ πλῆθους καὶ πικρῶς ἐπ' αὐτὸν κεκινημένον, τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν καὶ τῷ συνειδότι τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους προνοιάς, πάρεισιν εἰς μέσους καὶ καταβολῶν τινας καὶ κατὰ χεῖρας ἐτι ποὺς λίθους ἐχόντων, ὥραθήναι τε κεχαρισμένος ὃν καὶ πλήθειν ὁμιλεῖν πιθανὸν πώτατος, καταπαύειν ἡρῴατε τῆς ὀργῆς, μή τῶν παρόντων αὐτούς δυσκόλων μεμημένους λήθην ἔχειν τῶν ἐμπροσθεν ἐνεργεσίων παρακαλῶν, μηδ' ὅτι νῦν πονοῦσι τῆς διανοίας ἐκβάλλειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας καὶ δωρεάς, ὧν μεγάλων καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου ἐτυχον γενομένων, προσδοκάν δὲ καὶ

14 τῆς παρούσης ἀπαλλαγῆς ἁμηχανίας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίας, διν εἰκὸς δοκιμάζοντα τῆν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν πῶς τε καρτερίας ἔχουσι καὶ μνήμης τῶν προὑπηργιμένων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς ἐκείνα γίγνομαι διὰ τὰ ἐν ποσὶ κακά, γυμνάζειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἀρτι

16 χαλεπῶς. ἐλέγχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθοὺς ὄντες περὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν ὄντες περὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν εὐ γεγονότων, ὡς μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης καθ' ἢν ἐκλελοίπασι τῆν Ἀἰγύπτου καταφρονοῦντας, ὡς δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν υπηρέτην αὐτοῦ διατεθέντας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαφευγόμενον περὶ ἄλλοι τε καὶ πράττειν κατ' ἀπαλλαγὴν edd.: ἀπαλλαγήναι codd.

1 In Exodus the murmuring against Moses begins after 326
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.\(^a\)

(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 the departure from Elim (xvi. 2) and the allusion to stoning comes still later, at Rephidim (xvii. 4).
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17 ἐντολήν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσειε. κατηρίθμει τε πάντα, πῶς τε φθαρεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι κατέχειν αὐτοὺς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην βιαζόμενοι, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὁ αὐτὸς ποταμὸς ἐκεῖνος μὲν αἰμα ἥν καὶ ἁπτομέν
18 αὐτοῖς δὲ πότιμος καὶ γλυκύς, πῶς τε διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης ἀναφυγοῦσης αὐτοῖς πορρωτάτω καὶ
νὴν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες αὐτῇ ἑαυτῇ σωθεῖσαν μὲν ἁπτομέν, τοὺς δὲ ἐξήρουσ επίδοςεν ἀπολωλότας, ὅτι τε σπανίζοντας ὁπλῶν εἰς εὐπορίαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τούτων καταστήσειε, τά τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διαφθαρῆσθαι δόξαντας γεγονέναι καὶ σώσειεν.
19 ὁ θεὸς ἐκ παραλόγου καὶ ὡς δύναμις αὐτῶ· μὴ ἀπογνώσκειν δὲ μηδὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἀργήτως περιμένειν λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν μηδὲ βραδεῖαν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ παραντίκα καὶ εἰ μὴ πρὸν τυος πειραθῆναι δυσκόλου πάρεστιν, ἡγομένους δὲ οὐ κατὰ ὁλογραφίαν μέλλειν τὸν θεόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν
20 καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἔλευθερίαν ἡδονῆς, ἧνα μάθοι πότερον ποτε καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίαν καὶ σπάνιν ὑδατὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐστ' ἐνεγκείν γεναιοῦ, ἡ δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἀγαπάτε καθάπερ τὰ βοσκήματα τοὺς κρατοῦσι καὶ τοὺς πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖνων ὑπηρεσίας
21 ἀφθάνως πρεθημένως δεδεινέα δ' εἰπὼν οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἕαυτον σωτηρίας, πείσθεναι γὰρ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἀδίκως ἀποθανῶν, ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μὴ δι’ ὄντερ αὐτὸν βάλλουσι λίθων του θεοῦ κατακρίνειν
22 νομισθῶσιν, (5) ἐπράσυνεν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μὲν τοῦ βάλλειν ὄρμης ἐπέσχε καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ὑπὲρ ἐμελλόν δραίν ἐπτρεψε. παθεῖν δ' οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς

1 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
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23 καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀπαλλαγήν: ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ συγγινώ-

24 ἀφορμὴν ἤν ποθοῦσι. Μωυσῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἀκούσας καταβάινει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος· οἱ δ' ὃς ἐώρων καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελίαις ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγιθότα μετέβαλον ἐκ τῆς κατηφείας πρὸς τὸ ἱλαρώτερον, καὶ στὰς ἐκείνοις ἐν μέσοις ἦκεν ἐλεγες φέρων αὐτῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν [περὶ] τῶν ἐνεστηκότων ἀπόρων ἀπαλλαγήν. καὶ μετ' ὅλιγον ὀρτύγων πλῆθος, τρέφει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὀρνεον ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτερον ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος, ἐφίππαται τὴν μεταξύ θάλατταν ὑπερθόν καὶ ὑπὸ κόπου τε ἀμα τῆς πτήσεως καὶ πρόσγαιον μᾶλλον τῶν ἄλ-

25 λων ὁν καταφέρεται εἰς τοὺς Ἑβραίους· οἱ δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ὡς τροφὴν αὐτῶς τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτην μηχανησαμένου τὴν ἐνδείαν ἴωνται, καὶ Μωυσῆς ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ ταχείαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ποιησαμένου τὴν ἐπικουρίαν.

26 (6) Ἐθνὶς δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρωτὴν ἀφορμὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ δευτέραν αὐτῶς κατέστημεν ο θεός· ἀνέχοντος γὰρ τοῦ Μωυσεός τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαίς δρόσου κατηνέχθη, καὶ περιπηγηνυμένης ταῖς

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a Josephus, *more suus*, explains the miracle by natural causes; cf. § 8.

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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, 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 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, Moses, surmising

b Or, possibly, "even beyond (even prompter than) His promise."

c Midrashic addition to the Biblical narrative.
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χερσὶ Μωσῆς ὑπονοήσας καὶ ταῦτην εἰς τροφὴν ἧκειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέται τε καὶ ἡσθεῖς,
27 τοῦ πλῆθους ἁγνοοῦντος καὶ νομίζοντος νύφεσθαι καὶ τῆς ὁρᾶς εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους¹ τὸ γινόμενον, ἀνεδίδασκεν οὗ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὑπόληψιν ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι τὴν δρόσον, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῆς αὐτῶν καὶ διατροφῆ, καὶ γενόμενος² τοῦτο αὐτοῖς
28 παρείχε πιστεύειν. οὐ δὲ μιμούμενοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ἤδοντο τῷ βρῶματι μέλιτι γὰρ ἢν τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὴν ἤδονην ἐμφερές, ὅμοιον δὲ τῇ τῶν ἁρωμάτων βδέλλῃ, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῷ κοριάννῳ σπέρματι καὶ περὶ συλλογῆν λιαν αὐτοῦ
29 ἐσπουδάκεσαν. παρηγγέλλετο δ’ ἐξ ἵσου πᾶσιν ἁσσαρώνα, τοῦτο δ’ ἐστὶ μέτρον, εἰς ἐκάστην ἡμέραν συλλέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιλεύσοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βρῶματος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις ἀποροῦν ἢ τὸ λαμβάνειν δι’ ἀλκίν τῶν δυνατῶτέρων πλεονεκ-
30 τοῦτων περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. οἱ μέντοι πλέον τοῦ προστεταγμένου μέτρου συναγαγόντες οὐδὲν περισσότερον εἶχον τοῦ κακοπαθῆσαι, ἁσσαρώνας γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον εὑρίσκον, τοῦ δ’ ὑπολευθέντος εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν ὄνησιν οὐδ’ ἦτις ἢν διεφθαρμένον ὑπὸ τε σκωλῆκας καὶ πικρίας. οὐτὼς θείον ἢν τὸ
31 βρῶμα καὶ παράδοξον. ἀμύνει δὲ τοῖς ταύτην νεμομένοις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπορίαν, ἐτι δὲ

¹ ME: ἔτου rell.
² γενόμενος ROE (perhaps rightly).

* 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\(^a\) 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*\(^b\) (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 miraculous was this food. It is a mainsay to dwellers in these parts against their dearth of other

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\(a\) Ex. xvi. 31; Numb. xi. 7. 
\(b\) Ex. xvi. 16. 

XIX. 31 \(\chi'\omega\nu \pi\rho\alpha\pi\lambda\iota\acute{\sigma}i\omega\nu \tau\iota\eta \chi'\rho\alpha\nu\) (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.

\(b\) In Exodus an *ômer* (lxx \(\gamma\omicron\omicron\omicron\omicron\)). 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).
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καὶ νῦν ἦται πᾶς ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος, καθάπερ καὶ τότε Μωυσεὶ χαριζόμενον τὸ θείον κατέπεμψε τὴν διατροφὴν. καλοῦσι δὲ Ἐβραίοι τὸ βρῶμα τούτο μᾶνα· τὸ γὰρ μᾶν ἐπερώτησις κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διάλεκτον τί τοῦτ’ ἔστιν ἀνακρίνουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν χαῖροντες ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταπεμφθέισιν αὐτοῖς διετέλου, τῷ δὲ τροφῇ ταύτῃ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτεσιν ἐχρήσαντο ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ἦσαν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ.

33 Ὅσ’ δ’ ἐκεῖθεν ἄραντες εἰς Ὁραίδειν ἦκον, ταλαπωρηθέντες ὑπὸ δύσους εἰς ἐσχατον, ἐν τε ταῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις πίδαξιν ὀλίγας ἐντυγχάνοντες καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀνυδρόν εὐφόροις τὴν γῆν, ἐν κακοῖς ἦσαν καὶ πάλιν δι’ ὄργης τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐποιοῦντο. ὁ δὲ τὴν ὀρμήν τοῦ πλῆθους πρὸς μικρὸν ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ λιτάς τρέπεται τοῦ Θεοῦ, παρακαλῶν ὡς τροφὴν ἐδωκεν ἀπορουμένος οὕτως καὶ ποτὸν παρασχείν, διαφθειρομένης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ πλῆθος ποτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ὁ δ’ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν τὴν δωρεάν ἀνεβάλλετο, τῷ δὲ Μωυσεὶ παρέξειν ὑποικισθῇ πηγήν καὶ πλῆθος ὀδατος ὁθεν οὐ προσδοκήσειαν, καὶ κελεύει τῷ βάκτρῳ πλῆξαντα τὴν πέτραν, ἦν ἐώρων αὐτόθι παρα-

a 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 replaçaient 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) νεύσθαι in Josepbus 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 334
provisions,\(^a\) and to this very day \(^b\) 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 \textit{manna} \(^c\); for the word \textit{man} is an interrogative in our language, asking the question "What is this?" \(^d\) 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.

(7) When, departing thence, they reached Raphidim,\(^e\) 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 frequent: (3) the second half of the sentence ("all that region") supports the rendering above. There \textit{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.

\(^b\) 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)," \textit{Encycl. Bibl.} s.v.

\(^c\) Heb. \textit{mán}, lxx \textit{μάν} or \textit{μάννα}.

\(^d\) The same popular etymology appears in the Heb. and lxx.

\(^e\) Bibl. Rephidim, lxx (like Jos.) \textit{Ῥαφίδιον}. 

\textit{Water from the rock.} \textit{Ex. xvi. 15.}

\textit{Ex. xvi. 15.}

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κεμένην, παρ' αὐτῆς λαμβάνειν τὴν εὐπορίαν ὅπως δέονται: φροντίζεων γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μὴ σὺν πόνω μηδὲν ἐργασία τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς φανῆναι. καὶ Μωυσῆς ταῦτα λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν περιμένοντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφορώντα: καὶ γὰρ ἦδη καθεώρων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ὀρμώμενον. ὡς δ' ἦκεν, ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταύτης τῆς ἁνάγκης τὸν θεοῦ ἐλεγε καὶ κεχαρίσθαι σωτηρίαν οὐδ' ἐλπισθεὶσαν ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ποταμοῦ 37 αὐτοῖς ῥυήσεσθαι λέγων. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἁκοὴν καταπλαγέντων, εἰ υπὸ τοῦ δίψου καὶ τῆς ὀδούποριας τεταλαιπωρημένους ἁνάγκη γένοιτο κόπτειν τὴν πέτραν, ὁ Μωυσῆς πλήττει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ χανοῦσῃς ἔξεβλυσεν ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ δι- 38 αὐγέστατον. οἱ δὲ τῷ παραδόξῳ τοῦ γεγονότος κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν αὐτοῖς ἢδη τὸ δίψος ἐληγε καὶ πίνοντον ἢδυ καὶ γλυκὸ τὸ νάμα καὶ οἶνον ἀν εἰ ἦθος τὸ δῶρον δόντος ἐφαίνετο· τὴν τε οὐν Μωυσῆς ἑθαύμαζον οὕτως υπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετιμημένον, καὶ θυσίας ἦμείβοντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόνοιαν. δηλοὶ δὲ ἐν τῷ ἑρῴ̃ ρακευμένη γραφή τῶν θεοῦ προεστὶ Μωυσεὶ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἀναδοθήσεσθαι ὕδωρ.

39 (ii. 1) Τού δὲ [τῶν] Ἑβραίων ὄνοματος ἢδη πολλοὶ κατὰ πάντας διαβουκμένου καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγου φοβώντος ἐν φόβῳ συνεβαίνειν οὐ μικρῷ τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους εἶναι, καὶ προσβενόμενοι

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1 MIS: φροντίζει rell. 2 χαρίσασθαι RO.

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a Cf. other allusions to "writings deposited in the temple" in 1. iv. 303 (the song of Moses), v. 61 (Joshua's staving of the sun). I believe that these refer not to the Scriptures 336
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.

(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 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 πειράσθαι

40 τοὺς ἀνδρας διαφθείρειν. ἐτύγχανον δὲ [οἱ] πρὸς
tοῦτο ἐνάγοντες οἱ τῇ Γεβολίτιν καὶ τῇ Ἔπτραν κατοικοῦντες, οἱ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἀμαληκται,
μαχημάτατοι δὲ τῶν ἐκείσε ἐθνῶν ὑπήρχουν.

41 ὃν ὦν καλῶς ἔχει περιοράν, ἄλλα πρὶν ἡ λαβεῖν ἵσχυν καὶ παρέλθειν εἰς εὐπορίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς
πρὸς ἡμᾶς καταράξει μάχης θαρρήσαντας τῷ μηδὲν

42 τὸς χείρας. οἱ δὲ ἄρχομενην δύναμιν ἐχθρῶν πει-

43 (2) Μωυσεὶ δ’ οὐδὲν προσδοκώντι πολέμιον

1 Text doubtful: Reinach's conj. ἐφόδου does not satis-

a Mentioned, in conjunction with Amalek, in A. ii. 6
they exhorted each other to repel and endeavour to destroy these upstarts. The instigators of this movement were those inhabitants of Gobolitis and Petra 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. "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. lxxiii. 7.

b Future capital of the Nabataeans; Josephus uses the names of a later age.

c Weill quotes a Rabbinical parallel for this invitation.
πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πάσι καλῶς ἐξηρτυμένους.  
44 παραμυθίας οὖν ὁ Μωσῆς ἤρχετο καὶ ταρρεῖν παρεκάλει τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ψήφῳ πεπιστευκότας, ὡφῇ ἦς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡμένου κατανικήσειαν τοῦς 
45 περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοῖς καθισταμένους, ὑπολαμβάνει δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι στράτευμα πολὺ καὶ πάντων ἀπροσδεές, ὁπλῶν χρημάτων τροφῆς 
τῶν ἄλλων, ἂν παρόντων ἐκ πεποιθήσεως πολεμοῦσιν ἀνθρώπου, κρίνοντας ἐν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ συμμαχία ταῦτα αὐτοῖς παρείναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἑναντίων ὅλιγον ἄνοπλον ἀσθενείς, οἷον καὶ μὴ ὑπὸ τοιούτων, οἶοι αὐτοῖς σύνοιδεν οὕσω, νυκάσθαι
46 βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰδέναι δ’ οἶος οὗτος ἐπίκουρος ἐκ πολλῶν πεπεραμένους καὶ δευνοτέρων τοῦ πολέμου· τοῦτον μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἀνθρώπους, ἀ δ’ ἦν αὐτοῖς πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίψος ἀπὸ ρα καὶ πρὸς ὅρη καὶ τάλασσαν ὁδὸν οὐκ ἔχονοι φυγῆς, ταῦτ’ αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ νεικήσαθαί. νῦν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρεκάλει προθυμοτάτους, ως τῆς ἀπάντων εὐπορίας αὐτοῖς ἐν τῷ κρατήσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κειμένης.
47 (3) Καὶ Μωσῆς μὲν τοιούτους παρεθάρσανε τὸ πλῆθος λόγους, συγκαλῶν <τε> 2 τοὺς τε φυλάρχους καὶ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ ἐκάστους τε καὶ σὺν ἂλλήλοις τοὺς μὲν νεωτέρους παρεκάλει πείθεσθαι τοῖς πρεσβυτέροις, τοὺς δὲ ἄκροσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ. 
48 οἱ δ’ ἤσαν ἐπὶ τῶν κύδωνοι τὰς ψυχὰς ἡμένοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν ἐτούμως ἔχοντες ἡπιζούν ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ποτὲ τῶν κακῶν, καὶ τὸν Μωσῆν ἐκέλευον ἄγειν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους ἢδη καὶ μὴ μέλλειν, ως τῆς ἀναβολῆς ἐμποδιζούσης

1 Niese: ἐξηρτυμένουs RO: ἐξηρτυσμένουs (-ημένουs) rell.

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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 nothing—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
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49 τὴν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν. ὦ δὲ τῆς πληθυνὸς ἀποκρίνας πᾶν τὸ μάχιμον Ἰησοῦν ἐφώστησιν αὐτῶ, Ναυήκου μὲν υἱὸν φυλῆς τῆς Ἐφραίμιτιδος, ἀνδρειότατον δὲ καὶ πόνους ὑποστήναι γενναίον καὶ νοήσαι τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἱκανότατον καὶ θρησκεύοντα τὸν θεὸν ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ Μωυσῆν διδάσκαλον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐνσέβειας πεποιημένον τιμώμενόν τε παρὰ τοῖς

50 Ἑβραίοις. βραχὺ δὲ τι περὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἔταξε τῶν ὀπλιτῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῇ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν τοῦ τε παντὸς στρατοπέδου. καὶ νῦκτα μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ἦσαν τῶν τε ὀπλών εἰ τι πεποιηκός ἦν ἀναλαμβάνοντες καὶ τοῖς στρατηγοῖς προσέχοντες ὥς ὀρμήσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ὅποτε κελεύσειν αὐτοὺς Μωυσῆς. διηγρύπνει δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀναδιδάσκας τὸν Ἰησοῦν ὄν τρόπον ἐκτάξει τὸ

51 στρατόπεδον. ἡρμηνεύσεις δὲ ὑποφαίνειν τῆς ἡμέρας αὕθε τὸ τοῖς Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλει μηδὲν χεῖρονα φανῄναι κατὰ τὸ ἐργον τῆς οὐσίας περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδος δόξαν τε διὰ τῆς παρουσίας κτήσασθαι στρατηγίας παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχομένοις ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τῶν τοῖς Ἑβραίων τοὺς ἀξιοποιοῦσας ἰδία παρεκάλει καὶ σύμπαν ἡδὴ τὸ πλῆθος ὀπλι-

52 σμένον παρώρμαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως παραστησάμενος τὸν στράτον τοὺς τε λόγους καὶ τῇ διὰ τῶν ἐργῶν παρασκευή ἀνεχώρει πρὸς τὸ ὀρός θεῶ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦν παραδίδους τὸ στράτευμα.

53 (1) Προσέμισγον δὲ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ χερσίν ἥν ἡ μάχη: προθυμία τε καὶ διακελευματικὰ τὰ πρὸς

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¹ ῬΩ: γεννικὸν rell.
² πρὸς παντὸς ML, whence πρὸ παντὸς Dindorf.
³ ὅτι ῬΩ.
their ardour. Moses then, having selected from the crowd all of military efficiency, put at their head Joshua, a son of Nauêkos, of the tribe of Ephraim, 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 a wakeful 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

\footnote{a Greek "Jesus."} \footnote{b The Hellenized form of Nâ'î, the LXX equivalent for the Hebrew "Nun."} \footnote{c Derived from Numb. xiii. 8.}
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ἀλλήλους χρωμένων μέχρι μὲν . . . 1 οὐν Μουσῆς αὕτης2 ἀνίσχει τὰς χείρας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας κατεπόνων οἱ Ἔβραιοι. τὸν οὖν πόνον τῆς ἀνατάσεως τῶν χειρῶν ὁ Μουσῆς οὐχ ὑπομένων, ὅσακις γὰρ3 αὐτὰς καθεὶ τοσαυτάκις ἐλαττούσθαι τοὺς 54 οἰκείους αὐτοῦ συνέβαινε, κελεύει τὸν τε ἄδελφον Ἀράωνα καὶ τῆς ἄδελφῆς Μαριάμμης τὸν ἄνδρα Ὀδρον ὄνομα στάντας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοὺς διακρατεῖν τὰς χείρας καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κάμνειν βοηθοῦντας.4 καὶ τούτου γενομένου κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας οἱ Ἔβραιοι, καὶ πάντες ἄν ἀπωλώλεισαν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπ-55 ἐσχοντο τοῦ κτεινεῖν. νίκην καλλότδην καὶ καρυωτά-την <ταύτην>5 νικῶσιν ἦμῶν 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 δῆμοσία καὶ κατ᾽ ἰδίαν ἐσχον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαίας6 τροφῆς 56 πρότερον εὐποροῦντες. ὑπῆρξε δ’ αὐτοῖς οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸν αὕτης αἰώνα τῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτία κατορθωθεῖσα ή προειρήμενή μάχη: οὐ γὰρ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν ἐπιστρατευσάντων ἐδούλωσαν ἄλλα καὶ τὰ φρονήματα, καὶ τοῖς περι- οίκοις ἐπαίζεται μετὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ἤτταν ἐγένοντο φοβεροί, αὐτοῖ τε πλούτου μεγάλου δύναμιν προσ-57 ἐλαβόν: πολὺς γὰρ ὁ ἄργυρος τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐγκατελήφθη ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ καὶ σκεῦς χαλκᾶ,

1 ? lacuna (Niese).
2 ὀρθὲς conj. Cocceii.
3 ins. Niese.
4 ἐπιθετοῦντα Dindorf.
5 ἀναγκαίας R.

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shouts of encouragement.\textsuperscript{a} 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 Mariamme's husband, by name Ur,\textsuperscript{b} 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

\textsuperscript{a} With this description of the battle a new hand appears, that of the "Thucydidean" assistant (see Introduction): καὶ χερσὶν ἄν ἡ μάχη comes from Thuc. iv. 43, προθυμία καὶ διακελευσμένω χρωμένων from iv. 11 (with vii. 71).

\textsuperscript{b} Bibli. Hur, lxx ॐ. Scripture mentions no relationship between him and Moses: Rabbinical tradition represents him as not the husband, but the son, of Miriam (see Weill's note).

\textsuperscript{7} ἐγκατελείφθη most mss.
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. The Hebrews now too began to plume themselves on their valour and to have high aspirations to heroism, 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"; 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.

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
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 mountain 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).
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, where he had met with the miracle of the bush and the other visions which we have already related.

(iii.) And now Raguel, his father-in-law, hearing of his success, went with gladness to meet him, warmly welcoming Moses and Sapphora and their children. Moses rejoiced at this visit of his father-in-law and, having offered sacrifice, made a feast for the people, 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.

(iv. 1) On the morrow Raguel watched Moses

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Bibl. Jethro, alias Re'uel (LXX 'Ραγώνιλ), 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.

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).

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.
τὸν Μωσῆν ἐν ὁχλῷ πραγμάτων ὑντα· διέλυε γὰρ τὰς δίκας τοῖς δεομένοις, πάντων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν βα-
διζόντων καὶ μόνως ἂν τοῦ δικαίου τυχεῖν ἤγου-
67 μένων, εἰ διατητῆς αὐτοῖς οὕτος γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ τοῖς ἤπωμενοις κούφον ἐδόκει τὸ λείπεσθαι, κατὰ
dικαίωσίνην οὐ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν αὗτῷ πάσχειν νομίζουσι· τότε μὲν ἦσυχιάν ἤγε μὴ βουλόμενος ἐμποδίζειν τοῖς ἀρετῆς χρῆσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ
θέλουσι, παυσάμενοι δὲ τοῦ θυρίδου παραλαβὼν 68 καὶ συμμονωθεῖς ἀνεδιασκεῖν ἃ δεῖ ποιεῖν. καὶ
συνεβούλευε τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἦττοσι ταλαίπωρίας ἔτερους ἐκστήραι, περὶ δὲ τῶν μειζόνων καὶ τῆς
σωτηρίας τοῦ πλήθους ἔχειν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτῶν·
dικάσαι μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους Ἐβραίων
εὐρεθῆναι, φροντίζαι δὲ τοσούτων μυριάδων σω-
tηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον τινὰ δύνασθαι μὴ Μωσῆν γε-
69 νόμενον. ὡς ἀισθανόμενος οὖν τῆς ἀρετῆς," φησίν,
"σαυτοῦ καὶ οἶδος γέγονας ἐπὶ τῷ τῶν λαὸν
ὑπουργῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων
dίαιταν ἐπιτρεψον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπὶ ἄλλων,
οὐ δὲ πρὸς μόνη τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπεία κατέχων
σαυτὸν διατέλει ζητῶν οἷς ἂν τὸ πλῆθος ἀπ-
70 αλλάξειας τῆς νῦν ἀπορίας. ὑποθήκαις δὲ ταῖς
ἐμαῖς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων χρησάμενος τοῦ στρα-
tοῦ ἐξετάσεις ἀκριβῶς καὶ κατὰ μυρίους τούτων
κεκριμένους ἀρχοίτας ἀποδείξεις, εἷτα κατὰ χιλίους,
dιαρρήσεις δὲ μετ' αὐτοὺς εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ
71 πάλιν εἰς ἐκατόν, εἰτ' εἰς πεντήκοντα. ἀρχοίτας
tε ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεις, οἱ κατὰ τριάκοντα μερι-
ςθέντας διακοσμήσονται 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." [Thou wilt moreover appoint officers over these to marshal them in sections of thirty, of twenty,

\[a\] In Ex. xviii. 21 the division is into groups of 1000, 100, 50, and 10.
δέκα συναρμομένοις, ἔστω δέ τις ἐπὶ τούτους εἰς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἁρχομένων ἁριθμοῦ λαμβάνων, δοκιμασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλή-
θους παντὸς εἶναι ἁγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, οἱ περὶ τε τῶν διαφόρων τοῦ ἁμαρτίας καὶ τῆς μείζων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῆς περὶ τούτου διάγνωσιν ἐπανοίγουσιν ἀν δὲ κακεῖνος διαφύγῃ τὸ περὶ τοῦ πράγματος δύσκολον, ἐπὶ σε τοῦτο ἀνα-
πέμψουσιν. ἔσται γὰρ οὕτως ἁμφότερα καὶ τῶν δικαίων Ἐβραίων τεύχονται καὶ τῷ θεῷ προσεδρεύων εὐμενέστερον ἂν πονήσειας αὐτῶν τῷ στρατῷ."

73 (2) Ταῦτα Ὑαγουήλου παρανεπαντοσ Μωυσῆς ἀσμένως προσήματο τὴν συμβουλίαν καὶ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τὴν ἐκεῖνον, τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀποκρυψάμενον οὔτε σφετερισάμενος αὐτὴν, ἀλλὰ πονήσας φανερὸν τὸν ἐξευρηκότα τῷ πλήθει. καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις δὲ Ὑαγουήλου ἔγραψεν ὡς εὐρηκότα τὴν διάταξιν τὴν προειρημένην, κα-
λῶς ἑχειν ἡγούμενοι τάληθη μαρτυρεῖν τοῖς ἁξίοις, εἰ καὶ δόξαν ἐμελλε φέρειν ἐπιγραφομένως τὰ ὑπὸ ἀλλῶν εὐρημένα, ὡστε τὴν Μωυσέως ἄρετὴν καὶ τούτου καταμαθέων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν ταύτης εὐ-
καίρως ἐν ἀλλοις τῆς γραφῆς ἀλλάζομεν.

75 (v. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ συγκαλέσας τὴν πλήθους αὐτοῦ μὲν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀπέρχεσθαι τὸ Ἡσαίων ἔληγεν ὡς συνεσόμενος τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὶ λαβὼν παρ’ αὐτοῦ χρήσιμον ἐπανήξων πρὸς αὐτοὺς, ἐκεῖνος δ’

1 ML: διαφόρων rell.
2 καὶ τινα λαβὼν . . χρησιμὸν SP.

a 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.] 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; but of that we shall have abundant occasion to speak in other parts of this work.

(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, to return

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.

Rabbinical tradition pays a similar tribute to Moses (Sifri quoted by Weill). Cf. a similar commendation on his integrity in recording, without appropriating, the prophecies of Balaam, A. iv. 157 f.

Or, with the other reading, "some oracle."
JOSEPHUS

ἐκέλευσε πλησίον μετασκηνώσαι τῷ ὀρεί τῆν
76 γειτνίασιν τοῦ θεοῦ προτιμήσαντας. ταύτ’ εἰπὼν ἀνήγειρ’ πρὸς τὸ Ὀμοίων, ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκεῖ-
νοις τοῖς χωρίοις ὅρνων τυγχάνον καὶ διὰ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀναβατόν ἀλλ’
οὐδὲ ὀραθήματι δίχα πόνου τῆς ὃψεως δυνάμενον,
ἀλλως τε διὰ τὸ λόγον εἶναι περὶ τοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐν
77 αὐτῷ διατρίβειν φοβερόν καὶ ἀπρόσιτον. Ἐβραϊ-
οὶ δὲ κατὰ τὰς Μωσέους ἐντολὰς μετασκήνωσαν καὶ
tὰς ὑπωρείας τοῦ ὄρους κατελαμβάνοντο, ἦρμενοι ταῖς διανοίασιν ὡς μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας
tῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἢν προὔτευεν αὐτοῖς, ἐπανήξοντος
78 Μωσέους παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔφταξαντες δὲ τὸν
στρατηγὸν περιέμενον ἀγνεύοντες τὴν τε ἀλλὴν ἀγνείαν καὶ ἀπὸ συνοισίας τῆς γυναικῶν ἡμέρας
τρεῖς, καθὼς ἐκείνοις αὐτοῖς προείπε, καὶ παρα-
kαλοῦντες τὸν θεὸν εὐμενὴ συμβάλλοντα Μωσεῖ
δοῦναι δωρεάν, ὡς ἢς εὐ βιώσονται. ταῖς τ’ οὖν
διαίταις ἐχρόντο πολυτελεστέραις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ
γυναιξίν ἕμοι καὶ τέκνοις ἐκπρεπῶς ἢσκήντω.
79 (2) Ἐπὶ δύο μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας εὐωχοῦµενοι διήγον,
tῇ τρίτῃ δὲ πρὶν ἡ τῶν ἦλιων ἀνασχεῖν νεφέλη τε
ὑπερίζοντες τοῦ παντὸς στρατοπέδου τῶν Ἐβραί-
ων, οὐ πρὸ τερον τοῦτο ἱδίωτων γενόμενον, καὶ
tὸ χωρίον οὗ τὰς σκηνὰς ἦσαν πεποιηµένοι περὶ-
80 ἐγραφὲ, καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ παντὸς ἐν αἰθρίᾳ τυγ-
χάνοντος ἀνεµοί τε σφοδροὶ λάβρων κυνώντες
ὑπὸν κατηγῖζον, ἀστραπαί τε ἦσαν φοβερὰ τοῖς
ὄρωσι, καὶ κεραυνοὶ κατενεχθέντες εἶδολον τὴν

1 ἀνείσι SP. 2 RME: εὐπρεπῶς rell. 3 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,\(^a\) 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

\(^a\) In Exodus Moses descends from the mount to give instructions for this "sanctification" of the people.
JOSEPHUS

παρουσίαν τοῦ θεοῦ οἰς Μωσῆς ἠθέλεν ἐμμενοῦς
81 παρατυχόντος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς διουλεία
φρονεῖτω ἕκαστος τῶν ἐντευξομένων, ἐμοὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη
tαῦτα ἵστορεῖν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἑραῖς
βίβλοις ἀναγέγραπται. τοὺς γε μὴν Ἐβραίους τά
tε ὅρμενα καὶ ὁ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσβάλλων ψόφος
82 δεινῶς ἐτάραττεν, ἀθείες τε γὰρ ἦσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ
ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὅρους διαπεφοντικῶς λόγος ὡς εἰς
αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοιτῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ σφόδρα τὴν διά-
νοιαν αὐτῶν ἐξέπληττε. κατείχον δὲ αὐτῶς πρὸς
ταῖς σκηναῖς ἀχθόμενοι καὶ τὸν τε Μωσήν ἀπ-
ολωλέναι νομίζοντες ὅπ’ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ
αὐτῶν ὅμοια προσδοκῶντες.
83 (3) Οὕτως δ’ αὐτῶν διακειμένων ἐπιφαίνεται
Μωσῆς γαὐρός τε καὶ μέγα φρονών. ὀφθεὶς τε
οὗν αὐτοῦ ἀπαλλάσσει τοῦ δέους αὐτοὺς καὶ περὶ
tῶν μελλόντων κρείττονας ὑπετίθετο τὰς ἔλπίδας,
αἰθρός τε καὶ καθαρὸς ὁ ἀγι τῶν πρὸ ὁλίγου
84 παθῶν ἦν Μωσεῖος παραγεγονότος. ἐπὶ τούτους
οὗν συγκαλεῖ τὸ πλῆθος εἶς ἐκκλησίαν ἀκουσόμε-
νον ἢν ὁ θεὸς ἔποι ἐπὶ πρὸς αὐτῶν, καὶ συναθροισθέν-
tων στὰς ἐπὶ ψηλῶν τινος, οἶδεν ἐμελλὼν πάντες
ἀκούσεσθαι, ''ὁ μὲν θεὸς,'' ἔπει, ''ὁ Ἐβραῖοι,
καθάπερ καὶ πρότερον εὐμενῆς προσεδέξατο μὲ
καὶ βίον τε ὑμῖν εὐδαίμονα καὶ πολιτείας κόσμου
ὑπαγορεύσας πάρεστι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατό-
85 πεδον. πρὸς γοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἃ δ’
ἐκεῖνον ἡμῖν ἦδη πέρπακται, μὴ καταφρονήσητε
tῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἐμὲ τῶν λέγοντα ἀφορώντες
μὴδ’ ὅτι γλώττα [ταῦτα] ἀνθρωπίνῃ πρὸς ὑμᾶς
λέγει, τὴν δ’ ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατανοήσαντες ἐπι-
1 ἔχαρεν ῬΩ.
2 γε μὴν Ε: τε (γε, δὲ) rell.
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aloft signified the advent of God propitious to the desires of Moses. Of these happenings each of my readers may think as he will; 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

\[a\] Cf. A. i. 108 note.  \[b\] No parallel in Scripture.
γινώσκε ο Β. Μωυσής ο Άμαράμου και 'Ιων-χαβάδης' υός, ἀλλ' ο τῶν Νείλων ἀναγκάζειν ἦματωμένον ὑπέρ ὦμῶν ρυήσαι καὶ ποικίλοις δαμάσας κακοῖς τὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων φρόνημα, ὁ διὰ θαλάσσης ὄδον ὦμιν2 παρασχῶν, ο καὶ τροφῆν εἰς οὐρανού μηχανησάμενος ἔλθειν ἀποροομένοις, ο Ποτόν ἐκ πέτρας ἀναβλύσας σπανίζουσι, δι' οὖν "Ἄδαμος τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς τε καρπῶν καὶ θαλάσσης μεταλαμβάνει, δι' οὖν Νύχος ἐκ τῆς ἐπομβρίας διέφυγε, δι' οὖν Αβραμος ὁ ἔμετορος πρόγονος ἐξ ἀλήτου τῆς Σαμαναίαν κατέσχε γῆν, δι' οὖν "Ισακος γηραιοὶς ἐτέχθη γονέοις, δι' οὖν Ιάκωβος δάδεκα παῖδων ἀρέταις ἐκοσμήθη, δι' οὖν Ἰώσηπος ἐδεσπό-τευσε τῆς Αἰγυπτίων δυνάμεως, οὕτως ὦμιν τού- τους χαρίζεται τοὺς λόγους δι' ἐρμηνεύως ἐμοῦ.

87 σεβάσμιοι δ' ὦμιν γενέσθωσαν καὶ παῖδων περι-μαχητότεροι καὶ γυναικών· ευδαιμονα γὰρ διάζετε βίου τούτου ἐπομενεῖ καὶ γῆς ἀπολαυσίτες καρπί- 

88 μου καὶ θαλάσσης ἀχειμάστου καὶ τέκνων γονῆς κατὰ φύσιν τικτομένων καὶ πολεμίοις ἔσεσθε 

89 φοβεροί· τῷ θεῷ γὰρ εἰς οὕμιν ἐλθὼν ἀκροατῆς 

90 ἀφθάρτου φωνῆς ἐγενόμην· οὕτως εἰκεῖν τῶν 

91 γενέως ὦμων καὶ τῆς τούτου μέλει διαμονῆς.

92 (4) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν προάγει τὸν λαὸν γυναικῶν ὦμοι καὶ τέκνως, ὡς ἀκουσαίρει τοῦ θεοῦ δια-

93 λεγομένου πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, ἦν 

94 μὴ βλαβείν τῶν λεγομένων η ἀρετή ὑπὸ ἀνθρω-

95 πίνης γλώττης ἀσθενώς εἰς γνώσιν αὐτοῖς παρα-

96 διδομένη· πάντες τε ἥκουσον φωνῆς υψόθεν παρα-

97 γενομένης3 εἰς ἀπαντας, ὡς διαφυγεῖν μηδένα τῶν 358
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

1 ἰωχασελης SPL (Lat. lochobel).
2 Bekker: ἵμιν codd.
3 παραγινομένης E.
δέκα λόγων οὗς Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς δύο πλαξί γεγραμμένους κατέλιπεν· οὕς οὐ θεμιτόν ἑστιν ἡμῖν λέγειν φανερῶς πρὸς λέξιν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν δηλώσομεν.

91 (5) Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεός ἑστιν εἰς καὶ τοῦτον δεῖ σέβεσθαι μόνον· ὁ δὲ δεύτερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζωὸν ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν· ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενὶ φαύλῳ τὸν θεὸν ὁμώναι· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος παρατηρεῖν τὰς ἐβδομάδας ἀναπαυομένους ἀπὸ παντὸς ἔργου· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος γονεῖς τιμᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἔκτος ἀπέχεσθαι φόνου· ὁ δὲ ἐβδομὸς μὴ μοιχεύειν· ὁ δὲ ὅγδοος μὴ κλοπὴν ὁρᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἑνατος μὴ ψευδομαρτυρεῖν· ὁ δὲ δέκατος μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιθυμιὰν λαμβάνειν.

93 (6) Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος [ὡς] ἀκροασάμενον αὐτοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν Μωυσῆς διελέξθη χαίρον ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοῦ συλλόγου διελύθη, ταῖς δ' ἐφεξῆς φοιτώντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἡξίουν αὐτῶν καὶ νόμους αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζειν. ὁ δὲ τούτους τε τίθεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ὀλων ὃν ἂν πραξθεῖν τρόπον ἐν τοῖς αὐθίς ἀπεσήμαινε χρόνοις, ὡς μνησθήσομαι κατὰ καιρόν οἰκεῖον. τοὺς δὲ πλείονας τῶν νόμων εἰς ἑτέραν ἀνατίθεμαι γραφήν, ἵδιαν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησόμενος ἀφὴγησιν.

95 (7) Ὁ yal δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ἑξώντων ο Μωυσῆς πάλιν εἰς τὸ Σωφᾶν ὄρος ἁνῇ ἐν προειπων

2 RO: ἐξῆς rell.

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a Rabbinical literature is said to furnish no parallel for this scruple (Weill).
b The introductory verse of Exodus (xx. 2, “I am the 360
escaped them which Moses has left inscribed on the two tables. These words it is not permitted us to state explicitly, to the letter, but we will indicate their purport.

(5) The first word teaches us that God is one 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.

(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. 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.

(7) Such was the position of affairs when Moses again went up into Mount Sinai, after forewarning...
τοὺς Ἐβραίους, βλεπόντων δ' αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἁνοδόν. καὶ χρόνου τριβομένου, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ἡμέρας διήγαγεν ἀπ’ αὐτῶν, δεός εἰσὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους, μή τι Μωσῆς πάθοι, καὶ τῶν συντυχόντων δεινῶν οὐκ ἐστίν δ’ οὕτως ἐλύπησεν αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ νομίζειν Μωσῆν ἀπολωλέναι. ἦν γὰρ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἔρις, τῶν μὲν ἀπολωλέναι λεγόντων θηρίων περιπεσόντα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθᾶσ᾽ ἤσαν διακείμενοι ταῦτῃ τὴν ψήφων ἐφερον, τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνακεχωρηκέναι· τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ μηδέτερον τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβάνοντας ἱδίαν, καὶ τὸ θηρίον περιπεσόντα ἀποθανεῖν ἀνθρώπινον ἡγομένους καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστῆναι διὰ τὴν προσοδον ἁρετὴν εἴκος νομίζοντας, πράως ἔχειν οὕτος ὁ λογισμὸς ἐποίει. προστάτου δὲ ἡρμώσθαι καὶ κηδεμόνως ὑπολαμβάνοντες, οἶον τυχεῖν οὐκ ἂν ἄλλου δύναντο, σφόδρα λυπούμενοι διετέλουν καὶ οὔτε πενθεῖν' αὐτοὺς εἶνα τὸ προσδοκάν τι χρῆστον περί τάνδρος οὔτε μὴ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ κατηφεῖν ἡδύναντο. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἐθάρρυνεν μετάγειν Μωσεῖος αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παραμένειν προειρηκότος.

99 (8) "Ἡδη δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν διελήλυθυν καὶ τοιούτων νυκτὸς παρῆν οὐδενὸς σιτίου τῶν τοῖς ἀνθρώπως νενομισμένως γεγευμένως. χαρᾶς δ' ἐνέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφάνεις, καὶ

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* Cf. A. iv. 326.
* Or (with the mss.) "suspect (any harm)."
* 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. 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, 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. 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.
JOSEPHUS

τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἦν εἰχε περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεδήλου, τὸν τε τρόπον καθ' ὅν ευδαιμονήσουσιν πολιτευόμενοι λέγων αὐτῷ κατὰ ταῦτα ὑποθέσαι τε ἡμέρας, καὶ σκηνὴν ὧτι βουλεῖται γενέσθαι αὐτῷ, εἰς ἦν κάτεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγινόμενος, ὡς καὶ μεταβαίνοντες ἄλλαχοι ταύτην ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ μηκέτι δεωμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖ άνόδου, ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ἐπιφοιτῶν τῇ σκηνῇ παρατυπχάνῃ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὐχαῖς. γενήσεται δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ μέτροις τε καὶ κατασκευὴν οἷς αὐτὸς ὑπέδειξεν ύμῶν ἀόκνως ἐχόντων πρὸς τὸ ἔργου.' ταῦτ' εἰπὼν δύο πλάκας αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐγγεγραμμένους ἐχούσας τοὺς δέκα λόγους, ἐν ἐκάτερον πέντε. καὶ χείρ ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

102 (vi. 1) Οἱ δὲ χαίροντες οῖς τε ἐώρων καὶ οἷς ἦκουν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν σπουδῆς οὐκ ἀπελεύποντο, ἀλλ' εἰσέφερον ἀργυρόν τε καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκὸν, ξύλα τε τῆς καλλιστης ὑλῆς καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς σήψεως παθεῖν δυνάμενα, αἰγείους τε τρίχας καὶ δορᾶς προβάτων ταῖς μὲν υακίνθως βεβαμμένας ταῖς δὲ φοίνικις αἰ δὲ πορφύρας άνθος, ἐτεραί δὲ λευκὴν παρείχον τὴν χρόαν. 103 ἔρια τε τοῖς προειρημένοις ἀνθείς μεμολυμένα καὶ λίμων βύσσου πάθοις τούτους εἰδεδεμένους, οὓς χρυσίν καθειργεώντες ἀνθρωποί κόσμῳ χρῶνται πολυτελεί, ὕμιμαμάτων τε πλῆθος συνέφερον.
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 whenever 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; and the writing thereon was from the hand of God.

(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, goats’ hair and sheepskins, some dyed blue, others crimson, 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.

expressed by Josephus was shared by R. Hanina (early 2nd cent.). For a further detail added by Josephus see § 138.

b Ex. xxv. 5, “acacia wood” (Heb. shittim): Josephus follows the interpretation of the LXX (ξελα ἀσηπτα).

c In Exodus “scarlet.”
ἐκ γὰρ τοιαύτης ὦλης κατεσκεύασε τὴν σκηνήν. ἡ δ' οὐδὲν μεταφερομένου καὶ συμπερινοστοῦντος

104 ναοῦ διέφερε. τούτων οὖν κατὰ σπούδην συγκομισθέντων, ἐκάστου καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν φιλοτιμησάμενον, ἀρχιτέκτονας τοὺς ἔργους ἐφιστήσι καὶ ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὐς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἄν ἐπελέξατο

105 τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ' αὐτῶι γενομένης. τὰ δὲ ὄνοματα αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις ἀναγέγραπται, ταῦτ' ἦν. Βασάνηδος [μὲν] Οὐρί παῖς τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς νίωνος, δὲ Μαριάμμης τῆς Αδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἐλίβαζος δὲ Ἰσαμάχου Δάνιδος φυλῆς.

106 τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὕτως ὑπὸ προθυμίας τοῖς ἐγχειρομένοις ἐπήλθεν, ὡστε Μωσῆς ἀνεῴρξεν αὐτοὺς ὑποκηρυξάμενοι ἀρκεῖν τους ὄντας· τούτο γὰρ οἱ δημιουργοὶ προερήκεσαν· ἐχώρονον οὖν ἐπὶ τὴν τῆς

107 σκηνῆς κατασκευὴν, καὶ Μωσῆς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστα περὶ τῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ὃσα τε δεὶ σκεῦη χωρεῖν αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκε πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ὑπηρετήσοντα. ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες περὶ τε στολὰς ἱερατικὰς καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔχρηζε τὸ ἔργον κόσμου τε καὶ λειτουργίας ἔνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ.

108 (2) Πάντων δ' ἐν ἐτοίμῳ γεγενημένων χρυσίου τε [καὶ ἄργυρου] ἐκ καὶ σχετού καὶ τῶν υφαντῶν, προειπὼν ἐφορήν Μωσῆς καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἱστὶ τὴν σκηνήν, πρῶτον μὲν αἰθριον διαμετρησάμενος τὸ μὲν εὑρὸς πεντήκοντα

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1 Bernard: vidis codd. 2 ins. Lat.: om. codd.

a Bibl. Bezalel.
b mss. erroneously "son." Exodus mentions his grandfather Hur, and Hur according to Josephus was the husband of Miriam (§ 54).
c Bibl. Oholiab (lxx Ἑλιάβ), son of Ahisamach.

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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, a son of Uri, of the tribe of Judah, grandson b of Mariamme, the sister of the chief, and Elibaz, son of Isamach, c 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 d 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.

(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

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a In Exodus the reference is to the superabundant offerings, in Josephus to the surplus of volunteers for the work (τοῖς δεῖταις): the old Latin version of Josephus conforms to the Hebrew, “ea quae data fuissent.”
109 πηχών ἔκατον δὲ τὸ μῆκος. κάμακας δὲ ἔστησε χαλκέας πενταπήχεις τὸ ύψος καθ' ἐκατέραν πλευράν εἶκοσ τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων, δέκα δὲ τῶν ἐν πλάτει κεμένων τῆς κατόπιν, κρίκοι δὲ τῶν καμάκων ἐκάστη προσῆσαν... κιονόκρανα μὲν ἁργύρεα, βάσεις δὲ χρυσαί σαυρωτήρων ἐμφερείς,

110 χαλκαὶ δὲ ἦσαν, ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρημεισμέναι. ἐξ- ὑπτετο δὲ τῶν κρίκων καλόδια τὴν ἀρχὴν ἦλων χαλκέων πηχαύας τὸ μέγεθος ἐκδεδεμένα, οἷς καθ' ἐκάστην κάμακα παρέντες κατὰ τοῦ ἐδά- φους ἀκινητον ὑπὸ βίας ἄνεμων τὴν σκηνὴν ἐμελ- λον παρέξειν. συνών δ' ἐκ βυσσοῦ ποικιλωτάτης διὰ πασῶν ἐπῆς, ἀπὸ τοῦ κιονοκράνου κατιούσα μέχρι τῆς βάσεως πολλῆς κεχυμένην, 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 οὖσα πῆχεων ἡ ἔτερα μέτωπον τοῦ παντὸς ἦν, εἶκοσι μὲν πῆχεσι ἀνεφγεσαν κατὰ πύλας, ἐν αἷς ἀνὰ δύο κάμακες εἰστήκεσαν κατὰ

112 μῆκος πυλῶνων. ὅλαις δ' αὐταῖς ἁργυροὶ ἦν ἐπικεχαλκευμένοι3 πάρεξ τῶν βάσεων· χαλκαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τρεῖς κάμακες ήσαν ἐστῶσαι, αἱ τοῖς πυλούχοις ἐμβεβήκεσαν ἐρημεισμέναι, καὶ κατ' αὐτῶν δὲ βύσσουν ύφος

113 συνώνοις ἦν περιηγεμένον. τὸ δὲ κατά τὰς πύλας, μῆκος μὲν ὃν πῆχεων εἶκοσι πέντε δὲ βάθος,4 ύφος ἦν πορφύρας φούνικος σὺν ιακίνθῳ καὶ βύσσων πεποιημένον πολλῶν αὐτῶν συνανθοῦντων καὶ

1 (?) χρυσοῖς (cf. Hdt. vii. 41).
2 μαλακωτάτη MSP Lat.
3 ἐπικεχαλκευμένος codd.
4 Niese: μῆκος μὲν ὅντος ... βάθος codd.

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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 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 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; 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 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

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*a* Or, with emended text, "resembling the gilded spikes."

*b* 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).

*c* *i.e.* (?) "gate-pillars."

*d* (?) by transverse beams: Greek "passed into."
JOSEPHUS

ποικίλων, ὅποσα μὴ ξῦων ἐξετυπωντο μορφᾶς. 114 ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν πυλῶν περιρραντήριον ἦν χαλκεον ὁμολαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κρηπίδα παρεχόμενον, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς ἱερεύσι τὰς χειρὰς ἀποπλύνει καὶ τῶν ποδῶν καταχεῖν παρῆν. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ αἰθρίου περίβολος τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἦν διακεκοσμημένος.

115 (3) Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ἔστησιν αὐτοῦ κατὰ μέσον τετραμμένην πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, ὅποι πρῶτον ὁ ἥλιος ἐπὶ αὐτὴν ἀνέφη ἀφίη τὰς ἀκτῖνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πῆχεις ἐγήγερτο τριάκοντα τὸ δὲ εἴρος ἐπὶ δεκα διειστήκει, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔτερος τῶν τοίχων νότου ἦ, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος κατὰ βορέαν ἐτέτραπτο, κατόπιν δ' αὐτῆς ἡ δύσις κατελείπετο.

116 ἀνύστασθαι δ' αὐτὴν ἔχρην ἐφ' ὅσον προβαίνοι τὸ εἴρος. κίονες δ' ἦσαν ξύλου πεποιημένοι κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκατέραν εἴκοσι, τετράγωνοι μὲν τὸ σχῆμα εἰργασμένοι, εἰς δὲ πλάτος διεστῶτες πῆχεώς τε καὶ ἡμίσους, τὸ δὲ βάθος δακτύλων

117 τεσσάρων. λεπίδες δ' αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπικεκαλκευμέναι πανταχόθεν χρυσαὶ διὰ τέων ἐνδοθεν καὶ τῶν ἐκτός μερῶν. δύο δ' αὐτῶν ἐκάστῳ προσήσαν στροφιγγες ἐλαυνόμενοι κατὰ δύο βάσεων· αὐταί δ' ἀργυραί μὲν ἦσαν, πυλίς δ' ἐκατέρα τοῦτων

118 προσήν δεχομένη τὴν στροφιγγα. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ δύσιν τοίχον κίονες μὲν ἦσαν, συνήσαν δ' ἀλλήλωσ ἀκριβῶς ἀπαντες, ὡστε μεμκότων τῶν ἀμμῶν ὅσ' ἐνα δοκεῖν εἶναι τοίχον αὐτῶν τὴν συνελευσιν, χρύσειον τά τε ἐνδοθεν καὶ τά ἐκτός.

119 ἀνηλόγει γάρ δ' τῶν κιόνων ἀριθμός· εἴκοσι γάρ

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a Added detail, not in the Bible: cf. § 126.
b Or “in the eastern portion” (not directly in the centre).
c Jos. kiones: Bibl. kerashim, lxx στίλας, R.V. “boards,”
many and divers designs, but with nothing representing the forms of animals. In the gates of the outer court 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.

(3) The tabernacle Moses set in the centre of this, facing eastward, 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 of wood, wrought in rectangular form, of the breadth of a cubit and a half and a thickness of four fingers. 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. 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. [On the long sides] there were twenty of them, each having a

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).

These sockets or bases may be regarded "as square plinths . . . forming a continuous foundation wall round the dwelling" (Kennedy).

i.e. proportionate to the length of the sides. The Greek text is defective at this point.
JOSEPHUS

"... retenuit autem eum, quotquot inquisitione efsumus, necesse est ut qui eum seriissent, ipsi se se futuros. Nec non inquit, nisi in eo, in quo."

1 mensuram unius et dimidii cubiti, altitudo Lat.: lacuna in Greek text.

2 medio cubito Lat.: read perhaps εκ πήχεως <β'> Τετμημένους; cf. Plato, Symp. 191 δ τετμημένους εξ ενός δύο.

3 Text as emended by Bernard after Lat.: κρίκον ... χρισεον ... προσφυγίς ... ἐμπεπλεγμένοι ... τετραμμένοι codd.
breadth [of one and a half cubits and a thickness] of a third of a span, 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, which they placed at the angles and adorned in the same fashion as the larger pillars. 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, the "male" piece fitting into the "female." This secured the tabernacle against agitation by the winds or by other cause and was calculated to keep it unmoved in perfect stability.

(4) Internally, dividing its length into three portions, at a measured distance of ten cubits from the

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\[ a \] i.e. the four finger-breadths of § 116.

\[ b \] Literally "of a cubit cut (in two)."

\[ c \] 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).

\[ d \] Something in the nature of a pivot working in a socket is indicated.

\[ e \] Many of these details lack Scriptural authority.

\[ f \] 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

tέσσαρας ίστησι κίόνας, ὅμοιως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰργασμένους καὶ βάσεως ὁμοίως ἐπικειμένους, διαλείποντας ἀλλήλων κατ᾽ ὄλγον. τὸ δὲ ἑνδοτέρωθεν αὐτῶν ἄδυτον ἢν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡ σκηνὴ
123 τοῖς ἑρεύσιν ἀνέιτο. τὴν μέντοι διαμέτρησιν τῇ τοιαύτῃ τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὦλων φύσεως συνεβαίνει εἶναι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τρίτον αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων, δὲ τοῖς ἑρεύσιν ἦν ἢ ἄβατον, ὥς οὐρανὸς ἀνέιτο τῷ θεῷ, οἷς ἐκκοσὶ πῆχεις, ἄσπέρ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα βάσιμος ἀνθρώποις, ὡς τοῖς ἑρεύσι μόνοις ἑπετέραπτο.
124 κατὰ μέτωπον δέ, ἐξ οὗ τὴν εὐσώδον ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, κίόνες ἐστασαν χρύσοι χαλκείαις βάσεως ἐφεστώτες τὸν ἄριθμον πέντε. κατεπετάνυσαν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ὑφεσι βύσσου καὶ πορφυρᾶς ὑακίνθου καὶ φώνικος βαφής συγκεκραμένης.¹
125 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἢν³ πῆχεων δέκα πανταχόθεν, ὡς κατεπετάνυσαν τοὺς κίόνας, οἳ διαιροῦντες τὸν νεῶν τὸ ἄδυτον ἕνδον αὐτῶν ἀπελάμβανον· καὶ τούτῳ ἢν τὸ ποιῶν αὐτὸ μηδειν κάτοπτον. καὶ ὃ μὲν πᾶς ναὸς ἅγιον ἐκαλεῖτο, τὸ δὲ ἢ βατον τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων τοῦ ἅγιου τὸ ἅγιον.
126 ὦραιὸν δὲ τὸ φάρσος ἀνέθει παντοίοις, ὡσα γῆθεν ἀνέρχεται, διαπεποικιμένον τοῖς τε ἄλλοις ἀπασῳ ἐνυφασμένον, ὡσα κόσμον οὐσεων ἐμελλε, πλὴν

¹ ἑνδοτέρως Ρ: ἑνδότερον Ῥ. Νiese: συγκεκραμένοις (减排 RO) codd.
² + ἐκ ῬΟ: + ἐν SPL.

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a The “inmost part,” i.e. the east wall.
b Cf. §§ 180 ff., where this idea is expanded.
c Or (as in Exodus) “scarlet.” Part was pure byssus or fine linen (undyed): other parts were dyed.
d Greek “Holy of Holy”: the plural is used in Exodus (Heb. and lxx).

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farther end \(^a\) 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 \(^b\); 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.

The tabernacle was covered with curtains woven of fine linen, in which the hues of purple and blue and crimson \(^c\) 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." \(^d\) 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.\(^e\)

\(^a\) 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 μορφὴς. ἔτερον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῇ ὑφῇ καὶ τῇ χρώσ παραπλῆσιον τοὺς ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις πέντε κίονας περιβάλλε, κατὰ γωνίαν ἐκάστου κίονος κρίκου κατέχοντος αὐτό, ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἄχρι ἡμίσους τοῦ κίονος. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν

128 εἰσόδος ἀνέίπτο τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ὑποδυμέναις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου λύνειν ἢν ἴσομέγεθες φάρσος ἐφελκόμενον ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπὶ θάτερα, τῶν κρίκων τῷ τε ὑφεὶ καὶ τῷ κάλῳ διακονοῦντων πρὸς τε τὸ ἐκπετάνυσθαι καὶ συνελκόμενον ἵστασθαι κατὰ γωνίαν, ἐμποδῶν οὐκ ἔσομενον πρὸς τὸ κατοπτεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἐπισήμοις ἠμέραις.

129 κατὰ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ μάλισθ᾽ ὅταν ἡ υφετῶδης προπετανύμενον στεγανὸν ἔποιει τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαμμάτων ύφος· ὅθεν δὴ παρέμεινε τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησάμενών ἤμων, ὡστε τὴν συνδόνα

130 τοιούτοτροπὸν περικείσθαι ταῖς εἰσόδοις. δεκα¹ δὲ ἀλλα ἐφαρση πηχὼν τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὀκτὼ καὶ εἴκοσι, χρυσεῖος ἤχοντα γυγλύμους ἐπὶ συναφῆ θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενος συνείλεκτο, ὡς ἐν εἰναι δοκεῖν, εἴτα ὑπερτεινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ τ᾽ ἐφύπερθεν ἐσκιάζε καὶ τῶν τοῖχων τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὰν καὶ κατόπιν ἑστώτας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς

131 ὁσον πῆχουν ἀνέχοντα. ὅσα δὲ τῷ πλάτει καὶ ἀλλα συνδόνες, μιᾷ πλεῖους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπερβάλλουσαι, τριακονταπῆχες γὰρ ἦσαν, υφασμέναι δ᾽ ἐκ τριχῶν ὁμοίως κατὰ λεπτοργίαν ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων πεποιημέναι² ἐτέταντο μέχρι

¹ RO: òδώδεκα rel. ² Lat.: πεποιημέναι codd.

*a Being the "work of the embroiderer" (Ex. xxvi. 36), 376*
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III. 127–131

A second, corresponding to the first in dimensions, texture, and hue,\(^a\) 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 \(\text{Ex. xxvi. 1.}\) curtains, four cubits broad and twenty-eight cubits long, provided with golden couplings fitting mutually into each other,\(^b\) were so joined as to appear like a single piece \(^c\); 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 \(\text{Ex. xxvi. 7.}\) hangings, of equal breadth with the last, but one more in number and of more considerable length, measuring thirty cubits; woven of hair,\(^d\) but with the same fine craftsmanship as those of wool, these

not of the "designer" or pattern-weaver, this screen lacked the cherubim.

\(^a\) 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).

\(^b\) Bibl. "of goats' hair."
τῆς γῆς κεχυμέναι καὶ τὰ θύρας ἀπετῶματα παραπλήσιον καὶ παστάδιππον ἔπεισον, τοῖ τοῖς ἐκατόν

132 κάτω φάρσους εἰς τὸ τοῦτο παρελθμένου. ἀλλαὶ δὲ ἐπάνω τούτων ἐκ διφθερῶν κατεσκευασμέναι ὑπερήφανα σκέπη καὶ βοήθεια ταῖς ὑφανταῖς ἐν τοῖς καύμαις καὶ ὅπωστε ὑπότε ἐὗρ γεγενημέναι. πολλὴ δὲ ἐκπληξίς ἐλάμβανε τοὺς πόρρωθεν θεώ-

μένους τὴν γὰρ χρώμα τοὺς κατὰ τὸν ὁμφανὸν συμβαίνουσιν οὐδὲν ἐδόκοιν διαφέρειν. αἱ δὲ ἐκ τῆς

133 τριχὸς καὶ τῶν διφθερῶν πεπονημέναι κατήσαν ὁμοίως τῷ περὶ τὰς πύλας ὑφασματί τὸ τέκαυμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ὀμβρῶν ὑβρῶν ἀπομαχόμεναι καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοῦτον πήγνυται τὸν τρόπον.

134 (5) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κυβωτὸς τῷ θεῷ ἔντεον ἵσχυρῶν τὴν φύσιν καὶ σέθεν παθεῖν ὑπὸ δυναμένων. ἡ δ' ἑρών μὲν καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἥμετέραν γλώττην, 

135 ταν, ἡ δὲ κατασκευὴ τουαύτης τῆς ἡν' μηκός μὲν ἢν αὐτῇ πέντε σπιθαμῶν, τὸ δ' εὐθος καὶ τὸ βάθος τριῶν σπιθαμῶν εἰς ἐκατέρων χρυσὸ δὲ τὰ τ' ἑντος καὶ τὰ ἔξωθεν περιελήλαστο τὸ σάσα, ὥσ ἀποκεκρύφθαι τὴν ἔνσωσιν, στροφιγήτερος τῇ χρυσοῖς τὸ ἑπίθημα προσημωμένον εἰς χαμαστὸς, δ' πανταχόθεν ἵσον ἡν' κατ' οὐδετέρον μέρος

136 ἔφοχαὶς τὴν ἑυφροσύναν λυμαίνομενον. καὶ καθ' ἐκατέρων δὲ τοίχων τῶν ἐπιμηκέστερων κρίκοις προσήσαν ἐφού τοῦ παντός διήκοντες ἔντεον, καὶ δ' αὐτῶν ἔνεται σκυτάλιδες ἐπὶ χρυσοὶ καθ' ἐκατέρων τοίχων, ὥσ ἡν' ὑπ' αὐτῶν ὅπωστε δεῖγμεν ἄγοντο κινούμενην οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ ἔντεον ἔκομιζετο, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο.

1 ins. Dindorf. 2 παραστάδι RO. 3 περιελήλαστο LE. 4 Niese: προσήσαν (προῆσαν) 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.\(^a\) 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 desended 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 \textit{erón} \(^b\) 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 \(^c\) 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

\(^a\) 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).

\(^b\) Heb. \textit{aron}.

\(^c\) Or “hinges”; a detail peculiar to Josephus.
JOSEPHUS

137 τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέματι αὐτῆς ἦσαν πρόστυποι δύο, Χερουβεῖς¹ μὲν αὐτοὺς Ἕβραιοι καλοῦσιν, ζῶα δὲ ἐστὶ πεπεταμένη μορφὴν ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων ἐωραμένων παραπλήσια, Μωυσῆς δὲ φησιν.

138 τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστυπεῖς ἐωρακέναι. ταύτῃ τὰς δύο πλάκας, ἐν αἷς τοὺς δέκα λόγους συγγεγράφθαι συμβεβήκει, ἀνὰ πέντε μὲν εἰς ἕκατέραν ἄνα δύο δὲ καὶ ἡμίσυν κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐγκατέθετο. καὶ ταύτῃ <μὲν>² εἰν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατατήθησαν.

139 (6) Ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τράπεζαν ἐδρύεται Δελφικαὶς παραπληγαί, τὸ μῆκος μὲν δύο πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἐνὸς πῆχεως καὶ σπιθαμῶν τριῶν τὸ ψως. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῇ πόδες τὰ μὲν ἑξ ἡμίσος ἐως τῶν κάτω τελέως ἐξητισμένοι, οἷς Δωριεῖς προστίθεναι ταῖς κλίναις ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτῇν ἀνατείνων τετράγωνον τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. κοιλαίνεται δὲ καθ' ἐκαστὸν πλευρὸν κοιλαίνουσα πως κατὰ παλαιστήν τὸ ἐδαφὸς, ἑλικὸς περιθεούσης τὸ πε ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος, καθ' ἐκαστὸν δὲ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ταύτῃ ἔληλατο κρίκος οὐκ ἀπώθεν τοῦ ἐπιθέματος, δι' ὧν ἦσαν στελεοὶ χρύσεοι ξύλου τάνερθεν ὄντες,

¹ χερουβὶμ ROE Lat. ² ins. Niese.

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¹ 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).

² 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, "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.\(^a\) 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.\(^b\) The ark itself he laid up in the sanctuary.

(6) Within the temple he installed a table, like to those at Delphi, in length two cubits, in breadth a cubit, and of a height of three spans.\(^c\) It had legs 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 out on each side to a depth of about three inches, a spiral border running round the upper and the lower portion of the body of the table. Each of the legs, here again,\(^f\) had attached to it a ring, not far from the board, and through these passed golden staves, internally of wood, and not removable.\(^g\)

\(^a\) Ex. xxv. 18.  
\(^b\) Ex. xxv. 18.  
\(^c\) Table of shewbread. Ib. xxv. 23; xxxvii. 10.  
\(^d\) Cf. ib. xxv. 24 f.  
\(^e\) "Three spans" = Bibl. "a cubit and a half"; the cubit (18 in.) being equivalent to two spans.  
\(^f\) Details not in Scripture.  
\(^g\) "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.  
\(^h\) Kai ταυτης, like the sides of the ark (§ 136).  
\(^i\) 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 ἄκινητοι).
141 οὐκ ἐξαιρετοί· κοίλον γὰρ εἰχεν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τοὺς κρίκους κοινωθέντας· οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσὶ διηνεκεῖς, ἀλλὰ πρὶν συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον εἰς περονίδας τὴν ἁρχὴν τελευτώντες, ὥν ἦ μὲν εἰς τὸ προανέχον ἐμβαίνει τῆς τραπέζης, ἢ δὲ εἰς τὸν πόδα· καὶ τούτοις κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκομίζετο.

142 ἐπὶ ταύτης, ἐτίθετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἀρκτόν οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ μυχοῦ, διετίθεσαν ἀρτοὺς τε δύσικα ἄξιμους κατὰ ἔς ἐπαλλήλους [κεμένους] καθαροῦ πάντων ἀλευροῦ ἐκ δύο ἀσσαρῶν· ὃ μέτρον Ἐβραίων ἐπτὰ κοτύλας.

143 Ἀπτικάς ἔχει. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἀρτῶν ἐτίθεντο φιάλαι δύο χρύσαι λυβάνου πληρείς, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ πάλιν ἅλλοι ἐκομίζοντο [ἄρτοι] ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ ύψ' ἡμῶν σαββάτῳ· τὴν γὰρ ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν σάββατα καλούμεν· τὴν δ' αἰτίαν ἐξ ἢς ταῦτα ἐπενοήθησαν ἐν ἐτέρους ἐρωμέν.

144 (7) Κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ πρὸς μεσημβρίαν τετραμμένῳ τοῖχῳ πλησίον ἱσταται λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ κεχωνευμένη διάκενος σταθμὸν ἔχονσα μιᾶς ἐκατὸν· Ἐβραῖοι μὲν καλοῦσι κίγ-χαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἐλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον.

145 γλώτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον· πεποίηται δὲ σφαιρά καὶ κρύα σὺν ρούσκοις καὶ κρατηρίδιοις, ἐβδομη-κοντα δ' ἢν τὰ πάντα, ἐξ ὅν ἀπὸ μιᾶς βάσεως

1 κοινωθέν Bernard. 2 ἀσσάρων codd.

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a i.e. the outer court or Holy Place (as opposed to the Holy of Holies).
b Greek “recess.”
c For ἀσσάρων = “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.”

382
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 \( a \) on the northern side not far from the sanctuary, \( b \) they set out twelve loaves of unleavened bread, in two opposite rows of six, made of perfectly pure flour of the amount of two assarôns,\( c \) that being a Hebrew measure equivalent to seven Attic cotylae.\( d \) Above these loaves were set two cups \( e \) 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.\( f \)

(7) Facing the table, near the south wall, stood a candelabrum of east gold, hollow, and of the weight of a hundred minae; this (weight) the Hebrews call kincharas,\( g \) a word which, translated into Greek, denotes a talent. It was made up of globules and lilies, along with pomegranates and little bowls, numbering seventy in all; of these it was composed

\( d \) There is an apparent error of about one half in this estimate. In terms of pints, an assarôn or omer = c. 6\( \frac{1}{2} \) pints (arts. on Weights and Measures in Hastings B.I) and Ençyl. Bibl.) ; an Attic cotyla = nearly \( \frac{1}{2} \) pint, 7 cotylae = c. 3\( \frac{1}{2} \) pints.

\( e \) The representation on the Arch of Titus shows two cups resting on the table.

\( f \) In the projected work on "Customs and Causes" (i. 25).

\( g \) Heb. kikkar, Ex. xxv. 39 (lxx τάκαρτον). The Greek talent = 60 minas, not 100, as is here implied.

\( h \) "Knops" in the English version of Exodus.

383
συνετέθη πρὸς ὑψος, ποιήσαντος αὐτὴν συγ-
κεμένην εἰς μοίρας εἰς ὅσας τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ
146 τὸν ἥλιον κατανέμουσαν. ἀπαρτίζεται δὲ εἰς ἑπτά
κεφαλὰς καταλλήλας ἐν στίχῳ διακεμένας. λύχνοι
δὲ ἐπιφέρονται αὐταῖς ἑπτὰ κατὰ μίαν, τῶν πλα-
νητῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν μεμιμημένου, ὀρῶσι δὲ εἰς τὲ
τὴν ἀνατολὴν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν λοξῶς αὐτῆς
κεμένης.
147 (8) Μεταξὺ δ' αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἔνδον,
ὡς προείπον, θυμιατήριον ἐχύλιον μέν, εἷς οὖ καὶ
τὰ πρότερα ἣν σκεύη ἥμη σηπόμενα, στερεά δὲ
περιελήλατ' αὐτῶπ λεπίς, πηχυάιον μὲν κατὰ
πλευρὰν ἐκάστην τὸ πλάτος ύψους δὲ διπλάσιον.
148 ἐπὶ τε ἐσχάρα χρυσείᾳ ὑπερανεστώσα ἔχουσα
κατὰ γωνίαν ἐκάστην στέφανον καὶ τοῦτον δ' ἐκ-
περιοδεύουσα χρύσεον, ἥ καὶ κρίκοι καὶ οἰκταλ-
dfd προσήσαν, αἷς κατὰ τὰς ὄδους ὑπὸ τῶν
ιερῶν ἐφέρετο. ἵδρυτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς
βωμὸς χάλκεος, ὑπόξυλος καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐκάστην
πλευρὰν πέντε πήχεσιν ἐκμεμετρημένος, τὸ δὲ
ὕψος τρίτης, ὁμοίως τῷ χρύσῳ κεκοσμημένος,
χαλκείας λεπίσιν ἔξοπικήμενος, δικτύῳ τὴν ἐσχά-
ραν ἐμφερῆς ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ ἡ γῆ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς
ἐσχάρας πῦρ καταφερομένου τῆς βάσεως διὰ παν-
150 τὸς οὐχ ὑποκεμένης. ἀντικρὺ δ' ἐτίθεντο τοῦ
†χρυσεοῦν ὁ ποιεῖα τε καὶ φιάλαι σὺν θυσίαις καὶ

1 σηπόμενον Bernard. 2 προσήσαν codd. 3 τοῦ ἐπιτρυστ., τοῦ βωμοῦ E.: om. Lat.

ᵃ See § 182 for the ten degrees assigned to each of the seven planets.
ᵇ Greek "heads."
ᶜ § 139; as opposed to the altar of burnt-offering (below), which stood in the court outside.
ᵈ 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.\textsuperscript{a} It terminated in seven branches\textsuperscript{b} 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,\textsuperscript{c} 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\textsuperscript{d}; 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\textsuperscript{e} 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 at the corners and "a crown" (\textit{i.e.} "rim" or "moulding") "round about" it.

\textsuperscript{a} So (\textit{εὐχαρία}) the LXX; but the Hebrew \textit{mikbar} is generally taken to be a "grating" (so A.V.) rising \textit{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.
κρατήροιν ἧσαν· ὦσα τε ἄλλα [σκεύη] πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας πεποίητο χρύσει· πάντα ὑπήρχε. καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνὴ τοιαύτη τε ἦν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆν σκεύη.

151 (vii. 1) Γίνονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεύσι στολαὶ πὰσὶ τε τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐς χαναίας καλοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἁρχιερεῖ, ὅν ἀναραβάχθην προσαγο- ρεύοντοι σημαίνει δὲ ἁρχιερεῖα. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων στολῆν τοιαύτην εἶναι συμβεβηκεν. ὅταν δὲ προσή ὑπὶ ἱερουργίας ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγενευκὼς ἦν ὁ νόμος ἁγνείαν προσαγορεύει, πρῶτον μὲν περι- τίθεται τὸν μαχανάσῃ λεγόμενον' βούλεται δὲ τοῦτο συνακτήρα μὲν δηλοῦν, διάζωμα δ' ἐστὶ περὶ τὰ αἰδεία ραπτῶν ἐκ βύσσου κλωστῆς εἰργα- σμένων ἐμβαινόντων εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποδῶν ὡσπερ εἰς ἀναξυρίδας, ἀποτέμενεται δὲ ὑπὲρ ἡμίσι καὶ τελευτήσαν ἄχρι τῆς λαγόνος περὶ αὐτῆν ἀπο- σφίγγεται.

152 (2) Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτω λίνεον ἐνδύμα διπλῆς φορεῖ

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1 ἧσαν] om E Lat.: ἐκ χρύσου Bernard.
2 aurea aurea Lat.: χάλκεα Bernard.
3 Bernard: χαναίας ed. pr.: χαναίας codd.
4 ME (ἡχήν SP): ἀραβάχθην rell.: ἀραβάραχθην (ex Lat.) Niese.
5 Niese: προσαγορεύει codd.
6 Bernard: μαναχάσῃ codd.
7 ROE: εἰργασμένον rell.

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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
whsoever other objects were made for the sacred services were all of gold. 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, and in particular for the high-priest, whom they entitle anarabaches, signifying "high-priest." Now the vestments of the priests in general were as follows. 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. 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.

(2) Over this he wears a linen robe, of a double The tunic.

Josephus has the support of the Old Latin version of the LXX ("aurea" for χαλκᾶ) and the text may therefore stand.

b Hellenized form of the Aramaic kahanya, "priests" (Hebr. kohanim).

c Hellenization of Aramaic kahana rabba, "high priest," with omission (or transposition) of the initial k.

d 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 § 158; while Niese indicates a lacuna preceding it. But there are indications that Josephus, as distinct from his assistants, was not familiar with the word τοιότερε, "as follows," and used τοιότος instead: a parallel occurs later in this book (iii. 273 end).

e Heb. miknesaim (dual); Josephus, by his translation συμπακτήρ ("binder"), clearly derives the word from the verb kana ("gather," "collect").
M. Weill adduces Yoma 71b for the tradition that “in the texture of the priestly vestments each thread was doubled several times.”

b Heb. kełôneh (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 χιτών used below.

c The sash is wound twice round the body (§ 155), at the
texture of fine byssus; it is called chethomenē, that is to say "of linen," chethon being our name for linen. 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 the sash, which is of a breadth of about four fingers and has an open texture giving it the appearance of a serpent's skin. Therein are interwoven flowers of divers hues, of crimson 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, 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 abanēth, but we have learnt from the Babylonians to call it hemian, 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 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.

4 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. Or "scarlet."

5 According to the Talmud it was 32 cubits (48 feet) long!

6 Heb. 'abnēt (Ex. xxviii. 39).

7 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 ἐκατέραν κατακλείδα· μασσαβαζάνης καλεῖται.

157 (3) Ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖ πῖλον ἁκωνον οὐ δικνουμένον εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἀλλ’ ἐπ’ οἷγον ὑπερβεβηκότα μέσης· καλεῖται μὲν μασσαβεβαθῆς, τῇ δὲ κατασκευῇ τοιοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκεῖν εἴς υφάσματος λινέου ταινία πεποιημένη παχεία· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιπτυσσόμενον ῥάπτεται πολλάκις.

158 ἐσείτα συνδών ἄνωθεν αὐτὸν ἐκπεριέχεται διήκουσα μέχρι μετώπων, τήν τε βαφὴν τῆς ταινίας καὶ τὸ ἄπτ’ αὐτῆς ἀπρεπές καλύπτουσα καὶ ὅλω1 δὲ τῷ κρανίῳ γιγνομένη ἐπίπεδον ἡμιοσταὶ δὲ ἀκριβῶς, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιρρεύει πονοῦντος περὶ τὴν ἕρουργίαν, καὶ ὅποια μὲν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἑρέων στολὴ δεδηλώκαμεν.

159 (4) Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κοσμεῖται μὲν καὶ ταύτῃ παραλιπὼν οὐδὲν τῶν προειρημένων, ἐπενδυσάμενος δ’ εἰς υακύνθου πεποιημένον χιτώνα, ποδήρησι δ’ ἐστὶ καὶ οὕτως, μεεὶρ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλώσσαν, ζωὴν περισφιγγεῖται βάμμασιν οἷς ἡ πρότερον ὑμθεὶς διαπεποικυμένη χρυσός συν- 160 υφασμένον· κατὰ πέζαν δ’ αὐτῶ προσερραμένοι θύσαις ροῦν τρόπον ἐκ βαφῆς μεμιμημένοι ἀπηρτητο καὶ κώδωνες χρύσεοι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπι-

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¹ 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."

² 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.\footnote{3}

(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,\footnote{b} 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\footnote{d} material. This too reaches to the feet, and is called in our tongue meeir\footnote{c}; 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, and, to judge from the etymology of that word, were apparently convex, like the ordinary Greek πιλος, “in shape resembling a half-egg” (Driver \textit{in loc.}). Josephus, in speaking of a πιλος ἀκώνος 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.

\footnote{4} Cf. \textit{B.J.} v. 231-6.\footnote{a} Or “violet.”\footnote{*} Heb. \textit{me'il}.
τῇδεναὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας, ὡστε μέσον ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι δυοῖν τε κωδώνων ρόισκον, καὶ ροῶν κωδώνων. ἐστὶ δ' ὁ χιτῶν οὗτος οὐκ ἐκ δυοῖν περιτμημάτων, ὡστε ῥαπτὸς ἐπὶ τῶν ὁμοίων εἶναι καὶ τῶν παρὰ πλευράν, φάρσος δ' ἐν ἐπίμηκες ύφασμένον σχιστὸν ἔχει βροχωτήρα <οὐ>¹ πλάγιον, ἀλλὰ κατὰ μῆκος ἐρρωγότα πρὸς τὸ στέρνον καὶ μέσον τὸ μετάφρενον· πέξα δ' αὐτῷ προσέρραπται ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ διελέγχεσθαι τῆς τομῆς τὴν δυσπρέπειαν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὄθεν αἱ χεῖρες διείργονται σχιστός ἑστιν.

162 (5) Ἔπ' δὲ τούτων τρίτων ἐνδυέται τὸν λεγόμενον μὲν ἐφώδην, Ἔλληνικής δ' ἐπωμίδι προσεοικότα· γίνεται γὰρ τούτων τὸν τρόπον. ὡφανθεὶς ἐπὶ βάθος πηχναίον ἐκ τε χρωμάτων παντοίων καὶ χρυσῶν συμπεποικιλμένος ἀπερίπτυκτον τοῦ στέρνου τὸ μέσον καταλιμπάνει, χειρίσι τε ἡσκημένος καὶ τῷ παντὶ σχῆματι χιτῶν εἶναι πεποιημένος. τῷ δὲ διακένω τοῦ ἐνδύματος σύνεισι περίτμημα σπιθαμῆς τὸ μέγεθος χρυσῶ τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῷ ἐφώδη βάμμασι διηνθισμένων ἔσσην μὲν καλεῖται, σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν

¹ ins. (ex Lat.) Bernard.

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a As, we must infer, was the under tunic already described.
b Cf. John xix. 23 f. ἤν δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἄραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ύφαντός δὲ οἶνον: though this is considered to be "only a verbal coincidence: the idea of a high-priestly robe does not enter here" (Bernard in loc.).
c 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,\(^a\) to be stitched at the shoulders and at the sides: it is one long woven cloth,\(^b\) with a slit for the neck, parted not crosswise but lengthwise from the breast to a point in the middle of the back.\(^c\) 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 *epōmis,\(^d\) 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,\(^e\) and in general presents the appearance of a tunic. But into the gap in this vestment is inserted a piece of the dimensions \(^f\) of a span, variegated with gold and with the same colours as the ephod; it is called *essen,\(^g\) a word signifying in Greek speech

\(^{a}\) Επωμις is the LXX version of the Heb. *ephod*. The *epōmis* 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 *epōmis*, shoulder-straps, on which were sardonyxes.

\(^{b}\) Sleeves are not mentioned in Scripture or (according to M. Weill) in tradition.

\(^{c}\) It was "foursquare," of equal length and breadth (Ex. xxviii. 16).

\(^{d}\) Heb. ʰōšhen, English Bible "breastplate," more correctly "pouch" (Driver). It was "doubled" (Ex. loc. cit.) to form a bag or pouch, in which the Urim and Thummim were kept. The form ἕσσην is attributed also to the unknown "Hebrew" (ὁ Ἑβραῖος) in mss. of the LXX (Ex. xxviii. 22).
164 Ἐλλήνων γλώτταν λόγιον. Πληροὶ δὲ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἐφώδου ὑπερ υφαίνοντες κατὰ στήθος ἐξέλιπον, ἐνοῦται δὲ ὑπὸ κρίκων χρυσέων αὐτῶ τε κατὰ γνωσίαν ἐκάστην κάκεων τῶν ἵσων προσκεκουνω-μένων, ῥάμματος ὑακίνθου παραληφθέντος εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατάδεσιν τοῖς κρίκοις. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μῆ χαλαρὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κρίκων καταλμπανόμενον βαφήν αὐτοῦ νῆμασιν ὑακινθι- νοῖς ἐπενόησαν. πορποῦσι δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρ- δόνυχες δύο κατὰ τῶν ὦμων, ἐκάτερον τέλος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐπιθέον χρύσεων ἔχοντες, πρὸς τὸ ταῖς περονίσῳ ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι. ἐγγεγραπταὶ δὲ τοῦτος τῶν Ιακώβου παίδων τὰ ὀνόματα γράμμασιν ἐπιχωρίῳς γλώσσῃ τῇ ἡμετέρα κατὰ ἐξ τῶν λίθων ἐκατέρω, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δὲ εἰσὶ κατὰ ὦμων τὸν δεξιόν. ἐπίλασε δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐσσήνην λίθου δῶ- δεκα μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες, οὐ κτητὸς ἀνθρώποις κόσμοι διὰ τιμῆς ὑπερβολῆν ὄντες.

165 οὕτω μέντοι κατὰ στίχον τρεῖς ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διακεῖμαι γραμμῶν ἐνήσκεται τῷ ὑφει, χρυσὸς δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκπεριέρχεται τὰς ἐλικὰς ἐντιθεῖς τῷ ὑφει πρὸς τὸ μῆ διαρρέειν οὕτως πεποιημένοι. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη τριάς ἐστὶ σαρδόνυχας τῶν ὀξίων σμά- ραγδος, ἡ δευτέρα ἐπὶ ἀνθρακα παρέχεται καὶ ἰασπιν καὶ σάφθειόν, τῆς δὲ τρίτης λίγυρος μὲν

1 λογεῖον SPL.

a λόγιον is the lxx version, from which Josephus again borrows: Philo similarly uses λογεῖον (De vita Mos. ii. 13, 154 M.I.). Josephus attributes the oracular properties of the essēn 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.
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logion ("oracle"). 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, 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 epômís is buckled on to the shoulders by two sardonyxes, fitted on this side and that with golden extremities 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. On the essên 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, topaz, emerald; the second exhibits carbuncle, jasper, sapphire; the third begins with jacinth.

b I give the general sense: the exact meaning of προσκεκοιμημένων is doubtful.

c Heb. shôham, E.V. "onyx" (margin "beryl"), LXX σμάραγδος ("emerald").
d i.e. "enclosed in filigree settings (or "rosettes," E.V. "ouches") of gold" (Driver).

e Ex. xxviii. 10 says merely "according to their birth" (i.e. "according to their ages").

f "Sardius" in Exodus (LXX and E.V.), as also in the parallel passage in B.J. v. 234.

g Or "amber"; the Heb. word in Exodus perhaps means "cairngorm."
JOSEPHUS

ἀρχεῖ εἰτὰ ἀμέθυσος ἀχάτης ἐν τρίτος, ἐνατος ὡς τοῖς πᾶσι, τετάρτου δὲ στίχου χρυσόλιθος μὲν πρόκειται μετὰ δὲ αὐτῶν ὄνυς εἰτὰ βῆμιλλος

169 τελευταίος οὖτος. γράμματα δὲ ἐπετέμητο πάσι τῶν Ἰακώβου νιῶν, οὕς καὶ φυλάρχους νομίζομεν, ἐκάστον τῶν λίθων ὀνόματι τετιμημένον κατὰ τάξιν ἢν ἐκαστὸν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι συμβέβηκε.

170 τῶν οὖν κρίκων ἀσθενῶν ὄντων καθ' αὐτοὺς ἐν- εγκείν τὸ βάρος τῶν λίθων ἐτέρους δύο κρίκους μείζονας τῆς πέζης τοῦ ἐσσήνου, ἔπειρο ἂν κεκρήπη ἁμεῖς τὸν τράχηλον, ἐμβεβηκότας τῷ ὑφάσματι ποιοῦσι, δεξομένους ἀλύσεις εἰργασμένας, αἱ συνήσαν 1 κατ' ἄκρον τῶν ὦμων σειραῖς ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεπληγμέναις συνάπτουσαι, ὥν τὸ ἄκρον ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν- ἑβαίνε κρίκῳ προέχοντι τῆς νωτιαίας πέζης τοῦ

171 ἐφώδου· καὶ τοῦτο ἡν ἀσφάλεια τῷ ἐσσήνη πρὸς τὸ μῆ περιρρεῖν. ζῶνη δὲ τῷ ἐσσήνη προσ- ἔρραπτο βάμμασιν οἷς προείπον μετὰ χρυσίον προσ- φερή, ἣ περιοδεύσας δεῖται πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ ῥαφῇ καὶ κατακρεμνάται· τοὺς δὲ θυσάνους χρύσεις σύριγγες καθ' ἐκατέραν ἄκραν ἐκλαβοῦσαι πάντας ἐμπεριέχουσιν [αὗτα].

1 συνήσαν R²O.

* 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:

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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. 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 essên 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 essên against any slip. The essên 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 and hung down. The tassels at either extremity of this band were caught into golden sheaths which embraced them all.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>jacinth, agate, amethyst</td>
<td>agate, amethyst, jacinth</td>
<td>jacinth, amethyst, agate</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Row 4</td>
<td>beryl, onyx, jasper</td>
<td>onyx, beryl, chrysolite</td>
<td>chrysolite, onyx, beryl</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

b i.e. at the point where the essên was stitched to the ephod.

c This detail, among others, is peculiar to Josephus.

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JOSEPHUS

172 (6) Πῖλος¹ δὲ ἦν μὲν ὁ καὶ πρῶτος αὐτῶ παραπλησίως εἰργασμένος τοῖς πάσιν ἑρεύσων, ὑπὲρ² αὐτὸν δὲ συνεργασμένος ἔτερος εξ ὑστάθθου πεποικίλμενος, περιέρχεται δὲ³ στεφάνος χρύσεος ἐπὶ τριστιχίων κεχαλκευμένος. Θάλλει δ' ἐπ' αὐτῷ κάλυξ χρύσεος τῇ σακχάρῳ βοτάνῃ παρ' ἦμῖν λεγομένη ἀπομεμμημένος, ύδω δὲ κύαμον 'Ελλήνων οἱ περὶ τομᾶς ρίζῶν ἐμπείρως έχοντες προσαγροέυοντι.

173 ei δὲ τις ἡ⁴ θεασάμενος τὴν βοτάνην ἀμαθία τούτου ἄγνοει τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς ἢ τὴν κλῆσιν ἐπιστάμενος οὐκ ἴδον δ' ἂν γνωρίσειν, τοῖς οὕσω 174 δὴ ἔχοντι σημανία τὸν τρόπον βοτάνη μὲν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς σπιθαμάς πολλάκις αὐξανομένη τὸ ύψος, τὴν δὲ ρίζαν ἔμφερης βουνιάδι, ταύτῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι τις εἰκάζων αὐτήν, τα δὲ φύλλα τοῖς εὐξώμων ἐκ μέντοι τῶν κλάδων ἀνίησι

¹ πῖλον RO. ² ed. pr.: ὑπ'. codd. ³ δὲ ins. Lat., ed. pr.: om. codd. ⁴ v.l. μη, ἦ μη.

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² 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 Encyl. Bibl. s.v. "Mitre."
³ Or perhaps "that already (described)."
⁴ Or "violet."
⁵ 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."
⁶ Aramaic shakruna (connected with Heb. shākar = "be intoxicated"). See Löw, Aramäische Pflanzennamen, Leipzig, 1881, p. 381 (quoted by Weill).
For head-dress a the high-priest had first b a turban and crown of gold. But over this was stitched a second of blue c embroidery, which was encircled by a crown of gold d wrought in three tiers, and sprouting above this was a golden calyx recalling the plant which with us is called saccharon, e but which Greeks expert in the cutting of simples term henbane. f 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 g — one may not incorrectly draw this comparison—and leaves like those of the rocket. h Now out of its branches it

1 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 dehiscs by throwing off the cap, splitting at the well-marked rim at X.”

v Brassica rapa. h Brassica eruca.
κάλυκα προσεχῇ τῷ κλωνὶ, περίεισι δ’ αὐτὴν ἐλυτρον, ὥσερ ἀποκρύνεται καθ’ αὐτὸ πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν μεταβαλεῖν ἥργμενης· ὃ δὲ κάλυξ μεγέθους ἐστὶ σκυταλίδος τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου, κρατήρι δ’ ἐμφερῆς τὴν περιγραφὴν. σημανὸ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο
175 τοῖς οὖν μεμαθηκόσι· σφαιρίδος εἰς δύο τετμημένης περὶ τῷ πυθμένι τῇ ἐτέραν τομὴν ἔχει φυόμενος ἀπὸ μίζης περιφερῆς· εἶτα συνιῶν κατ’ ὀλίγον ὑποκοιλανούσης εὑπρεπῶς τῆς ὑποχωρήσεως ἀνευρύνεται πάλιν ἡρέμα κατὰ χείλος,
176 ὡμοίως ὀμφαλῷ ροιάς τετμημένος. ἐπὶθεμα δ’ αὐτῷ ἠμισφαίριον προσπέφυκεν ἄκριβῶς ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις τετορυμένον, ὑπερανεστώσας ἔχον τὰς ἐντομὰς, ὅσ εἴπον τῇ ροίᾳ παραπλησίως βλαστάνειν, ἀκανθώδεις καὶ εἰς ὥξυ παντελῶς
177 ἀπολιγαμοῦσα τὸ ἀκρον. φυλάττει δ’ ἵππος τῷ ἐπιθέματι τὸν καρπὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κάλυκος, ὡστα βοτάνης σπέρματι τῆς σιδηρίτιδος ὀμοίων, ἀφίησι δ’ ἄνθος τῷ τῆς μῆκωνος πλαταγωνίῳ
178 δυνάμενον δοκείν ἐμφερές εἶναι. ἐκ τούτου μὲν στέφανος ἐκκέχαλκευται ὁσον ἀπὸ τοῦ ἰνίου πρὸς ἐκάτερον τῶν κροτάφων. τὸ δὲ μέτωπον ἡ μὲν ἐφιελίς οὐκ ἐπεισι, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ὃ κάλυξ, τελαμών δ’ ἐστὶ χρύσεος, ὃς ἰεροὶς γράμμασι τοῦ

1 ins. Niese.  
2 ἐπὶ codd.

α Or "projecting top."  
β The mss. have "on."  
γ Verbena.  
δ 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 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 this lid the plant preserves its fruit which fills the whole of the calyx and resembles the seed of the herb sideritis; 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 (for so we may call the calyx), but had a plate of gold, bearing graven in sacred

* Or "band" (Gr. τελαμόν): Heb. zi̯, lxx πέταλον ("leaf"), E.V. "plate." The Heb. zi̯ (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).

† i.e. the older Hebrew characters found on inscriptions, as opposed to the later "square" characters: cf. Aristeas § 98 γραμμασιν ἄγιοι.
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θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστι. καὶ
tοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κόσμος ἐστι.

179 (7) Θαυμάσειε δ' ἂν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπέχθειαν, ἢ ὡς ἐκφαντιζόντων ἡμῶν
tὸ θείον ὅπερ αὐτοὶ σέβειν προήρηματι διατετελέ-

180 καὶν ἑσχηκότες. εἰ γάρ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατα-
νοήσει τὴν πῆξιν καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἵδοι τὴν στολὴν
tά τε σκεῦς, οἷς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρώμεθα,
tὸν τε νομοθέτην εὐρήσει θείον ἄνδρα καὶ μα-
tαίως ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βλασφημίας
ἀκούοντας. ἔκαστα γάρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν
καὶ διατύπωσιν τῶν ὀλων, εἰ τις ἀφθόνως ἔθελοι
καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσει γεγονότα.

181 τὴν τε γὰρ σκηνὴν τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὗτων νεῖμας
εἰς τρία καὶ δύο μέρη πᾶσιν ἀνεῖς τοῖς ἱερεῖσιν
ἄσπερ βεβηλῶν τινα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν
καὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἀποσημαινεί· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα
πᾶσιν ἐστὶν ἐπίβατα· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῖραν μόνῳ
περιέγραψε τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνεπί-

182 βατον εἶναι ἀνθρώπως. ἐπὶ τε τῇ τραπεζῇ τοὺς
dώδεκα θείοι ἄρτους ἀποσημαίνει τὸν ἐνιαυτὸν εἰς
tοσοῦτοις μήνας δυηρημένον. τὴν δὲ λυχνιὰν ἐξ
ἐβδομήκοντα μορίων ποιήσας συγκειμένην τὰς τῶν

1 τιθεὶς ΡΩ:

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a The tetragrammaton γνων (Anglice ‘Jehovah’): so
B.J. v. 235 (note) and Aristaeas § 98, rather than as in
Exodus “Holy (or “Holiness”) to γνων.”

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characters the name of God. 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. 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, he

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\] Josephus has already touched on this allegorical interpretation above (§ 123 μίμησιν τῆς τῶν ὄλων φύσεως) and in his earlier work (B.J. v. 212 ff. εἴκόνα 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.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{c}}\] § 145. But the component portions enumerated in Ex. xxv. 33 ff. seem to amount to 69 only (see Encycl. Bibl. i. 645 n. 3).
The reading of the old Latin version, *decamoriae*, must on arithmetical grounds (70 = 7 × 10) be preferred to the text of the Greek mss. indicating a *twelve*-fold division. *Δεκαμορία* is a synonym for *δεκάνος*, 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 of the planets, and by the seven lamps thereon the course of the planets themselves, for such is their number. 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 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, 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; and by the girdle wherewith he encompassed it he signified the ocean, which holds the whole in its embrace. Sun and moon are indicated by the two sardonyxes wherewith he

confirmed this interpretation and referred me for another instance of δέκαμορφια=δεκάνθος to an anonymous treatise printed in Wachsmuth's Lydus, De ostentis, ed. 2 p. 174, lines 8 and 10.

viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, with Sun and Moon; cf. Philo, De vita Mos. ii. 9 (102) τῆν λυχνίαν δι' ἡς αἰνίττεται τὰς τῶν φωσφόρων κυνήσεις ἀστέρων. In B.J. vii. 149 the seven lamps "indicate the honour paid to that number (or perhaps "to the week," τῆς ἑξάδεκα) by the Jews."

c Or "scarlet =κόκκος, the word used in Exodus (lxx) and in the parallel passage in B.J. v. 213.

a Ephaptis, another term for what has previously been called the ephod or ἐπόμις (§ 162).

e In the universe.

Or "sash."
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donýxwn ékáteros, òís énepórpwse tôn ἀρχιερέα.

186 τῆν τε δωδεκάδα τῶν λίθων εἶτε τοὺς μὴνας τις θέλου νοεῖν, εἶτε τὸν οὕτως ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀστέρων, ὁν οὐδιακὸν κύκλον “Εὐλήνες καλοῦσι, τῆς κατ’ ἐκείνου γνώμης οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι, καὶ ὁ πίλος δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριῶν ὑπάκυνον πε-187 ποιμένοι, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ὑπεραντιθέτο αὐτῷ τὸ ὅνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ στεφάνῃ ἡγιασμένον καὶ ταύτῃ χρυσα,1 διὰ τὴν αὐγήν, ἢ μάλιστα χαίρει τὸ θεῖον. καὶ ταύτα μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον μοι δεδη- λώσθω πολλάκις τε καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου παρεξόντων ἢμῖν διελθεῖν τῶν πραγ-μάτων.

188 (viii. 1) Ἡ Ὀς δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πέρας εἴχε, τῶν ἀναθημάτων μῆτω καθερωμένων ἐπιστὰς ὁ θεὸς Μωυσεῖ τὴν ἱερωσύνην 'Αραώνι τάδελφῳ προσ-έταξε δοῦναι ὡς ἀπάντων δι’ ἀρετὴν τῆς τιμῆς δικαιοτέρῳ τυχεῖν. καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸ πλήθος τὴν τέρατον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν διεξῆ χαίρει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους οὓς υπομείνειεν ὑπὲρ 189 αὐτῶν. μαρτυροῦντων δ’ ἐφ’ ἀπασίαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόθυμον ἐνδεικνυμένον, “ἀνδρες,” εἶπεν, “Ἰσραήλιται, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἡδη τελοὶ ἔχει οἶον αὐτῷ τε τῷ θεῷ ἡδιστὸν ἢν καὶ δυνατὸν ἢμῖν, ἐπεὶ δὲ δεῖ τοῦτον τῇ σκηνῇ καταδέχεσθαι, δεὶ πρῶτον ἢμῖν2 τοῦ ἱερατευσμένου καὶ ὑπηρετή- σοντος ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἢμῶν εὐχαῖς.

1 χρυσεία SP. 2 ἢμῖν ROSP: om. Lat.

a § 165. So Clement of Alexandria, Strom. v. 668 P. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρακες διὰ τὸν Κρόνον καὶ τὴν Σελήνην: Philo mentions this explanation but prefers another, De vita Mos. ii. 12 (122). 406
pinned the high-priest's robe. 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. 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.

b Cf. § 184; and Milton, *Par. Lost* iii. 3 “since God is light, And never but in unapproached light Dwelt from eternity.”
190 καὶ ἐγὼ γε ταύτης ἐμοὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἐπιτραπείσης ἐμαυτόν ἀν τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινα, διὰ τὸ φύσει πάντας εἶναι φιλαύτους καὶ ὦτι πολλὰ ἐμαυτῷ καμόντι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ὑμετέρας σύνοιδα· νῦν δ’ αὐτὸς ὁ θεός Ἀαρώνα τῆς τιμῆς [ταύτης]¹ ἄξιον ἔκρινε καὶ τοῦτον ἥρηται ἱερά, τόν δικαιότερον ἡμῶν² μάλλον εἰδός, ὡς οὕτως εἰνήσεται στολῆν τῷ θεῷ καθωσιωμένην καὶ βαμμὸν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔξει καὶ πρόνοιαν ἱερείων καὶ τὰς υπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιήσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἀκουσόμενον, ὦτι τε κηδεταί γένους τοῦ ὑμετέρου καὶ παρ’ ἄνδρος δι αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο

192 γνωμένας προσδέχεται ταύτας.’ Ἐβραίοι δὲ ἡρέσκοντο τοὺς λεγομένους καὶ συνήνων τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονίαν· ἣν γὰρ Ἁαρών διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ τὴν προφητείαν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν τἄδελφον πρὸς [τὴν]³ τιμὴν ἀπάντων ἄξιολογότερος. ἦσαν δ’ αὐτῶ καὶ παιδες κατ’ ἐκεῖνον τὸν χρόνον τέσσαρες Νάβαδος Ἀβίους Ἑλεάζαρος Ἰθάμαρος.

193 (2) “Οσα δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατασκευὴν παρασκευασμένων ἢν περιττὰ, ταῦτ’ ἐκεῖλευσεν εἰς φάρσῃ σκεπαστήρια τῆς τε σκηνῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου καὶ τῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν ἀναλώσας, ὅπως κατὰ τὴν ὀδοιπορίαν ταῦτα μητ’ ἐξ ἕστου μηδὲν μητ’ ἐκ

194 κονιορτοῦ βλάπτηται. τὸ τε πλῆθος ἄθροίσας

¹ om. RO. ² ex Lat.: ἡμῶν codd. ³ ins. MSL (Lat.): om. rell.

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¹ So the Jewish Midrash on Lev. viii. 1 (quoted by Weill).
² Or “the more deserving of us (twain)”; or possibly “knowing better than ourselves who is the more worthy to don” etc.

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For my part, had the weighing of this matter been entrusted to me, I should have adjudged myself worthy of the dignity,\textsuperscript{a} 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.\textsuperscript{b} So it is he who will don the vestments consecrated to God, have charge of the altars, attend to the sacrificies, 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 prophetical gift, and his brother’s virtues, was more highly qualified than all for the dignity. He had at that time four sons: Nabad,\textsuperscript{c} Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

(2) As for the surplus\textsuperscript{d} 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

\textsuperscript{c} So, with transposition of consonants in a few lxx mss., as opposed to the ordinary form “Nadab” (Ex. xxviii. 1).

\textsuperscript{d} This sentence finds no parallel in Scripture. Weill suggests that “surplus” comes from Josephus having read the obscure word \textit{sarid}, rendered “finely wrought (garments)” in Ex. xxxi. 10 etc., as \textit{sarid} “remaining over”; but the context of Exodus has nothing about protective coverings.
πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου
τὸ ἡμίου καθ' ἐκαστὸν, ὅ δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα
Ἐβραίων ὡν Ἀττικὰς δέχεται δραχμὰς τέσσαρας.
οἱ δ' ἐτοίμως ὑπῆκουν οἷς ἐκέλευσε Μωυσῆς καὶ
tὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσφερόντων ἦν ἐξήκοντα μυριάδες
καὶ πεντακυκλίου καὶ πεντακόσιου καὶ πεντή-
κοντα. ἐφερον δὲ τὸ ἀργύριον τῶν ἑλευθέρων οἱ
ἀπὸ εἰκοσὶ ἐτῶν ἀχρι πεντήκοντα γεγονότες. τὸ
dὲ συγκομισθὲν εἰς τὰς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν χρείας
ἀναλοῦτο.

197 (3) Ἡγνιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνήν καὶ τοὺς ἱερέας
τρόπῳ τουούτῳ ποιούμενος αὐτῶν τὴν κάθαρσιν.
σμύρνης ἐπιλέκτων σίκλους πεντακυκλίους καὶ ἱρεως
ίσους, κυναμώμον δὲ καὶ καλάμου, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ
tοῦτο εἶδος θυμιάματος, ἦμίσειαν τῶν πρότερον
ὀλυκῆν κεκομιμένα δεῦειν ἐκέλευσεν, ἐλαίου τε
ἐλαίνου εἰς, μέτρων δὲ ἐστὶ τοῦτο ἐπιχώριον δύο
χόας Ἀττικοῦς δεχόμενον, ἀναμίξαντας καὶ καθ-
εψήςαντας σκεύασαι τέχνη μυρεψῶν χρῖσμα εὐ-
198 ωδέστατον. κἀπειτα τοῦτο λαβὼν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς
ἱερέας καὶ πάσαν τὴν σκηνὴν χρῶν κεκάθαρκε,
tά τε θυμιάμενα, πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶ ταῦτα καὶ ποικίλα,
kατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θυμιατηρίου
μεγάλης πάνω τιμῆς ὄντα συνεφέρετο, ὀν παρα-
λεῖπω τὴν φύσιν ἐκδιηγεῖσθαι, μὴ δὲ ὦχλου
199 γεννησα τοῖς ἐνυπνάνοις. δές δὲ τῆς ἡμέρας
πρὸς τε ἀνασχεῖν τῶν ἴλιον καὶ πρὸς δυσμάις
θυμιάν ἐξήρην ἐλαιόν τε ἀγυισαντας φυλάσσειν εἰς
tοὺς λύχνους, ὡν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῆ ἱερᾶ

a The annual poll-tax imposed on Jews for the upkeep of
people again, he imposed on them a contribution
of half a shekel for each man, the shekel being a
Hebrew coin equivalent to four Attic drachms. They
promptly obeyed this behest of Moses and the number
of contributors amounted to 605,550, the money
being brought by all free men aged from twenty
years up to fifty. The sum thus collected was ex-
pended upon the needs of the tabernacle.

(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 (another species of perfume)
were, by his orders, to be pounded and soaked; a
hin of olive oil (the hin being a native measure equi-
valent 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 fragrane.
Then, taking this, he anointed both the priests them-
selves 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 weary-
ing 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).

Reinach disputes this computation; but at least it
accords with the use of διδραχμαν 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.

Heb. and LXX " 603,550 " (Ex. xxxviii. 26).

The half-

ship contribution, Ex. xxx. 11 ff.

The anoint-
ing oil and perfumes of

purification. lb. 22.

Cf. 2 Chron.
xiii. 11.

The Greek names for these perfumes are those used
in LXX.
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.\(^a\)

(4) Everything having now been completed, the craftsmen who were pronounced the most excellent were Beseleel 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 Beseleel was adjudged the best. The whole time occupied upon the work was seven months,\(^b\) 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.

(5) Then did God manifest that He was well pleased with the work of the Hebrews and, far from rendering their labour vain by disdaining to make use of it,\(^c\) 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\(^d\) was distilled therefrom, revealing God's presence to those who both desired it and believed in it.

Rabbinical commentary on Numbers and Deuteronomy (Sifré, p. 16 a, quoted by Weill).

\(^a\) Text doubtful.
\(^b\) Reckoning not in Scripture.
\(^c\) Not in Scripture.
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(6) Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς τέκτονας οίας εἰκὸς ἦν δωρεάς τοὺς τοιαύτα ἐργασαμένους τιμήσας ἔθυεν ἐν τῷ τῆς σκηνῆς αἰθρίῳ κατὰ προσταγὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ταύρον καὶ κριῶν καὶ ἐρίφων ὑπὲρ ἄμαρτάδων,

205 καὶ δὴ, λέγειν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσιῶν μέλλω τὰ πρασσόμενα περὶ τὰς ιερουργίας ἐν ἐκείνοις ὁμολογουσιν περὶ τὸν οὐκ ὁλοκαυτεῖν κελεύει καὶ ὡν μεταλαμβάνεις τῆς βρῶσεως ἔφιγον ὁ νόμος, κακὸς τοῦ αἵματος τῶν τεθυμένων τὴν τε στολὴν τοῦ Ἀρώνος καὶ αὐτὸν σὺν τοῖς πασίν ἔρρανεν ἀφαγνίσας πηγαίος τε ὑδασι καὶ μύρω, ἵνα τοῦ θεοῦ γί- 206 γνωντο. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ τοῦτον τῶν τρόπων αὐτοῦς τε καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐθεράπευε τὴν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς σκεύη ἔλαιῳ τε προθυμωμένῳ, καθὼς εἶπον, καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν ταύρων καὶ κριῶν σφαγέντων καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ἐνὸς κατὰ γένος, τῇ δὲ ὑγιών κατήγγειλεν ἐστίν 207 τῷ λαῷ καὶ θύειν προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν. οἱ δ’ ἄλλοις ἀμιλλούμενοι καὶ ὑπερβάλλεις φιλοτιμοῦμεν τὰς θυσίας, ἀς ἐκαστὸς ἐπιφέροι, τοῖς λεγομένοις ὑπήκουν. ἐπικειμένων δὲ τῶν ιερῶν τῷ βωμῷ αἰφνίδιον ἐξ αὐτῶν πῦρ ἁνηφθῇ αὐτο- ματον, καὶ ὁμοιον ἀστραπῆς λαμπτήσον ὀρώμενον τῇ φλογὶ πάντα ἐδαπάνα τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ.

(7) Συνεβή δὲ καὶ Ἀρώνι συμφορά τις ἐκ τού- 1 ML: προθυμωμένῳ SPE: προχρισμένῳ(v) O(R).
2 ιερέων SPL.
3 αὐτοῦ RO.

a 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.) 414.
(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 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, 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.

(7) But this fire was also the cause of a misfortune...
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tou logizoménov óws ép’ antrórwpw kai patrī, genv-
naiōs δ’ ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ καρτερηθείσα, ὃτι καὶ τὴν
ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα στερρὸς ἢν καὶ κατὰ
πολλῶν τῶν θεοῦ ἤγειτο τὸ πάθος γεγονέναι· τῶν
γὰρ υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων ὄντων, ὡς προεῖπον,
δύο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Νάβαδος καὶ Ἀβίος κομί-
σαντες ἐπὶ τῶν βασιλέων οὕς ἃν προείπε Μωυσῆς
θυμιαμάτων, ἀλλ’ οῖς ἔχρωντο πρότερον, κατεκαύ-
θησαν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦς τὴν ὀρμήν βαλόντος
καὶ τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα φλέγειν αὐτῶν
ἀρξαμένοι καὶ σβέσαι μηδενὸς δυναμένου. καὶ οἱ
μὲν οὕτως ἄπεθανον, Μωυσῆς δὲ κελεύει τὸν
πατέρα αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς βαστάζαντας
τὰ σώματα καὶ κομίσαντας τῆς παρεμβολῆς ἔξω
θάψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. πενθεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ πλῆθος
χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ παρὰ δόξαν οὕτω γεγενη-
μένω διατεθὲν. μόνους δὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς
αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν πατέρα μὴ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐπ’
αὐτοῖς λύπης ἥξισε, προκρίναντας τὴν ἐἰς τὸν
θεὸν τιμὴν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς σκυθρωποῦ· ἴδῃ γὰρ
᾿Ααρών καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ἱερὰν ἁμφίεστο.

212 Λ ὡς πάσαν τιμὴν παρατησάμενος, ἢν
ἔωρα τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶ παρασχεῖν ἐτούμον, πρὸς
μόνη τῆς ποιήσει θεοπαίδευε πε诊εῖλε. καὶ τῶν
μὲν εἰς τὸ Συναϊ ἀνόδων ἁπείχετο, εἷς δὲ τῆς
σκηνῆς εἰσών ἐξηρμηνεύετο περὶ ἀνὴρ ἄντον παρὰ
τοῦ θεοῦ, ἱδωτευῶν καὶ ἡ στολὴ καὶ πασι τοῖς
ἀλλοις ἁγίων ἐαυτῶν δημοτικῶτερον καὶ μηδὲν
βουλόμενος τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν δοκεῖν ἡ μόνω
213 τῶ προσωπούμενος αὐτῶν βλέπεσθαι. ἐτι δὲ τὴν

1 O: θυμάτων reli.

a § 192.

b Bibl. Nadab (§ 192 note).

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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, and of these the two eldest, Nabad 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 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.

(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,

\[\text{Lev. x. 1.}\]

\[\text{Numb. vii. 89.}\]

\[\text{Moses engaged in writing the Laws.}\]

\[\text{In Lev. x. 4 it is “Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron” who are instructed to remove the corpses.}\]
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.

What follows is the author's interpretation of the mysterious Urim 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.a

(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, 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, 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-

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 Úrim and the Thummim” (Ex. xxviii. 30). The lxx rendering of that passage, καὶ ἐπιπήσεις ἐπὶ (οι) τὸ λυγιον τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δῆλωσι καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν, and its rendering elsewhere (Numb. xxvii. 21) of Úrim by δῆλα (sc. λίθοι, “conspicuous stones”) seems to have led to the interpretation in the text. See Hastings, D.B. s.v.
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17. The host, having finished his sacrifice, set out on his journey into the districts of Judea, and in the midst of a crowd of people, receiving from the Romans the same tokens of friendship which he had previously given to the Jews. Thus they parted from each other as friends. And as he was going on, a few of the people ran to him, and gave him news of the place?—a matter of public concern—and he related it also to the Jews.

20. (10) The work was completed in A.D. 93–94 (xx. 267) and was probably 15 or more years in the making. The 200 years

1  δη RO.  2  ex Lat. requiem: aivéses codd.  3  conj. Cocceii: ἐπιθυμοῦντες codd.  4  om. RO.

a  ὁ λόγιον is the lxx version of the Heb. word rendered in the E.V. "breastplate," Ex. xxviii. 15 etc.

b  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 essên, 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 essên logos ("oracle"). Howbeit, essên and sardonyx alike ceased to shine two hundred years before I composed this work, 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, 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.

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).

" Or, with another reading, "praises."
τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις παρεκόμιζον. πρὸς
tοῦτοις ἐκαστος φιάλην τε κομίζει καὶ τρύβλιον
καὶ θυίσκην, τὴν μὲν δαρεικοῦς δέκα δυναμένην
221 καὶ πλήρη θυμιμάτων· τὸ δὲ τρύβλιον καὶ ἡ
φιάλη, ἀργυρὰ δὲ ἤν, σίκλους μὲν αἱ δύο δια-
κοσίους εἶλκον, εἰς δὲ τὴν φιάλην ἐβδομήκοντα
μόνοι δεδαπάνητο, πλήρεις δὲ ἤσαν ἀλεύρων ἐλαίων
πεφυραμένων, οἷς ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χρώνται πρὸς
tὰς ἱερουργίας· μόσχον τε καὶ κριόν σὺν ἀρνίων
τῶν ἐτησίων1 ὀλομελῆ καινθησόμενα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς
222 χήμαρον ἐπὶ παραιτήσεω ἀμαρτημάτων. προσήγε
δὲ τῶν ἄρχοντων ἐκαστος καὶ ἐτέρας θυσίας
σωτηρίους λεγομένας καθ’ ἐκαστὴν ἡμέραν δύο
βόας καὶ πέντε κριοὺς σὺν ἀρνίσιν ἐτείους καὶ
ἐρίφους. οὕτωι μὲν δὴ θύουσαν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δῶδεκα
κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν εἰς· Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐκέτ’ ἀνα-
βαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιωάνον ἀλλ’ εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσών
ἀνεμάνθανε παρὰ θεοῦ περὶ τε τῶν πρακτέων καὶ
223 τῶν νόμων τῆς συντάξεως· οὐς κρείττονας ἡ κατὰ
σύνεσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄντας εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα βεβαίως
αἰῶνα συνεβή φυλαχθῆναι, δωρεάν εἰναὶ δόξαντας
τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μὴτ’ ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς μὴτ’ ἐν
πολέμῳ κατ’ ἀνάγκην ‘Ἐβραίους παραβῆναι των
τῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων παῦσαν

1 τῶν ἐτ.] ἐτείῳ RO.

a Or “platter”; the Greek terms used for the three articles are those employed by the LXX (Numb. v. 13 f.,
E.V. “charger . . . bowl . . . spoon”).
which transported the tabernacle on the march. Furthermore, each of them brought a salver, a bowl, and a censer, this last being of the value of ten darics 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," 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, 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—

A Persian gold coin; Heb. and LXX (Numb. vii. 14) name no coin; E.V. "ten shekels."

Or "deliverance," "welfare," after LXX: Heb. shelāmim, E.V. "peace-offerings." They are referred to below as "thank-offerings" (ἡ χαριστήριος § 225).

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.
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λέγων γραφὴν ἔτεραν ἡξιωκῶς συνθείναι περὶ τῶν νόμων.

224 (ix. 1) Νυνὶ δὲ οἷγων τινῶν ἐπιμυνησθῆσομαι τῶν ἐφ' ἀγνείας καὶ ἱερουργίαις κεμένων· καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον μοι περὶ τῶν θυσίων ἑνεστάναι συμβεβηκε. δύο μὲν γὰρ εἰσὶν ἱερουργίαι, τούτων δ' ἡ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἑτέρα δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ δῆμου συντελοῦμεναι κατὰ δύο γίνονται τρόπους· τῆς μὲν ὀλοκαυτεῖται πᾶν τὸ θυμὸν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοιαύτην ἔλαβεν, ἦ δὲ χαριστηρίος τέ ἐστι καὶ κατ' εὐωχίαν δράται τῶν τεθυκότων· ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τῆς προτέρας. ἀνὴρ ἱδιωτῆς ὀλοκαυτῶν θύει μὲν βοῦν καὶ ἄρνιον καὶ ἑρμόφυρ ταῦτα μὲν ἔπετεια, τοὺς δὲ βοῦς ἐφείται θύει καὶ προήκοντα· ἄρρενα δὲ ὀλοκαυτεῖται τὰ πάντα. σφαγέντων δὲ τούτων τὸν κύκλον τῷ αἷματι δενόσυ τοῦ βωμοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς, εἴτε καθαρὰ ποιήσαντες διαμελίζουσι καὶ πάσαντες ἀλοίπον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνατιθέασι σχείζων ἡδη πεπληρωμένον

a 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.

b Or "purity laws," referring to cap. xi. §§ 258 ff. (see § 273 in particular).

c Philo draws the same distinction, τῶν θυσιῶν αἱ μὲν εἰσὶν ὑπὲρ ἀπαντῶν τοῦ θυροῦς . . . αἱ δ' ὑπὲρ ἐκάστου (De Victimis 3, § 168, quoted by Weill).

d The meaning "holocaust" (lxx ὀλοκαυτῶς or-καύωσις E.V. "burnt-offering") is not inherent in the Hebrew 'olah, which strictly = "that which goes up" to heaven.

e 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.\(^a\)

(ix. 1) Here I will but mention some few of the regulations concerning purifications \(^b\) 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 \(^c\)—taking two distinct forms. In the first, the whole of the sacrificial victim is burnt entire, whence the sacrifice derives its corresponding name \(^d\); 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 \(i.3,10\) ox, a lamb, and a kid, these last being a year old; the slain oxen may be older than this \(^e\); but all victims for these holocausts must be males.\(^f\) The beasts being slaughtered, the priests drench with \(i.5,11\) the blood the circuit \(^g\) of the altar, and then, after cleansing them,\(^h\) dismember them, sprinkle them with salt,\(^i\) and lay them upon the altar, already laden

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\(^a\) Sacrifices of various kinds. Whole burnt-offerings. Lev. i. 1.

\(^b\) 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.

\(^c\) So Lev. i. 5: traditionally only the N.E. and S.W. corners.

\(^d\) Lev. specifies only the washing of inwards and legs, mentioned below; but 2 Chron. iv. 6 suggests complete cleansing.

\(^e\) 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 νηδύν ἐκκαθάραντες ἀκριβῶς τοὺς ἄλλους καθαγνυσθησόμενα προσεπιφέρουσι, τὰς δορὰς τῶν ἱερείων λαμβανόντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀλοκαυτώσεως τρόπος ἐστὶν ὁὕτως.

228 (2) Τὰς δὲ χαριστηρίους θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες ταύτα μὲν ξύλα θύουσιν, ὀλόκληρα δὲ ταῦτα καὶ τῶν ἐπετειῶν πρεσβύτερα, ἀρρενα μὲντοι θήλεις συνδυαζόμενα. θύσαντες δὲ ταῦτα φοινίσσουσι μὲν αἵματι τῶν βωμῶν, τοὺς δὲ νεφροὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπίπλουν καὶ πάντα τὰ πυμελῆ σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἡπατος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἀρνός ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ, τὸ δὲ στῦδος καὶ τὴν κνήμην τὴν δεξιὰν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι παρασχόντες ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας εὐωχοῦνται τοῖς καταλειπομένοις τῶν κρεών, ἅ δ’ ἄν περισσεύσῃ κατακαίουσι.

230 (3) Θύουσι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων¹ καὶ ὁμοίως τῶν προερημένων τὸ περὶ τῶν ἀμαρτάδων τῆς ἱερουργίας τρόπῳ γίνεται. οἱ δὲ ἀδύνατοι πορίζειν τὰ τέλεια θύματα περιστερὰς ἢ τρυγόνας δύο, ὅν τὸ μὲν ὀλοκαυτείται τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεύσιν εἰς βρώσιν διδόσαν. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περὶ τῆς θυσίας τῶν ἰών ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσίων ἐρωτεύεται, ὃ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσών ἄρνα καὶ ἐριφὸν θήλειαν τῶν αὐτοτετων προσφέρει, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἵματι δειές τὸν βωμόν ὅ ἱερεύς, οὗχ ὡς τὸ πρῶτον ἄλλα τῶν γωνίων τὸς

¹ χαριστηρίων SPL.

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¹ Lev. i. 6 mentions the flaying of the larger animal only.
² Heb. shelāmîm, E.V. "peace - offerings" (margin "thank-offerings"), ixx θυσία σωτηρίων: "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. Such is the manner of the whole burnt-offering.

(2) In the performance of sacrifices of thank-offerings, the same beasts are offered, but these must be without blemish, and may be upwards of a year old, 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.

(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 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. A person who through ignorance has fallen into sin brings a lamb and a female kid of a year old, 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).

a Leviticus specifies no age.

b i.e. the larger victim: "if his means suffice not for a lamb" (Lev. v. 7).

c The projected work (i. 25 note).

d In Lev. lamb and kid are alternatives.

e I follow Whiston: αὐτοτής 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.


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έξοχάς, καὶ τοὺς τε νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πυμελήν
σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἡπατος ἑπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ,
οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τὰς τε δορὰς ἀποφέρονται καὶ τὰ κρέα
ἐπ’ ἐκείνης δαπανήσαντες τῆς ἡμέρας ἐν τῷ
ἱερῷ. ὁ γὰρ νόμος εἰς τὴν αὐριον ἀπολυτεῖν οὐκ
232 ἔδ. ὁ δὲ ἄμαρτων μὲν αὐτῷ δὲ συνειδῶς καὶ
μηδένα ἔχων τῶν ἐξελέγχοντα κρίνων θύει, τοῦ
νόμου τούτο κελεύοντος, οὓ τὰ κρέα κατὰ τὸ
ἱερὸν ὁμοίως οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐθημερον συνούνται. οἱ
δὲ ἀρχοντες ἐφ’ οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἐκθυσμενοι ταῦτα
μὲν κομίζουσι τοῖς ἰδιώταις, διαλλάσσουσι δὲ τῷ
προσάγειν θύματα ταύρον ἐρυφον ἀρσενας.

233 (4) Νόμος δὲ ταῖς ἰδιωτικαῖς καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις
θυσίαις καὶ ἀλευρον ἑπιφέρεσθαι καθαρώτατον,
ἀρνυ μὲν ἀσσαρώνος μέτρον κρῖν ὁ δὲ δυνῶν ταύρῳ
δὲ τριῶν. τούτῳ καθαγιαζόσων 2 ἐπὶ τῶ βωμῶν
234 μεμαγμένον ἐλαίῳ· κομίζεται γὰρ ἡ καὶ ἐλαίον
ὑπὸ τῶν τεθυκότων, ἐπὶ μὲν βοὶ εἴνος ἡμιον, ἐπὶ
δὲ κρῖν μέρος τούτου τρίτον τοῦ μέτρου, καὶ
τετάρτῃ μερὶς ἐπ’ ἀρνυ. ὁ δὲ εἰν μέτρον ἄρχαιον
᾽Εβραῖων ἦνoque 3 δύναται δύο χώσα Ἀττικοῦς. τὸ
δ’ αὐτὸ μέτρον τῷ ἐλαίῳ καὶ οἴνου παρῆγον,
235 σπένδουσι δὲ περὶ τὸν βωμὸν τὸν οἶνον. εἰ δὲ τις
θυσίαιν οὐκ ἐπιτελῶν ἐπιτήγαγε κατ’ εὐχὴν σεμίδαλων,
ταῦτα ἀπαρχὴν μίαν ἐπιβάλλει τῷ βωμῷ δράκα,
tὴν δὲ λοιπὴν οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τροφήν λαμβάνουσιν

1 Niese ex Lat.; δαπανήσαντες codd.
2 RO: καθαγιαζόσων rell.
3 ins. Niese.

i.e. "the horns of the altar" (Lev. iv. 30-34).
Reference unverifiable.
"Il s'offrent en plus" (Weill). This makes intelligible
sense, but the meaning can hardly be extracted from προσάγειν.
but only the projecting corners \(^a\); 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 \(^b\) 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 self-same day. The rulers, when making sacrifices of atonement for their sins, bring the same things as private individuals, with the difference that they offer \(^c\) males, a bull and a kid.\(^d\)

(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 \(^e\) 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.\(^f\) 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

\(^a\) 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).

\(^b\) For wilful sins.

\(^c\) = “a tenth part (of an ephah),” Numb. xv. 4, otherwise an omer: see § 29 note.

\(^d\) Cf. § 197.

\(^e\) Offerings of meal, oil, and wine.

\(^f\) Lev. ii. 1, vi. 14 (7 Hebr.).
JOSEPHUS

ἡ ἐψηθείσαιν, ἔλαιω γὰρ συμπεφύραται, ἡ γενομένων ἄρτων. ἵερεώς δὲ κομίσαντος καὶ ὀποσονοῦν
236 ὀλοκαυτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος θίεων ξώον αὐθημερον¹ μετὰ τοῦ γεγεννηκότος ἐπὶ ταύτο, οὐδ' ἄλλως δὲ πρὶν ὄνδον ἡμέραν γεννηθέντι διελθεῖν. γίνονται δὲ ἄλλαι θυσίαί ύπὲρ τοῦ τάς νόσους διαφυγεῖν ἡ κατ' ἄλλας αὐτίας, εἰς ἂς πέμματα σὺν ἰερείοις ἀναλύσκεται, ὅν εἰς τὴν ἐστεραίαν² οὐδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐστὶ νόμμουν, τῶν ἱερέων μέρος ἴδιον λαβόντων.

237 (x. 1) Ἐκ δὲ τοῦ δημοσίου ἀναλώματος νόμος ἔστω ἄρνα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν σφάζεσθαι τῶν αὐτοτετῶν ἅρχομένης τε ἡμέρας καὶ ληγοῦσης, κατὰ δὲ ἐβδομήν ἡμέραν, ήτις σάββατα καλεῖται, δύο σφαττοῦσι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ἱερουργοῦντες.

238 τῇ δὲ νομημαία τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσι καὶ δύο βόας σὺν ἄρνασιν ἐνιαυσιαίους ἐπτὰ καὶ κριόν, ἔριφον δὲ ἐπὶ παρατήσεσιν³ ἀμαρτάδων, εἰ τι κατὰ λήθην γένοιτο.

239 (2) Τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ μηνί, ὅπως Μακεδόνες Ἑπερβερεταιον καλοῦσι, προσβέντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις ταύρον καὶ κριόν καὶ άρνας ἐπτὰ θύουσι καὶ έριφον ύπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων.

1 RO: αὐθημερον ὄν rell.
2 Niese: ὑστέραν (ἐτέραν RO) codd.
3 παρατήσει Niese (cf. xviii. 117).

² 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.

⁵ 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, “shall 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.

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 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 a lamb of a year old shall be slain daily, both at the opening and at the close 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.

(2) In the seventh month, which the Macedonians call Hyperberetaeus, in addition to the aforesaid victims, they sacrifice a bull, a ram, seven lambs, and a kid as sin-offering.

Obtained that the Tamid ("continuous" daily sacrifice) could be offered and paid for by individuals (Weill, quoting references).

§ 231 note: Bibl. "of the first year" (1xx ἐμαυριοῦσιν).

4 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 περὶ ἐνατην ὥραν, Mishna Pesahim v. 1.

e 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.
JOSEPHUS

240 (3) Δεκάτη δ' τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σελήνην διανυστεύοντες ἑως ἐσπέρας θύουσιν ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἁμέρᾳ ταῦρόν τε καὶ κριοὺς δύο καὶ ἄρνας.

241 ἔπτα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων ἐρίφον. προσάγουσι δὲ δύο πρὸς τούτοις ἐρίφους, διὸ μὲν ζῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπερόριον ἐρημίαν πέμπται ἀποτροπαιόμενος καὶ παραίτησις τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων ἐσόμενος, τὸν δ' ἐν τοῖς προστείως εἰς καθαρώτατον ἄγοντες χωρίον αὐτοῦ σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ—

242 οὕσι τῇ δορὰ μηδὲν ὅλως καθάραντες. συγκατακλαίονται δὲ ταῦτας οὐχ ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαξθείς, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀναλωμάτων τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παρασχόντος· οὗ δὴ σφαγέντος εἰσκομίας εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ ἁματος ἁμα καὶ τοῦ ἐρίφου βαίνει τῷ

243 δακτύλῳ τὸν ὀροφὸν ἐπτάκις, τοῦ δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἐδαφὸς καὶ τοσαυτάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ περὶ τὸν χρύσεον βωμὸν καὶ τὸ λουτὸν περὶ τῷ μείζονι κομίας εἰς τὸ αἴθριον· πρὸς τούτοις τὰς ἐξοχὰς καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν πιμελὴν σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἧπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ κριὸν δ' ἀρχιερεὺς ὀλοκαύτωσιν τῷ θεῷ.

244 (4) Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς καὶ δεκάτῃ,

1 Dindorf: θύουσι δ' codd. (which Niese retains, indicating a lacuna before it).

a 10th Tishri, Yom Kippur or “Day of Atonement,” the most solemn fast in the Jewish calendar.

b “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).

c Josephus here distinctly alludes to the mysterious figure, taken over from primitive pagan belief, of Azazel (prob. = “entire removal,” lxx ἀποστομαῖός), the wilderness spirit or jinn to whom the scapegoat was sent, Lev. xvi. 8 ff.
(3) On the tenth of the same lunar month \( a \) they fast until evening; on this day they sacrifice a bull, two rams,\(^b\) 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 \( c \) and serve as an expiation for the sins of the whole people; while the other they conduct to the suburbs \( d \) 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 \( e \) 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,\(^f\) and as many times over the sanctuary itself and around the golden altar \( g \); the rest he carries into the outer court and sprinkles about the larger altar.\(^h\) Furthermore, they lay upon the altar the extremities, the kidneys, and the fat with the lobe of the liver.\(^i\) The high-priest also provides on his own account a ram for a burnt-offering to God.

(4) On the fifteenth of this same month, at which \( 10th \) day (Day of Atonement), Numb. xxix. 7. The scape-goat and other ceremonies. Lev. xvi. 5 ff

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\( a \) "Without the camp," Lev. xvi. 27.

\( b \) So the Talmud interpreted the repeated phrase "the bullock which is for himself," Lev. xvi. 6, 11.

\( c \) Details not in Scripture; according to tradition once upwards, seven times on the floor (Yoma v. 4, 5, ap. Weill).

\( d \) The altar of incense, § 147.

\( e \) 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).

\( f \) Added details: Lev. mentions only the burning of the fat.
JOSEPHUS

trepomeonu to loipon tou kairod pro's t'N

CHEIMERION1 oran, skhnavas thyynnathai kelleuei kat' oikian ekaoston, to2 kroso virovmoeous epist 245 phulaki tov etous, othan te3 patridw enipitkhoine

paraginomeinous eis ekeiin thN polin, hN dia ton

mav mutropoliin exousin, ef' hmeras oktov eorti

agontas olkakutein te kai thev tis thew tote

xaristhtima, ferontas ev tais xerisin eireiwn

myravnis kai iateis sun kradei foinekos peponymen

menvon tou mihlon tou tis persea prosontos.

246 evna de tis prothy ton hmerow thN ths olkakentous eis kai deka boson kai arnv

en pleionon kai krewn dvo, kata paraitymou

amartiwv erfchon prostonemou. tais de ehx

hmeras o men autous arithmos ton arv kai ton

kriwn sun to erphv thsetai, vphaioi dte

ekasths hmeras eva ton bocon eis epita4 katan-

247 tisvov. anavntai de atop pantos erghon kata th

ongdo th hmeran kai tis thew, kath proepirhkaev,

1 RO: CHEIMEREON rell. 2 Lat., ed. pr.: to te codd.

3 othan te Lat. (dumque), ed. pr.: othan codd.

4 ponte RO.

5 kataxpl epirhkaev ROM.

* The F. of Sukkoth ("Tabernacles" or "Booths," Gr. skhnavthiaia) synchronized with the autumnal equinox, Philo, De Spec. Leg. ii. 24, § 204 kairod evousa ton metoivnjs

ireiajs, or in Rabbinical terminology the Tekuphah, the "circuit" or revolution of the year (Ex. xxxiv. 22).

b 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,\(^a\) Moses bids each family to fix up tents, apprehensive of the cold and as a protection against the year's inclemency.\(^b\) Moreover, when they should have won their fatherland,\(^c\) 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\(^d\) and willow with a branch of palm,\(^e\) along with fruit of the persea.\(^f\) 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.\(^g\) They abstain from all work on the eighth day\(^h\) and, as we have said,\(^i\) sacrifice to God a calf, a ram, seven

existence (στεγανωτέρας διαίρης) after the open-air life during the harvest, with its exposure to cold (κρύως) 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.

\(^a\) The Greek has the plural, "native cities" (or "estates").

\(^b\) In Lev. "boughs of thick trees," traditionally interpreted as myrtle (Onkelos etc.).

\(^c\) Known as the lulab.

\(^d\) Lev. (vaguely) "fruit of goodly trees"; the fruit actually carried, known as the ethrog, was a kind of citron (A. xiii. 372 κυρίως αὐτῶν ζβαλλόν). \(^v\) i.e. on the seventh day.

\(^e\) Kept as a "closing festival" (Heb. 'azereth).

\(^f\) Reference unverifiable.
JOSEPHUS

μόσχον τε θύσουσιν και κριόν και ἅρνας ἐπτά, ὑπὲρ ὁμορρημάτων παρατήσεως ἐρυφον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑβραίους τάς σκηνάς πηγνύουσιν ἐπιτελεῖν ἐστι πάτρων.

248 (5) Τῷ δὲ μνή τῷ Ἑανθικῷ, ὡς Νισᾶν παρ’ ἡμῖν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἐτους ἐστὶν ἄρχῃ, τεσσαρεσκαί- 

249 μένων εἰς τὴν ἐπιοῦσαν τηρομένου. πέμπτη ἐὰν 

καὶ δεκάτη διαδέχεται τὴν πάσχα ἡ τῶν ἄξυμων 

εορτὴ ἐπτά ἡμέρας οὐδα, καθ’ ἡν ἄξυμοις τρέφονται 

καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ταῦτοι σφαζοῦνται δύο 

καὶ κρίσις μὲν εἰς ἐπτά δὲ ἄρνες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν 

ολοκαυτεῖται προστιθεμένου τοῖς πᾶσι καὶ ἐρίφου 

ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων εἰς εὐωχίαν κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην 

τοῖς ἱερεύσων. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν ἄξυμων ἡμέρα, 

ἐκτῇ δ’ ἐστὶν αὐτῇ καὶ δεκάτῃ, τῶν καρπῶν οὐς 

ἐθέρισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἥψαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μετα- 

λαμβανοῦσι καὶ τῶν θεὼν ἑργούμενοι τιμᾶν δίκαιον 

εἶναι πρῶτον, παρ’ οὓ τῆς εὐπορίας τούτων ἐτυχοῦν, 

τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶ τῆς κριθῆς ἐπιφέρουσι τρόπον

1 θύσῳν R (θυόμενον O).

a The ecclesiastical year, beginning in the spring; A. i. 81 note.

b ii. 311 ff.

c Or "companies," ii. 312 note.

d Reckoned as "eight" in ii. 317 (with note).

e "On the morrow of the sabbath" Lev. xxiii. 11 and 15, an ambiguous and disputed phrase, on the interpretation of 436
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, 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, we offered then on departure from Egypt—the sacrifice called Pascha. And so in fact we celebrate it by fraternities, 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 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, that is to say the sixteenth, 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 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 (τῇ ἐπαύριον τῆς πρώτης) and Philo (ἐορτῇ ἐν ἐορτῇ ἡ 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.

Of Nisan.

F. of Passover and of Unleavened Bread.

Lev. xxiii. 5.

Ib. 6, Numb. xxviii. 17.

Lev. xxiii. 11.

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251 τοιούτων. φρύξαντες τῶν ἀσταχύων τὸ δράγμα καὶ πτίσαντες καὶ καθαράς πρὸς ἄλεστον τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες τῷ βωμῷ ἄσσαρῳν προσφέρουσι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μίαν ἡς αὐτοῦ δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ λοιπὸν ἀφίσαυν εἰς χρῆσιν τοῖς ἑρείσι καὶ τότε λοιπὸν δημοσία ἐξεστὶ πᾶσι καὶ ὑδία θερίζειν. θύουσι δ’ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς τῶν καρπῶν ἄρνιον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν1 τῷ θεῷ.

252 (6) Ἐβδόμης ἐβδομάδος διαγεγενήμενης μετὰ ταύτην τὴν θυσίαν, αὖται δ’ εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἐβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἐνέα, τῇ πεντηκοστῇ, ἢν Ἐβραῖοι ἄσσαρὰ καλοῦσιν, σημαίνει δὲ τούτο πεντηκοστήν, [καθ’ ἣν]2 προσάγουσι τῷ θεῷ ἄρτον3 ἀλφίτων μὲν πυρίνων ἄσσαρῶνας δύο μετὰ 253 ζύμης γεγονότων, θυμάτων δὲ ἄρνας δύο· ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προσάγεις νόμμιμον,4 εἰς δὲ δείπνον τοῖς ἑρείσι σκειράζει τι καὶ καταλιπέιν οὐδέν ἐστιν ἡς αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσιαν συγκεχωριμένον. ὀλοκαυτωθησομένους μόσχους τε θύουσι τρεῖς καὶ κριοῦς δύο καὶ ἄρνας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα,

1 ὀλοκαύτωσιν RO.
2 om. ed. pr.
3 L: ἄρτον (panes Lat.) rell.
4 Niese: νόμμιμον μόνον RO: μόνον rell.

* In Leviticus the ceremony consists of the bringing of the first sheaf (‘όμερ, 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).

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in the following wise. After parching and crushing the little sheaf of ears and purifying the barley for grinding, they bring to the altar an assarón for God, and, having flung a handful thereof on the altar, they leave the rest for the use of the priests. Thereafter 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.

(6) When the seventh week following this sacrifice has elapsed—these are the forty-nine days of the (so-called) "Weeks"—on the fiftieth day, which the Hebrews call Asartha, the word denoting "fiftieth," they present to God a loaf of two assaróns of flour of wheat made with leaven and, as sacrifice, two lambs. These are by ordinance to be offered to God, 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. As whole burnt-offerings they further sacrifice three calves, two rams, four-
254 ἐρίφουσι δὲ δύο ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων. ἔστι δὲ οὑδεμία τῶν ἑορτῶν, καθ᾽ ἣν οὐχ ὀλοκαυτοῦσιν οὐδὲ τῶν πόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐργοῖς ἀνεσιν οὐ διδάσκων, ἀλλὰ ἐν πάσαις νόμιμον τὸ τε τῆς θυσίας εἰδος καὶ τὸ τῆς ἁργίας ἀταλαίπωρον καὶ πρὸς εὐωχίας εἰςὶ τεθυκότες.

255 (7) 'Εκ μέντοι τοῦ κοινοῦ σῖτος ὅπτος ζύμης ἀμοιρος, ἁσσαρώνες δὲ εἰκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες εἰς τούτῳ ἀναλοῦνται. ὀπτώνται δὲ ἀνὰ δύο διαρεθέντες μὲν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ πρωř κομισθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τραπέζης τίθενται κατὰ εἰς ἄλληλους τετραμμένου. δύο δὲ χρυσεῶν ὑπερκειμένων πινάκων λιβανωτοῦ γεμόντων διαμένουσιν ἐως τοῦ ἐτέρου σαββάτου καὶ τότε μὲν ἀντ᾽ ἐκείνων ἄλλου κομίζονται, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ἱερεύσι πρὸς τροφῆν δίδονται, καὶ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ θυμώμενον ἐπὶ τῷ ἱερῷ πυρί, ἐφ᾽ ὧ καὶ ὀλοκαυτοῦσι τὰ πάντα, λιβανωτὸς ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁρτών προτίθεται. θύει δὲ ὁ ἱερεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἴδιων ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ διὸ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τοῦτο ποιεῖ, ἄλευρον ἑλαῖῳ μεμαγμένον καὶ πεπηγοῦς ὀπτήσει βραχεία, καὶ εἰς μὲν ἐστὶν ἁσσαρῶν τοῦ ἀλεύρου, τούτου δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμισὺ πρωψ, τὸ δὲ ἐτέρου δείλης ἐπιφέρει τῷ πυρί. τὸν μὲν οὐν περὶ

1 εὐωχίαις Niss., 2 RO: + δὲ rel., 3 Niss.: προστίθεται codd., 4 μεμαγμένον ROM Lat., 5 + τὸ RO.
teen lambs, with two kids in atonement for sins.\(^a\)

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,\(^b\) twenty-four assarôns being employed for the purpose.\(^c\) 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 \(^d\) 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 assarôn of meal, of which one half is put by him on the fire in the morning and the other towards evening. The explanation of

\(^a\) 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).

\(^b\) So § 142 (not in Leviticus); the previous mention of these loaves accounts for some abruptness here.

\(^c\) "Two tenth parts of an ephah," i.e. two assarôns going to each of the twelve cakes (Lev. loc. cit.).

\(^d\) 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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tou'ton logon ákrubèsteron authis dhlōson, ἵκανα δὲ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ νῦν περὶ αὐτῶν προειρήσθαι.

258 (x. 1) Mwvsths dἐ tην Δευτην φυλήν τής πρὸς τὸν λαὸν κοινωνίας ὑπεξελόμενος ἵεραν ἐσομένην ἡγνιζε πηγαίοις ὕδασι καὶ ἀενάοις καὶ θυσίαις, ἀσ ἐπὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις νομίμους παρέχονται τῷ θεῷ, τὴν τε σκηνήν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὰ σκεύη τὰ ἱερὰ καὶ τὰ ἀλλ' ὅσα πρὸς σκέπην τῆς σκηνῆς ἐπεποίητο παρέδωκεν, ὅπως ψηφηγουμένων τῶν ἱερέων ὑπηρετήσωσιν: ἥδη γὰρ τῷ θεῷ καθιέρωντο.1

259 (2) Καὶ περὶ τῶν ζωῶν δὲ διεκρίνεν ἑκαστόν, ὅ τι τρέφοντο καὶ οὐ πάλιν ἀπεχόμενοι διατελόντες, περὶ ὧν ἐν οἷς ἄν ἡμῖν ἁφορμή τῆς γραφῆς γένηται διελευσόμεθα τᾶς αἰτίας προστιθέντες, ἀφ' ὧν κυνηθεὶς τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν βρωτὰ ἡμῖν ἐκέλευσεν 260 εἶναι, τῶν δὲ προσέταξεν ἀπέχεσθαι. αἵματος μεῖντοι παντὸς εἰς τροφὴν ἀπηγόρευσε τὴν χρήσιν ψυχῆν αὐτὸ καὶ πνεῦμα νομίζων, καὶ κρέως τοῦ τεθνηκότος αὐτομάτως ζωῦν τὴν βρῶσιν διεκώλυσεν, ἐπίπλου τε καὶ στάτους αἰγείου καὶ προβατείου καὶ τοῦ τῶν βοῶν ἀπέχεσθαι προείπον.

261 (3) Ἀπῆλασε δὲ τῆς πόλεως καὶ τοὺς λέπρα τὰ σώματα κακωθέντας καὶ τοὺς περὶ τῆν γονήν ῥεομένους: καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας δ' αἷσ ἡ τῶν κατὰ

1 SP(L): καθιέρωτο rel.
2 ὅτι codd.: ψ τε has been suggested.
3 ὑφ' Niese.
4 R: βρῶματα rel.

a In the projected "Customs and Causes," i. 25.
b The priests (§ 198); or, with the other reading "it" (the tabernacle, ibid.).
c In the projected work.

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these matters will be given in greater detail hereafter; 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 had already been consecrated to God.

(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, 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 and from the fat of goats, sheep, and oxen.

(3) He banished from the city alike those whose bodies were afflicted with leprosy and those with contagious disease. Women too, when beset by

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Joan 262. Ομοίως δὲ καὶ τόσο κηδεύσασι νεκρόν μετὰ τοσαυτάς ἡμέρας νόμιμον τὸ ἐνδήμειν, τοῦ δ' ὑπὲρ τὸν ἁριθμὸν τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐνεχόμενον ἐν τῷ μᾶσματι θύειν νόμιμον ἀμώδας δύο, ὅπερ τὴν μὲν ἐτέραν καθαγνίζειν δεῖ, τὴν δ' ἐτέραν οἱ ἱερεῖς 263 λαμβάνουσιν. Ὁμοίως δὲ θύουσι καὶ περὶ τοῦ τῆς γονῆς ἱερομένου· ὅσ' δ' ἀν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ἀποκρινθῇ γονὴν, καθεῖς αὐτὸν εἰς ὑδωρ ψυχρὸν ὁμοίως τοὺς κατὰ νόμον γνωσίκη πλησιάζουσιν 264 ἐξουσίαν ἄχει. τοὺς δὲ λεπροὺς εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἐξῆλασε τῆς πόλεως μηδὲν συνδιαιτομένους καὶ νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας· ὅπερ τοὺς ἐξεκεντέυσας τὸν θεὸν ἀπολυθῆ τῆς νόσου καὶ τὴν ἐρρωμένην κομίσηται χρόαν, ὅ δ' ὁ τοιοῦτος ποικίλαις ἀμείβεται θυσίαις τὸν θεὸν, περὶ δ' ὕστερον ἐρούμεν. 265 (†) Ὁθεν καὶ καταγελάσειεν ἀν τῶν τοῦ κηδεμένου Μωυσῆν λέπρα κεκακωμένου αὐτὸν τε ἀπ' Ἁγίπτου φυγεῖν καὶ τῶν ἐκπεσόμενων διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἡγησάμενον εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδαν ἅγαγεῖν 266 αὐτοῦς. εἴ γὰρ τοῦτ' ἦν ἄλλης, οὐκ ἂν ἔπι τῇ αὐτοῦ Μωυσῆς ἀτμία τοιαῦτ' ἐνομοθέτησεν, οἷς εὐλογὸν ἦν αὐτὸν καὶ ἐτέρων ἐσήγομένων ἀντειρηκέναι, καὶ ταύτα πάρα πολλοῖς ὄντων λεπρῶν ἐθνεσι καὶ τιμῆς ἀπολαυσόντων, οὐ μόνον ὑβρεως καὶ φυγῆς ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς

1 ἐπεισὶ ῬΩ.

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b No Scriptural parallel.  
c 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. 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. 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. 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.

(4) From all this one can but regard as ridiculous those 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

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*d In the projected work.
* Like Manetho, whose scurrilous charges are confuted at length in the *contra Apionem*; see in particular *Ap.* i. chap. 31, §§ 279 ff.
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ἐπισημοτάτας στρατείας στρατευομένων καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς πιστευομένων καὶ εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ
267 ναοὺς ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν εἰσίναι· ὅστις οὐδὲν ἐκώλυε καὶ Μωυσῆν, εἰ τοιούτῳ τινὶ συμπτώματι
περὶ τὴν χρόαν ἦ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἠλάττωτο, νομοθετήσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μηδεμίαν
268 τοιαύτην ὀρίσαι ζημίαν. ἄλλα δήλον μὲν, ὡς ταύτα περὶ ἦμων λέγουσιν ὑπὸ βασικαίας προαγό-
μενοι, Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων καθαρὸς ὃν ἐν καθαροῖς
toῖς ὁμοφύλοις περὶ τῶν νεοσηκίων ἐνομοθέτει κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ποιών. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν
tούτων ἕκαστος ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ σκοπεῖτω.

269 (5) Τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἐπειδὰν τέκωσιν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσίναι κεκώλυκε καὶ θυσίων ἀπέτεθαι μέχρι
tεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἂν ἄρρεν τὸ τεχθὲν ἦ διπλασίων γὰρ εἶναι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ θηλυκίας

cυμβέβηκεν. εἰσιοῦσαι μέντοι μετὰ τὴν προερη-
mένην προδεσμίαν θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν, ὅσ νεῖρες
πρὸς τὸν θεόν διανέμονται.

270 (6) Ἀν δ' ὑπονοήσῃ μεμοιχεῦσαι τις αὐτῷ τὴν
gυναῖκα, κομίζει κριθῆς ἀληθεμένης ἀσσαρώνα,
καὶ μίαν αὐτῆς δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τῷ θεῷ τὸ

λοιπὸν τοῖς ἱερεὺς διδάσασι εἰς τροφῆν. τὴν δὲ
gυναῖκα στήσας τις τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὰς πύλας,
αἱ δ' εἰς τετραμμέναι πρὸς τὸν νεών, καὶ τῆς

1 ipse aut Lat. =<ἡ αὐτὸς> ἦ Bernard.

* 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).
* notwithstanding their calumnies, the Egyptians "wish to claim Moses as one of themselves" (Ap. i. 279).
* 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. 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, 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.

(5) Women after childbirth are forbidden by him to enter the temple or to touch the sacrifices 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.

(6) If a man suspects his wife of having committed adultery, he brings an assarôn of ground barley, of which a handful is devoted 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 and, after removing

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"She shall touch no hallowed thing," Lev. xii. 4.

A whole tractate of the Mishnah (Sōlah) is devoted to this subject: see also Philo, De spec. leg. iii. 10, §§ 52 ff.

Literally "they throw upon (the altar)."

"Shall set her before the Lord," Numb. v. 16. "In later times, according to Sōlah i. 5, the accused were brought to the Nicanor or eastern gate of the temple," G. B. Gray, Int. Crit. Comm. in loc.
According to Scripture (Numb. v. 23) and tradition, the words of the imprecation.

According to Sotah ii. 4 a roll of parchment (megillah), the use of διθέρα (the rougher unprepared skin) being expressly forbidden; Numb. "a book," Philo χαρτίδων.

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.

i.e. the impression. "Potions into which written words
the veil from her head, inscribes the name of God upon a skin; 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. These oaths being completed, the priest expunges from the skin the Name thereon and wrings it 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. Such were the provisions concerning sacrifices and the purification relating thereto that Moses made for his countrymen; and here are the further laws which he drew up for them.

(xii. 1) Adultery he absolutely prohibited, deeming 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).

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).

Here, as in § 151 (note), I take τοιούτους (which in class. Greek is retrospective) to be used for τοιού&tau;δε "as follows." Josephus ipse scripsit.
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άνδρας, καὶ ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς οἴκοις συμφέρειν τὸ τοὺς παῖδας εἶναι γυναῖκοι. καὶ τὸ μίσησθαι δὲ μητράσων ως1 κακὸν μέγιστον ὁ νόμος ἀπείπεν, ὡμοίως δὲ καὶ πατρὸς συνεῖναι γαμετῇ καὶ τηθίῃ καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παῖδων γυναιξὶν ὃς ἐκφυλὸν ἔχων τὴν ἀδικίαν μεμίσθηκεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ 275 καὶ γυναικὶ μεμισθεμένη τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν πλησιάζειν μηδὲ κτήνεων εἰς συνοικίαν φοιτᾶν μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄρρενα μῖξιν τιμᾶν διὰ τῆν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς ὥραν ἡδονὴν θηρωμένους παράνομον. κατὰ δὲ τῶν εἰς ταύτ’ ἐξειρρίσαντων θάνατον ὤρισε τὴν τιμωρίαν.

276 (2) Τῶν δ’ ἱερέων καὶ διπλασίονα τὴν ἀγνείαν ἐποίησε· τούτων τε γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀλλοις εἴργει καὶ προσέτι γαμεῖν τὰς ἡταιρηκυίας ἐκώλυσε, μήτε δούλην μήτ’ αἰχμάλωτον γαμεῖν αὐτοὺς κεκολυκεῖ2 καὶ τὰς ἐκ καπηλείας καὶ τοῦ πανδοκεύειν πεπορισμένας τὸν βίων μηδὲ τὰς τῶν προτέρων ἄνδρῶν ἐφ’ αἰσθητοῦτον αἰτίας ἀπηλλαγ-277 μένας. τὸν ἀρχιερέα μέντοι οὐδὲ τεθηκότος

1 Lat., ed. pr.: om. codd. 2 Text a little doubtful.

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a So Yebamoth 6t a (Weill). In A. iv. 244 f. the prohibition to marry a slave (or a harlot) applies to the laity also.

b 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 ἡταιρηκυίας, corresponds to the first (not, as Weill suggests, to the second) in Lev.: ἡταιρηκυία (ἐταιρευμένη) is his normal euphemism for τῶρν, 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.

(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 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. As for the 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 καταγώγιον Lat. canpo 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 πανδοκεύω, "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 Rahab (Bibl. "the harlot") as a "hostelry" (καταγώγιον), A. v. 7. Whether this translation arose merely from the ill-fame of inns and inn-keepers (see 'Aboda zara ii. 1 with Elmslie's note in Texts and Studies viii. 2) or has other etymological explanation behind it (Weil sees in it a supposed connexion of zonah with the vb. zuw "to feed") is uncertain: anyhow the "inn-keeper" of Josephus has been evolved out of the "harlot" of the Bible through the medium of current Aramaic exegesis.
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άνδρὸς ἡξίωσε γυναῖκα, τούτῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεύσι συγχωρῶν, μόνην δ’ αὐτῷ [δέδωκε] γαμεῖν παρθένον καὶ ταύτην φυλέτην. οὐδὲν ουδὲ νεκρῷ πρόσεισιν ὁ ἀρχιερεύς τῶν λοιπῶν οὐ κεκωλυμένων ἀδελφοῖς καὶ γονεῖσι καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν προσ- 278 ἵναι μεταστάσιν. ἄφελεῖς δὲ εἶναι πᾶσαν ἄφελειαν τοῦ δὲ μὴ ὀλόκληρον τῶν ἱερεῶν νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευσε τὰ γέρα, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυσε. μὴ μόνον δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας καθαροὺς εἶναι, σπουδάζειν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διάτασιν, ὥστ’ αὐτὴν ἁμεμ- 279 πτων εἶναι. καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν οἱ τὴν ἱερα- τικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντες ἁμωμοί τε εἰσὶ καὶ περὶ πάντα καθαροὶ καὶ νηφάλιοι, πίνειν οἶνον ἐως ὅτι τὴν στολὴν ἔχουσι κεκωλυμένοι: ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα θύσισιν διόλοκληρα καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν λειωθημένα.

280 (3) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἦδη καὶ κατὰ τὸν ζωῆς χρόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ γυνώμενα παρέδωκε Μωυσῆς, τῶν δὲ αὐθείς καίσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας διαιτώμενος προενόησεν, ὅπως ἐπειδὰν τὴν Χανααίαν λάβωσι 281 τάδε ποιῶσιν: δ’ ἐβδόμου ἡτοὺς ἁνεσίν δίδωσι τῇ γῇ ἀπὸ τε ἄροτρον καὶ φυτείας, ὅσπερ καὶ αὐτοῖς δ’ ἐβδόμης ἦμέρας τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ἔργων προεῖπεν ἀνάπαυσιν. καὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως ἀναδοθέντων ἀπὸ


a 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 ἄλλα καὶ ἱερεῖαν εἰς ἱερεύν. 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 εἰς ὀμοειδεῖς γυναῖκοι παιδοποιεῖσθαι; tradition also (ap. Weill) admitted the laxer rule.

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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.\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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.\(^c\) Furthermore, the very victims which they sacrifice are entirely perfect and free from all mutilation.

(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

\(^a\) "He shall eat the bread (lxx τὰ ὑπότροπα) of his God," Lev. xxi. 22.

\(^b\) 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.
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τῆς γῆς κοινῆς εἶναι τοῖς θέλουσι τῆν χρήσιν, τῶν τε ὀμοφύλων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριοχώρων, μηδὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν φιλάττοντας· ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μεθ’ 282 ἐβδομην έτῶν ἐβδομάδα. ταῦτα πεντήκοντα μὲν ἐστων ἐτη τὰ πάντα, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπ’ Ἐβραίων ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἐνιαυτὸς ἱωβήλος, εὑρ ὦ ὦ τε χρεώσται τῶν δανείων ἀπολύονται καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἐλευθεροὶ ἀφίενται, οὐς ὄντας ὀμοφύλους καὶ παραβάντας τι τῶν νομίμων τῷ σχῆματι τῆς δουλείας ἐκόλασε θάνατον οὐκ ἐκδεχομένους. 283 ἀποδίδωσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀγροὺς τοὺς ἄρχηθεν αὐτῶν δεσπότας τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον· ἐνστάντος τοῦ ἱωβήλου, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦνομα, συνέρχονται ὡ τε ἀποδόμενος τὸ χωρίων καὶ ὁ πριάμενος, καὶ λογισάμενοι τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ χωρίῳ δαπάνας γεγενημένας τῶν μὲν καρπῶν πλεονάζεων εὑρεθέντων προσδέχεται τὸν ἀγρὸν ὃ 284 ἀποδόμενος, τοῦ δ’ ἀναλώματος ὑπερβάλλοντος

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a See note d below.

b 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.

c 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.

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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; at that season debtors are absolved from their debts 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 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"—the vendor and the purchaser of the site meet together and reckon up the products of the site and the outgoings expended upon it. Then if the proceeds are found to exceed the outgoings, the vendor recovers the estate; but if the

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*a 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 ἐναυτὸς ἀφέσεως σημασία; here σημασία ("signalling") is the translation of Jóbél, while ἀφέσεις = Heb. deror, "liberty," as the context shows. Josephus has erroneously equated Jóbél = ἀφέσις = ἐλευθερία.

*b 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).
Upon the levies <μη>1 καταβαλών τὸ ἵκνον-μένον έξισταται2 τῆς κτήσεως, ἵσων δὲ συναριθμοῦ-μένων τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναλωμάτων ἀποδίδωσι τοῖς καὶ πρότερον νεμηθείσι. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις νόμιμον ἱσχύει ἡθέλησε ταῖς κατὰ κόμας πεπραμέναις: περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πεπραμένων ἐγκακεὶν ἐτέρως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ τελεωθῆναι τόν ἐναιστὸν καταβάλοι τὸ ἀργύριον, ἀναγκάζει τὸν πριμάμενον ἀποδοῦναι, εἰ δὲ πλῆρες γένοιτο τὸ ἐτος, βεβαιοὶ τῇ κτήσιν τῷ πριμαμένῳ. ταύτην Μωυσῆς τῇ διάταξι τῶν νόμων, ὅθεν ὑπὸ τὸ Σιωαίν καθιδρύκει τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξίμαθε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γεγραμμένην παραδίδωσιν.

287 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τῆς νομοθεσίας ἐχεῖν ἐδόκει, πρὸς ἐξετασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐτράπη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἡδῆ κατὰ νοῦν ἐχων ἀπτεσθαί, προστάσατε τε τοῖς φυλάρχοις πλὴν τῆς Λευτίδος φυλῆς ἀκριβῶς τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἔκμαθείν τῶν στρατεύεσθαι δυναμένων· ἵπτο γὰρ ἵσων οἱ Λευτίαι καὶ πάντων ἀτελεῖς. γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως εὐρέθησαν μυριάδες ἐξήκοντα τῶν ὀπλικεῖν δυναμένων, ὀντων ἀπὸ εἰκοσὶ ἔτων ἐως πεντήκοντα, καὶ τρισχίλιοι πρὸς ἔξακοσίοις

1 ins. Herwerden. 2 ἔξερχεται R. ἔξερχεται OM.

a Text emended, with Herwerden and Weill, by insertion of a negative. The mss. have "he pays . . . and forfeits the property." b Greek "he." c 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 456
expenditure preponderates, he must pay a sufficient sum to cover the deficit or forfeit the property; if, lastly, the figures for revenue and expenditure are equal, the legislator 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.

(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. 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 men capable of bearing arms, from twenty 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 ἀπεσταλμένων is based on Thuc. v. 61 ἀπεσταλμένων πολέμου (cf. A. xviii. 278).

a 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.

b ὀπλατείεων is Thucydidean and in Josephus recurs only in A. xix. 243.
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καὶ πεντηκοντα. ἀντὶ δὲ Λευὶ κατέλεξεν εἰς τοὺς φυλάρχους Μανασσῆν τὸν Ἰωσήπου παιδὰ καὶ Ἐφραίμην¹ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήπου. δέησις δὲ ἦν αὕτη Ἰακώβου πρὸς Ἰωσήπου ποιήτους αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς καὶ προεῖπον.

289 (5) Πηγνύντες δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μέσην ἀπελάμβανον τριῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην παρασκηνομένων· ὅδοι δὲ διὰ μέσων ἐτέμημεν, καὶ κόσμος ἦν ἀγορᾶς, καὶ τῶν πωλομένων ἐκαστὸν ἐν τάξει διέκειτο, καὶ δημιουργὸς τέχνης ἀπάσης ἐν τοῖς ἑργαστηρίοις ἦσαν, οὐδενὶ τε ἅλλῳ ἥ πόλει μετα- 290 ἀνισταμένη καὶ καθδρυμένη ἑώκει. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρῶτοι μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς κατείχον, ἔπειτα δὲ οἱ Λευίται πάντες ὄντες τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξητάσθησαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ὅσον τριακοστὴν εἴχεν ἦμέραν γενόμενον, δισμϋριοι καὶ δισχίλιοι² πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις ὄγδοίκοντα. καὶ ἐφ' ὅσον μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν συνέβαινεν ἐστάναι τὴν νεφέλην, μένειν αὐτῶς ὡς ἐπιδημοῦντος ἑδόκει τοῦ θεοῦ, τρεπομένης δὲ ταύτης μετανίστασθαι.

291 (6) Ἐθρέ δὲ καὶ βυκάνης τρόπουν εἰς ἀργυρὸν ποιησάμενος, ἐστὶ δὲ τουαυτῆς μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυαίον δλίγῳ λείπον, στενὴ δὲ ἐστὶ σύριγξ

¹ SPE: Ἐφράνη M, Ἐφράθην RO, Ἐφφράνη L.
² τρισχίλιοι MLEZon.

ᵃ Numb. "from twenty years old and upward"; cf. A. iii. 196. ᵇ Cf. ii. 195.
to fifty 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 grandsire, as I have already related.  

(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 marketplace, 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. The region directly surrounding the tabernacle was occupied by the priests, 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 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.

(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 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 ή τόποι ... ἔφεσαν ὑποτευγοῦσα with i. 12 Ἡ Ἑλλάς ἐτι μετανεμάστατο τε καὶ κατωκιστώ.  

Not mentioned in Numb. loc. cit.: "the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle."  

Some mss. read 23,880. Both figures differ from the Biblical round number of 22,000 (Numb. iii. 39 Heb. and LXX).
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αὐλοῦ βραχεὶ παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὐρος ἄρκον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχήν πνεύματος εἰς κάδωνα ταῖς σάλπυξι παραπλησίως τελοῦν. ἀσώρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γιλῶσαν. 292 γίνονται δὲ δύο, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἑτέρᾳ πρὸς παρακέλευσιν καὶ συλλογὴν ἐχρώντο τοῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας Καὶ μᾶ μὲν ἀποσμηνάντων ἔδει τὰς ἀρχὰς συνελθεῖν σκεφομένας περὶ τῶν οἰκείων, 293 ἀμφότεραις δὲ συνῆχε τὸ πλῆθος. τῆς δὲ σκηνῆς μετακινομένης ταῦτα ἐγένετο· ἀποσμηνάντων γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ παρὰ ταῖς ἀνατολαίς ἐσκηνωκότες ἀνίσταντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν οἱ πρὸς τὸν νότον αὕτης2 καθεστῶτες. εἰθ’ ἡ σκηνὴ λυμένη μέσῃ τῶν προῖσουσιν εἴς φυλῶν ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων εἷς. Λευταὶ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πάντες ἠσαν. τρίτον δὲ σμηνήναντος τὸ κατὰ λίβα τετραμμένον τῶν ἐσκηνωκότων μέρος ἐκινεῖτο,3 καὶ τέταρτον τὸ κατὰ βορρᾶν. ταῖς δὲ βυκάναις ἐχρώντο καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἰερουργίαις προσάγοντες τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ τοῖς λουπαῖς ἡμέραις. θύει δὲ τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν εἷς Λεγύπτου τὴν πάσχα4 λεγομένην ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.

295 (xiii) Καὶ βραχὺ διαλυπῶν ἀπανιστάται τοῦ Σωαίου ὄρους καὶ τόπους τινὰς ἀμείψας, περὶ δὲ

1 ed. pr.: τελοῦτα codd. 2 RO: αὕτης rel. 3 ed. pr.: ἐνέκειτο codd. 4 φάσκα RO.

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a Hazogera, the straight trumpet depicted on the Arch of Titus; as opposed to the shophar or curved horn, used mainly for secular purposes.

b 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 asōsra\(^a\) 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\(^b\) convened the people. When the tabernacle was to be moved, this was the procedure: at the first 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 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.\(^c\) 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.\(^d\) And now it was that Moses, for the first time since their departure from Egypt, kept the sacrifice called Pascha in the wilderness.

(xiii) After a brief interval he broke up his camp at Mount Sinai, and, passing certain localities of Departure from Sinai; renewed murmurings.

\(^a\) 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.

\(^b\) 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.

Keeping of Passover. II. ix. 1.
δηλώσομεν, εἰς τι χωρίον Ἐσερμὼθ λεγόμενον παρῆν, κάκει τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν στασιάζειν ἀρχεται, καὶ τὸν Ἔμωσθην αὐτιάσθαι τῶν τε κατὰ τὴν ἁποδημίαν αὐτῶ τε πεπειραμένων, καὶ ὅτι γῆς αὐτοῦς ἀγαθὴς πεῖσαντος ἀπαναστήναι τὴν μὲν ἀπολέσειαν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἵς ὑπέσχετο παρέξειν εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ταύταις ἄλωνται ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις, ὦδατος μὲν σπανίζοντες, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν μάνναν ἐπιλεπεῖν συμ-βαίνη τέλεον ἀπολούμενοι. πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ δεινὰ λεγόστων, εἰς δὲ τις αὐτοὶς παρῆνει, μήτε Ἔμωσθης καὶ τῶν πεπονημένων αὐτῶ περὶ τῆς κουνῆς σωτηρίας ἀμνημονεῖν μὴ τ' ἀπογυνώσκειν τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ βοσθείας. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρὸς τούτο μᾶλλον ἐκκίνηθη καὶ θρομῆσαν ἐτί μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Ἔμωσθην ἐπετείνετο. Ἔμωσθης δὲ παράρασύνων αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἀπεγνωκότας ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πεπερασμένοις πλῆθος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν κρεὼν οὐκ εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλ' εἰς πλείονας. ἀπιστούντων δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τηνος ἐρομένου, πόθεν ἀν τοσαύτας εὔπορήσεις μυριάς τῶν προειρημένων, "ὅ θεός," εἶπε, "κἀγὼ καίτοι κακῶς ἀκούοντες πρὸς ὕμων οὐκ ἂν ἀποσταίημεν κάμνοντες ὑπέρ ὕμων, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐσταύρωσαν " ἀμα ταῦτ' ἐλεγε καὶ πύμπλασι τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀρτύγων ἂπαν καὶ ἕθροιζον αὐτοὺς περι-

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*a* 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.

*b* Bibl. Hazeroth (Ἀσηρῶθ), Numb. xi. 35. But, as Weill suggests, the form Ἐσερμὼθ in Josephus recalls rather the
which we shall speak, came to a place called Eser-moth. 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 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, "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.

Semite patriarch Hazarmaveth (חָזָרָמַע) in Gen. x. 26, who gave his name to a district on the south coast of Arabia, the modern Hadramaut (Driver).

Unscriptural addition; possibly to be connected with the story of Eldad and Medad, who "prophesied in the camp," Numb. xi. 26.

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 θεός οὐκ εἰς μακράν μετέρχεται
tοὺς Ἐβραίους τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρασύτερος καὶ
λοιπόν· ἀπέθανε γὰρ οὗ πλήθος αὐτῶν,
καὶ νῦν ἐπὶ κατ' ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ χῶρος ὄνομαζεται
Καβρωθαβά, ἐπιθυμίας μνημεία λέγοντο ἄν. 1
300 (xiv. 1) Ἀναγαγὼν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖθεν ὁ Ἡσυχὴς
eἰς τὴν καλουμένην Φάραγγα πλησίον οὖσαν τοὺς
Χαναναίων ὅριος 2 καὶ χαλεπὴν ἐνδιατάσσεται εἰς
ἐκκλησίαν ἀθροίζει τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστάσας,
"δῶν" φησὶ, "τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντος ὡμιν παρα-
σχείν ἀγαθά, ἐλευθερίαν καὶ γῆς κτήσιν εὐδαιμόνος,
τὴν μὲν ἥδη δόντος ἔχετε, τὴν δὲ ἥδη λήψεσθε.
301 Χαναναίων γὰρ ἔπὶ τοῖς ὅροις καθῆθα, καὶ
κωλύσει τὸ λουπὸν ἐπιόντας οὐ μόνον οὐ βασιλεὺς
οὐ πόλις ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἀθροισθέν ἀυτῶν
ἐθνος. παρασκευαζόμεθα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἐργον· οὐ
γὰρ ἀμαχητί παραχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ
302 μεγάλοις αὐτὴν ἀγώσιν ἀφαιρεθέντες. πέμψωμεν
dὲ κατασκόπους, οἱ τῆς τε γῆς ἀρετὴν κατα-
νοήσουσι καὶ πόση δύναμις αὐτοῖς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων
ὁμονοῦμεν καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὃς ἐστιν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῖν
βοήθος καὶ σύμμαχος, διὰ τιμῆς ἔχωμεν."
303 (2) Ἡσυχής δὲ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ ποτὸς τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν
τιμᾶς ἀμείβεται, καὶ κατασκόπους αἱρεῖται δῶδεκά
τῶν γνωριμωτάτων, ἡς ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἐνα, οἱ
dιεξελθόντες ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Λιγύπτων τῆς Χαναναιαν

1 ins. Niese.  2 ed. pr., Lat.: ὅροις L: χωρίοις rell.
3 ἀθροισθέντων RO.  4 τῆς te ed. pr.: τῆς (or τῆς δὲ) codd.

* Heb. Kibroth-hattaavah; Josephus takes over the
correct Greek translation, ἐπιθυμίας μνημεία, from the 1xx.
* 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, that is to say, "graves of lust." (xiv. 1) Thence Moses led them up into the so-called Ravine, 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."

(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 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."

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ἀπασαν ἐπὶ τε Ἀμάθην πόλιν καὶ Λίβανον ἁφικνοῦνται τὸ ὁρὸς, καὶ τὴν τε τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐνοικοῦσιν ἀνθρώπων ἐξισοτορήσαντες παρῆσαν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις εἰς πάν καταχρησάμενοι

304 τὸ ἔργον, ἔτι τε καρποὺς ὄν ἐφερεν ἡ γῆ κομίζοντες, τῇ τε τούτων εὐπρεπεία καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὁ τὴν γῆν ἔχειν διηγοῦντο, πολεμεῖν ἐπαίροντες τὸ πλῆθος, φοβοῦντες δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸ τῷ τῆς κτῆσεως ἀπόρω, ποταμοῦ τε διαβήναι λέγοντες ἀδυνάτους ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἁμα καὶ βάθους καὶ ὁρὴ ἀμήχανα τοὺς ὀδεύουσι καὶ πόλεις καρποὺς τείχεσι καὶ περιβόλων χύροτητί· ἐν δὲ Ἐβρῶν καὶ τῶν γυγάντων ἐφασκὸν τοὺς ἀπογόνους καταλαβεῖν. καὶ οἱ μὲν κατάσκοποι τεθεαμένοι πάντων οῖς μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Ἀγάμπτου ἐνέτυχον μείζων τὰ κατὰ τὴν Χαναναίαν αὐτοῖ τε κατεπλάγησαν1 καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὔτως ἔχειν2 ἐπειρῶντο.

306 (3) Οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦν ἐξ ὧν ἥκροάσαντο τὴν κτήσιν τῆς γῆς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ παιοῦν ὀλοφυρόμενοι δύνην, ὡς οὐδὲν ἔργω τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγως

307 δὲ μόνον ὑποσχυμένου. καὶ τὸν Μωσῆν πάλιν ἠτυώντο καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ Ἀρῶνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως. καὶ ποιήμα μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἀνδρας βλασφημοῖς διάγονοι τῇ νύκτα, πρωί δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συντρέχουσιν,

1 κατεπεπληγέσαν L (κατατεπληγέσαν M).
2 + ἐπείθεις Niese.
the city of Amathe 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 descendent 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.

(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 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.
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308 (4) Τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων Ἰησοῦς τε ὁ Ναυήχου παῖς φυλῆς Ἐφραμίτωδος καὶ Χάλεβος τῆς Ἰουδᾶ
φυλῆς φοβηθέντες χωροῦσιν εἰς μέσους καὶ τὸ
πλῆθος κατείχον, θαρσεῖν δεύμενοι καὶ μήτε
ψευδολογίαν κατακρίνειν τοῦ θεοῦ μήτε πιστεύειν
τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τάληθη περὶ τῶν Χανααίων
εἰρηκέναι καταπληξιμένοις, ἄλλα τοῖς ἐπὶ τὴν
εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν κτήσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἀγαθῶν
παρομακώσις, οὕτε γὰρ τῶν ὅρων τὸ μέγεθος οὕτε
τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ βάθος τοῖς ἁρετὴν ἰσχυκόσων
εἵποδων στῆσεθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, καὶ ταύτα τοῦ
θεοῦ συμπροθυμομενόν καὶ ὑπερμαχοῦντος αὐτῶν.
"ἳωμεν οὖν," ἔφασαν, "ἐπὶ τοὺς πολέμους
μηδὲν ἐχοντες δι' ὑποψίας ἤγεμόνι τε τῷ θεῷ
πεπιστευκότες καὶ ὁδηγοῦσιν ἤμιν ἐπόμενοι."

310 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταύτα λέγοντες ἐπεχείρουν τὴν ὀργὴν
καταπαθιέναι τοῦ πλῆθος, Ἔωσθῆς δὲ καὶ Ἰαρών
πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τοῦ θεοῦ ἔκετενον οὖχ ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλ' ὡς τῆς ἁμαθίας
παύσῃ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστήσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν
αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμηχανίας τοῦ παραστάτου αὐτοὶς
πάθους τεταραγμένην παρῆν δ' ἡ νεφέλη καὶ
στάσα ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσήμανε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν
τοῦ θεοῦ.καὶ τὸν θεοὺς ἔδηλον κυηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς

311 (xv. 1) Μωσῆς δὲ θαρσῆσας πάρεισιν εἰς τὸ
πλῆθος καὶ τὸν θεοὺς ἔδηλον κυηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς

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1 αὐτῷ RO: αὐτῷ Niese. 2 RO: ἐξημαρτημένων rel.
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 of the tribe of Ephraîm and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, in horror made their way into the midst and sought to restrain the crowd, entreatling 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- 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.

(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

\[a\] Joshua son of Nun (iii. 49 note).
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tην σκηνήν αυτῷ καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ύπ’ αυτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποκλαυμένων τὸν θεὸν ὑπο-
μνήσαι μὲν, ὅσα παθόντες ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πηλίκων ἐνεργεσιῶν μεταλαβόντες ἀχάριστοι πρὸς αὐτὸν
gένουτο, ὅτι τε τῇ νῦν τῶν κατασκόπων ὑπ’
αχθέντες δειλὰ τοὺς ἔκεινων λόγους ἀλήθεστέρους
313 τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἤγγισαντο τῆς αὐτοῦ. καὶ διὰ
tαυτὴν τὴν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπολεῖ μὲν ἀπαντᾶς οὐδ’
ἐξαφανίσει τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, ὅ πάντων μᾶλλον
ἀνθρώπων ἔσχε διὰ τιμῆς, τὴν μέντοι Χαναναίαν
οὐ παρέχειν γῇν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς
314 εὐδαμονίαν, ἀνεστίως δὲ ποιήσειν καὶ ἀπόλιδας
ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπ’ ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα καταβιώναι,
tῆς παρανομίας ποιῆν ταύτην ἔκτυνοτας. “παισὶ
μέντοι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδώσεις τὴν γῇν ὑπέσχε-
το κάκεινοι τῶν ἄγαθῶν, ὅπως ἂν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας
ἐφθονίσατε μετασχεῖν, ποιῆσεις ἔσποτας.”
315 (2) Ταῦτα δὲ Μωυσέος κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
γνώμην διαλεχθέντος ἐν λύπῃ καὶ συμφορᾷ τὸ
πλῆθος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεκάλει κατ-
αλλάκτην αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆς
ἀλης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀπαλλάξαντα πόλεις
αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. ὦ δ’ οὐκ ἐφασκε τὸν θεοῦ
τοιαύτῃ πείραν προσήςειθαι,1 μὴ γὰρ κατὰ κοι-
φότητα προαχθῆναι τὸν θεού ἀνθρωπίνῃ εἰς τὴν
ὀργὴν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ γνώμη καταψήφισα-
316 μεν αὐτῶν. οὐ δὲι δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, εἷ Μωυσῆς εἰς
ἀνήρ ὁν τοσαύτας μυριάδας ὀργιζομένας ἐπράνε
καὶ μετῆγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἦμερωτεροῦ2. ὦ γὰρ θεὸς
αὐτῷ συμπαρῶν ἤττάσθαι τοῖς λόγοις αὐτοῦ τὸ

1 Dindorf: προσοίσεσθαι codd.
2 μετῆγαγε πρὸς τὸ ἦμερον Ῥ.Ο.
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."

(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; 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

\[\text{Numb. xiv. 31.}\]

Their vain supplications and submission.

\[\text{a No premature attempt at conquest, such as is described at the opening of Book iv.}\]
317 (3) Ὁσιμαστὸς δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἀνήρ καὶ τῆς ἱσχύος τῆς τοῦ πιστεύεσθαι περὶ δὲ ἂν εἴπειεν οὐ παρ’ δὲν ἦς ἀρχόν ὑπῆρξε μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ νῦν ἐστὶ γοῦν οὐδεὶς Ἑβραῖων, ὅσοι οὐχὶ καθάπερ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κολάσοντος ἂν ἀκοσμητικοῖ πειθαρχεῖ τοῖς ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ νομοθετηθεῖσι, καὶ λαθεῖν δύνηται. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἄλλα τεκμήρια τῆς ὑπὲρ ἀνθρωπόν ἐστι δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἥδη δὲ τινες καὶ τῶν ὑπὲρ Ἐφράτην μηνόν δόδον τεσσάρων ἐλθόντες κατὰ τιμήν τοῦ παρ’ ἤμιν ἱεροῦ μετὰ πολλῶν κινδύνων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ θύσαντες οὐκ ἱσχυσαν τῶν ἱερείων μεταλαβεῖν, Μωυσέως ἀπηγορευκότος ἐπὶ τινὶ τῶν οὐ νομιζομένων οὐδ’ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἣμῖν αὐτοῖς συντυχόντων. καὶ οἱ μὲν μηδὲ θύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμεργοὺς τὰς θυσίας καταλιπόντες, πολλοὶ δ’ οὐδ’ ἀρχὴν εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δυνηθέντες ἀπίασιν, ὑπακούειν τοῖς Μωυσέως προστάγμασι μᾶλλον ἡ ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ βουλήσι τῆς ἑαυτῶν προτιμώντες, καὶ τὸν ἐλέγχοντα περὶ τούτων αὐτοὺς οὐ δεδιότες, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ συνειδὸς ὑφορώμενοι. οὐτως ἡ νομοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ δοκοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἄλλα καὶ τούτο τοῦ πολέμου μικρῶν ἐμπροσθεν, Κλαυδίου

1 Dindorf: eἰποεῖν (eἰποῖ) 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 reproved 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
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'Ρωμαίων ἄρχοντος Ἰσμαήλου δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέως ὄντος, καὶ λυμόν τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κατα- λαβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν 321 ἀσσαρόνα, κομισθέντος ἀλεύρου κατὰ τὴν ἑορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς κόρους ἐβδομήκοντα, μεθύμνων δὲ οὐδεὶς Σικελοὶ μὲν εἰσὶν εἰς καὶ τριάκοντα ᾿Αττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἰς, οὐδεὶς ἐτόλμησε τῶν ἱερέων κρύμων ἐμφαγεῖν ἡ πολεμήσας ἀπορίας τὴν γῆν κατεχούσης, δεδιός τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν ὀργήν, ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνεξέλεγκτως ἀεὶ τὸ θείον τοῖς 322 ἀδικήμασιν ἔχει. ὡστ' οὖ δεὶ θαυμάζειν περὶ τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων, ὁπότε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ καταλειφθέντα ὑπὸ Μωϋσέος γράμματα τηλικαύτην ἴσχυν ἔχει, ὡστε καὶ τοὺς μισούντας ἡμᾶς ὀμολογεῖν, ὅτι τὴν πολιτείαν ἡμῶν ὁ καταστησάμενος ἐστὶ θεὸς διὰ Μωϋσέος καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἔκεινον. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς αὐτῷ των δοκεῖ διαλύφεται.

1 ed. pr., Lat.: τριακόσιοι codd.
2 ἐμφαγεῖν ἐν φαγεῖν I, Exc. ed. pr. (perhaps rightly).
3 + καὶ ῬΩ.

/* Ishmael ben Phiabi, who was high priest c. a.d. 59–61, when Nero was emperor (A. xx. 179, 194: Schürer, G. J. V. 3 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 (xvii, 34); but there is no record

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being ruler of the Romans and Ishmael\textsuperscript{a} our high-priest, when our country was in the grip of a famine so severe that an assarōn\textsuperscript{b} 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\textsuperscript{c}—not one of the priests ventured to consume a crumb,\textsuperscript{d} 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.

\textsuperscript{b} Otherwise an òmer or “tenth part” of an ephah (iii. 29, 142).

\textsuperscript{c} In such statements Josephus is usually untrustworthy and in this instance inconsistent: in \textit{A. x}v. 314 he gives the equation, 1 cor = 10 Attic medimni. The Attic medimnus was about a bushel and a half.

\textsuperscript{d} Or “a loaf.” We must apparently assume that the “flour” was brought in the form of \textit{leavened} loaves, which might not be eaten at that season.
(ι. 1.) Ἐβραίους δ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν βίος ἀιδηθεὶς καὶ γαλεπὸς ὡν ἐπόνει\(^1\) καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Χαναναίων πείραν λαμβάνειν: οὐ γὰρ ἤξιόν τοῖς Μωυσεῖος πειθαρχοῦντες λόγους ἠρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου προθυμίας κρατήσειν αὐτοῖς τῶν πολεμίων νομίζοντες κατηγόρουν μὲν αὐτοῖ καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους ὑπενόουν, ἵν' ἀεὶ τῆς ἔξι αὐτοῦ βοηθείας δέσωνται, πολεμεῖν δὲ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ὁρμήκεσαν λέγοντες τὸν θεοῦ ὑπὸ Μωυσεὶ χαριζόμενον ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῆς κηδόμενον αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνος διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὡν ἑπετρόπευσε καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρέτην πρότερον τε παρασχεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ νῦν βουλομένους πονεῖν ἀεὶ παρέσεσθαι σύμμαχον· εἶναι τε καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἰκανοὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐφασκον, κἂν ἀπαλλοτριῶν αὐτῶν Μωυσῆς ἔθελήσῃ τὸν θεοῦ· ὅλως τε συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτοκράτοραν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρ' Ἀγυπτίων ἐξελθεῖν ὑβρεῖς Μωυσῆν τύραννον ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἐξ ἑνὸς πρὸς τὴν τούτου βούλησαι ἐξαπατωμένους, ὅτι μόνῳ τὸ θεόν αὐτῷ προδηλοὶ περὶ τῶν ἴμε-\(^1\) ἐπιείξε PLS\(^2\); ἐποίει Ernesti.
(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
τέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν, ὡς οὖχ ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς Ἀβράμου γενεᾶς ὄντων, ἀλλὰ αὐτοῖν ἦνα τοῦτον τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος εἰς τὸ πάντ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ μανθάνοντα. 5 δοξεῖν τε συνετοὺς εἶναι, εἰ τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ καταγνώντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες κτήσασθαι γῆν ἧν αὐτοῖς υπέσχεται θελήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ διὰ τὴν αὐτίνα ταύτην ἐπὶ οὖνοματὶ τοῦ θεοῦ 6 κωλύοντι προσσχοίεν. τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ώς ἢς ἐτι ταύτην αὐτοῖς χείρω συνεβαίνει εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Χαναναίους μάχην ἦσαν ὀρμημένοι, τὸν θεὸν προστησάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἀλλ' οὖχὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου συνεργίαν περιμένοντες.

7 (2) Ὡς² οὖν ταῦτ᾽ ἀμενον αὐτοῖς ἐξειν ἐκριναν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίωσι ἐπηλθον, οἱ μὲν οὐ καταπλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφοδον οὐδὲ τὴν πληθὺν γεναίως αὐτοὺς ἐδέξαντο, τῶν δὲ Ἐβραίων ἀποθνῄσκοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῆς φάλαγγας αὐτῶν διαλυθεῖσας ἀκόσμως διώκοντο. 8 κόμενον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν συνέφυγε, καὶ τῷ παρ᾽ ἔλπιδας δυστυχήσασιν³ παντάπασιν ἀθυμοῖν οὐδὲν ἐτι χρηστὸν προσεδόκα, λογιζόμενον ὅτι καὶ ταύτα κατὰ μὴν θεοῦ πάθοιεν προεξορμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἔκεινον⁴ βουλήσεως.

9 (3) Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ὅρών ὑπὸ τῆς ἦττης καταπεπληγότας, φοβοῦμενς δὲ μὴ θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ οἱ πολεμίοι καὶ μειζόνων ὀρεχθέντες ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐλθοιεν, ἐγὼ δεὼν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν πορρωτέρω τῶν Χαναναίων

1 SP: τούτων rell.
3 ἀνυχάσαι RO.
2 ὤς OL Lat.
4 + διχὰ SPL (Lat.?).
the Deity reveal our destiny from goodwill towards him, as though we were not all of the stock of Abra-
ham, 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, scor-
ing 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.

(3) But Moses, seeing his people downhearted at
this defeat and fearing that the enemy, emboldened
by their victory and ambitious of greater achieve-
ments, would march upon them, decided that he
ought to lead his army further from the Canaanites
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JOSEPHUS

10 eis tìn èrhimon. kai toû plèthous èpitréfwsantos èautò pâlv èkeínw, svnìhe gár décha tìs autòù pronoías ou ðunhshomewn èrrwshai toûs prágmasen, ànastísas to strátewma pròphleven eis tìn èrhimon, èntaûtha vnoiçwv ðshukhèse autòùs kai mh pròteron toûs Xananaíovs eis ðveïras ðjwv pròn ñ parà toû theòû toû eis toûto kairop latwsw.

11 (ii. 1) "Ôper de toûs megaloux svmbainei stratotèdous kai màlstatà parà tás kakoptragías dúsàrktois èninei kai dúsptishtèi, touto kai toûs 'Ioudaíovs suyépsevën: èxhkonuta vàr òntes muýrìades kai diá toû plèthos ðwsw ãn mh' èn ághathìs úpotaqéntes toûs kripttòs, tòte màllon úpò tìs ápòriás kai svmpýrarës èxhuganàktovn kai pròs

12 allhêlous kai pròs tòn ðgeumòna. stàsias òdû autòùs oìan òsmen ouûte parò "Èllhshì ouûte parà barbatchôs génomënhh katalabhèn, ñ' ñs ñpantas àpolèshai kwnyneûstantas èsòswse Mowshìs, ou mnìshikàkòn õti par' ðllìon ðlhe katalêuveshìs

13 ùp' autów ñpòthanevì. ou'dì ñ theòs dé èmèlshse toû muðèn autòûs páthevn tôvôn deiwvòn, allà kàipper eis tôv nómmobèthn autów ðxuvbrišántwv kai tôas èntolàs, õs autòs dià Mowshëos autòûs ðpèsteilev, èrrusatos tôvôn èk tôu stassìázevn autòûs ãn génom-mènv deiwvòn, eì mh' prònewse. tìn te õdû stàsìn kai õsa metà taûtìnhì Mowshìs èpò-

1 + ouì SPL.
2 ed. pr.: àpolèshai kwnì. ñ àpolèshai codd.
3 met' autình RO.

a In Numb. xiv. 25 it is God who instructs Moses to turn back into the wilderness "by the way to the Red Sea" 480
out into the desert. 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, especially in reverses, are wont to become ungovernable and in-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.

An echo of Thuc. vii. 80 ὁλον φιλει καὶ πασι στρατοπέδους μᾶλις άε τοίς μεγίστοις; with the adjectives following cf. B.J. ii. 92 τό τε δύσαρκτον καὶ τό δυσπείδες.
JOSEPHUS

... Mωσηήν καθεστώτα χαλεπώς εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνον, καὶ γὰρ φυλέτης ὃν ἔτυγχανεν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς, ἀχθόμενος ὅτι ταύτης τῆς δόξης δικαιότερον ἂν τῷ ἐπούτειν ἑκείνου μᾶλλον μὴ

... ἔρωσιν Ἀσρων δόντα, μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι τοῦ πλῆθους ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ψηφισμένου, τυράννων δὲ τρόπῳ καταχαριζομένου τὰς τιμᾶς οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ χαλεπώτερον <τ'> ἡδή τυγχάνειν τοῦ μιᾶς εἶναι τὸ λεληθότως ἐξυπηρέτειν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἀκοντας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ συνιέντας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆν

1 ἂν τῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ codd.
2 Niese: τυράννω or τυράννον codd.
3 A τὲ, which the mss. insert before λεληθότως, has perhaps been misplaced.

a Gr. Κορῆς : Ηβ. Κορα ( = " baldness "). lxx. Κρέπ.
b Tradition enlarges upon the wealth of Korah, which it attributes to his discovery of treasures buried by Joseph in Egypt (see Jewish Encyclopedia). 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.

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I shall now recount, having first related the occasion out of which it arose.

(2) Korah, a one of the most eminent of the Hebrews by reason both of his birth and of his riches, b 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, c 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. d 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. e 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-

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Levi</th>
<th>Kolath</th>
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<td></td>
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<td>Amram</td>
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<td>Uzziel</td>
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His first cousin. The pedigree (Ex. vi. 16, 18; Numb. xvi. 1) was:

Karah's jealousy; his harangue to his fellow Levites. Numb. xvi. 1.
17 ισχὺν ἀφαιρεῖται· ὡς τὰ καὶ τὰς σύνοις τοὺς λαβεῖν ἅξιως πείθει τυγχάνειν αὐτῶν καὶ ταῦτα· βιάσασθαι μὴ θρασυνόμενος, οἷς δὲ ἀπορον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τυμάσθαι βιαν μὲν ἀγαθοὶ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν οὐ προσφέρουσιν, τέχνη δ' εἶναι κακογροῦσι.
18 δυνατοὶ. συμφέρει δὲ τῷ πλῆθει τοὺς τοιούτους ἐτὰ λαυθάνειν οἰομένους κολάζειν καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν ἐάσαντας φανεροὺς ἔχειν πολέμιους. "τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι δυνάμενος Μωυσῆς Ἀαρῶν καὶ τοῖς νόεσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱεροσύνην
19 παρέδωκεν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λευτίδος φυλῆς τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς τινὶ παρασχεῖν ἔκρινεν, ἐγὼ ταύτης δικαιότερος τυγχάνειν, γένει μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ὦν Μωυσεῖ, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἕλικια διαφέρουν· εἰ δὲ τῇ προσβυτάτῃ τῶν φυλῶν, εἰκότως ἂν ἦν ὁ 'Ρουβήλου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοι λαμβανόντων αὐτὴν Δαθάμου καὶ Ἀβιράμου καὶ Φαλαοῦ· προσβυτάται γὰρ οὐτοὶ τῶν ταυτῆς τὴν φυλὴν νεμομένων καὶ δυνατὸι χρημάτων περιουσίας."
20 (3) Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Κορῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ προνοεῖθαι δοκεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τιμήν μεταστήσαται, καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα κακοῆθως μετ' εὐπρεπείας πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας ἔλεγεν. προϊόντος δ' εἰς τοὺς πλείονας κατ' ὀλίγον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀκρωμένων προστιθεμένων ταῖς κατὰ
1 τότε ῬΩ.

a Reuben (see i. 304 note).
b Gr. Dathames (most mss.) : Bibl. Dathan.
c Pallu (lxx Φαλλοὺς) 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 484
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 should have this dignity, to be held by Datham, Abiram, and Phalaus; 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

verse in its traditional form (which is thought to be corrupt) mentions along with Dathan and Abiram "On the son of Peleth" (LXX Φαλεθ).

Or "assenting to" (in A. vi. 287 προστίθεται is a synonym for πιστείων): not, I think, as earlier translators take it, "adding to," "improving upon."
JOSEPHUS

'Αραρώνος διαβολαίς ἀναπύμπλαται τούτων ἃπας ὁ στρατὸς. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι τῷ Κορῆ
πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρες
σπεύδουσις ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸν Μωσεός
22 ἀδελφὸν καὶ τούτον αὐτὸν ἄτιμοὺν. ἀνηρέθιστο
δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος καὶ βάλλει τὸν Μωσῆν ὡμὴ-
κεσαν, εἰς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμως μετὰ θορύβου
καὶ παραχῇς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς
tοῦ θεοῦ στάντες1 ἐβόων διώκειν2 τὸν τύραννον
καὶ τῆς ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ πλήθος,
tῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βίαία προστάγματα κελεύ-
23 οντος· τὸν γὰρ θεον, εἰπερ αὐτὸς ἢν ὁ τὸν ἱερα-
σόμενον3 ἐκλεγόμενος, τὸν ἄξιον ἢν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν
παραγαγείν,4 οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλῶν ὑποδειστέρους
ταύτην φέροντα προσνεμιᾶς, κρύνοντα τε παρασχεῖν
'Αρώνι ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ πλήθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν
δόσιν, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδελφῳ καταλίπειν.

24 (1) Μωσῆς δὲ τὴν Κορέου διαβολὴν ἐκ πολλῶν
προειδῶς καὶ τὸν λαὸν παροξυμόμενον ἓδων οὐκ
ἐδεισεν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν οἷς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων
καλῶς ἐβουλευότοι καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἴδως κατὰ τὴν
τοῦ θεοῦ προαιρέσεως τῆς ἱερωσύνης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ’ οὐ
25 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν.
καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλήθος οὐδένα ἔποιήσατο λόγον,
πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κορῆ βοῶν ἐφ’ ὅσον ἐδύνατο,
δεξίος ὦν καὶ κατὰ τάλλα καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν

1 πάντες ROM Lat.
2 M ed. pr.: ἤκειν rell. (exeat Lat.).
3 ἱερωσόμενον codd. (and so § 28).
4 Niese: παράγειν codd.

a Traditional detail, not in Scripture.

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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 Moses; and, trooping to assembly in disorderly wise with tumult and uproar, they stood before the tabernacle of God and shouted: “Away with 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 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.”

(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

\textsuperscript{b} Literally “pursue” or “prosecute”; most mss. have “let the tyrant come (forth).”

\textsuperscript{c} The rendering “would not have consented (literally “endured”) to settle it” (so Hudson and Weill) seems hardly justifiable: \textit{φέρειν} in that sense takes a participle, not an infinitive. \textit{Cf. φέρων ἔδωκα} below, § 26.
JOSEPHUS

eυφυής, “ἐμοί,” φησίν, “ὁ Κορῆ, καὶ σὺ καὶ τούτων ἐκαστος,” ἀπεδήλου δὲ τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίους ἄδρας, “τιμῆς ἂξιοι δοκεῖτε, καὶ τὸν ὄμλον δὲ πάντα τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀποστερῆ τιμῆς, καὶ ὑστερῶσιν ὃν ἦμων ἐκ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης 26 ἀξιόωσεως ὑπάρχει. καὶ νῦν Ἀαρῶν τὴν ἱερωσύνην οὐκ ἐπείδη πλοῦτῳ προείχε, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφότερος ἤμᾶς μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλεις, οὐ μὴν οὐδ’ εὐγενεία, κοινὸν γὰρ ἦμων τούτ’ ἐποίησεν ὁ θεός τοῦ αὐτοῦ δους προπάτορα, οὐδὲ διὰ φιλ- ἀδελφίαν ὁ δικαίως ἀν ἐτέρως εἰχε τούτῳ φέρων 27 ἐδωκα τάδελφῳ καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φροντίζων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων τήν τιμήν ἐχαρίζομην, οὐκ ἂν ἐμαυτῷ παρεῖς δοῦναι παρέσχον ἐτέρω, συγ- γενέστερος ὅτι ἐμαυτῷ τάδελφοι καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν οἰκείοτερον ἡ πρὸς ἐκείνον διακείμενος· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ συνετὸν ἦν τοῖς κυνήγουσι ἐμαυτὸν ὑποτιθέντα τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄλλῳ τῆς διὰ τούτου 28 εὐδαιμονίαν χαρίζεσθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τε κρεῖττων ἡ κακουργεῖν, ὁ τε θεὸς οὐκ ἂν περείδειν ἐαυτὸν καταφρονούμενον οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὁ τι καὶ ποιοῦντες αὐτῶν χαρίζεσθε, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος τὸν ἱερασόμενον αὐτῶ τῆς κατὰ τούτ’ αὐτίας ἢμᾶς 29 ἠλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μὴν εἰς ἐμῆς χάριτος λαβῶν’ 4 ’Ἀαρῶν’ ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ κρίσιν θεοῦ, κατα- τίθησαν αὐτὴν εἰς μέσον ἑπιδικάσιμον τοῖς βουλο-

1 Dindorf: οὕτε codd. 3 ed. pr.: λαβείν codd. 2 ME: τοῦτ’ rell. 4 ex Lat.: om. codd.

* 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!”

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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\(^a\) even though they lack what ye derive from wealth and other distinctions. And now, if Aaron has been presented with the priesthood, it is not because he was pre-eminent in wealth, for thou surpassest even the twain of us in magnitude of possessions; nor yet for nobility of birth, for God has made us equal in this respect by giving us the same forefather\(^b\); 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\(^c\) 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

\(^a\) Their common grandfather, Kohath.
\(^b\) Or "me" (as often).
Joséphus,

... ένεον, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προκριθείς ἡδή τυχεῖν αὐτῆς ἀξιῶν ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ τῷ νῦν αὐτῷ περὶ αὐτῆς 30 σπουδᾶσαι, προτιμῶν <δὲ> τὸ τὸ γέρας ἐχειν τὸ μή στασιάζοντας ὡμᾶς δρᾶν καίτοι κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων· ὁ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμάρτομεν τούτῳ καὶ βουλομένων ὑμῶν 31 λαβεῖν νομίζοντες. ἢν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέσθαι παρέχοντος ἐκεῖνον τὴν τιμήν ἅσεβεῖς, καὶ πάλιν ἀξιῶν γ' ἐχειν εἰς ἀπαντα χρόνον μή τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ βεβαιοῦντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ παντάπασιν ἀλόγουστον. κρυνεὶ τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτός, τίνας βουλεῖται τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῷ θυσίας 32 ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ προσεσθάναι τῆς εὔσεβείας· ἀτοποῦν γάρ Κορῆν ἐφείμενοι τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔξουσίαν τοῦ τίνι παράσχῃ ταὐτήν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν θεόν. τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτο ταραχῆς παύσασθε, προφήτη δὲ ὅσοι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀντιποιεῖσθε κομίζων ἐκαστὸς θυμιματήριον οὐκοθεν σὺν θυμιά 33 μασι καὶ πυρὶ πάριτε. καὶ σὺ δὲ, Κορῆ, παραχώρησον τὴν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτου αὐτοῦ μένε ψυφοφορίαν, ἀλλὰ μή σαυτὸν ποίει τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα, παραγόν ἐκρηκτήσομεν οὕτως περὶ τοῦ γέρως. ἀνεμέσῃτον δ' οἴμαι καὶ Ἀραβόνα προσδέξασθαι συγκριθηκόμενον, γένοις μὲν ὅντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν δὲ μεμφηθήναι τοῖς παρὰ 34 τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεπραγμένοις δυνάμενον. θυμιά-

1 SP: τοῦ or τοῦτο rell.
2 Text RO: + συγχωρηθῇραι rell.
3 ins. Niese.
4 καὶ μή βούλ. ὡμῶν λαμβάνοντες RO.
5 ἀξιώντω' (ἀξιώντα) codd.
6 ἡμῶν SP.

a Or "now again"; but Weill is doubtless right in render-
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, 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

ing "en revanche," though the temporal sense occurs just below. It is a Sophoclean use (E1. 371), and the marks of the "Sophoclean" assistant (see Introduction) are evident in this speech.
σετε', οὖν συνελθόντες ἐν φανερῷ παντὶ τῶν λαῶν, καὶ θυμισμένων ὡμῶν οὕτως ἄν τὴν θυσίαν ἦδίων κρίνειν ὁ θεὸς, οὕτως ὡμῶν ἱερεῖς κεχειροτονήσεται, τῆς ἔπε τάδελφοι διαβολῆς ὡς κεχαρισμένου «έμοι» τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῶν ῥύόμενος."

35 (iii. 1) Ταῦτα Μωσεῖος εἰπόντος παύεται καὶ τῆς παραχής τὸ πλήθος καὶ τῆς εἰς Μωσῆν ὑποψίας, ἐπένευσαν δὲ τοὺς εἰρημένους· καὶ γὰρ ἤν καὶ εἴδοκε χρηστὰ τῶν λαῶν, τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύσας τὸν σύλλογον, τῇ δ’ ἐπιούσῃ συνήλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρατενέχουσιν τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι’ αὐτῆς κρίσει τῶν περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀγγονισμένων. συνέβαλε δ’ εἶναι θορυβῶδης τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετεώρου τοῦ πλήθους ὄντος ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἴδον ἑλμονάντων εἰ Μωσῆς ἐλεγχθεὶς κακουργῶν, τῶν δὲ φρονίμων εἰ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγείσαν καὶ παραχής· ἐδε- δίεσαν γὰρ μὴ τῆς στάσεως προϊὸσυνῆς ἀφανισθῇ.

36 μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ὁ κόσμος τῆς καταστάσεως· ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὅμιλος φύσεi χαϊρῶν τῷ καταβοάν τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ πρὸς τὸν τῆς εἵποι πρὸς τούτο τῆς γνώμης τρέπων ἑθορύβη. πέμψας δὲ καὶ Μωσῆς πρὸς Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δανάην ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἥκειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ περιμένει τὴν ἱερουργίαν. ὡς δ’ οὕτω ὑπακούσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔφασαν καὶ Μωσῆς οὖ περιόψεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ κακουργίας αὐξανόμενον, ἀκοῦσας τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὁ Μωσῆς ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῶ τοῖς

1 Ο: θυμισάτε rell. 2 ex Lat. ins. Niese. 3 RO: ἐπίνεσαν 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 multitu
dude 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, a 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, xvi. 26.
requested his chief councillors b to accompany him and

a Bibl. Dathan (§ 19).

b “The elders of Israel” (Numbers).
JOSEPHUS

προβούλοντος δὲ ἀξιώσας ἀπήγει πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην, οὐχ ἠγούμενος εἶναι δεινὸν βαδίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερηφανήσαντας· οἱ δ’ οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντες ἦκολούθουν.

39 οἱ δὲ περὶ Δαθάμην πυθόμενοι τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τῶν ἀξιολόγων τῆς πληθύος πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγνόμενον προεδρόντες γυναιξὶν ἁμα καὶ τέκνοις πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπέβλέπον, τί καὶ μέλλοι ποιεών ὁ Μωυσῆς· ἔτι τε θεράποντες ἦσαν περὶ αὐτοὺς, ὡς εἰ βιαν τινὰ προσφέροι Μωυσῆς ἁμνούμενοι.

40 (2) Ὄς δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος τὰς χείρας, εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχος ἐγγυνότερον ἔκβοησας, ὡς ἀκουστὸν πάση τῇ πληθύι γενέσθαι, “δέσποτα,” φησί, “τῶν ἐπ’ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης· σὺ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένων μάρτυς ἀξιολόγωτατος, ὡς γνώμη τῇ γίνεται τὰ πάντα καὶ δρωμένοις ἡμαχαίνῃ ἐξεπόρισας οἴκτον ἐν πάσι δεινοῖς Ἑβραίων ποιησάμενοι· ἐλθέ μοι τούτων ἀκροατῆς τῶν λόγων, σὲ γὰρ οὔτε πατρόμενον οὔτε νοηθέν λανθάνει, ὥστ’ οὐδὲ φθονήσεις μοι τῆς ἀληθείας τῆς τούτων ἀχαριστίαν ἐπιπροσθεν θέμενος· τὰ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῖς οἰσθ’ ἀκριβέστερον, οὐκ ἀκοφ βαθῶν ὁμεί δὲ τοῦτ’ αὐτοῖς παρὰ γυνομένοις, ἀ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτως καὶ περὶ ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς ἀδίκως ὑπονοοῦσιν, τούτων μοι γενοῦ μάρτυς. ἐγὼ βίον ἀπράγμονα καταστησάμενος ἀνδραγαθία μὲν ἐμῆς σῆ δὲ βουλῆ, καὶ τούτων Ῥαγουηλῶν μοι τοῦ

1 δειμένοις Niese: ἀπορουμένοι Naber: emendation needless.

a So, not (as earlier translators) “deeming it dangerous”:
 cf. B.J. iv. 393 δεινὸν ἠγούμενον ὑποτεθάναι τὸ πρὸν ἰδούμεν.
 b The Arabic version of Numbers adds a similar phrase, “ut viderent quid futurum esset” (trans. Walton, Polyglot).
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went off to the faction of Datham, not scorning a 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. b Moreover they had their servants c 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 d and at thy will, thanks too to what

a 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."

b This is J.'s rendering of the Hebrew "(their) little ones" in Num. xvi. 27: lxx ἀποσκευή ("chattels"), Targum of Onkelos "their families," Vulgate "omnique frequentia."

c 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."

d ἀπραγμονα . . . ἀνδραγαθια: an echo of Thuec. ii. 63 ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθιζεται.
πενθεροῦ καταλιπόντος, ἀφεὶς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπό-
λαυσιν τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἐμαυτὸν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ
τούτων ταλαιπωρίαις. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ
τῆς ἐλευθερίας αυτῶν, νῦν δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας
μεγάλους ὑπέστην πόνους καὶ παντὶ δεινῷ τούμον
43 ἀντιτάξας πρόθυμον, νῦν οὖν ἔπει κακουργεῖν
ὑποπτεύομαι παρ’ ἀνδράσων, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν
καμάτων ὑπάρχει τὸ περιείναι, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτός,
ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκεῖνό μοι φήνας κατὰ τὸ Σινὰον καὶ
tῆς σαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀκροατήν τότε καταστῆσαι
καὶ θεατὴν τεράτων ὁσα μοι παρέσχεν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνος
ὁ τόπος ποιήσας, ὁ κελεύσας ἐπ’ Ἀιγύπτου
σταλῆναι καὶ τὴν σὺν γνώμην τούτοις ἐμφανίσαι,
44 ὁ τὴν Ἀιγυπτίων εὐδαιμονίαν σεῖσαι καὶ τῆς ὑπ’
αὐτοῖς δουλείας δρασμὸν ἡμῖν παρασχὺν καὶ
μικροτέραν ἐμοῖ τὴν Φαραώθου ποιήσας ἤγεμονιν,
ὁ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἄμαθῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ὅδων ποιήσας τὸ
πέλαγος καὶ τὴν ἀνακεκομμένην θάλασσαν τοῖς
Αιγυπτίων ἐπικυμήνας ὀλέθρως, ὁ γυμνοὶς οὐδὲ
45 τὴν ἕξ ὀπλῶν ἄσφαλειν χαρισάμενος, ὁ ποτίμους
ἡμῖν διεφθαρμένας πηγᾶς ἑρύσαι παρασκευάσας
καὶ τελέως ἀποροῦν ἐκ πετρῶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμῖν
ποτὸν μηχανησάμενος, ὁ τῶν γῆθεν ἀπορουμένους
εἰς τροφὴν διασώσας τοῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ὁ καὶ
ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ τροφὴν καταπέμψας οὐ πρὸτερον
ἰστορηθεῖσαν, ὁ νόμων ἡμῖν ἐπίνοιαν ὑποθέμενος
46 καὶ διάταξιν πολιτείας ἐλθὲ, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων,
dικαστής μου καὶ μάρτυς ἀδωροδόκητος, ὣς οὔτε
dωρεάν ἐγώ παρ’ Ἐβραίων τῶν κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου

1 ὑπῆρχε RO. 2 αὐτοῖς RO.
Raguel my father-in-law left me, a 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 b; who when the fruits of earth failed us preservedst us with sustenance from the sea, aye and from heaven didst send down meat unheard of aforetime d; 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.

a Ant. ii. 268: or "which Raguel . . . too left me free to enjoy."

b iii. 35.  
c Quails, iii. 25.  
d Manna, iii. 26.
JOSEPHUS

προσηκάμην οὔτε πλούτως κατέκρινα πενίαιν νικάν δυναμένην οὔτε ἐπὶ βλάβη τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτευσά-

μενος εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπινοίας πάρεμι, ὡς οὔχι σοῦ κελεύσαντος Ἀραβῶν

47 δοὺς τὴν ἐρωσιν άλλα κατ' ἐμὴν χάριν. παρά-

ςτήσας δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὅτι πάντα σῇ προνοίᾳ διουκεῖται καὶ μηδὲν αὐτομάτως ἀλλὰ βούλησιν βρα-

βευόμενον τὴν σήν εἰς τέλος ἔρχεται. ὡς δὲ φροντίζεις τῶν Ἐβραίων όνησόντων, μετελθῶν Ἄβραμον καὶ Δαλάμην, οἱ σου καταδικάζουσιν ἀναίσθησιαν ὡς ύπ' ἐμῆς τέχνης νυκωμένον.

48 ποιήσεις δὲ φανερὰ τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δίκην οὖτως μεμνηστῶν κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης, μὴ κοινῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοὺς μεταστήσας μηδ' ὡς ἀποθανόντας κατ' ἀνθρώπινον ἐξεληλυθότας τοῦ βίου φανέ-

ντας νόμον, ἀλλὰ χάνοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἁμα τῇ γενεᾷ

49 καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἵνα πατοῦσι γῆν. τοῦτο γὰρ σῆς ἐπιδέεις αὐτὸν ἱσχύος ἀπάσιν γενούτοι καὶ διδα-

σκαλία σωφροσύνης δέει τοῦ¹ ταύτα πείσεσθαι περὶ σοῦ δοξάζωντας οὐχ ὅσια· εὐρεθείη γὰρ ἂν οὖτως ἁγάθος ὑπηρέτησι· οὐν συν προστάσεις.

50 εἰ δὲ ἀληθεῖς πεποίηναί τὰς κατ' ἐμοῦ διαβολᾶς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς φυλάξειας² κακοῦ,

δὲν δ' ἐπηρασάμην ὀλέθρον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ποιήσειας³ ἐμὸν· καὶ δίκην εἰσπραξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ τοῦ σὸν ἀδικήσαι θελήσαντος λαὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ βραβεύσων όμοίων καὶ εἰρήνην σώζε τὴν πληθύνεν ἐπομένην τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπαθὴ τηρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ

1 δέει τοῦ Holwerda: δὲ εἰς τοῦς codd.
2 φυλάξειας ROM.
3 ποιήσεις RO.

a Moses here suggests the earthquake to God (in Scripture 498
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 earest
for those who would benefit the Hebrews, by pursu-
ing 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! a 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,
hereafter, awarding harmony and peace, save
thou this multitude that followeth thy command-
ments, preserving them unseathed and exempt from

his words are addressed to the people), as at the Red Sea he
had suggested three alternative expedients (ii. 337).
and

61 (3) They had planned and plotted to seize, when the opportunity came, the power of the civil authority of Moses, and to form a 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

1 ἐκτιμῶντος τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων κολάσεως. 2 RO: ἀπ’ rell.
3 Cocceii: ὑφῆμαι or φανῆμαι codd. 4 om. RO.

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 con-
vulsion. 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, ob-
livious of their confederates, at the sight of what
had befallen they ratified the sentence, and, judging
that Datham and his followers had perished as
miscreants, they refrained even from grief.

(4) But c 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

lead by Dathan and Abiram, (2) a revolt of representatives
of the whole people, led by Korah, against the Levites.

b Addition to Scripture.

Peculiarities in this section, noted below, indicate the
reappearance of the “Thucydidean” assistant (see Intro-
duction). There is some lack of coherence with what has
preceded.
There is no indication that they have already been mentioned (§ 21).

b "Princes of the congregation, called to the assembly (LXX συνκλητοι βούλησ), men of renown," Numb. xvi. 2.

c 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).

d The use of ὁπόσιος for ὁσός is a distinctive mark of the
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elected. Then assembled two hundred and fifty men, 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; Aaron and Korah advanced likewise, and the whole company in front of the tabernacle burnt incense on all those censers which 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, 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

"Thucydidean" assistant responsible for Ant. xvii-xix; there are 100 instances of it in those books and only four, including this one, elsewhere.

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.
υίδν τὰ θυμιατήρια αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν χάλκεον
58 καταθέσθαι βωμόν, ὡς ἂν ὑπόμνησις εἰη τοῖς
αὕτις ὧν ἔπαθον [καὶ]1 ὅτι τὴν ἱσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ
νομίσειαν ἀπατᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ Ἀραβῶν μὲν
οὐκέτι τῇ Μωυσεως χάριτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην
ἐχειν δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει φανερᾷ
gενομένη, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἥδη βεβαιώς ἀπέλαυε
tῆς τιμῆς.
59 (iv. 1.) Τὴν μέντοι στάσιν ουδ’ οὕτως συνέβη
παύσασθαι, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξεῖν καὶ φύεσθαι
χαλεπωτέραν· ἐλάμβανε δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χείρον
προκοπῆς αἰτίαν, ύφ’ ἡς οὐδέποτε λήξειν τὸ
60 δεινὸν ἂν εἰκὸς ἀλλ’ εἰς χρόνον παραμενεῖν. οἱ
γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πεπιστευκότες ἤδη μηδὲν γίνεσθαι
dίχα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας οὐκ ἐβούλουντο ταῦτα
χωρίς τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ πεπράχθαι,
κατηγόρουν δ’ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὅργην τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι3
τοσαύτην οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῶν κολασθέντων
61 ἀδικιῶν, ὡς Μωυσεὼς πραγματευσαμένου· καὶ τοὺς
μὲν διεφθάρθαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτώντας ἢ ὅτι περὶ
tῆς τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδάκεσαν, τὸν δὲ
tοιούτωνν4 ἄνδρων ὀλέθρῳ καὶ πάντων ἀρίστων
ἐξημιωκότα τὸν λαὸν πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχείν
dίκην ἐτὶ καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναμφίλεκτον τάδελφῳ
62 παρασχέων· οὐδένα γὰρ ἑτὶ αὐτῆς ἂλλον ἀντι-
ποιήσεσθαι5 καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὀρῶντα κακῶς
ἀπολωλότας. ἐτ’ γε μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων

1 om. Lat.

2 om. ὑ’ RO: χαλεπωτέραν <τ’> ἐλάμβανε Niese.

Bekker: γίνεσθαι codd.

4 τοιούτων Niese.

5 ἀντιποιήσεσθαι codd.

Let them be made beaten plates for a covering (LXX 504)
their censers beside the brazen altar, 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 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

\[\pi\varepsilon\rho\iota\theta\varepsilon\mu\alpha\] of the altar," Numb. xvi. 38. For \[\pi\varepsilon\rho\iota\theta\varepsilon\mu\alpha\] Josephus perhaps read \[\pi\alpha\rho\iota\theta\varepsilon\mu\alpha\]; the two words appear as variant readings in Ex. xxxviii. 24 LXX, in a similar connexion.

\[\text{Continuance of sedition.}\]

b Literally "muled," with the collateral idea of "crippled."
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tois diektharménois déisios égéneto pollh toú plhthous meiósai ti tis Mousoús megalaunías.

63 (2) Mousoús de, kai gar ék pollou suniastaménon hikroáto toú thóruvôn, deíssas mé ti nevterísous pálin kai génhatai ti méga kai xaléstovn, svnégaghe to plhthos eis ékkllhsian [kai]1 perí mév ón hikroáto eis apolougmías ou kathistaménon, Ína mú pároguvghi to plhthos, autó de múvnon tois fulárchos pro-

eiptwv komixevn tá twv fulón o nómatà bakttrías

61 éptugegramména. lphesethai gar ékeínon tìn ërorn-
súnhn, ouper án ó theos èptíspemhnh tì bakttría. dòsan ón tkolózousan ou te állov kai 'Aarrón
épigrapías Leuítov2 en tì bakttría, kai tautas
Mousoús en tì skhnh toù theou kataióthshn. ti

de èptíousth proekómuse tás bakttrías. gnwrmvou
d' ësasv katasthmaménon autás twv te ándrâw

65 ouper ékómizov kai toû plhthous. kai tás mév
állassa éf' ouper autás skhmátos Mousoús par-
eláben èpti touto menehnúias èbllwovn, ek de
tìs 'Aarrónos blástous te kai kládous ànavfántas
eòrwon kai karpton óraion, èmýgdala ð' ën, ek
toióttouv ëylou tìs bakttrías katastkhsménhsh.

66 èkplagéntes ð' èpti twv paralógh twv theás, ei
kai tisí dià músov ën ð' Mousoús kai 'Aarrón,
avfentes touto thámamaéen hírefánto tìn touto theó
peri autów krisín kai to loipón èpeuóthmouintes
tois dédogmenois tw theów svnekhórouv 'Aarróni

1 om. edd.  2 Leuítov Niese.
petition to the people to abate somewhat of Moses' arrogance, as this would make for their security.

(2) But 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" 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

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καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην. καὶ οἱ μὲν τρῖς αὐτῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαίως εἰς τὴν τιμήν, ἢ δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων στάσις πολὺν ἀκμάσασα χρόνου τοῦτον ἑπαύθη τῶν τρόπων.

67 (3) Μωυσῆς δ’, ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἢ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀφεῖτο φυλή θεραπεύσουσα1 τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μὴ δι’ ἀπορίαν μηδὲ ξύπνῳ τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοίεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναάιαν κτησαμένους τοὺς Ἐβραίους ἐκέλευσε κατανείμαι τοῖς Λευίταις ὅκτω καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράφαντας εἰς δισεκατόρευτος πῆχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνείναι. πρὸς τούτως δὲ καὶ τὸν λαὸν διέταξε2 τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν δεκάτην αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ ἱερεύσι τελειῶ. καὶ ἀ μὲν ἡ φυλή παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους λαμβάνει ταὐτ’ ἐστίν· ἀναγκαίον δὲ ἡγησάμην ἃ τοῖς ἱερεύσι ἰδια3 παρὰ πάντων γίνεται δηλώσαι.

68 (4) Τῶν μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὁκτὼ πόλεων πρυσκαδέκα παραχωρήσαι τοὺς Λευίτας αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ τῆς δεκάτης, ἢς παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ κατ’ ἐτος λαμβάνουσι, δεκάτην αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν. 70 ἔτι δὲ ἀπαρξάς τὸν λαὸν δίκαιον τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ

1 ex Lat. Bernard: θεραπεύσουσα codd.  
2 Niese: ἐξέτασε (ἐξέτασε RO) codd.  
3 ἰδιὰ O (Niese).

a Or, perhaps, “conceded Aaron’s honourable right to the priesthood.”

b The “Sophoelean” 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.

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allowed Aaron to hold the priesthood with honour.\(^a\)

So he, having thrice \(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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 \(^d\) 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.\(^e\)

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,\(^f\) 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-

\(^a\) i.e. of after times; or perhaps "the sacred ministry" (Weill).

\(^b\) So Lxx, Numb. xxxv. 4; Hebrew, "a thousand," which is difficult to reconcile with the next verse.

\(^c\) See further, §§ 205, 240 ff.

\(^d\) Not in the Pentateuch; but see Josh. xxi. 4-19, where the thirteen cities given to the priests are enumerated.
τῶν τετραπόδων δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας νεομισμένων τὸ γεννηθέν πρῶτον, ἂν ἀρσεν ἡ, καταθύσαι παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἱερεύσιν, ὥστε αὐτοῖς πανοικί
71 συνείσθαι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει. τῶν δὲ οὐ νεομισμένων ἐσθίειν παρ’ αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους τοὺς δεσπότας [τῶν τεκτομένων] σίκλον καὶ ἢμισυ αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν, ἀνθρώπου δὲ πρωτοτόκου πέντε σίκλους, εἶναι δὲ ἀπαρχαὶ αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβατῶν κοιρᾶς, τοὺς τε πέπτωτας τὸν οἴτον καὶ ἀρτοποιουμένους τῶν πεμμάτων αὐτοῖς των
72 χορηγεῖν, οὕσοι δ’ ἂν αὐτοὺς καθιερώσων εὐχὴν πεποιημένου, ναζιραῖοι δὲ οὕτωι καλοῦνται, κο-
μώντες καὶ οἶνον οὐ προσφερόμενοι, τοῦτος δὲ ὅταν τὰς τρίχας ἀφιερώσων ἐπὶ θυσίᾳ τε δρώσι
73 τὰς κοιρᾶς νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας. καὶ οἱ κορμᾶν αὐτοὺς ὄνομασάντες τῷ θεῷ, δόρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ Ἐλλήνων γλώσσαν, βου-
λομένους ἀφίεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας τοῖς ἱερεύσι καταβάλλειν ἀργύριον, γυναῖκα μὲν τριάκοντα σίκλους ἀνδραὶ δὲ πεντήκοντα. οὕσοι δὲ ἂν ἐν-
δεέστερα τῶν ὁμοιμένων ἐχωσί χρημάτων τοῖς ἱερεύσι εξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ὡς βούλονται δο-
74 κιμάσαι. εἰναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ’ οἶκον θύουσιν εὐωχίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ θρησκείας ἀνάγκην κομίζειν τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἐνυστρόν τε καὶ

1 om. RO.
2 χρήματα Bekker.

a To be erected hereafter (§ 200).
b 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).
c Amount not in Scripture, but has Rabbinical authority (Weill).

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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.\(^a\) In the case of creatures\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) and for the firstborn of man five shekels.\(^d\) 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.\(^e\) Again, those who describe themselves as "Corban"\(^f\) 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;\(^g\) 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

\(^a\) In Numbers this sum applies to the firstborn of unclean beasts also.

\(^b\) According to Numb. vi. 18 the Nazirite throws his hair on to the sacrificial fire.

\(^c\) korbán, an "offering," "oblation"; translated, as here, by δωρον in Mark vii. 11, by Josephus again in Ap. i. 167 (where it denotes an oath) by δωρον θεοῦ.

\(^d\) Special terms for minors and superannuated (Lev. xxvii. 5-7) are here omitted.

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χελύνον καὶ τὸν δεξίον βραχίονα τοῦ θύματος. καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἱερεύσι Μωσοῦς τοσαύτην, πάρεξ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων θῶν ὁ λαὸς δίδωσι αὐτοῖς, ὥς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν, 75 εὐπορίαν ἔπενοντε. πάντων δὲ τῶν τοὺς ἱερεύσι τελουμένων κοινοὶ διέταξε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων ἐπιφερομένων θυσιῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μόνοι δαπανῶσι οἱ ἄρρενες τῶν ἱερέων αὐθημερόν.

76 (5) Ὁς δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωσοῦς διέταξεν, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιάς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰδομαίας ὄρους ἠλθε καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰδομαίων πέμψας ἤξιον δίδον αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, πίστεις ὡς αὐτὸς ἐθέλευ λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικηθήσεσθαι δώσειν ὁμολογῶν, ἀγοράν τε τῷ στρατῷ χορηγῆσαι κἂν τιμὴν τοῦ 77 ὕδατος αὐτοὺς κελεύσει καταβαλεῖν. ὁ δ' οἰς ἐπρεσβεύσατο Μωσοῦς οὐκ ἄρεσκόμενος οὐδὲ συγχωρῶν τὴν δίδον ἐνοπλον τὴν στρατιάν ἄγαν̧ων προαπῆτα τῷ Μωσεί, καλύσων αὐτοὺς εἰ τολμήσαν εἶναι ἑαυτοῖς ἐπιθετοῦσαν. καὶ Μωσοῦς, ἄρχειν γὰρ μάχης οὐ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ θεὸς χρωμένων, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπανήγει διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐκπεριμένων.

1 ed. pr.; καὶ codd. 2 ML: κελεύσαι RO, εἰ κελεύσει SP.

a Or „shoulder“; Greek „arm.“

b The Law contains two contradictory statements concerning 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 512
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. 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.

(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. 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 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 ἐξω τοῦ βωμοῦ θυσιῶν ἐνεκα κρεωφαγίας, and Mishnah, Hullin 10. 1 (quoted by Driver in loc.). Josephus presents a mixture of the two lists.

c  iii. 230-232, etc.  
d Text a little uncertain.
78 (6) Tότε δὴ καὶ τῆν ἄδελφήν αὐτοῦ Μαρίαμμην τελιντῇ τοῦ βίου καταλαμβάνει τεσσαρακοστὸν ἕτος πεπληρωκυίαν ἀφ' οὗ τήν Αὐγοῦτον κατέλυπε μηνὸς δὲ Ἐανθικοῦ νομονία κατὰ σελήνην. θάπτοντι δ' αὐτὴν δημοσίᾳ πολυτελῶς ύπέρ τινος ὄρους, ὁ καλοῦσί Σείν, καὶ πενθήσαντα ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τὸν λαὸν ἐκάθηρε Μωυσῆς τοῦτων τῶν τρόπων: μόσχον θηλείαν, ἄροτρον μὲν καὶ γεωργίας ἀπειρον ὀλόκληρον δὲ, ἔανθην πᾶσαν, μικρὸν ἀπωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου προαγάγων εἰς χωρίον καθαρώτατον ὁ ἄρχιερες ἔθνε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ αἵματος ἐπτάκις ἔρρασαν τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρυ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα καιομένης ὡς εἴρχεν ὅλης τῆς δαμάλδος σῶν τῇ δορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐντός εἰλον κέδρυνι τό μέσον ἐμπάλλουσι τῷ πύρ καὶ ἄσσωπον καὶ φοινικτὸν ἔμιον· συναγαγὼν δ' αὐτῆς ἀπασαν τὴν τέφραν ἀγνός ἀνήρ κατατίθησιν εἰς χωρίον καθαρώτατον. τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ μεμιασμένους, τῆς τεφρας ὄλυν ἐν πηγὴν ἐνείπτες καὶ ὑσσώπον βαπτίσαντες [τὲ καὶ τῆς τεφρας ταύτης εἰς πηγὴν], ἔρρασαν τρίτη τε καὶ ἐβδόμη τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἠςαν. τούτῳ δὲ καὶ κατελθοῦσιν εἰς τὰς κληρονομίας προσέταξε, ποιεῖν.

1 om. Bekker.

a 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.

b 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. They buried her at the public expense in state on a mountain which they call Sin; and when the people had mourned for her thirty days, they were purified by Moses on this wise. A heifer, yet ignorant of the plough and of husbandry, without blemish and entirely red, was conducted by the high priest a little way outside the camp to a place of spotless purity, where he sacrificed it and sprinkled with his finger drops of its blood seven times in the direction of the tabernacle of God. Next, the heifer was burnt whole, just as it was, including its skin and entrails, and into the midst of the blaze they cast cedar-wood and hyssop and crimson wool. Its ashes were then all collected by a holy man, who deposited them in a place of spotless purity. When, therefore, any had been polluted by contact with a corpse, they put a little of 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.

* 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.

* This phrase on its first occurrence (see § 80) is not in the Hebrew, but the i.xx has εἰς τὸ πόνον καθαρόν (Numb. xix. 3).

* Or "red": Bibl. "scarlet."

* i.e. ceremonially clean.
82 (7) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καθάρσιν τοιαύτην γενομένην ἀπῆγε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς ἔρημου, καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἐλθὼν εἰς χωρίον, δὲ μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν "Ἀραβεῖς γενομίκασι, πρότερον μὲν "Ἄρκην" λεγομένην.

83 Πέτρων δὲ νῦν οἰνομαζομένην, ἐνταῦθα ύψηλοῦ περιέχοντος ὅρους αὐτὸ Ἀραβάς Ἐ.Αρα. ἐπ' αὐτῷ, Μωυσέος αὐτῷ δεδηλωκότος ὅτι μέλλου τελευταί, ἀπαντος τοῦ στρατεύματος ὅροντος, κατάντες γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποδύτει τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ παραδόουσα αὐτὴν Ἑλεαζάρῳ τῷ παιδί, πρὸς δὲ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἡ ἀρχιερωσύνη παραγίνεται, θεῖσκει τοῦ πλήθους εἰς αὐτοῦ ἀφ- 84 ὅροντος, τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ τελευτήσας ἔτει, ὦ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀπέβαλε, βους δὲ ἐτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοὺς εἰκοσί καὶ ἕκατον. ἀποδύτει δὲ κατὰ σελήνην νομηνία μηνὸς ὅντος τοῦ παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Ἐκατομβαίωνος καλουμένου Λῶου δὲ παρὰ Μακεδόνιοιν, Ἀββᾶς δὲ παρ' Ἐβραίοις.

85 (v. 1) Πένθος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ τριακονθύμερον ἄγοντος, ἐπεὶ τοὺς ἐλώφησεν, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν Μωυσῆς τὸν στρατὸν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀρνώνα, ὅσ' ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας ὀρῶν ωρμημένος καὶ διὰ πάσης ἔρημου ρέων εἰς τὴν

1 Ἀρκέμ Ευσ.: Ἀρκέμην Bernard.
2 Bernard: σαβ(β)α, σαβατ (sebath Lat.) codd.
3 RO: ὀρμώμενος tell.

Not mentioned in Numbers, which, however, names the mountain which Aaron ascended, viz. Mount Hor. Since later on (§ 161) Josephus identifies Petra with Ἐρκέαμι, deriving that name from its king Rekem, probably Ἀρκην is here corrupt and we should read Ἀρκέμην. When Josephus wrote, Petra was the capital of the powerful Nabataean kingdom.
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, 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.

(v. 1) For thirty days 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-

\[\text{Abba}\]

Aram. \textit{abba}, Hebr. \textit{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. \textit{l.c.}). “Abba” is, however, an emendation; and it is possible that the m.s. reading \textit{sa}\textit{h\textbar} (L.at. \textit{sebath}) should stand, and that Josephus followed another tradition, dating the event six months later, on the 1st of \textit{Shebat}.

\[\text{Sihon, king of the Amorites, refuses passage.}\]

\[\text{Numb. xx. 29. Josephus here omits (1) the victory at Hormah (incorporated perhaps in the victory over Sihon described below), and (2) the story of the brazen serpent.}\]
'Ασφαλτίτων λήμνην ἐκδίδοσιν ὀρίζων τὴν τε Μωαβίτων καὶ 'Αμορριτῶν. γῆ δ' αὐτὴ καρποφόρος καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων1 τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἁγαθοὺς ἢκαντὴ τρέφειν. πρὸς οὖν Σιχῶνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τὴς χώρας ταύτης ἀπέστειλε Μωυσῆς τῷ στρατῷ δίοδον αὐτῶν ἔφ' αἰς ἄν θελήσεις πίστειν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε τοὺς ἐν- οικοῦντας, ὅπερ Σιχῶν ἔκρατεν, τοῖς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων λυσιτελές, εἰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς πιπράσκευεν ἐθέλοιεν. Σιχῶν δ' ἄρνούμενος ὀπλίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀρνῶνα κωλύειν ἐτοιμότατος ἦν.

87 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὄρων πολεμίως αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀμοραίον διακείμενον οὐτε περιφρονοῦμενος ἀνέχεσθαι δεῖν ἐγνω καὶ τοὺς Ἐβραίους τῆς ἀπραξίας καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν ἀπορίας, ύφ' ἦς στασιάσασθε τι πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνεπεσε καὶ τότε δυσκόλως εἶχον, ἀπαλλάξας διαγνοὺς ἢρετο τὸν θεόν, εἱ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ δίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ τίκην ἀποσημήναντος2 αὐτὸς ἰαρσαλέως εἰχὲ πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παράρμα, νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν τῆς τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύειν, ὅτ' αὐτὴ συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι τὸ θείου. οὐ δ' ἦς ἐπόθουν ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβόντες εὐθέως ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ Ἀμοραῖος οὐκέτ' ἦν ἐπιτύμνων ὄμοιος αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε κατεπλάγη τοὺς Ἐβραίους καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ παρέχεσαν θάττον αὐτὴν εὑψιχον εἶναι δοκεῖν τὸτ' ἀπηλέγχηθη πεφοβημένη. τὴν

1 + ἵσον ΟML. 2 ἐπισημήναντος RO.
titis, 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.

(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 made such a show of spirit, now proved positively afraid. Thus, without waiting to

\[\text{Numb. xxii. 21.}\]

\[\text{Deaf of the Amorites and conquest of their country.}\]

\[\text{ib. 24.}\]

\[\text{a The "Bituminous" lake = the Dead Sea.}\]

\[\text{b For } \theta\alpha\tau\tau\omicron \omega \rho\omicron \tau\omicron \omicron\omicron \rho\omicron \omicron \omicron \omicron \text{ cf. } A. v. 171 \text{ (and so frequently } \tau\alpha\chi\omicron\omicron, A. i. 98, etc.); but the word here may connote "too hastily."}\]


JOSEPHUS

πρώτην οὖν σύνοδον οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἀντιστήναι καὶ δεξίως τοὺς Ἑβραίους τρέπονται, τοῦτο ἐαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ἢ τὸ μάχεσθαι

90 παρέξεων ἐθάρρουν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὕτως ὁχυραῖς. παρ' ὅπως οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὀφελοῦ τίνος εἰς ταύτας συνδιωχθέωσιν. Ἑβραίοι γὰρ ὡς ἐνδόντας αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς ἐΐδον, ἐνέκειστο καὶ παραλύσαντες

91 αὐτῶν τὸν κόσμον εἰς φόβον κατέστησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπορραγόντες ἐφευγον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν οὐκ ἐκαμινοῦ, ἀλλ' οἱς προπεπονύκεσαν προσεπιταλαιπώρησαν προσθέμενοι, καὶ σφειδονᾶν τε ἀριστοὶ τυγχάνοντες καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐκηβύλοις δεξιοὶ χρήσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀπλισιν οὕτας εὐσταλὴ κούφοι πρὸς τὸ διώκειν ὑπὲρ μετέθεον τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς πορρωτάτω συνληφθῆναι γεγονότας ταῖς σφειδόναις καὶ τοῖς

92 τοξεύμασι κατελάμβανον. φόνος τε οὖν γίνεται πολὺς καὶ τραύμασιν ἔπονοι οἱ διαφεύγοντες, ἐκαμινοῦ δὲ ἐπὶ δίψει μᾶλλον ἢ τινὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν καὶ γὰρ ἄρα θέρους ἢν καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πιεῖν ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τοὺς πλεῖους καταραχθέντας, καὶ ὁσον συνεστραμμένον ἐφευγε, περιστάντες ἐβαλλον καὶ Πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ὡμα καὶ τοξεύοντες

93 διεφθειραν. ἀποθνῄσκει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Σιχῶν ὁ βασιλεὺς. Ἑβραίοι δὲ νεκροὺς ἐσκύλουν καὶ λείαι ἐλαβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς εἶχον μεστῆς ἐτε τῶν καρπῶν ὑπαρχοῦσας,

1 προθέμενοι (Bekker, Niese) is a needless emendation.
2 τε Ρ.Ο.

a Triple alliteration in the Greek. If the "Sophoclean" assistant is here at work, he had warrant for this in his model, 520
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, being at once excellent slingers and experts in the use of all long-range missiles, and withal through their light equipment 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. 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 κεῖνοι κομίζειν κεῖσεν, 804 f. φύσας φανεὶ φρένας, 1140 τεκνώσεν τερφθείς τούσδε.  

b After Thuc. iii. 22 εὔσταλέος τῆ ὀπλίστην.  

c 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 σινεστραμένων recalls Plataea (ib. ii. 4)!

Here clearly the "Thucydidean" assistant lends his aid.

521
94 καὶ διεξήγει πᾶσαν ἀδεώς τὸ στράτευμα προνομὴν χρώμενον, ἀλισκομένων καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οὐδὲν γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἦν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ μαχῆμα παντὸς ἀπολωλότος. Ἀμοραίους μὲν οὖν τοιούτο πάθος κατέλαβεν οὐτὲ φρονήσας δεινοὺς οἴτε ἄγαθοὺς κατὰ τὸ έργον γεγονότας, Ἕβραίοι δὲ τὴν εἰκόναν παρελάμβανον. ἔστι δὲ χωρίον, ὁ τριῶν μεταξὶ ποταμῶν κείμενον όμοιόν τι νῆσῳ τῇ φύσιν ὑπάρχει, τοῦ μὲν Ἀρνώνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὀρίζοντος αὐτό, Ἰοβάκου δὲ τῇ ἄρκτῶν αὐτοῦ πλευρὰν περιγράφοντος, ὡς εἰς τὸν Ἰορδανον ποταμὸν ἑκβάλλων εἰκόνα καὶ τοῦ ὄνοματος¹ μεταδίδωσι· τὰ μέντοι γε πρὸς τῇ δύσει τοῦ χωρίου περιείσουν αὐτὴν Ἰορδανος.

95 (3) Οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιτίθεται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ὁ θύσις ὁ τῆς Γαλατήνης καὶ Γαυλαντίδος βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἄγων, καὶ σπεύδων μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τῇ Σιχώνος, φίλου τυγχάνοντος, εὐρων δὲ ἐκείνον ἑδή προ- απολωλότα καὶ οὕτως ἔγνω τοῖς Ἕβραίοις εἰς μάχην ἐλθεῖν περιέσθαι τε νομίζων καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν. διαμαρτών δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ τε ἀποθνῄσκει κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ διαφθείρεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τῶν ποταμῶν Ἰοβακον περαιοσάμενος διεξῆγε τῆς Ὁγον βασιλείας τὰς τε πόλεις καταστρεφόμενος καὶ κτεῖνων πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, οἰ καὶ πλούτῳ διέφερον πάντων

1 Bekker: πᾶσιν codd.  2 νάματος Naber.

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¹ Bibl. Jabbok ('Ἰαβὼκ).
² Cf. i. 177, where Josephus seems to imply that the Jordan derived its second syllable from "Dan, one of its two 522"
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, which pours into the river Jordan and gives that stream a portion of its name, 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, 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 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.”

\[\text{Defeat of Og. Numb. xxii. 33; Deut. iii. 1.}\]

\[\text{Bibl. “king of Bashan”; Josephus substitutes names of his own day, which do not exactly correspond to the ancient Bashan. Gilead (Galadene) was a distinct district to the south of it.}\]
τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν δ’ ἀρετὴν γῆς καὶ πλῆθος
χρημάτων. Ὡγῆς δὲ μέγεθός τε καὶ κάλλος ἦν οἰον ὁλύγοις σφόδρα, ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα 
γενναίος ἀνήρ, ὡς ἴσα τὰ τῶν ἐργών εἶναι τοῖς 
τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας πλεονεκτήμασι. 
τὴν δ’ ἰσχῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐτεκμηριώσαντο 
κλάνην αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἐν Ῥαβαθὰ πόλει τῶν 
βασιλείων τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος, τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ 
σιδηρέαν, τεσσάρων δὲ πηχῶν τὸ εὕρος, μὴκε 
δὲ τοῦ διπλασίώνος ἔνι πήχει μείζονα. τοῦτον 
τοῦς πταίσαντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς 
Εβραίοις ἐπέδωκε τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς 
τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἰτίου ἄποθανῶν ύπήρξε· 
καὶ γὰρ πόλεις ἐξήκοντα λαμπρῶς πάνυ τετει-
χυμέναις υποτελεῖς ἐκεῖνῳ παρέλαβον καὶ λείαν 
πολλὴν ἱδία τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντες εὐπόρησαν.

100 (vi. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν στρατωπεδεύει κατ-
αγαγών3 τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ κατὰ τὸ 
μέγα πεδίον Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀνυκρύ, πόλις δ’ ἔστιν 
eυδαίμων αὐτῆς φοινικᾶς τε φέρειν ἀγαθὴ καὶ 
βάλσαμον νεμομένη. ἤρχοντο δὲ φρονεῖν ἔφ’ 
ἐαυτοῖς μέγα Ἰσραηλίται καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς 
πολέμους ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπερείτειν. καὶ Μωυσῆς 
ὁλύγων ἡμερῶν θύσας χαριστήρια πρῶτον τῷ 
θεῷ καὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐωχήσας μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν 
ἐξέπεμψε δὴ ὡς τὴν Μαδανιτῶν γῆν καὶ τὰς 
πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἐκπολιορκῆσαι. τοῦ δ’ ἐκπο-
λεμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην.

102 (2) Βάλακος ο’ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεύς 
φιλίας αὐτῷ πατρίδας ὑσθε καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Μα-

1 oios ὁλύγοι RO. 2 σιδηρέαν codd. 3 Niese: καὶ ἄγαγων codd.
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, 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; for withal they captured sixty cities, magnificently fortified, that had owned his sway, and, individually and collectively, all reaped an ample booty.

(vi. 1) So Moses led his forces down towards the Jordan and encamped on the great plain 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 and to carry their cities by storm. For hostilities against this people, however, he had received provocation on this wise.

(2) Balak, the king of the Moabites, who was linked by an ancestral amity and alliance to the

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1 Bibl. "Rabbah," Aramaic "Rabbath."
2 Cf. iii. 56.
3 The Ghôr (= "Rift") or Jordan valley, B.J. iv. 455.
4 So Josephus throughout: Bibl. Midian(ites), LXX Madian(ites).
JOSEPHUS

diānίτας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραήλιτας τοσοῦτον φυο-
μένους έώρα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων
λίαν εὐλαβεῖτο, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πέπνυτο γην ἀλλήν
<ου>¹ πολυπραγμονεῖν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπηγορευ-
κότος τοῦ θεοῦ κτησαμένους τὴν Χαναάρων,²
θάττων ἡ φρονιμωτέρον ἐγχειρεῖν ἐγγὼ τοῖς
103 λόγοις.³ καὶ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις
θρασυτέροις τε⁴ ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπραγίας κατ-
ελημμένοις οὐκ ἔκρινε, καλῶςι δ’ εἰ δύνατο
γενέσθαι μεγάλους λογιζόμενοι πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς
104 Μαδιανίτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. οὐ δὲ, ἢν γὰρ τις ἀπὸ
Εὐφράτου Βάλαμος μάντις ἄριστος τῶν τότε καὶ
πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων, πέμπτουσι μετὰ
tῶν Βαλάκου πρέσβεων ἄνδρας τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς
ἀξιολόγων παρακαλέσοντας τὸν μάντιν ἔλθειν,
ὅπως ἄν ἐπ’ ἐξωλεία τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν ἄρας
105 ποιήσηται. παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις
dέχεται ἐξείς φιλοφρόνως καὶ δειπνίσας ἀνέκρινε
τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν, τίς αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐφ’ οἷς
Μαδιανίται παρακαλοῦσι. τοῦ δ’ ἐμποδῶν στάν-
tος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, προθυμίαν
μὲν καὶ σπουδὴν τὴν ἱδίαν ἐμφανίζων αὐτοῖς εἰς
ἀ δένονται τυχεῖν, τὸν δὲ θεον ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοῦ
tῇ προαιρέσει δηλῶν, ὅσ αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κλέος
d’ ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πρόρρησιν ἀγάλου
106 τὸν γὰρ στρατὸν, ὅ καταρασόμενον αὐτὸν ἔλθεῖν
παρακαλοῦσι, δ’ ἐνυοίας εἰναι τῷ θεῷ συν-

¹ ἄλλω (sic) R: ἄλλην rell. ² + καὶ ed. pr. (Lat.).
³ τοῖς δολὸς Herwerden. ⁴ Text doubtful.

*a “to try an assault of a verbal nature” (i.e. through
imprecations), or possibly “to essay parley (with his friends).”
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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. 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, 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, 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 λόγος: the phrase recurs in B.J. vii. 340 ἐνεχείρει λόγος "essayed a flight of oratory."

b 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.

c So the Midrash (Weill).
εβούλευε τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτίαν χωρεῖν παρ’ αὐτούς τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καταλυσαμένους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ’ εἶπόν ἀπέλυσε.

107 (3) Μαδιανίται δὲ Βαλάκου σφόδρα ἐγκεκεμένου καὶ δέχοντο λιπαρὰν προσφέροντος πάλιν πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Βάλαμον. κἀκεῖνος βουλόμενος χαρίζονταί τι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀνήρετο τὸν θεὸν, οὐ δὲ καὶ τῆς πείρας δυσχεράνιας κελεύει μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. οὐ δὲ οὕς ὑπολαβῶν ἀπάτη ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν κεκελευκέναι συναπήκε.

108 τοῖς πρέσβεσι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὀδὸν ἄγγελον θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ τι στενὸν χωρίον περιελημμένον εἰμισάιας διπλαῖς ἢ ὄνος, ἐφ’ ἡς ὁ Βάλαμος ὅχειτο, συνεισά τοῦ θείου πνεῦματος ὑπαντώντος ἀπέκλειε τοῖς Βάλαμον πρὸς τὸν ἔστερον τῶν τριγχῶν ἀναισθήτως ἔχουσα τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς ὁ Βάλαμος ἐπέφερεν αὐτῇ κακοπαθῶν τῇ θλίψει τῇ πρὸς τὸν τριγχόν. ὡς δ’ ἐγκεκεμένου τοῦ ἄγγελου ἡ ὄνος τυπτομένη ὑκλασε, κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ φωνῆν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀφείασ’ κατεμέμφετο τὸν Βάλαμον ὡς άδικον ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον διακονίας μηδέν ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ πληγάς ἐπιφέρειν, μὴ συνεις ὅτι νῦν κατὰ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἐσπευσθεὶν ὑπηρετεῖν ἐυργείτα.

109 ταραττομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὀνοῦ φωνῆν ἀνθρωπίνην οὐθαν ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐναργῆς ἐνεκάλει τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦ κτήμος ὄντος αὐτίου, τὴν δὲ ὀδὸν αὐτοῦ διακωλύσσεις παρὰ 110 γνῶμην τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην. καταδείκεσα δ’ ὁ

1 RO: λαβοῦσα rell.

a 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\(^a\) 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 \(^b\) 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,

\(^a\) Second embassy: Balaam’s journey and his ass, Numb xxii. 15.

\(^b\) Or, according to another reading, “received,” “was given.”
Βάλαμος οίδος τε ἵνα ἀναστρέφειν, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν χωρεῖν τὴν προκειμένην παρώρμησε προστάξας ὃ τι περ ἂν αὐτὸς κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ποιήσει τοῦτο σημαίνειν.

112 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἦκει πρὸς Βάλακον. δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπρεπῶς ἥξιον προαχθεῖσ ἐπὶ τί τῶν ὅρων σκέψασθαι, πῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοι στρατόπεδον. Βάλακος δ’ αὐτὸς ἀφικνεῖται τὸν μάντιν σὺν βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ φιλοτήμως ἀγόμενος εἰς ὅρος, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ στρατοπεδοῦν σταδίους ἀπέχου ἐξήκοντα. κατιδὼν δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνων βωμοὺς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἐπτὰ δείμασθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοσούτους ταύρους καὶ κριόν παραστῆσαι· ὑπουργήσαντος δὲ διὰ ταχέων τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλοκαυτεί τυθέντας, ὡς εἰς σημαίνομεν αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους βωμοὺς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἐπὶ ταύτα διὰ μαθήτας τὴν ἐκαύτου πρόνοιαν ἐπένευσεν. ὡς οὐδέν ἔστων ἀνθρώπων γένος, οὐ μὴ κατ’ ἄρετην καὶ ξῆλυσιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρίστων καὶ καθαρῶν ποιήσας ἥμεις ἀμείνους κρίθησασθε καὶ πασί βελτίωσον αὐτῶν ταῦτα καταλείψετε, θεοῦ μόνους ἕμας ἀνθρώπους ἐφορώσως καὶ οἶδεν ἂν γένοισθε πάντων εὐδαιμονεστεροί τῶν υπὸ τῶν ἡλίουν ἐκπορίζοντος. γην τε οὖν ἐφ’ ἤν ἕμας αὐτῷ ἐστελλε καθέξετε δουλεύσουσαν ἢ εἰ παισὶν ἤμε·

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1 conj.: τρόπον RO, τροπῆν rell.
2 ἀνθρώπων RO.
3 ἀνθρώπους Niese.
4 ex Lat.: δουλεύσουσαν codd.

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* 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. 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, "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

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b My conjecture ἀτροπον (Atropos, the divinity of inflexible fate) yields the required sense and accounts for both readings of the mss.; first the ă was dropped, and then the feminine part, σημανομένη caused the conversion of τρόπον into τροπή (which Weill adopts, rendering "comme il y vit le signe d'une fuite").
JOSEPHUS

tέροις, καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κλέος ἐμπληθήσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα, ἄρκεστε δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παρασχεῖν ἐκάστῃ γῆ τῶν ἀφ᾽ ὑμετέρου γένους ὀικήτορας. θαυμάζετε οὖν, ὦ μακάριοι στρατός, ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἐξ ἐνὸς πατρὸς γεγόνατε; ἀλλὰ τῶν νῦν ὑμῶν ὀλίγον ἢ Χαναναίων χωρίσει γῆ, τὴν δ᾽ ὀικουμένην ὀικήτηριον δι᾽ αἰῶνος ἥστε προκειμένην ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ νήσοις καὶ κατ᾽ ἦπειρον βιοτεύσετε ὅσον ἐστὶν ὑδ᾽ ἀστέρων ἁριθμὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ. τοσοῦτοι δὲ ὑδαῖς ὑπ᾽ ἀπαγορεύσει τῷ θείῳ ἀφθονίαν μὲν παντοῖον ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ χορηγοῦν, νίκην δὲ καὶ κράτος ἐν πολέμω. παίδας ἐγνηρῶν ἔρως τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου λάβοι καὶ θρασυβείειν ὠστε εἰς ὀπλα καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χείρας ἐλθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστρέψει ητις νικηφόρος οὐδ᾽ ὡστε παίδας εὐφράναι καὶ γυναίκας. τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν ἀνδρείας τὸ περὶ ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἀνήρτηται, ὦ καὶ τὰ περιττὰ μειοῦν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ λείποντα διδόναι."

117 (5) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαύτ᾽ ἐπεθείαζεν οὐκ ὅν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ δὲ θείῳ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ νευκημένοις. τοῦ δὲ Βαλάκου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ παραβαίνειν αὐτῶν τὰς συνθῆκας ἔφ᾽ αἰς αὐτῶν ἄντι μεγάλων λάβοι δωρεῶν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικαλοῦντος, ἐλθόντα γὰρ ἐπὶ κατάρα τῶν πολεμίων ὑμείν αὐτοὺς ἑκείνους καὶ μακαριστάτους ἀποφαίνειν ἀνθρώπων, "ὁ Βάλακε," φησί, "περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογίζῃ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐφ᾽ ἡμῖν εἶναι τι περὶ τῶν

1 μακάριοι Niese. 2 γεγόνατε, edd. 3 Dindorf (Lat. prestabilitur): 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. 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

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a After Hom. II. v. 688 ευφρανέων ἀλοχῶν τε φίλην καὶ νῆπιον νίόν.
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τοιούτων σιγάν ἡ λέγειν, ὅταν ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ λάβη πνεῦμα; φωνάς γὰρ ἂς βούλεται τούτο

120 καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότων ἀφίησιν. ἐγὼ δὲ μέμνημαι μὲν ὡς καὶ σὺ καὶ Μαδιανίται δειηθέντες ἐνταύθαί με προθύμως ἠγάγετε καὶ διὰ τὴν ἀφίξειν ἐποιησάμην, τὴν τέ μοι δι’ εὐχής

121 μηδὲν ἀδικήσαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. κρείττων δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὃν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκειν καὶ παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγνώσκειν περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ἀπὸ ἕαυτῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὥς μὴ ταὐθ' ἀπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θείαν λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι

122 φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου Ἡμέτερον. ἐγώγ' οὖν τὸν στρατὸν τούτον οὔτ' ἐπανέσαι προθέμην οὔτ' ἔφ' οἷς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθὸς ἐμηχανήσατο διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εὔμενης αὐτοῖς οὔτος ὃν καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοῖς εὐδαίμονα βίον καὶ κλέος αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν ἐμοὶ τοιούτων ἀπαγγέλλαν

123 λόγων ὑπέθετο. νῦν δέ, χαρίζεσθαι τι' γὰρ αὐτῶ σοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστὶ μοι καὶ Μαδιανίταις, ὃν ἀπώσασθαι μοι τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐκ εὐπρεπές, φέρε βωμοὺς τε ἐτέρους αὕθις ἐγείρωμεν καὶ θυσίας ταῖς πρὶν παραπλησίας ἐπιτελέσωμεν, εἰ πείσαι τὸν θεόν δυνηθεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους

124 ἀραὶς ἐνδησάι.' συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βαλάκου δι' μὲν τεθυκότι τὸ θείαν οὐκ ἐπένευσε τὰς κατὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλίτων ἀράς, [θύσας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἅλλων πάλιν ἀνασταθέντων βωμῶν οὐδὲ τότε μὲν κατ-

1 ἀνθρωπείων ML.

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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, a 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

a In Numbers it is Balak who proposes a second attempt.
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125 ἡράσατο τοῖς Ἰσραήλίταις,\(^1\) πεσόν δ’ ἐπὶ στόμα πάθη προύλεγεν ὅσα τε βασιλεύσαν ἦσται καὶ ὅσα πόλεσι ταῖς ἀξιολογοστάταις, ὅπερ εὖν εἰσὶν ὁὐδ’ οἰκεῖσθαί πως\(^2\) συνέβαινε τὴν ἄρχην, ἀ τε καὶ προὔπῃρξεν ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις γενόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ γῆς ἤ θαλάσσης εἰς μνήμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἦξ δὲ ἁπαντῶν λαβόντων τέλος ὅποιον ἐκείνος προείπε τεκμήριατ’ ἀν τις, ὦ τι καὶ ἐσοιτο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.

126 (6) Βάλακος δὲ ἀγανακτήσας ἔπι τῷ μῆκται κατ’ αράτοις γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἰσραήλίτας ἀποπέμπει τὸν Βάλαμον μηδεμίας τιμῆς ἀξιώσας· ὁ δὲ ἀπίθων ἦδη κατὶ τῷ περαιοῦν τὸν Ἐυφράτην γενόμενος τὸν τε Βάλακον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἀρχόντας τῶν Μαδιαντῶν "Βαλακέ," φησίν, "καὶ Μαδιαντῶν οἱ παρόντες, χρὴ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν Ἐβραῖων γένος οὐκ ἄν ὀλεθροὶ παντελῆς καταλάβοι, οὐτ’ ἐν πολέμῳ οὐτ’ ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ ἱπανεὶ τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς καρπῶν, οὐτ’\(^3\) ἀλλ’ τις αἰτία παράλογος δια-

127 φθείρειεν. πρόνοια γάρ ἦσθιν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔσαι τοιοῦτον πάθος ἐλθεῖν, υφ’ οὐ κἂν ἀπόλουντο πάντες· συμπέσοι δ’ ἄν αὐτοῖς ὅλγα τε καὶ πρὸς ὅλγον, υφ’ ὅπνεονοόθεν δοκούντες εἴτ’ ἀνθήσουσιν ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπαγαγόντων αὐτοῖς τὰς

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\(^1\) hab. SP: ins. post στόμα L: om. rell. Doubtless a gloss.
\(^2\) Dindorf: πως codd.
\(^3\) οὐδ’ Niese.

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Israelites. 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."

(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 beolves 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

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\(a\) Some mss. insert the gloss: "He sacrificed also a third time, other altars being again erected: yet even then he pronounced no imprecation on the Israelites" (cf. Numb. xxiii. 30). The glossator has not observed that \(\delta\)is, with the sacrifice already narrated, brings up the number to three: he has apparently interpreted \(\delta\)is as \(\delta\)e\pi\(\tau\)e\(\theta\)\(o\)\(p\).

\(b\) Cf. a rather similar mysterious reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel in A. x. 210.
129 βλάβας. ὑμεῖς δ' εἰ νίκην τινὰ πρὸς βραχὺν καρφόν κατ' αὐτῶν κερδάναι ποθείτε, τύχοιτ' ἂν αὐτής ταύτα ποιήσαντες τῶν θυγατέρων τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ βιάσασθαι καὶ νυκῆσαι τῆς τῶν ὄρωντων σωφροσύνην ἰκανὰς διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀσκήσαντες τῆς εὐμορφίαν αὐτῶν ἔπι τὸ μάλλον εὐπρεπὲς πέμψατε πλησίον ἐσομένας τοῖς ἐκείνων στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεσμένως συνεῖναι τοῖς
130 νεανίας αὐτῶν προστάξατε. ἐπειδὰν δὲ κεχειρωμένους ὀρῶσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καταλιπέτωσαν καὶ παρακαλούντων μέειν μὴ πρότερον ἐπι- νευντῶσαν, πρὶν ἃν πείσωσι αὐτούς ἀφέντας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὸν τοῦτος αὐτοῖς θέμενον τιμῶν θεόν τοὺς Μαδιανίτων καὶ Μωαβίτων σέβωσιν οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεόν ὀργισθή- σεθαί. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ῥήκετο.

131 (7) Τῶν δὲ Μαδιανίτων πεμψάντων τὰς θυγατέρας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν οἱ τῶν Ἐβραίων ἀλίσκονται νέοι τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτῶν καὶ παραγειομένου εἰς λόγους αὐταῖς παρεκάλουν μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς καλλος αὐτῶν ἀπο- λαύσεως μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησιάζουν συνήθειας· αἱ δ' ἁμένως δεξάμεναι τοὺς λόγους συνήσαν
132 αὐτοῖς. ἐνδήσαμεν δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκμαίούσης περὶ ἀπ- αλλαγῆς ἐγκύνοτο. τοὺς δ' ἄθυμα δεινή̣1 πρὸς

1 πολλῇ RO.

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a Cf. Is. lvii. 17 LXX δ' ἀμαρτίαιν βραχύ τι ἐλύπησα αὐτῶν and the concluding portion of the Ep. of Baruch (end of 1st cent. A.D.), beginning ὁ ἐπαγαγὼν ἵμιν τὰ κακά (iv. 29).

b This suggestion is foreign to the older ("J") narrative
upon them. 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.

(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 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 λυπαροῦντες ἐνέκειντο, μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γαμετὰς αὐτῶν ἐσομένας αὐτὸθι μένειν καὶ δε- σποίνας ἀποδειχθησομένας πάντων ὄν ὑπῆρχεν
133 αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δὲ ὁμιλύντες ἔλεγον καὶ θεον μεσίτην ὄν ὑπισχυοῦντο ποιοῦμενοι, δακρύνοντες τε καὶ πανταξόθεν αὐτοὺς ἔλεενοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ κατασκευάζοντες εἶναι. αὐτῷ ὡς δεδομένοις αὐτοῖς κατενόησαν καὶ τελέως ὑπὸ τῆς συνθείας ἐχομένους, ἦρξαιντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν.

134 (8) "Ἡμῖν, ὦ κράτιστοι νέων, οἰκοί τε εἰς πατρίῳ καὶ κτῆσις ἁγαθῶν ἁφθόνους καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων εῦνοια καὶ στοργή, καὶ κατ’ οὐδενὸς τούτων πόρον¹ ἐνθάδ’ ἦκουσαι ἥμείς εἰς ὦμιλίαν ἦκομεν, οὐδ’ ἐμπορευόμεναι τὴν ὄραν τοῦ σώματος προσηκάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσιν, ἀλλ’ ἄνδρας ἁγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὑπολαβῶσαι τοιούτων ὑμᾶς τιμῆσαι ἐξεῖσθαι δεομένους
135 ἐπείσθημεν. καὶ νῦν, ἔπει φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστόργως ἔχεν καὶ λυπείσθαι² μελλοῦσών ἀναχώρειν, οὐδ’ αὐταί τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, πίστιν δ’ εὐνοίας λαβοῦσαι τὴν μόνην ἡμῶν ἀξιόλογον νομίσθησαν ἀγαπήσομεν τὸν μεθ’ ὑμῶν βίον ὃς γαμεταὶ διανύσαι. δέος γάρ, μὴ καὶ κόρον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὦμιλίας λαβόντες ἐπειθ’ ὑβρύσητε καὶ ἀτίμως ἀποπέμψητε πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς.· συγγενώσκεις τε ταῦτα φυλαττομέναι ἦξίονυ, τῶν δὲ ἦν βουλόνται πίστιν δῶσειν

¹ ἀποροῦσαι SP Lat. (-οῦσαι L): ? lege ἀπορίαν.
² RO Lat.: λυπείσθε rell.

The model for this speech and for the episode as a whole

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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:

"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 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

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 τοκέτες εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσεις).

Or, with another reading, "for lack of."
JOSEPHUS

δομολογούντων καὶ πρός [τὸ]¹ μηδὲν ἀντιλεγόντων

137 ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς πάθους, "ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν," ἐφασαν, "δεδοκταί, τοῖς δὲ ἐθεσί καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς ἀπαντας ἀλλητριῶτατα χρησθε, ὡς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς ὑμῖν ἱδιοτρόπους εἴναι καὶ τὰ ποτὰ μὴ κοινὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀνάγκη βουλομένους ἦμῖν συνοικεῖν καὶ θεοὺς τοὺς ἡμετέρους σέβειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο γένοιτο τεκμήριον ἢς ἔχειν τε νῦν φατε πρὸς ἦμᾶς εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἡ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἦμῖν

138 θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν. μέμψατο δὲ ἂν οὐδείς, εἰ γῆς εἰς ἦν ἀφίχθη τοὺς ἱδίους αὐτῆς θεούς προστρέπωσθε,² καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς ἀπαντας, τοῦ δ' ἡμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου τυγχάνοντος." δεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον ἡ ταυτὰ πάσιν ἠγητέου ἡ ζητείν ἀλλήν οἰκουμένην, εὖ ἤ βιώσοντα μόνοι κατὰ τοὺς ἱδίους νόμους.

139 (9) Οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτος κάλλιστα λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ύπολαβόντες καὶ παραδόντες αὐτοὺς εἰς ἄ προεκαλοῦντο παρέβησαν τὰ πάτρια, θεοὺς τε πλείονας εἰναι νομίσαντες καὶ θείεν αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τῶν ἐπιχώριοι τοῖς καθιδρυσαμένοις προθέμενοι χειροί τε βρώμασιν ἔχαιρον καὶ πάντ' εἰς ἡδονὴν τῶν γυνακών ἐπὶ τοῦνατιν ὃς ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε ποιοῦντες διετέλουν,

140 ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἥδη τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν παρανομίαν χωρείν τῶν νέων καὶ στάσιν αὐτοῖς πολὺ χείρω τῆς προτέρας ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ κίνδυνον παντελοῦς τῶν ἱδίων ἐθισμῶν ἀπωλείας. ἀπαξ γὰρ τὸ νέον

¹ RO: om. rell. ² S¹: προτρέπωσθε 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, 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

\[\text{Lit. "according to the law native to those who had established" ("it"; or "them," i.e. the gods).}\]
γευσάμενον ἔχικικῶν ἔθισμῶν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο, καὶ εἰ τινὲς τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πατέρων ἀρετᾶς ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν συνδιεφθείροντο.

141 (10) Καὶ Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος ἥγουμενος φυλῆς Χοσσία, συνὼν Μαδιανίτιδι Σούρου 1 θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκείνη δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρός, κελευθεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸ τῶν Μωυσεὶ δοξθέντων τὸ

142 πρὸς ἥδονὴν αὐτῆς γευσάμενον ἐθεράπευεν. 2 ἐν τούτως δ' ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων δεῖσας Μωυσῆς, μὴ γένηται τι χέριν, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λαὸν οὐδενὸς μὲν κατηγορεῖ πρὸς ὅνομα, μὴ βουλόμενος εἰς ἀπάνοιαν περιστῆσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ

143 λανθάνειν μετανοῆσαι δυναμένους, ἔλεγε δ' ὦς οὐκ ἀξία δρῆμεν οὐθ' αὐτῶν οὔτε πατέρων τῆς ἥδονην προτιμήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τούτων βιοῦ, 3 προσήκειν δ' ἐως 4 ἐτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς 5 ἔχοι μεταβαλέσθαι, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπολιμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς νόμους

144 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ εἰκεν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἶναι. πρὸς τούτοις δ' οὔθ' εὐλογον ἐφασκε σωφρονύσαντας αὐτούς ἐπὶ τῆς ἔρημου νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὄντας παρουσιών, μηδὲ τὰ κτηθεῖτα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δι' εὐπορίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ ὁ μὲν ταύτα λέγων ἐπειράτο τοὺς νέους ἐπανορθῶν καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄγειν ὕπ' ἔπραττον.

1 Bernard: Οὐρον codd.
2 RO: ὁ ὥστε τινὲς ταῦτα καὶ γάμου ἅγιον ἄλλοφυλον rel.
3 βιοῦ RO.
4 Niese (Lat. dum): ὅς codd.
5 αὐτοῖς ἄν (or ἄν αὐτοῖς) codd.

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, the chief of the tribe of Simeon, who was consorting with Chosbia the Madianite, daughter of Sur, 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. Such was the state of things when Moses, 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 beseemed them, while it was yet well with them, 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.

Most mss. add "by ceasing to sacrifice according to the laws of his fathers and by contracting a foreign marriage" (perhaps a gloss).

This speech and that of Zambrias which follows have no warrant in Scripture.

Or, according to another reading, "in order that it might yet be well with them."
145 (11) Ἀναστὰς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ζαμβρίας ἑλλά σὺ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὅδε Μωυσῆ, χρῶ νόμους οῖς αὐτὸς ἑσπούδακας ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἐνηθείας· τὸ βέβαιον αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένος· ἐπεὶ μὴ τούτων αὐτῶν ἡ ὁρίζεται πολλάκις ἢ ἢ, ἐκκολοσμένοι 146 ἐγώς ἄν οὐκ εὐπαραλογίστους Ἐβραίους· ἐμὲ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀκόλουθον οἷς σὺ προστάσσεις τυραννικὸς λάβοις· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι μέχρι νῦν ἦ προσχήματι νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δουλείαν μὲν ἢ μὲν ἄρχην δὲ σαυτῷ κακουργεῖς, ἀφαιροῦμενος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἢ ἤ καὶ τὸ κατὰ τῶν βίων αὐτεξουσίων, τὸ τῶν ἔλευθερων 147 ἐστὶ καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἐχόντων· χαλεπῶτέρος δ' ἄν οὗτος Αἰγυπτίων Ἐβραίους γένοιο τιμωρεῖν ἄξιων κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τῆς ἐκάστου πρὸς τὸ κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ βούλησιν. πολὺ δ' ἂν δικαιότερον αὐτὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπομένεις τὰ παρ' ἐκάστους ὑμολογούμενα καλῶς ἔχειν ἀφαιρήσῃ προηρμένοις καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀπάντων δόξης ἰσχυρὰν

148 τῆς σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακῶς ἀτοπίαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἂν στεροῖμην εἰκότως ἄν πράττων νῦν, εἰ 2 κρίνας ἀγαθὰ ταῦτ' ἔπειτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὑμολογεῖν ἐν τούτοις 3 ὁκνήσαιμι. γύναιοι τε ξενικόν, ὡς φής, ἥγμαί παρ' ἐμαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις ὡς παρὰ ἔλευθερον, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν προεθέμην· 149 θύω τε θεοὶ οἰς θείων μοι νομίζεσαι δίκαιον ἠγούμενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐμαυτῷ πραγματεύεσθαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐχ ὡσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι ζην τῆν ὀλην ἐξ ἔνω ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἀνηρτη·

1 SPE: συνηθείας rel.
2 νῦν, el edd.: νῦν codd.
3 + οὐκ codd.
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But after him rose up Zambrias and said: "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,\(^a\) 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

\(^a\) The modern word "self-determination" closely corresponds to the Greek.
κότα· χαρείη τ’ ἂν οὐδεὶς κυριώτερον αὐτὸν περὶ ὄν πράξαμι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποφανύμενος.’’

150 (12) Τὸν δὲ Ζαμβρίου ταύτα περὶ ὄν αὐτὸς τε ἦδικει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἦσύχαξε φόβῳ τε τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην δὲ ὀρῶν μὴ περαιτέρω τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ προαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικρυς διαμάχης θελήσαντα· περιστάτο γάρ, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀσέλγειας αὐτοῦ μιμηταί γενόμενοι ταράξωσι τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ διαλύσεται μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ σύλλογος προεληλύθει δ’ ἂν ἐπὶ πλείον ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ πείρα μὴ φθάσαντος Ζαμβρία τελευτήσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Φυνεῖς ἀνὴρ τά τε ἄλλα τῶν νεωτέρων κρείττων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιόματι τοὺς ἡλικώτας ὑπερέχον, ’Ελεαζάρου γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως [υῖος] ἤν [Μωυσέως δὲ ἀδελφοῦ παιδὸς υῖος], περιαληγήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαμβρίου, καὶ πρὶν ἰσχυροτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ύβριν ὑπὸ τῆς ἁδείας ἐργῇ τὴν δίκην αὐτοῦ εἰσπράξασθαι διαγνοὺς καὶ κωλύσαι διαβήναι τὴν παρανομίαν εἰς πλείονας τῶν ἀρξαμένων οὐ κολαζομένων, τόλμη δὲ καὶ ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀνδρεία τοσοῦτον προόχων, ὡς μὴ πρότερον εἴ τινι συσταῖ τῶν δεινῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καταγνώσσασθαι καὶ νίκῃς τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτῶ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαμβρίου σκηνῆν παραγενόμενοι αὐτὸν τε παῖων τῇ ρομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν Χοσβῖαν ἀπέκτεινεν. οἱ δὲ νέοι πάντες, οἰς ἄρετῆς ἀντιποίησις ἢν καὶ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν, μιμηταὶ

1 ROE om. words in brackets.

a Bibl. Phinehas (lxx Φεινεές).
b Some mss. omit these words.
c A variation on the writer’s favourite Thucydidean phrase οἱ ἄρετῆς τι μεταποιοῦμενοι (ii. 51); while the follow-

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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, 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]—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 to the tent of Zambrias and smote him with his broadsword, along with Chosbia, and killed them. Thereupon all the young men who aspired to make a display of heroism and of a love of honour, ing φιλοκαλεῖν (lit. "to love beauty") recalls another famous phrase in Thuc. ii. 40. According to Numb. xxv. 5, "Moses said unto the judges (ταῖς φυλαίς) of Israel, Slay ye every one his men," etc.

He is slain by Phinees: punishment of the sinners.
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gενόμενοι τῆς Φινεέσσου τόλμης ἀνήρρουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις Ζαμβρίᾳ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότας. ἀπόλλυται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδρα-

155 γαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομησάντων, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ πάντες καὶ λοιμῶ, ταύτην ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν νόσουν, ὥσοι περὶ συγγενεῖς ο Stamina κωλύειν δέον ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταύτα συναδικεῖν1 τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντες ἀπεθνησκον.2 ἀπόλλυται μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἀνδρες οὐκ ἠλάττουσε τετρα κυσχιλίων καὶ μυρίων.3

156 (13) Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης παροξυνθεὶς τῆς αἰτίας Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν ὀλέθρου τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, περὶ ὅν τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἐξόδου μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, προδημιγησάμενοι πρώτων ὁ παρελίπομεν, δίκαιον γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτου τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀνεγκωμίαστον.

157 τὸν γὰρ Βάλαμον παραληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μα-

διανιτῶν, ὅπως ἐπαράσηται τοῖς Ἐβραίοις, καὶ τούτο μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντα θεία προνοία, γνώμην δὲ ὑποθέμενον, ἤ χρησιμόνον τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγον τὸ τῶν Ἐβραίων πλῆθος διεφθάρη τοῖς ἐπιτη-

dεύμασι νοσησάντων δὴ τινῶν περὶ ταύτα, μεγάλως

158 ἐτίμησεν ἀναγράφας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας, καὶ παρὸν αὐτῷ οφετερώσασθαι τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς δό-

ξαν καὶ ἐξεδώσασθαι μηδενὸς ἂν γενομένου μάρτυρος τοῦ διελέγχοντος, ἐκείνῳ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀπέδωκε4 καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτῷ μνήμης ἡξίωσε. καὶ

1 SP Exc.: ἀδικεῖν rell. 2 συναπέθνησκον Bekker. 3 καὶ μυρίων] δισμυρίων L. 4 ἐδώκε RO.
imitating the daring deed of Phinees, slew those who were found guilty of the same crimes as Zambrias. Thus, through their valiancy, 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 ib. xxv. 9. thousand men.\textsuperscript{a}

\textsuperscript{13} That was the reason why Moses was provoked to send that army to destroy the Madianites.\textsuperscript{b} 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.\textsuperscript{c}

\textsuperscript{a} Numb. "twenty and four thousand." (as one ms. reads here).
\textsuperscript{b} § 101.
\textsuperscript{c} 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.
ταῦτα μὲν ώς ἄν αὐτοῖς τις δοκῇ οὕτω σκοπεῖτως.

159 (vii. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ προεῖπον ἐπὶ τὴν Μαδιανιτῶν γῆν ἐπεμήνευ στρατιάν τοὺς πάντας εἰς δισχυλοὺς καὶ μυρίους, εἰς ἐκάστης φυλῆς τὸν ἵσον ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος, στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξε Φινεέα, ὥς μικρῶ πρότερον ἐμνήσθημεν φυλάξαντος τοὺς Ἑβραίους τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν παρανομοῦντα τούτους Ζαμβρίαν τιμωρήσα τοῖς σαμένου. Μαδιανίται δὲ προπυθόμενοι τὸν στρατὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω παρεσύμμενον θηροίζοντο τε καὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς χώρας, ἦ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀσφαλείᾳ περιέμενοι αὐτοὺς. ἔλθοντων δὲ καὶ συμβολῆς γενομένης πέπτει τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν πλῆθος ἀσυγκρύστων καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρείττον οὐ τι βασιλείας αὐτῶν ἄπαντες· πέντε δὲ ἦσαν, Ὡχός τε καὶ Σούρης ἐτί δὲ Ὄρβεης καὶ Οὐρης,1 πέμπτος δὲ Ὅρκεμος, οὗ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τὸ πᾶν ἀξίωμα τῆς Ἀράβων ἔχουσα γῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παντὸς τοῦ Ἀραβίου τοῦ κτίσαντος βασιλέως τὸ ὧ行α Ὅρκεμης καλεῖται, Πέτρα παρ' Ἑλλήσι λεγομένη.

160 τραπέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Ἑβραῖοι διήρ-πασαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν λαβόντες καὶ τοὺς οἰκίτορας γυναιξιν ἄμα διαφθείραντες μόνας τᾶς παρθένους κατέλιπον, τοῦτο Μωυσέος

1 RO (Lat.): Οὔβης reli.
On this narrative readers are free to think what they please.\(^a\)

(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,\(^b\) 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, Robecs and Ures, and, the fifth, Rekem \(^c\); 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 \(^d\): 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 \(^b\) Numb. xxxi. 8 (Josh. xiii. 21).\(^d\)

\(^a\) 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.\(^b\) § 152.

\(^c\) Bibl. Ev \((\text{E}\nu\text{e}i\nu)\) : Zur \((\Sigma o\text{o}i\rho)\) : Reba \((\text{P}o\beta\delta\kappa)\) : in Josh. Po\beta\kappa: Hur \((\text{O}i\rho)\) : Rekem \((\text{P}o\kappa\delta\mu)\). Josephus omits the last half of the verse in Numbers: "Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword."\(^d\)

\(^d\) Cf. § 82 (note), where the name appears in the wss. as \(^\prime\text{A}r\kappa\eta\).
163 Φωείς κελεύσαντος. ος ἤκεν ἁγών τῶν στρατῶν ἀπαθῇ καὶ λείαν ἀφθονου, βόας μὲν γὰρ δισχίλιοις καὶ πεντακισχίλιας πρὸς μυρίασιν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξήκοντα, ὅνους δὲ ἐξακισμυρίας χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἄργυρου ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος κατασκευῆς, ᾧ κατ’ οίκον ἐχρώντω ὑπὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἄβροδιαίτων σφόδρα ἐτύγχανον. ἦχθησαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παρθένοι περὶ δισχίλιας καὶ τρισμυρίας. Μωσεῖς δὲ μερίσας τὴν λείαν τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν Ἑλεαζάρω δίδωσι καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς, Λευίταις δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν μέρος, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν νέμει τῷ λαῷ καὶ διήγον τὸ λοιπὸν εὐδαιμόνως, ἀφθονίας μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπ’ ἀρετῆς γεγενημένης, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δὲ σκυθρωποῦ ταύτης ἀπολαμεῖν ἐμποδίζομενοι. ¹

164 (2) Μωσεῖς δὲ γυναικῶς ἦδη τυγχάνων διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ Ἡσυόν καθίστησιν ἐπὶ ταῖς προφητείαις καὶ στρατηγὸν εἰ ποι δεύσει γεγνησμένον, κελεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτῳ τῆν προστασίαν ἐπιτρέψαν τῶν πραγμάτων. δὲ Ἡσυόν πᾶσαν ἐπεπαιδεύτω τὴν περὶ τοὺς νόμους παιδεῖαν καὶ τὸ θείον Μωσεός ἐκδιδάξαντος.

166 (3) Κὰν τούτῳ δύο φυλαὶ Γαδίς ² τε καὶ Ἱου-

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¹ εμποδίζομενοι codd.
² M: Πάδου rell.

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¹ 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.

² Bibl. (Heb. and lxx) 72,000.

³ Bibl. (both texts) 61,000.

⁴ So both Biblical texts; the qualifying word “about” possibly indicates acquaintance with a variant reading.
being the orders of Moses to Phinees.\(^a\) That officer returned with his army unscathed and booty in abundance, to wit 52,000\(^b\) oxen, 675,000 sheep, 60,000\(^c\) 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.\(^d\) 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.\(^e\) 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.

(2) Moses, already advanced in years, now appointed Joshua\(^f\) to succeed him both in his prophetical functions and as commander-in-chief, whenever the need should arise, under orders from God himself to entrust the direction of affairs to him. Joshua had already received a thorough training in the laws and in divine lore under the tuition of Moses.

(3) And now also the two tribes of Gad and of the Amorites land assigned to the two and a half tribes.\(^i\) 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 \(\text{five hundredth}\) (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 (§ 69), 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.

\(^a\) Gr. "Jesus," here and throughout.
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βήλου καὶ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος ἡμίσεια, πλήθει τετραπόδων εὐδαιμονοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπάσι, κουνολογησάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Μωυσῆν ἥξαιρετον αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀμορίτων παρασχεῖν δορίκτητον οὐδαν.

167 ἀγαθὴν γὰρ εἶναι βοσκήματα τρέφειν. ο ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοὺς δεῖςαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναναίους μάχην πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῇ τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εὐρήθαι κακίστους τε ἀπεκάλει καὶ δειλίας εὐσχήμονα1 πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντας αὐτοὺς μὲν βούλεσθαι τρυφάν ἀπόνως διάγοντας, πάντων τεταλιπωρηκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτῆσασθαι τὴν αὐ-

168 τουμένην ὑπ’ αὐτῶν γῆν, μή θέλειν δὲ συναρμένους τῶν ἐπιλόπτων ἀγώνων γῆν ἢν διαβάσων αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἱώρδανον ὁ θεὸς παραδώσεως ὑπέσχηται ταύτην λαβεῖν καταστρεψάμενος οὐς ἐκεῖνος

169 ἀπεδείξαν ἧμιν πολεμίους. οἱ ὑρώνες ὀργιζο-

170 μακιάν πεποίησαθαι τὴν αἵτησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τὴν

171 διδόντος συναπιέναι2 τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ Μωυσῆς

1 ed. pr. : ἀσχήμων codd.

2 συναπείναι codd.

ο Reuben (i. 304).

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Rubel\textsuperscript{a} 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\textsuperscript{b} 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

\textsuperscript{a} i.e. independently and in advance of the general allotment of territory.

\textsuperscript{b} i.e. independently and in advance of the general allotment of territory.
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tὰ πάντα. λαβόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτους τὴν χώραν καὶ κτίσαντες πόλεις καρτερὰς τέκνα [τὲ] καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰλλα óσα συμπεριάγειν μέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἂν ἦν ἐμπόδια τοῦ ποιεῖν ἀπέθεντο εἰς αὐτὰς.

172 (4) Οἴκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὰς δέκα πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὅκτω καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενησομένας, ὥν τρεῖς ἀπέδειξε τοῖς ἔπ᾽ ἀκοῦσάν φῶν τε φευγομένοις, καὶ χρόνον ἔταξεν εἶναι τῆς φυγῆς τῶν αὐτῶν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἐφ' οὐ δράσας τις τῶν φόνων ἐφυγε· μεθ᾽ ὅν συνεχώρει τελευτήσαντα κάθοδον, ἔχοντων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τοῦ πεφονευμένου συγγενῶν κτείνειν, εἰ λάβοιεν ἐξῳ τῶν ὀρων τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἥν ἐφυγε τὸν πεφονευκότα· ἐτέρῳ δὲ

173 οὐκ ἐπετέραπτο. αἰ δὲ πόλεις αἰ πρὸς τὰς φυγὰς ἀποδεδειγμέναι ἦσαν αἰδε· Βόσορα¹ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅριοις τῆς Ἀραβίας, Ἀρίμανον δὲ τῆς Γαλαδηνῶν γῆς, καὶ Γαυλανᾶν δ' ἐν τῇ Βατανίδι. κτησαμένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τῆν Χαναναίων γῆν τρεῖς ἔτεραι πόλεις ἐμελλόν ἀνατεθήσεσθαι τῶν Λευίτιδων πόλεων τοῖς φυγάσιν εἰς κατοικίσμον Μωυσέος ἐπιστείλαντος.

174 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ προσελθόντων αὐτῶ τῶν πρῶτων τῆς Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς καὶ δηλούντων μὲν ὡς τεθνήκοι τις τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπίσημοι ἂνηρ Σωλοφάντης ὄνομα, παῖδας μὲν οὗ καταλύτων ἅρσενας θυγατέρας δὲ τοι,² καὶ πυθομένων εἰ τούτων ὁ

¹ Βωσάρα RO. ² δὲ τοι RO: μέντοι rel.

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¹ 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).

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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.

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 on the confines of Arabia, Ariman in the land of Galadene, and Gaulana in Batanaea. 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, 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. 

Regulation concerning heritage. Numb. xxxvi. 1 (xxvii. 1). 

a Bibl. "Bezer (Bosora) in the wilderness, in the table-land"; unidentified.

b Bibl. "Ramath in Gilead"; elsewhere called by Josephus 'Aramaia or 'Ramaitha, Ant. viii. 398 etc.; commonly identified with es-Salt.

c Bibl. "Golan (Golan) 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.

d Bibl. Zelophehad (Σαλπαδ).
175 κλήρος ἐσοιτο, φησίν, εἰ μὲν μέλλουσί τινι συνοικεῖν τῶν φυλετῶν, μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς αὐτούς ἀπιέναι, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἄλλης γαμοῖντό τισι φυλῆς, τὸν κλήρον ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ φυλῆ καταλίπείν. καὶ τότε μένειν ἐκάστου τὸν κλήρον ἐν τῇ φυλῇ διετάξατο.

176 (viii. 1) Τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἑτῶν παρὰ τρίακοντα ἡμέρας συμπεπληρωμένων Μωυσῆς ἐκ—κλησίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ συναγαγὼν, ὅπου νῦν πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβίλη, φοινικόφυτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ χωρίον, συνελθόντος τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς λέγει τοιάδε: τοῖς μακράς κοινωνοῖς ταλαιπωρίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν ἠδή καὶ τῷ γῆρα χρόνῳ ἑτῶν εἶκοσι καὶ ἐκατὸν ἡμισμένων δεὶ μὲ τοῦ ξην ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τῶν πέρα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πραχθησομένων οὐ μέλλω βοηθὸς ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος, κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲ νῦν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν τοὐμόν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόθυμον, ἀλλ’ αἰδίων τε ὑμῖν πραγματεύσασθαι τὴν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μνήμην ἑμαυτῷ γενομένων ὑμῶν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν κρειττών. φέρε ὁδὸν ὑποθέμενος ὅν τρόπον ὑμεῖς τ’ ἄν εὐδαιμονήσατε καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίποντε κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν

1 Dindorf: εὐδαιμονήσητε codd.

a According to the Talmud (quoted by Weill) this law had only temporary validity.

b Abel-shittim (lxix Belsα 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

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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.  

(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 in a region thickly planted with palm-trees, and addressed to a congregation of the whole people the following words:

(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,

(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.
άίδιον [παραθέμενος] οὕτως ἀπέλθω τοῦ βίου. πιστεύσατε δὲ ἄξιός εἰμι διὰ τέ τας πρότερον ὑπὲρ υμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ διὰ τοῖς τᾶς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τελευτὴ γυνομένας μετ' ἄρετῆς πάσης ὀμιλεῖν.

180 Ὁ παίδες Ἰσραήλου, μία πάσιν ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως αἰτία ὁ θεὸς εὑμενής· μόνος γὰρ οὗτός δοῦναι τε ταῦτα τοῖς ἄξιοις καὶ ἄφελέσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἵκανός, ὁ παρέχοντες εἰαυτῶν οἷον αὐτὸς τε βούλεται κἀγὼ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παραίνει, οὐκ ἂν ὄντες μακαριστοὶ καὶ ἐξηλωτοί πᾶσιν [ἀτυχήσατε ποτ' ἶ] παύσασθε, ἀλλ' ἂν τε νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἁγαθῶν ἡ κτήσις βεβαία μενεῖ τῶν τε ἀπόντων

181 ταχεῖαν ἔξετε τὴν παρουσίαν. μόνον οἷς ὁ θεὸς οὕμας ἐπεσθαί βούλεται, τούτους πειθαρχεῖτε, καὶ μήτε νομίμων τῶν παρόντων ἄλλην προτιμήσητε διάταξιν μὴτ' εὐσεβείας ἢς νῦν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔχετε καταφρονήσαντες εἰς ἀλλον μεταστήσησθε τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες ἀλκημωτατοι μάχας διενεγκεῖν ἀπάντων ἔσεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν

182 εὐάλωτοι· θεοὺς γὰρ παρόντος ὑμῖν βοηθοῦ ὀπλῶν περιφοροῦν εὔλογον. τῆς ο' ἄρετῆς ἐπαθθα ὑμῖν μεγάλα κεῖται πρὸς ἀπαντα τὸν βίον κτησαμένους. αὕτη γε τοῦ πρώτον ἁγαθῶν τὸ πρέσβιτον ἐστὶν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων χαρίζεται περιουσίαν,
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.\(^a\)

"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\(^b\) 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\(^c\): she herself, to begin with, is the choicest of treasures, and then she bestows abundance of the rest, so

"consort," "are in touch with every virtue": cf. \textit{Vita} 258 μετὰ πασὴς ἀρετῆς πεπολίτευμαι.

\(^b\) The Greek might be either neuter ("what") or masc. ("whom"): but he comes to the question of subordination to rulers later, § 186.

\(^c\) Not, I think, as earlier translators take it, "if ye possess (or "preserve") it (\textit{i.e.} virtue) for all your life."
JOSEPHUS

183 ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους ὑμῖν χρωμένους αὐτὴ μακαριστὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πλέον δοξαζομένους ἁδήμονα καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθίς τὴν εὐκλειαν ὑμῶν ὑπάρξαι. τούτων δὲ ἄν ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθεῖτε, εἰ τῶν νόμων οὓς ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ συνεταξάμην κατήκουι καὶ φύλακες γένοισθε καὶ μελετήστε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτῶν.

184 ἀπεμι δ` αὐτὸς χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἁγάθοις παρατιθέμενοι ὑμᾶς νόμων τε σωφροσύνη ¹ καὶ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρεταῖς, οἱ πρόνοιαν ἐξουσίαν ὑμῶν τοῦ συμ-

185 φέροντος. θεός τε ὅ μέχρι νῦν ἡγεμονεύσας ὑμῶν, ² καθ` οὐ βούλησιν κάγω χρήσιμος ὑμῖν ἐγενόμην, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δεύτερο στήσει τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ` ἐφ` ὅσον αὐτοὶ βουλέσθη χρόνον τούτον ἔχειν προστάτην ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μένοντες, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ χρήσεσθε τῇ προ-

186 μήθελα. γνώμας τε ὑμῖν εἰσηγησονται ταῖς ἀρί-

187 σταῖς, αἷς ἐπόμενοι τὴν εὐδαμονίαν ἐξετε, ὁ ἀρχι-

188 ερεύς Ἑλεάζαρος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἡ τε γερουσία καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν φυλῶν, ὡς ἀκροάσθη μὴ χαλεπῶς, γινώσκοντες ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἀρχεσθαί καλῶς εἰδότες καὶ ἀρχεῖν ἐξουσίαν παρελθόντες εἰς ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ, τὴν τ` ἐλευθερίαν ἡγεῖσθε μὴ τὸ προσ-

¹ Niese: νόμῳ τε σωφροσύνης codd. ² 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
σκετε γάρ, ὡς πλεονάκις ἐκωδύνευσα ὑφ' ὑμῶν

189 ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ταύτα δ' οὕτι ὀνειδίζεων' ὑμᾶς προεθέμην, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ ζῆν δυσχεραίνοντας καταλυπεῖν ἥξίουν εἰς τὴν ἀνάμνησιν φέρων μηδὲ παρ' ὑμᾶς ἔπασχον αὐτὰ καίρον εὖ ὑργὴ γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥστε τούς σωφρονήσεως ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέλλον κατ' αὐτὸ γε τούτῳ τάσφαλές εἰναι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας ἐξυβρίσαι διὰ πλοῦτον, ὅσ ὑμῖν πολὺς διαβᾶσι τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ τὴν Χανααίαν κτησαμένους περι-

190 στῆσεται. ἐπεὶ προαχθέντες εἰς καταφρόνησιν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀλυγωρίαν ἀπολείπετε καὶ τὴν εὐνοιαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιήσαντες δὲ τούτον ἐχθρὸν τὴν τε γῆν, ἢν κτήσεσθε, κρατηθέντες ὁπλοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν αὕτως ἀφαιρεθήσεθε μετὰ μεγίστων ὀνειδῶν καὶ σκεδασθέντες διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πᾶσαν ἐμπλήσετε καὶ γῆν καὶ βάλασαν τῆς αὐτῶν δού-

191 λείας. ἔσται δ' ὑμῖν τούτων πείραν λαμβάνοντων ἀνωφελῆς ή μετάνοια καὶ ή τῶν οὐ φυλαχθέντων νόμων ἀνάμνησις. οἶδεν εἰ βούλουσθε τούτοις ὑμῖν μένειν, τῶν πολεμίων μηδέν' ἂν ὑπολείποισθε κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπολλύναι πάντας κρήναιτε συμφέρειν, ἣν μὴ ζώντων παραγενομένου τῆς ἑκείων ἐπιτηδεύσεως διαφθείρητε τὴν πάτριον

192 πολιτείαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ἄλσθ καὶ νεώς ὀπόσους ἂν ἔχοιεν κατερείπεις παρανῶ καὶ δαπανῶν πυρὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς μνήμης· βεβαιὰ γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὑμῖν μόνον ὑπάρξειν ἢ τῶν

1 ὀνειδίζων P² (Lat. ?). 2 σωφρονίσεων L. 3 τοῦτο τῷ ασφαλές conj.: τοῦτο (τούτο SP) ἀσφαλές (ἀσφαλεῖς SPL) codd. 4 Niese: μηδένα ὑπολείπησθε codd. 5 Niese: κρήνατε 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, 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.

"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-

\textsuperscript{a} Text uncertain.
οίκείων ἄγαθῶν ἀσφάλεια. ἦν δὲ μὴ δὲ ἀμαθίαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἡ φύσις ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἀπονεύσῃ, συνέθηκα ὑμῶν καὶ νόμους ὑπαγορευσάντος μοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν, ὡς τὸν κόσμον φυλάξαντες πάντων ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι κρυθήσητε."  

(3) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν βιβλίῳ τοῦς νόμους καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγεγραμμένην. οὐ δὲ ἐδάκρυνοι τε καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεμημένου τε ὡς κυνικούσι καὶ προθυμηθεῖν τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ δυσελπιστούντες περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς οὐκ ἐσομένης ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης, ἦττον τε τοῦ θεοῦ προνοησομένου διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν

(1) Βούλομαι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν πρότερον εἰπὼν τῷ τε Μωυσέος ἀξιώματι τῆς ἁρετῆς ἀναλογοῦσαν καὶ μαθεῖν παρέξων δὲ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις, οἷα τὰ καθ᾿ ἡμᾶς ἀρχήθην ἢν, [οὗτος]² ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων τραπέζῃ διήγησιν. γέγραπται δὲ πάνυ ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδ᾿ ὃ τι μὴ κατα-

1 Niese: ἐπ᾿ αὐτῶν (οἵ ὑπ᾿ αὐτῶν) codd.  
2 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.

(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
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. 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. 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, these I have reserved for that treatise on "Customs and Causes," which, God helping, it is our intention to compose after the present work.

(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, and which, coated with plaster, will..."
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201 τ' ἀν εἶνει καὶ καθάριοι πρὸς τὴν θέαν. ἡ δ' ἐπὶ τούτων πρόσβασις ἔστω μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, ἀλλὰ προσχώσεως αὐτῶν καταπραυνούσα γενομένης. ἐν ἐτέρᾳ δὲ πόλει μήτε βωμὸς μήτε νεώς ἔστω· θεὸς γὰρ εἰς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἐν.

202 (6) 'Ο δὲ βλασφημήσας θεον καταλευσθεὶς κρεμάσθω δι' ἡμέρας καὶ ἀτύμως καὶ ἀφανῶς θαπτέσθω.

203 (7) 'Συνερχόμενοι δὲ εἰς ἡν <ἀν> ἀποφήνωσι πόλιν τῶν νεῶν τρίς τοῦ ἔτους οἱ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἢς ἂν Ἑβραίων κρατῶσιν, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν υπηργείων εὐχαριστῶσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον παρακάλωσι καὶ συνιότες ἀλλήλοις καὶ συνευκομένου προσφιλεῖς ὅσιι καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἂγνοεῖν ἀλλήλους ὁμοφύλους τε ὄντας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνεῖντας ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τούτῳ δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης ἐπιμεξίας αὐτοῖς υπάρξειν, τῇ τε ὀφεῖ καὶ τῇ ὀμιλίᾳ μιμήμην αὐτῶν ἐντιθέντας· ἀνεπιμίκτους γὰρ ἀλλήλους λενὸντας ἀλλοτριωτάτους αὐτοῖς νομισθῆσεσθαι.

204 (8) 'Εστώ δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἐξαίρεσις ἦμὼν χωρὶς ἢς διετάξα τοῖς ιερεύσι καὶ Λευίταις δεδοσθαί, ἡ πυρπασκέσθω μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐώχιας υπηρετεῖτω καὶ τὰς θυσίας

1 τ' ἀν Niese: te codd.
2 ins. Niese.
3 T. Reinach: αὐτῶς codd.
4 SPL: δειτάξατε (-τάξατο) rell.

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 572
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.\(^a\)

(6) "Let him that blasphemeth God be stoned, then hung for a day, and buried ignominiously and in obscurity."\(^b\)

(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;\(^c\) whereas if they remain without ever coming into contact they will be regarded by each other as absolute strangers.

(8) "Let a tithe of the fruits be set apart by you, beside that which I appointed\(^d\) 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

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\(^a\) Ex. xx. 16.

\(^b\) Blasphemy. Lev. xxiv. 16; cf. Deut. xxii. 21 f.

\(^c\) The three annual pilgrim festivals. Deut. xvii. 16.

\(^d\) Lit. "putting in (instilling) a memory of them" (i.e. of their common race and common institutions). Others, taking \(a\)\(v\)\(t\)\(w\)\(p\) as \(a\)\(v\)\(t\)\(w\)\(p\), render "sui recordationem efficiunt" (Hudson), "se souviendront d'eux-mêmes" (Weill). The motives here mentioned do not appear in Scripture.

\(\)§ 68: some mss. read "ye appointed."

573
Josephus, in common with tradition (Sifré 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.

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. 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, he must not use thereof to sacrifice to God.

(10) "Let none blaspheme the gods which other cities revere, nor rob foreign temples, nor take treasure that has been dedicated in the name of any god.

(11) "Let none of you wear raiment woven of wool and linen; for that is reserved for the priests alone.

(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 priest refer to a proposed exchange of a dog for a pure animal, such as a lamb, for sacrifice.

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 theo'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."

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.

Reason not given in Scripture: the Mishnah merely states that the priests wore such garments (Kil'aim ix. 1, Weill).
JOSEPHUS

ψηλοῦ σταθείς, ἀφ' οὗ γένοιτ' ἐξάκουστος,
ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους ἀπασί, καὶ μήτε γυνὴ
μήτε παίδες εἰργενθῶσαν τοῦ ἄκουειν, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ

210 οἱ δοῦλοι· καλὸν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφέντας
καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ φυλαχθῆναι μηδέποτε ἐξαλειβθῆναι
dυναμένους. οὔτως γὰρ οὐδὲν ἀμαρτήσονται μὴ
dυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγγελαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις
dιωρισμένων, οἱ τε νόμοι πολλὴν πρὸς ἀμαρτάνοντας
ἐξουσί παρρήσιαν, ὥς προλεγόντων αὐτοῖς ἢ πεί
σονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφάντων διὰ τῆς

211 ἀκοῆς ἀ κελεύουσιν, ὡστ' εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ἐνδον
αὐτοῖς τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, ἢς ὁλιγωρήσαντες
ηδύκησαν καὶ τῆς ζημιὰς αὐτοῖς αὐτίου γεγόνασι.
μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παίδες πρῶτον τοὺς
νόμους, μάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ τῆς εὐθυμονίας
αὐτίου.

212 (13) "Διὸς ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτής
καὶ ὁπότε πρὸς ὑπὸνον ὑφα πρέπεσθαι μαρτυρεῖν
tῶθ ἔτσι δῷς δωρεάς, ὡς ἀπαλλαγείς αὐτοῖς ἐκ
τῆς Ἀἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαίας ὀ kukῆς φύσει
tῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ' ἀμοιβῇ μὲν
tῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπῆ τῶν ἐσομένων·

213 ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ

1 ex Lat. (unde) Niese: ἐφ' codd.
3 edd.: μήτε codd.
4 οὐδὲν RO.

* The reader is not clearly defined in Scripture: Deut. xxxi. 11 (after mention of priests and elders) "thou shalt read," Ixx "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 11. does not appear). On the 576
priest, standing upon a raised platform from which he may be heard, recite the laws 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.

(13) "Twice each day, 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 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.

Deut. "this law"); the Mishnah specifies passages drawn from eleven chapters of that book.


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 ὅν εὐεργέτησεν αὕτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τε βραχίοσιν ἐκαστὸν διαφαίνειν, ὥσα τε τὴν ἱσχὺν ἀποσημαίνειν δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοοιν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περίβλεπτον πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

214 (14) "Αρχέτωσαν δὲ καθ' ἐκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἐπτὰ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἁρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δύκαιον σπουδὴν προηκηκότες· ἐκάστη δὲ ἀρχὴ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδόσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν φυλῆς. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δικάζειν λαχόντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ, ὡς μήτε βλασφημεῖν ἐκεῖνοι παρόντων μήτε θρασύνεσθαι τισιν ἐξεῖναι, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῖς αὐτῶν εὐλαβεστέρους, ὡστε τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κατα-

215 φρονεῖν, ἀπεργαζομένης. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἀπο-
φήμασθαι κύριοι περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ τι χρήματα λαβόντας τις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαφθορᾶ τοῦ δικαίου ἐνδείξαι 1 ἢ ἅλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν προφέροι, καθ' ἣν οὐ καλῶς ἔλεγχε αὐτοὺς ἀποφημαμένους· οὔτε γὰρ κέρδει χαριζόμενους οὔτ' ἀξιώματι προσήκει φανερὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς

1 Dindorf: ἐνδείξαι (-εται) codd.

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a Or "and they shall display each (of them) on their arms"; the double mention of the arm, here and below, suggests a glossed text.

b Mezuzah ("door-post") was the name given to a small metal cylinder enclosing a parchment, inscribed with Dent. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21, and affixed to the right-hand door-post of Jewish houses; tephillin, the N.T. "phylacteries" (φιλακτήρια), were scrolls similarly inscribed, enclosed in

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benefits which they have received from God and each shall display them on his arms; 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.

(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. 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, cases, and bound on the forehead and left arm at certain hours of prayer.

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.
κρίσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπάνω πάντων τιθεμένους. 217 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἄν οὕτως δόξει καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀπαθενέστερος ἐκεῖνων ὁδὸς ἀν τις κατὰ φόβου ἰσχύος προσνέμοι τὴν ψήφον κεκρίσθαι· τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ ἰσχύς ἐστὶ τὸ δίκαιον. ὁ τοῖς ἐν ἀξιωματικαῖς τυγχάνουσι καταχαριζομένος τις ἐκεῖνος τοῦ θεοῦ δυνατωτέρους ποτεί. ἄν ὁι δικασταὶ μὴ νοῶσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς παρατεταγμένων ἀποφήγμαται, συμβαίνει δε πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀκέραιον ἀναπεμπτόωσιν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ιερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ τε ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαίνεισθαι.

218 (15) "Εἰς δὲ μὴ πιστευνόν μάρτυς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον δύο, ὅλον τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ πουήσει τα προβεβιώμενα. γνωσικῶν δὲ μὴ ἔστω μαρτυρία διὰ κοινοῦ καὶ θράσους τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν· μαρτυρεῖσθαι δὲ μηδὲ δοῦλοι διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγένειαν, οὐς ἡ διὰ κέρδος εἰκὸς ἡ διὰ φόβον μὴ τάληθη μαρτυρῆσαι. ἀν δὲ τοῖς ψευδομαρτυρήσασι πιστεύτης, πασχέως ταῦτα ἐλεγχεῖσθαι ὅσα ὁ καταμαρτυρηθεῖς πάσχειν ἐμελεῖν.

220 (16) "'Ἀν δὲ πραξάθεντος φόνου ἐν τινὶ χώρα μὴ εὐρίσκεται ὁ δράσας μηδὲ ὑπονοήται· τοῖς ὅλοις διὰ μίσους ἀπεκτησίως, ζητεῖσθαι μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μὴν προθεμένοι· μηδενὸς δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεως τῶν πλησίων τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐν ἂν ὁ φόνος ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία

1 ὁ τοῖς ῬΩ: τοῖς οὖν rell. 2 αὐτοῖς ῬΩ. 3 om. ῬΩ. 4 Dindorf: μητέ (μηθ') codd.

* 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\(^a\) meet and pronounce as they think fit.

(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,\(^b\) because of the levity and temerity of their sex; neither let slaves bear witness\(^b\) 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.

(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\(^c\); but if no informer appear, let the magistrates of the towns adjacent to the spot where the murder was done, along with the magistrates in his own town, make diligent search. If the Senate is asked for help, let it accede and send out a deputation to assist in the pursuit. If a crucified man be the suspected murderer, his hangman was the best witness.\(^d\) If no one appears, the witnesses of the crime shall suffer the same penalty as if he were guilty.\(^e\)"

\(^a\) Traditional ruling: not in Scripture.
\(^b\) Traditional ruling: not in Scripture.
\(^c\) Detail not in Scripture.

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συνελθόντες μετερέτσωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου
221 κεῖται ὁ νεκρὸς τῆς χώραν. ἦ δὲ ἁπὰ της πλησιασάτης
πόλις, οί ἐν αὐτῇ δημόσιοι πριάμενοι δάμαλιν καὶ
κομίσαντες εἰς φάραγγα καὶ ἀνεπιθυμεῖον ἁρέτων καὶ
φυτοῖς χωρίον τούς τένοντας κομίσασαν τῆς
222 βοσί, καὶ χέριβας ἑλόμενου ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς
βοσί οἱ ἑρείης καὶ οἱ Λευίται καὶ η γεροντία τῆς
πόλεως ἐκείνης καθαρὰς ἀναβοσάτωσαν τὰς χεῖρας ἐξειν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου καὶ μὴς δράσαι μήτε
dρωμείῶν παρατυχεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δὲ ὠλεω τὸν
θεόν καὶ μηκὲτι τοιοῦτον δεινὸν συμβήναι τῇ γῇ
πάθος.

223 (17) "Αριστοκρατία μὲν ὅνων κράτιστον καὶ ὁ
κατ' αὐτὴν βίος, καὶ μὴ λάβης πόθος ὕμας ἄλλης
πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ταύτην στέργοντε καὶ τοὺς νόμους
ἐχοντες δεσπότας κατ' αὐτοὺς ἐκαστα πράττεστε:
ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεός ἡγεμόνι εἰναι. βασιλέως δ' εἰ
gένοιτο ἔρως ὄμην, ἐστω μὲν οὕτως ὅμοφυλος,
πρόνοια δ' αὐτῶ δυκαίοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
224 ἀρετῆς διὰ παινὸς ἐστω. παραχωροῖ δὲ οὕτως
τοῖς μὲν νόμοις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πλείονα τοῦ φρονεῖν,
πρασσέτω δὲ μηδὲν δίχα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῆς
tῶν γεροντιαστῶν γνώμης, γάμους τε μὴ πολλοῖς
χρώμενοι μηδὲ πλήθος διώκων χρημάτων μηδὲ
ἵπτων, ὃν αὐτῶ παραγενομένων ὑπερήφανον ἀν
tῶν νόμων ἑσοιτο. κωλυεῖσθω δ', εἰ τούτων τι

1 Niese: ἁρότρως codd. 2 λάβωι ROM.

a Deut. " a valley with (ever) running water."
b 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, 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 thereunder, is indeed the best: let no craving possess 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 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, and let him do nothing without the high priest and the counsel of his senators; 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

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).
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dia σπουδής ἔχου, γίγνεσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν δυνατότερος.

225 (18) ""Οροὺς γῆς μὴ ἔξεστιν κινεῖν μὴτε οἰκείας μῆτ᾽ ἀλλοτρίας πρὸς οὐς ἐστιν ὑμῖν εἰρήνη, φιλαττέσθω δ’ ὥσπερ θεοῦ ψῆφον βεβαιῶν1 εἰς αἰώνα κειμένην ἀναρεῖν, ὥς πολέμων ἐντεθεῖν καὶ στάσεων γυναμένων ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντας προσωτέρῳ χωρεῖν βουλεσθαι τῶν ὀρῶν· μὴ γὰρ μακρὰν εἶναι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τὸν ὅρον μετακινοῦντας.

226 (19) ""Γῆν ὁ φυτεύσας, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων ἀν καρπὸν προβάλῃ τὰ φυτά, μῆτε τῷ θεῷ ἀπαρχὰς ἐντεθεῖν ἀποφερέτω μῆτ᾽ αὐτὸς χρήσθω· οὗ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτον ὑπ᾽ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθῇ, βιασαμένης δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀώρως μῆτε τῷ θεῷ ἀρμόζειν.

227 μῆτ᾽ αὐτῷ τῷ δεσπότῃ χρῆσθαι. τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τριγάτῳ πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, τότε γὰρ ὄριον εἶναι, καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν κομιζέτω, καὶ σὺν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ ἄλλου καρποῦ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐωχαύμενος ἀναλισκέτω καὶ μετ᾽ ὀρφανῶν καὶ χρυσουρασίων γυναικῶν. πέμπτον δὲ ἐτοὺς κύριος ἐστὼ τὰ φυτὰ καρποῦσθαι.

228 (20) ""Τὴν ἀμπέλους κατάφυτον γῆν μὴ σπεῖρειν· ἄρκεισθαι2 γὰρ αὐτὴν τρέφειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐς ἀρότρον πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι. βουσίν ἄροιν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐτέρων ζώων σὺν αὐτοῖς3

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1 RO: βεβαιῶν rell.  
2 RO: ἄρκει rell.  
3 σὺν αὐτοῖς om. RO.

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a 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.

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from becoming more powerful than is expedient for your welfare.

(18) "Let it not be permitted to displace boundary-markers, 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 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.

(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, and what nature has forced untimely is befitting neither for God nor for the use of the owner himself. 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. In the fifth year he shall be at liberty to enjoy the fruits of his planting.

(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 in the furrow."

b I take τούτων to refer to καρπῶν, not (as other translators) with κατὰ καρπόν.

c Motive not given in Scripture.

d Traditional practice: Lev. merely states that the fruit of the fourth year "shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord."
υπὸ ζευγλην ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ κατ᾽ οἶκεῖα γένη κάκεινοις ποιεῖσθαι τον ἀρωτον.\(^1\) εἶναι δὲ καθαρὰ τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἀνεπίμυκτα, καὶ μὴ σύνδυο καὶ τρία σπείρειν· οὐ γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀνομολῶν κοινωνίας 229 χαίρειν τὴν φύσιν. μηδὲ κτήνεσιν ἐπάγειν ὡσα μὴ συγγενῆ. δέος γὰρ ἐκ τούτου μὴ διαβῆκαί καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρωπεῖων ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὀμόφυλον ἀτμιμὰ τὴν ἁρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ 230 φαῦλα πρότερον λαβοῦσα. δεὶ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τοιούτων συγκεκριμένων, ἔξ ὦ καὶ κατὰ μίμησιν παρατροπῆ τῆς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἐσοιτο, ἀλλ᾽ ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἧμελησεται\(^2\) τοῖς νόμοις εἰδόσι προνοεῖσθαι τοῦ κατ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἀμέμπτου.

231 (21) "Ἀμῶντας δὲ καὶ συναιροῦντας τὰ θέρη μή καλαμάσθαι, καταλυεῖν δὲ τινὰ καὶ τῶν δραγ-μάτων τοῖς βίοις σπανίζουσιν ἔρμαιον εἶναι\(^3\) πρὸς διατροφῆν. ὀμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς τρύγης ἀπολυπεῖν τάς ἐπιφυλάσσει τοῖς πένησι καὶ τῶν ἑλαιώνων\(^4\) παρείναι τι τοῦ καρποῦ πρὸς συλλογὴν τοῖς ἔξ 232 ἵδιων οὐκ ἔχουσι μεταλαβεῖν· οὐ τοσαύτη γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐπ᾽ ἀκριβεῖς αὐτῶν συλλογὴς εὐπορία τοῖς δεσπότασις γένουτο, ὅση χάρις ἐκ τῶν δεομένων ἔλθοι, τὸ τε θείον τῆν γην προδυμοτέραν εἰς τὴν ἐκτροφὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεργάσεται μὴ τοῦ καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς προνοομένων <μόνον>\(^5\) λυσιτελοῦσ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς τῶν ἀλλῶν διατροφῆς λόγον ἐχόντων.

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\(^1\) edd.: ἀρωτον codd.
\(^2\) conj.: ἄμελείται, ἄμεληται (sic), or ἡμέληται codd.
\(^3\) + καὶ εὐρέμα ROM: + τοῦτοι rell.
\(^4\) ROM: ἑλαιῶν rell.
\(^5\) ins. ex Lat. Niese.

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with them beneath the yoke; nay, these too should be paired according to their own kinds for the labours of the field. 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, 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 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.

Additional detail, not in Scripture.

Text doubtful. The construction δεί . . . ὠς with fut. ind. has the support of Sophocles (δεί τε δείξεται), whose style was imitated by the assistant of Josephus.

Or "handfuls."

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233 μηδὲ βοῶν ὄποτε τρίβοιει τοὺς στάχνας ἀποδεῖν
tὰ στόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλωσις· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιων εἰργεῖν τοὺς συνεργασμένους τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ περὶ
tὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ ποιήσαντας. μηδὲ ὁπώρας ἀκμαζούσης κωλύειν ἀπέπεσαι τοὺς ὁδῷ βαδι-
ζοντας, ἀλλ' ὃς ἐξ οἰκεῖων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐμπίπλασθαι, κἂν ἐγχώριοι τυγχάνωσι κἂν ξένου,
χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ὦραιῶν ἡμελάμβανεν ἀποφέρεσθαι1 δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν
235 ἐξεστο. μηδὲ τρυγώντες ὃν ἂν εἰς τὰς λῃνοὺς
cομίζουσι εἰργεῖτοσαν τοὺς ὑπανταύξοντας ἐπε-
εσθίεν· ἄδικον γὰρ ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ
παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, φθονεῖν τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν, τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἀκμῇ τε οὕσης
236 καὶ σπευδούσης ἀπελθεῖν· ὃς τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον
ἂν εἰη, κἂν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης τινᾶς ὁκνοῦντας ἀμβασθαι
λαβεῖν παρακαλοῖεν,2 ὡντας μὲν Ἰσραήλιτας ὡς
κοινωνοὺς καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν,
ἀφιγμένους δ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπους χείρισθαι
ἀξιόωντας ὃν ὁ θεὸς καθ' ὦραν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.
237 ἀναλώματα γὰρ οὐχ ἡγητέον ὃσα τις κατὰ χρη-
στότητα παρίσῃς ἀνθρώποις λαμβάνειν, τοῦ θεοῦ
τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἁγαθῶν χορηγοῦντος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ
carpoouσαι μόνοις, ἄλλα καὶ τῷ τοῖς ἀλλοις μετα-
diδόναι φιλοτίμοις, καὶ βουλόμενου3 τῷ πρῶτῳ
tοῦτω τῇ ἰδιᾷ περὶ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν λαὸν εὐνοοι
cαὶ τῆς χορηγίας τῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῖς ἀλλοις
ἐμφανίζεσθαι, ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος αὐτοῖς
238 κάκεινοις μεταδιδόντων. ὃ δὲ παρὰ ταύτα ποιήσας

1 SP: ἐπιφέρεσθαι rell.
2 Dindorf: παρακαλῶν codd.: -καλῶσιν Niese.
3 L ed. pr.: 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
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πληγάς μιὰ λειποῦσα τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ σκύτει λαβὼν τιμωρίαν ταύτην αἰσχίστην ἐλεύ-
θερος ὑπομενέτω, ὅτι τῷ κέρδει δουλεύσας ὑβρίσσε
239 τὸ ἀξίωμα· καλῶς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔχει πεπειραμένους ἐν Ἀἰγύπτω συμφορῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πρόνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑπαρχόντων ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ τυχόντας εὐπορίας ἔξ ἐλέου καὶ πρόνοιας τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐξ ὁμοίου πάθους ἀπομερίζειν τοῖς δεομένοις.

240 (22) 'Ταῖς δὲ δεκάταις ταῖς δυσίν, ὡς ἐτοὺς ἐκάστου προείπον τελεῖν, τὴν μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις, τὴν δὲ ἔτεραν πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας, τρίτην πρὸς αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἐτος1 τρίτον συμφέρειν εἰς δια-
νέμησιν τῶν σπανιζόντων γυναιξί τε χήραις καὶ
241 παιδίν ὀρφανοῖς· τῶν δὲ ὦραίων ὁ τι καὶ πρῶτον ἐκάστῳ τύχῃ γένομενοι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζέτωσαν, καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπέρ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτὸ γῆς ἣν αὐτοῖς κτίσασθαι παρέσχεν εὐλογήσαντες, θυσίας ἂς ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρειν κελεύει ἐπιτελέσαντες τούτων τὰ προτέλεια τοῖς ἱερείσι διδότωσαν.

242 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταύτα τις ποιήσας καὶ πάντων τὰς δεκάτας ἀμα ταῖς εἰς τοὺς Λευίτας καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας2 ἀπενηνοχύως ἀπίεναι μέλλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε, στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τεμενισματος εὐχαριστησάτων

1 κατ' ἔτος Dindorf. 2 + ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς MSPL.

a 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).

b The forty stripes allowed by the Law were by tradition
these precepts a receive forty stripes save one b 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 c to pay each year, the one for the Levites and the other for the banquets, ye should devote a third d 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 e 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. e §§ 68, 205.

a 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.

b Text a little uncertain.
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μὲν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῆς ἄπτι Αἰγυπτίων αὐτοὺς ὑβρεῖς ἀπαλλάξας γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἐδώκει καρποῦσθαι, μαρτυράμενος δὲ ὅσ τάς τε δεκάτας

243 κατὰ τοὺς Δωρεάν τελέσει νόμους αἰτησάσθω τὸν θεὸν εὐμενή καὶ ἱλευν ἄντω διὰ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ κοινὴ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίοις διαμένειν, φυλάττοντα μὲν ὁ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ προσκτήσασθαι δὲ ὅσα δύναται χαρίζεσθαι.

244 (23) "Γαμεῖτοναν δὲ ἐν ὧρᾳ γάμου γενόμενοι παρθένους ἑλευθέρας γονέων ἄγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἀγεσθαι παρθένον μὴ ἑξεγνύσθω συνοικοῦσαν ἀλλῷ νοθεύσας μηδὲ λυπῶν τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς 

245 ἀνδρᾶ. δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμείσθαι τοῖς ἑλευθέροις, μηδὲ ἂν ὑπ’ ἔρωτος πρὸς τοῦτο τινες ἐκβιάζωνται, κρατείν δὲ τής ἐπιθυμίας τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τοῖς ἄξιομασι πρόσφορον· ἐπὶ μηδὲ ἡταρημένης εἶναι γάμου, ἔσεσθαι τού σῶματος τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ ἑυσίας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἂν προσοῦτο. γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν ὀὔτω τῶν παῖδων τὰ φρονήματα ἑλευθερίᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὀρθία, εἰ μὴ τῦχοιεν ἐκ γάμων φύντες αἰσχρῶν μηδ’ εἰς ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἑλευθερίας συν-

246 ελθόντων· εἰ τοις ὦσ παρθένον μνηστευσάμενος ἐπείτα μὴ τοιαύτην εὑροῖ, δικὴν λαχῶν αὐτοῦ μὲν κατηγορεῖτω χρώμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οἷς ἂν ἔχῃ τεκμηρίους, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ ὁ τῆς κόρης πατήρ

1 + καὶ τάλλα Ε.

2 προσκτήσατα ex Lat. (et addat) Bernard.
3 λιποῦσαν Ο² (Reinach).
4 + δὲ SPL.

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a One authority adds "and all else."

b Cf. the shorter summary of marriage laws in Ap. ii. 199 ff.

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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 \textsuperscript{a} 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 \textsuperscript{b} 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 \textsuperscript{c} 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 \textsuperscript{d} a prostitute, since by reason of the abuse of her body God could not accept her nuptial sacrifices. 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 \textsuperscript{e} 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

\textsuperscript{e} Lit. "grieving"; but we should probably read \textit{ιποῖσαν}, "nor let him marry one that has left her former husband."

\textsuperscript{d} In Scripture this prohibition applies only to the priests; and so Josephus elsewhere interprets it, iii. 276.

\textsuperscript{f} Gr. "illiberal," \textit{i.e.} a passion for a slave.
247 ἡ ἀδελφὸς ἡ ὅς ἄποκατέστη ἐγγυτέρω δοκή τοῦ γένους. καὶ κρυθεῖσα μὲν ἡ κόρη μὴ ἀδικεῖν συνοικεῖτω τῷ κατηγοροῦσαν μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἐχοντος ἐκεῖνου ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτὴν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ μεγάλας αἰτίας αὐτῶ παράσχοι καὶ πρὸς ἀς οὐδ’ αὐτεπεῖν δυνηθεὶς. τοῦ δὲ τολμηρῶς καὶ προπετῶς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν καὶ διαβολὴν πρόστιμον ἐκτινύτω, πληγᾶς τεσσαράκοντα μᾶ λειτουργὸς λαμβάνων, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀποτινύτω τῷ πατρί. ἀν δ’ ἐξελέγξῃ τὴν παιδικὴν ἐφθαρμένην, δημότις μὲν οὐσα τοῦ μὴ σωφρόνως προστήναι τῆς παρθενίας ἄχρι νομίμων γάμων καταλεύσωθω, 248 ἀν δ’ ἐξ ἑρέων ἢ γεγενημένη, καὶ σῶσοι ἥσσα. δύο γυναικῶν οὐσῶν τινι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας ἐν τιμῇ σφόδρα καὶ εὐνοίᾳ κειμένης ἢ δ’ ἐρωτα καὶ κάλλος ἢ κατ’ ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τῆς δ’ ἑτέρας ἐν ἐλάττων μοῖρα τυγχανοῦσης, ἄν δ’ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης παῖς γενόμενον, νεώτερος ὁν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρας φύντος, ἀξιοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρὸς εὐνοιαν τῶν πρεσβείων τυγχάνειν, ὥστε διπλῶν τὸ μέρος τῆς πατρός αὐσίας ἐκλαμβάνειν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν 250 τοῖς νόμοις διεταξάμην, μὴ συγκεχωρίσθων ἀδικον γὰρ τὸν τῇ γενέσει πρεσβυτερον, ὅτι τὰ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτὼ ὧττονα παρὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ πατρὸς, 251 τῶν ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ στερεῖσθαι. ὁ κόρην ἀλλω

1 +<ἀν> Naber. 2 RO: λαμβάνειν rel.

* Scripture mentions only the father (accompanied by the mother) as counsel for the defence.

* Deut. xxii. 19 “ an hundred (shekels) of silver ” (LXX ἐκατὸν σίκλους). The Hebrew names no coin; tradition, supporting Josephus, names a coin equivalent to a half-shekel (Kethuboth 45b, quoted by Weill).

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her father or brother or whosoever, failing these, be considered her next of kin. 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 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.

"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—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.

\[c\] 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.

\[d\] Only specified in this passage of Scripture (Deut. xxi. 17; cf. 2 K. ii. 9).
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κατηγγυγεμένην φθεíρας, εἰ μὲν πείσας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φθορὰν συγκάτανυν λαβών, ἀποθνησκέτω σὺν αὐτῇ· πονηρῷ γὰρ ὄμοιῷ ἐκάτεροι, ὁ μὲν τὸ αἴσχυστον πείσας ἐκουσίως ὑπομείναι καὶ προ-
τιμῆσαι τοῦτο τοῦ ἠλευθέρου γάμου τὴν κόρην,
ἡ δὲ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὴν πεισθείσα δι᾽ ἡδονὴν1 ἢ διὰ
252 κέρδος πρὸς τὴν ὑβρίν· ἐὰν δὲ ποι ἐξερεπέσων ἴ
βιάσῃ τινα μηδενὸς βοηθοῦ παρόντος, μόνος ἀπο-
θνησκέτω. ὁ φθείρας παρθένον μήπω κατηγ-
γυμενὴν αὐτὸς γαμεῖτω· ἢν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς
κόρης μὴ δόξῃ συνοικίζειν αὐτῷ, πεντήκοντα
253 σίκλους τιμήν τῆς ὑβρίσεως καταβαλλέτω. γυ-
ναικὸς δὲ τῆς συνοικούσης βουλόμενος διαξευ-
θήναι καθ' ἀδηποτοῦν αἴτιας, πολλαὶ δὲ ἄν τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις τοιαύται γίγνοντο, γράμμασι μὲν περὶ
τοῦ μηδέποτε συνελθεῖν ἰσχυριζόμεθα· λάβοι γὰρ
ἂν οὕτως ἔξουσίαν συνοικεῖν ἐτέρῳ, πρότερον γὰρ
οὐκ ἐφετέρον· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον2 κακωθείη ἡ
τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ θελήσει γαμεῖν ὁ πρότερος,
254 μὴ ἐξειναι αὐτῇ1 ἑπανεῖαι· τὴν ἀτεκνοῦν, τὰ
υδρὸς αὐτῇ τετελευτηκότος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκεῖνον γαμεῖτω

1 ed. pr.: + ἰδίαν codd.  2 conj.: ἐκεῖνον codd.  3 MLE: καὶ RO: om. SP.  4 RM: αὐτὴν rel.

a 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).

b 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.\(^a\)

“He who desires to be divorced from the wife who is living with him for whatsoever cause — 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.

“When a woman is left childless 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, \(\text{Vita} \ 426\) (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?” (\(\kappaατα \ \pi\acute{a}ςαν \ \alphaἰτίαι\)), with the saving clause in the reply, \(\muη \ \iota\piι \ \tauομνεια \) (v. 9), where the text probably owes its form to its Jewish editor.

\(^a\) Deut. “if one die and have no son.” Josephus follows tradition (\(\text{Baba Bathra} \ 109a\), Weill); so lxx (\(\sigmaπερια\)) and Matt. xxii. 24 with parallels (\(\tauεκνου, \ \acute{a}τεκνος\)).
καὶ τὸν παίδα τὸν γενήσιμον1 τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶτος καλέσας ὑνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον τούτο γὰρ καὶ τοὺς δημοσίους λυσιτελήσει γινόμενον τῶν οίκων οὐκ ἐκλειπόντων καὶ τῶν χρημάτων τοὺς συγγενεῖι μενόντων, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ κοινωσμὸν οἴσει τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ἐγγυστα τῶν 255 προτέρων ἀνδρῶν συνοικούσαις. εὰν δὲ μὴ βούληται γαμεῖν ὁ ἁδελφός, ἐπὶ τὴν γεροσίαν ἔλθοῦσα ἡ γυνὴ μαρτυράσθω τοῦθεν, ὅτι βουλομένην αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ οίκου μένειν καὶ τεκνοῦν εἴ τι αὐτοῦ μὴ προσδέχοσθαι υβρίζων τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἁδελφοῦ μνῆμην. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς γεροσίας, διὰ ποῦ αἰτίαν ἄλλοτρίως ἔχων πρὸς τὸν γάμον, ἂν τε μικρὰν ἢ τε μείζω λέγη, πρὸς ταύτα ἑπετέως. 256 ὑπολύσασα δ’ αὐτὸν ἡ γυνὴ τάδελφον τὰ σάνδαλα καὶ πτύσασα2 αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τοῦτων αὐτοῦ ἀξίων εἶναι παρ’ αὐτῆς λεγέτω τυγχάνειν ὑβρίσαντα τὴν τοῦ κατοιχομένου μνῆμην. καὶ ὁ μὲν ἢ τῆς γεροσίας ἀπίτω τούτ’ ἔχων ὅνειδος πρὸς ἄπαντα τὸν βίον, ἢ δ’ ὅπερ ἂν βουλήθη τιν 257 τῶν δεομένων γαμεῖθω. ἂν δ’ αἰχμάλωτόν τις λάβῃ παρθένον ἢ τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένως συνοικεῖν μὴ πρότερον ἐξέστω εύνης ἁψασθαι καὶ κουνώναι, πρὶν ἡ ἐυραμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθιμον σχῆμα ἄναλβοθοιν ἀποθρηνησάηα 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

1 γενήσιμον (γενήσιμον) codd.
2 Reinach: ταύτα codd.
3 πτύσασα ROM.

1 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 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).
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παίδοποιών παραλαμβάνοντα θεραπεύειν αὐτῆς τὸ
βουλητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἴδιαν ἡδονήν διώκοντα
259 μόνον τοῦ κατ' αὐτήν ἀμελείν κεχαρισμένου. τριά-
κοντα δ' ἡμερῶν τῷ πένθει διελθοῦσών, αὐτάρκεις
γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς δακρύοις αὔται τῶν φιλτάτων ταῖς
φρονίμοις, τότε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον. εἰ δ' ἐμπλήθηντος τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερηφανεύσειν αὐτήν
γαμετήν ἐχειν, μηκέτ' ἐξουσιάν ἐχέτω καταδουλοῦν
αὐτήν, ἀλλ' ὁπῃ βούλεται χωρεῖν ἀπίτω τοῦτο
ἐλεύθερον ἔχουσα.

260 (24) "Οσοὶ δ' ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονῶσι τοὺς
γονεῖς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοὺς μὴ νέμωσιν ἡ δι' ἀισχύνην ἡ δι' ἀσυνεσίαν ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς αὐτούς,
pρώτον μὲν λόγους αὐτοὺς νουθετεῖτοσαν οἱ
πατέρες, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐφ' υἱῶν οὕτω δικασταὶ,
261 συνελθέσι μὲν ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ἡδονής ἕνεκα λέγον-
tες οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων αὐξήσεως κοινῶν
tῶν ἐκατέρως ὑπαρχόντων γενομένων, ἀλλ' ὅπως
παῖδων τύχωσιν, οἱ γηροκομήσοντοι αὐτοὺς καὶ
dιὸν ἂν δέωνται παρ' αὐτῶν ἔξουσι, "γενόμενον
tέ σε2 μετὰ χαράς καὶ τοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι
tῆς μεγίστης ἀράμενοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεθρέψαμεν
μηδενὸς φειδῶ ποιούμενοι τοῦ καὶ δόξαντο εἰς
σωτηρίαν τῆν σὴν καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἁρίστων
262 εἶναι χρησίμου. νῦν δὲ, συγγνώμην γὰρ χρῆ3
νέμειν ἐφ' ἀμαρτήμασι νέων, ἀπόχρη σοι ὅσα τῆς
eἰς ἰμάς τιμῆς ὀλιγώρησας, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς

1 ex Lat. (proper insipientiam): δεὶ ἀσύνεσιν R: διὰ σύνεσιν rell.
2 τέ se Niese: τε RO: δὲ γε rell.
3 RO: δεὶ rell.

a 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 or through witlessness, break out insolently against them, first of all let the parents orally admonish them, 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 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).

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).
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to σωφρονέστερον, λογισάμενος καὶ τὸν θείον ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς πατέρας τολμώμενος χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐστὶ καὶ συνατμιοῦσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ προσηγόριαν ἔχουσιν οὔχ ἢν προσήκειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν παίδων τυγχανόντων, καὶ νόμος κολαστής γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπαραίτητος, οὐ δὲ μὴν 263 πειραθείς." κἂν μὲν τούτοις θεραπεύσωται τὸ τῶν νέων αὐθάδες, ἀπαλλαττάσθωσαν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἰγνομένοις ὦνεδῶνν οὔτως γὰρ ἐν ὦ τε νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς εἴη καὶ οἱ πατέρες εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐπιδόντες οὔτε νῦν κολαζόμενον οὔτε θυγατέρα.

264 ὁ δὲ ἂν οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἢ παρὰ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία τοῦ σωφρονεῖν τὸ μηδέν εἶναι φανώσων, ἐχθροὺς ὁ ἀσπόνδους αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι τοὺς νόμους τοῖς συνεχέσθω κατὰ τῶν γονέων τολμήμασι, προσαχθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτῶν τούτων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπομένου καταλευκότατον καὶ μείνας δὲ ὄλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τὴν ἀπάντων θαπτέσθω νυκτὸς. 265 οὔτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὀπωσοῦν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναιρεθῆναι κατακρίνεται. θαπτέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμους καὶ νεκρὸς μηδὲ εἰς ἁμοιρός γῆς κείσθω περαιτέρω τοῦ δίκαιου τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνων.

266 (25) "Δανείζειν δ' Ἐβραίων ἐπὶ τόκοις ἐξέστω μηδενὶ μήτε βρωτὸν μήτε ποτόν διὰ γὰρ δίκαιον προσδεδοὺσθαι τοῦ ὀμοφύλου τὰς τύχας, ἀλλὰ

1 ω δ' Bekker ex Lat.: οὖδ' (εἰ δ' etc.) codd.

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a In Scripture and in tradition (see Weill) the law applies only to sons.

b According to the Mishnah, after trial by a court of twenty-three judges, including the three witnesses previously mentioned (Sanhedrin, loc. cit.).

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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 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 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. 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, paying more than its just penalty.

(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-

1 Cf. § 202 note.
2 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 ταφῆς ἄμοιρον, Ant. 1071 (the later play, turning on the burial of enemies, is doubtless in mind).
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βοηθήσαντας ταῖς χρείαις αὐτοῦ κέρδος εἶναι νομίζειν τὴν τ' ἐκείνων εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενησομένην ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι.

267 (26) "Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἰτέ ἀργύρια εἰτέ τινὰ τῶν καρπῶν, ὑγρὸν ἢ ξηρόν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρησάντων κομίζοντες μεθ’ ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδότωσαν τοῖς δούσιν ὥσπερ ἀποθέμενοι εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰ δεηθεὶεν ἔξοντες.

268 ἂν δὲ ἀναισχυντῶς περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, μὴ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βαδίσαντας ἐνεχυριάζειν πρὶν ἢ δίκη περὶ τούτου γένηται; τὸ δ' ἐνέχυρον αἰτεῖν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ὀφείλοντα κομίζειν δι’ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τῷ μετὰ νόμου βοηθείας ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἣκοντι. κἂν μὲν εὐπορος ἢ ὁ ἡμεχυρασμένος, κατεχέτω τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ὁ δεδανεικώς, ἂν δὲ πένης, ἀποτιθέτω πρὶν ἡλίου δυσμῶν, καὶ μάλιστ’ ἂν ἰματιον ἢ τὸ ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως εἰς ὑπνόν ἔχῃ τοῦτο, φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πενομένοις ἔλεον νέμοντος. μῦλῃ δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην σκεύη μὴ ἐξείναι λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως μὴ στερῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ σιτία ὄργάνων μηδ’ ὑπ’ ἑνδείας πάθωσι τι τῶν χειρῶν.

270 "Επ’ ἀνθρώπου μὲν κλοπῆ θάνατος ἐστώ ζημία, ὅ δὲ χρυσὸν ἢ ἀργυρον ὑφελόμενος τὸ διπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω. κτείνας δ’ ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ’

a Exodus, Heb. text, (generally) "a man"; Deut. (more 604
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 the penalty shall be death; the purloiner of gold or silver shall pay double the sum." He that killeth another while un-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).

\[\text{Loans and pledges.} \]

\[\text{Deut. xxiv. 10 f.} \]

\[\text{Ex. xxii. 26}. \]

\[\text{Ex. xxii. 26}. \]

\[\text{Theft.} \]

\[\text{Ex. xxi. 16}. \]

\[\text{In Ex. xxi. 4 the "double" penalty applies to stolen animals found alive in the thief's hands: money is not mentioned.} \]
...
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gaged in burglary shall be innocent, even though the thief were yet but breaking through his wall.\(^2\) He that stealeth a head of cattle \(^b\) shall pay fourfold as \(\text{ib. 1.}\) 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.\(^c\)

(28) "A Hebrew sold to another Hebrew shall serve him for six years: in the seventh let him go free."\(^d\) 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,\(^e\) 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.\(^f\)

(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,\(^g\) 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.

\(^{\text{driver}}\) 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 \textit{Halachah} (Weill).\n
\(^{d}\) And his wife, if he has one (Ex. xxii. 3).

\(^{e}\) The neut. ("his own" or "his home surroundings") includes his master, Ex. xxi. 5.

\(^{f}\) In Scripture the master bores the ear of the willing servant, and he serves him "for ever": the jubilee is not mentioned here.

\(^{g}\) Detail not in Scripture, but attested by tradition (Weill).
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275 (30) "Μη ἔξειναί δὲ παριέναι κτημῶν τινι κακο-παθοῦντων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πεπτωκότων ἐν πηλῷ, σωματισώζειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πόνον οἰκεῖον ἡγησάμενον βοηθεῖν.

276 (31) "Μηνύειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ μὴ γέλωτα θηρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐμποδίζειν πλάνη τὴν ἐτέρου χρείαν.

(32) "Ομοίως μηδὲ βλασφημεῖτω τινὶ τῶν ἀσποντον1 καὶ τὸν ἐνεόν.

277 (33) "Ἐν μάχῃ τις, ὃπου μὴ σίδηρος, πληγείς παραχρήμα μὲν ἀποθανόντων ἐκδικείσθω ταύτων παθόντων τοῦ πεπλήχυτος. ἃν δὲ κοιμοθεῖς παρ’ ἐαυτὸν καὶ νοσήσας ἐπὶ πλείονας ἥμερας ἐπειτ’ ἀποθάνῃ, ἀθρόος ἔστω ὁ πλήξας, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ δαπανήσαντος εἰς τὴν νοσηλείαν ἀποτινέτω πάνθ’ ὥσα παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς κατακλίσεως ἀνάλωσε καὶ ὥσα τοῖς ἱατροῖς ἐδωκεν. ὁ γυναῖκα λακτίσας ἐγκυνον, ἃν μὲν ἐξαμβλώσῃ ἡ γυνὴ ξημιοῦσθω χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ὡς παρὰ τὸ διαφθαρέν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μείωσα τὸ πλῆθος, διδόσθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἄιδρι τῆς γυναικὸς παρ’ αὐτοῦ

1 SP: ἀπόντα rell.: ἀσπον Bernard.

a 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).

b 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.

(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.a

(32) "Similarly, let none revile the sightless or the dumb.b

(33) "In a fight without use of the blade, c 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.d 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 similar word (ἀσευτός) has been conjectured meaning "speechless." The passage in Leviticus mentions "deaf" and "blind."

c Paraphrase of the Biblical "if men contend and one smiteth the other with a stone or with his fist."

d Josephus here amalgamates two separate laws in Exodus: (1) ev. 18 f. relating to quarrels; (2) ev. 20 f. relating to the beating of a slave by his master. The last clause corresponds to the Heb. "he shall pay for shibta and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed"; here shibta 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 ἀργοιας).
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χρήματα: θησακούσης δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκότως ψυχῆν ἀντί ψυχῆς καταβέσθαι δι-καιώντος τοῦ νόμου.

279 (34) "Φάρμακον μῆτε θανάσιμον μῆτε τῶν εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐχέτω μηδὲ εἰς· εὰν δὲ κεκτημένος φωραθῇ τεθνάτω, τοῦτο πάσχων διεέθηκεν ἃν ἐκείνους καθ' ὁν τὸ φάρμακον ἤν παρεσκευασμένον.


281 (36) "Βοῦν τοῦς κέρασι πλήττοντα δι δεσπότης ἀποσφατέτω· εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἄλως κτείνει τινα πλήξας, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλευσθεὶς ἀποθνησκότω μηδ' εἰς τροφὴν εὐχρηστος εἶναι κατηξιωμένος, εὰν δὲ καὶ δι δεσπότης ἐλέγχητα προειδὼς αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μὴ φυλαξάμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκότω ὡς αὐτὸς τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοvalid.

282 γεγενημένοις. εὰν δὲ δοῦλον ἡ θεράπουν ἀπο-

1 om. RO.
2 om. R.

a Misunderstanding of Scripture, which (though the text is uncertain) appears to contemplate one fine only payable to the husband; and so tradition (Weill).
b The traditional interpretation of the Heb. "if any mischief happen" : lxx and Philo interpret otherwise.
c The nearest Biblical parallel to this section is Ex. xxii. 18, "thou shalt not suffer a sorceress (lxx φαρμακοῖς) to live." On that passage Philo ii. 315 ff. M. dilates on poison.
d 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. If she die of the blow, 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.

(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.

(36) "An ox that goreth with its horns shall be slaughtered by its owner. 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, he also shall die, as answerable for the death of the beast's victim. If a slave or a maid to the Sadducees, substituted damages; these, however, were fixed not by the injured individual, but by the competent tribunal (Baba Kamma 83b, with Weill's note).

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 ἄφανις, "make away with (him)."

Bibl. "hath not kept him (in)."

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 χρὴ παθεῖν ἡ ἀπογον.
JOSEPHUS

cτείνῃ βοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλιθοῦσθω, τριάκοντα δὲ σίκλους ὁ κύριος τοῦ βοῦς ἀποτυνέτω τῷ δεσπότῃ τούτῳ ἀνηρρημένου. βοῦς δὲ ἐὰν οὕτως πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, πιεῖσθαι καὶ ὁ τεθνεώς καὶ ὁ πλῆξας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀμφοτέρων οἱ δεσπόται αὐτῶν διανεμέσθωσαν.

283 (37) "Ὅι φρέαρ ᾗ λάκκον ὀρύζαντες ἐπιμελὲς πιεῖσθωσαν ὡστε σανίδων ἐπιβολαίς ἔχειν κεκλεισμένα, οὕτως τινὲς εἰργουτο ὑδρείας, ἀλλὰ ἑνα μηθείς κύδυνος ὡς ἐμπεσομένους ᾗ. οὐ δ' ἂν εἰς ὄρυγμα τοιούτων μη κλειστον ἐμπέσον βόσκημα τινος διαφθαρῆ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ καταβαλλέω. περιβάλλεσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στέγεσιν ἀπερ ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ὄντα οὐκ ἔασει τινὰς ἀποκυλισθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.

284 (38) "Παρακαταθήκην δὲ ὄσπερ ἵερόν τι καὶ θείον χρήμα ὁ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιότυτω, καὶ μηθείς ἀποστερήσαι θρασυθείς τὸν πεπιστευκότα μήτ' ἀνήρ μὴτε γυνή, μηθ' εἰ χρυσὸν ἀπειρον μέλλοι κερδαίνειν, καταφρονῶν τῷ μηθεία εἶναι τὸν ἐξελέγξοντα. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπιστάμενον τὸ αὐτὸτ' προσήκειν ἐκαστὸν εὖ πράττειν, καὶ μάρτυρι ἁρκούμενος αὐτῷ πάντα ποιεῖτω ἀ παρ' ἄλλων ἐπιαν αὐτῷ παρέξει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν θεὸν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πονηρὸς ἄν λανθάνει. 285 εἰ δὲ μηθέν ἐπίβουλον δρῶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς ἀπολέσειν,

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*a 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.
*b 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 612
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.a

(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 offb and being killed.

(38) “Let the receiver of a depositc esteem it
worthy of custody as of some sacred and divine
object,d 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,e 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

Scripture, is following the lead of Philo, who does the same
(ii. 324 M.).

d Philo (ii. 341 M.) uses the same phrase, Λαβὸν ὡς ἱερὸν
χρήμα παρακαταθήκην (and a little above ἱερωτάτῳ παρακατα-
θήκην).
e Or “to be sure” (καθόλου = Lat. omnino).
JOSEPHUS

ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπτά κριτὰς ὁμούτω τῶν θεῶν, ὥστε μηδὲν1 παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήσαν ἀπόλοιτο καὶ κακίαν, οὐδὲ χρησαμένου τοις μέρει αὐτῆς, καὶ οὔτως ἀνεπαιτίατος ἀπίτω. χρησάμενος δὲ κἂν ἐλαχίστῳ μέρει τῶν πεπιστευμένων, ἂν2 ἀπολέσας τύχη τὰ λοιπά, πάντα ἀ ἐλαβεν ἀπο- 288 δοῦναι κατεγνώσθω. ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ περὶ παρακαταθηκῶν κἂν μισθὸν τις ἀποστερήσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένων, μεμισθῆσθω· ὥστε3 οὐκ ἀποστερητέου ἄνδρος πένητος μισθὸν, εἰδότας ὡς ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τούτοις εἴη παρεσχηκὼς. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλ' ἀνθημερὸν ἐκ- τίνευ ὡς ὁ βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐξ ὧν πε- πόνηκε χρῆσεως ύστερειν τῶν ἐργασμένων.4

289 (39) "Παίδας ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας πατέρων μη κολάζεων, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οὐκότον μᾶλλον ἡμιοῦν, ὅτι μοχθηρῶν ἐγένοντο πατέρων, ἡ μίσος φύντας5 ἐὰν φαύλων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πατράσιν νιών ἀμαρτιών λογιστέων, τῶν νέων πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεπόντων ὑπερ- θησάμαι τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι.

290 (40) "Ἰάλλους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ σύνοδον φεύγειν τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀφελομένων αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδοποιοῦσας καρπὸν, ὃν ἀνθρώπως ἐπ' αὐξήσει τοῦ γένους ἢμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχε, ἕλαυνεν

1 M.L.E.: μηδὲ rell.
2 RO: om. rell.
3 μεμησθω (M) ὑπὶ ed. pr.
4 ἐργασάμενον RO.
5 ed. pr.: φύντες codd.

a Cf. § 214. Tradition (cited by Weill) mentions a tribunal of three (or five) judges in such cases, not of seven.

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seven judges 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, 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 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.

(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. 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.

(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

\[^{a} \] I think τὰ λαοῖς must be taken as dependent on ἀπολέσας, not (as by Hudson and Weill) with πάντα. Josephus summarizes without strictly following Scripture.

\[^{b} \] Greek " whence " (" wherefore "). For " let him . . . since " one text reads " let him remember that."

\[^{c} \] Reinach, I think needlessly, suspects the text.
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de ouτως ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνων σφαγὴ καὶ πρὸς τούτων ἀπολλύντας τὸ ἐκείνων αἰτίον δῆλον γάρ, ὡς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς τεθηλυσμῆνης μετεκοσμήσατο πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ σῶμα. ὅμως δὲ καὶ πάν τὸ νομιζόμενον τέρας τοῖς ὀρῶσι μὴ ἐξείναι δὲ ποιεῖν εἴκοσία ῶτε ἀνθρώπους ῶτε τῶν ἄλλων ζώων.

292 (41) "Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ύμῖν εἰρηνικὴ τῶν νόμων κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν διάταξις ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐμενὴς ἀστασίαστον αὐτῆς τὸν κόσμον παρέξεται, γένοιτο δὲ χρόνος μηδὲ εἰς, ὅς κατείπε τι τούτων καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβαλεῖ. ἔπει δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ εἰς ἄβουλήτος ἡ κατὰ προ- αίρεσιν παραχάς καὶ κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν, φέρε καὶ περὶ τούτων βραχέα προσδιατάξωμεν, ὡς ἂν προ- ειδότες ἁ χρή ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν σωτηρίων εὐπορητε καὶ μὴ τότε ἁ δεὶ ποιεῖν ἐπιζητοῦντες ἀπαρασκευάστοι τοῖς καιροῖς περιπέσητε;" 2

294 "Γῆν ύμῖν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐδωκε πόνων καταφρονοῦσι καὶ ψυχὰς πρὸς ἄρτην ἥσκημένους ἀπὸλεμον μὲν νέμεσθαι παράσχοι τὲ κεκτήμενοι αὐτῆς, μὴτε ἀλλοτρῶν εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακώσει στρατευσάντων μὴτε στάσεως ἐμφυλίον κατασχούσης ύμᾶς, ὑφ' ἂς τάναντία πατράσι τοῖς ἐαυτῶν πράπτοντες ἀπολείπετα τὰ ἐκείνοις νομισθέντα, χρώμενοι τὲ νόμῳ ὅς ἄγαθον δοκιμάσας ὁ θεὸς παραδίωσε διατελοῖτε. ἔργον δ' ὁ τι ἂν πολεμικὸν ἂ νῡν

1 RO: πρὸ τούτων rel.: per hoc Lat.
2 Bekker: παραπέσῃτε codd.
3 τοῖς Dindorf.

a Another text reads "before them" i.e. "before the infants' birth."
b Cf. iii. 287 for a similar transition from civil to military

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infanticides who withal 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.

(41) "Such then shall be for you in peace-time the legal constitution of your state; and God in His mercy will keep its shapely order unmarrred by strife. May there never come a time for amending aught therein and establishing the contrary in its place! Yet since humanity 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.

"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.

To ἄνθρωπειον, a Thucydidean phrase, characteristic of A. xvii.-xix.
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υφ’ ύμῶν ἦ ὑστερον ἐπὶ παίδων ὑμετέρων γένηται
296 τοῦθ’ ὑπερόριον πραχθείη. μέλλοντας δὲ πολεμεῖν
πρεσβεῖαν καὶ κήρυκας πέμπτει παρὰ τοὺς ἐκουσίως
πολεμίους: πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀπλῶν καλὸν εἶναι χρῆσθαι
λόγους πρὸς αὐτοὺς, δηλοῦντας ὅτι καὶ στρατιῶν
πολλήν ἔχοντες καὶ ὑποσίς καὶ ὀπλα καὶ πρὸ
τοῦτων εὐμενὴ τῶν θεῶν καὶ σύμμαχον, ὃμως
ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀναγκαζεσθαί πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ τὰ
ἐκεῖνων ἀφαιρουμένους ἀβούλητον αὐτῶς κέρδος
297 προσλαμβανεῖν. καὶ πειθομένων μὲν καλῶς ὑμᾶς
ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάττειν, εἰ δὲ φρονοῦντες
ἐφ’ ἐαυτοῖς ὡς ἱσχύι διαφέρουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἑθέλοιεν,
στρατὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀγάγετε,1 στρατηγῷ μὲν
αὐτοκράτορι χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, ὑποστράτηγον
dὲ χειροτονήσαντες ἕνα τὸν ἄρετη προύχοντα:
πολυστρᾶ γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τοῖς ὀξέως τι πράττειν
ἀνάγκην ἐχουσιν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι καὶ βλάπτειν
298 πέφυκε τοὺς χρωμένους. στρατὸν δ’ ἀγείν καθαρὸν
ἐκ πάντων τῶν ῥώμη σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῆς εὐ-
τολμίᾳ διαφέροντων τὸ2 δελθὸν ἀποκρίνατας;3 μὴ
τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τραπέν εἰς φυγὴν
ὡφελήσῃ. τοὺς τε νεωστὶ δειμαμένους οἰκίας;
οῖς οὕτω χρόνος ἀπολαύσεως αὐτῶν ἐνιαύσιος,
καὶ φυτεύσαστας οὕτω δὲ καρπῶν μετεσχηκότας,
ἐὰν κατὰ χώραν, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσαμένους δὲ
cαὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας, μὴ πόθῳ τούτων φει-
δόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τηροῦντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τοῦ-
tων ἀπόλαυσιν ἑθελοκακήσωσι [περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας].4

1 ἀγάγετε RO.  2 E: τὸ δὲ codd.  3 M: ἀποκρίνατας rell.  4 om. Lat.

στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, after Thuc. vi. 72 τοὺς τε στρατη-
γοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας χρῆναι ἔλεγθεν.
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 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. 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.

\(^{(b)}\) After Thuc. \textit{ibid.}, \textit{νῦνα δὲ βλάφαι καὶ τὸ πλήθος τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν πολυαρχίαν.}
299 (42) "Στρατοπεδεύομενοι δὲ προνοεῖσθε, μὴ τι τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ἐργάσησθε. πολιορκοῦντας δὲ καὶ ξύλων ἀπορομένους εἰς ποίησιν μηχανημάτων μὴ κεῖτεν τὴν γῆν ἡμερα δένδρα κόπτοντας ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαί, λογίζομένους ἐπ' ὠφελεία ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, καὶ φωνῆς ἣν εὐπορήσας τα δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὑπὸ τινὸς ἀτια τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότα πάσχοι κακῶς παρὰ δίκην, εἰ δύναμις αὐτοῖς ἢν καὶ μετοικῆσαντα ἢν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήν μεταβάντα γῆν. κρατήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιταξιμένους κτείνατε, τοὺς δ' ἀλλοις εἰς τὸ τελεῖν ὑμῖν φόρους σωζέτε πλὴν τοῦ Χα-ναναίων 'εθνοῦς· τούτοις γὰρ πανοικί χρήσαι ἀφανίσαι.

300 (43) "Φυλάσσειν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὅσοι μήτε γυναῖκα ἀνδρικῆ σκευῆ χρήσαι μήτ' ἀνδρα στολῇ γυναικεῖα."

302 (44) Πολυτείαν μὲν οὖν τοιάνδε Μωυσῆς κατέλιπε, νόμοις δ' ἐτι πρότερον τεσσαρακοστῷ ἐτεί γε-γραμμένους παραδίδωσι, περὶ ὅν ἐν ἐτέρα γραφῇ λέξομεν. ταῖς δ' ἐξής ἡμέρας, συνεχές γὰρ ἐξεκλησίασεν, εὐθυγράμμα τοὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ζησομένους ἀλλὰ παραβήσομένους τα ἐν αὐτοῖς διωρισμένα. ἐπείτα ποίησον ἐξαίμπγρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγινω, ἢν καὶ κατα-

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a 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."

b 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: 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.

(43) "Beware, above all in battle, that no woman assume the accoutrements of a man nor a man the apparel of a woman."

(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. 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-

"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.

" The projected "Customs and Causes" often mentioned; see iii. 223."
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λέλοιπεν ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρόρρησιν περιέχουσαν τῶν εὐσωμενίων, καθ’ ἣν [καὶ] γέγονε [τὰ] πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκείνου δημιουργικότας 304 τῆς ἀληθείας. ταῦτ’ οὖν τὰ βιβλία παραδίδωσιν τοῖς ἱερεύσι καὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, εἰς ἣν καὶ τοὺς δέκα λόγους γεγραμμένους ἐν δυσὶ πλαξὶ κατέθετο, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τῷ πε λαῷ παρήχεσε κρατήσαντι τῆς γῆς καὶ ἱδρυθέντι μὴ λήθην λαβεῖν τῆς Ἀμαληκτῶν ὑβρως, ἀλλὰ στρατεύσαντας ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν δι’ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνοντας ἐποίησαν κακῶς, ἐξελόντας δὲ τὴν Χαναάνων γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν διαθείραντας τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πληθusalem καθὰ πρέπει, τὸν βασιλέα δὲ ἀναστήσας πρὸς ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Σικιμών2 πόλεως [ἐμπεριάγειν]3 μεταξὺ δυοῖν ὀροῖν, Γαριζάιον4 μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ’ ἐκ λεων Βουλῆ5 προσαγορευμένου, μερισθείσαν δὲ τὴν στρατιὰν καθ’ ἐξ φυλᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς δυοῖν ὀροῖν

1 ed. pr., Lat.: τυγχάνοντες codd.
2 Σικιμών Ρ.Ο.
3 om. ed. pr., Lat.
4 Γρεῖκοι Μ.: Γρεῖκοι Nieśc.
5 Γιβάλοι ed. pr.: Hebhal Lat.

⁠a 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. 346), 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 ff.

⁠b A. iii. 39 ff. (esp. 60), Ex. xvii. 8-16. The passage in 622
over bequeathed in a book preserved in the temple, 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. 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, not far from the city of Sikima between two mountains, the Garizean on the right and that called “Counsel” on the left; and the army, divided into two portions of six tribes each, was to take up its station on these

Deut. xxv., “Remember what Amalek did,” was one of the earliest of the “lessons” from the Law to be read in Jewish worship.

c Direction not named in Scripture: the phrase “towards the sun-rising” seems to be taken from Herodotus (B.J. vii. 281 note).

Shechem: some mss. read “the Sikimites.” The word ἐπεριάγων ("to bring round"), which follows in the Greek ms., looks like a gloss on ἀναστήσας ("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.

c Heb. Gerizim, lxx Ἱεριζὲν.

c Heb. Ebal, lxx Εβάλ: Βούλη ("Counsel") of Josephus is an instance of the frequent Hellenization of a Hebrew name; the Heb. is perhaps connected with the god Bel.
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ἀναστῆναι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λευίτας τε καὶ ίερεῖς. 306 καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Γαρίζειν2 γενομένους εὐχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς σπουδάσασιν ὁμ\(
\)ον τε Μωυσῆς εἶπε μὴ παρακροσασμένους,3 εὐθημεῖν δὲ τὰς ἑτέρας, καὶ τούτων πάλιν εὐχομένων 307 τὰς προηγμένας ἐπανειν. ἔπειτα κατὰ ταῦτα τοῖς παραβησομένοις κατάρας τίθεσθαι ὑποφωνοῦσας ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τῇ κυρώσει τῶν λεγομένων. ἀν-έγραψε δὲ τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰς κατάρας αὐτὸς, ὅσ μηδέποτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ 308 τοῦ χρόνου, ὥς δὴ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ τελευτῶν ἐν-έγραψε κατὰ πλευράν ἑκατέραν, ἥ καὶ στάντα φησὶν τὸν λαὸν θῦσαί τε καὶ ὅλοκαυτώσας καὶ μετ’ ἑκείνην τὴν ἥμεραν οὐκ4 ἐπενεγκείν ίερεῖον ἑτερον, οὐ γάρ εἷναι νόμιμων. ταῦτ’ οὖν Μωυσῆς διέταξε καὶ τῷ Ἐβραίων ἔθνος ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ποιοῦν διατελεῖ. 309 (45) Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ τὸν λαὸν σὺν γυναῖξιν ἀμα καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών, ὥσ παρεῖναι καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ὃρκου τῶν νόμων αὐτοὺς φυλακῆς ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διανοίας ἀκριβεῖς λογιστάς γενομένους ἤ μηδὲν5 αὐτοὺς μὴ συγγενεῖα χαρίζομένους μὴτε εἰκονιτας φόβω μὴτε ἅλλην καθάπαξ αἰτίαν κυριωτέραν τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντας παραβήναι τού-

1 RO: + τῶν rel. 2 Γρίζειν ROM. 3 Holwerda: παρακροσαμένους (παρακούσ.) codd. 4 + ἐτ’ SPLE. 5 ἢ μηδὲν conj.: ei μηδὲν eis etc. codd.

a “And all the people shall say, Amen,” Deut. xxvii. 26.

b 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).

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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; and when these offered prayers in their turn, the first party should signify their assent. Thereafter, in the same order, they should imprecat e 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 on either side, even where he said that the people were to stand and offer sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, but after that day they should offer no further victim thereon, that being unlawful. Such were the ordinances of Moses, and the Hebrew nation continues to act in conformity therewith.

(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 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

Such seems to be the meaning, but the Greek is peculiar and possibly corrupt.

No such injunction in Scripture. "Joseph est ici plus loyaliste que la loi" (T. Reina ch).

Lit. "showing themselves strict accountants."
310 τοὺς, ἀλλ' ἂν τέ τις τῶν εξ αἵματος συγχεῖν καὶ καταλύειν ἐπιχειρῆ τὴν κατ' αὐτούς πολιτείαν ἄν τε πόλις, ἄμβην αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῆ καὶ κατ' ιδίαν, καὶ κρατήσαντας μὲν εξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπάν θεμελίων καὶ μηδὲ το ἔδαφος τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων εἰ δυνατὸν καταλυεῖν, εἰ δ' ἀσθενοῖν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν ιδίαν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι δεκνύαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ἄμμυνε.

311 (46) Ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἂν αἱ θυσίαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον κεχαρισμέναι γένουτο καὶ ὅπως ἄν οἱ στρατεύοντες ἐξίοιεν τεκμηρίων χρώμενοι τοῖς λίθοις, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωκα. προεφήτευσε

312 δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Μωσεός παρόντος. ἔπειτα πάνθ' ὅσα ποιήσειεν' ύπὲρ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας ἐν τε πολέμως καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην νόμους τε συντιθεῖς καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον συμπορίζων ἀναλογιζόμενος προείπεν, ὡς δηλώσειεν αὐτῷ τὸ θείον, ὅτι παραβάντες τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πειρά-

313 θήσονται κακῶν, ὡς ὀπλων τε αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πληρωθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι πόλεις καὶ τὸν νεῶν καταπραθῆναι καὶ πραθέντας δουλεύειν ἀνδράσιν οὐδένα ληψόμενοι οἶκτον ἐπὶ ταῖς συμ-

314 φοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετανοήσειν δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ χρησίμων ταῦτα πάσχοντας. "ο μέντοι θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ὑμᾶς πόλεις τε πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἀποδώσει καὶ τὸν ναὸν ἔσεθαι δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀποβολὴν ὕχ ἄπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις."

315 (47) Παραρμῆσας δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς

1 ποιήσειεν SP. 2 οὖν ἹΟ.

a iii. 216.

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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.

(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. 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 will restore those cities to your citizens and the temple too; yet will they be lost not once, but often."

(47) Then, after exhorting Joshua to lead a cam-

\[\text{\textit{Deut. xiii. 12.}}\]


\[\text{\textit{Reinach "quoi a foncé votre empire": the phrase \textit{θεὸς ἀ ἱκτίσας} recurs in \textit{B.J.} iii. 379, v. 377. This last sentence is the author’s addition, without warrant in Scripture.}}\]
Χαναναίους στρατεύοντες ὃς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργοῦντος οἷς ἦν ἐπιχειρήσει, καὶ πᾶσαν ἑπευφημήσας τὴν πληθὺν, "ἐπεί," φησί, "πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀπειμὶ προγόνους καὶ θεὸς τήν τε ἡμεραν τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἀφίξεως ὦρισε,

316 χάριν μὲν αὐτῷ ζῷω ἐπὶ καὶ παρὼν ὑμῖν ἔχειν ὀμολογῶ προνοίας τε τῆς ύπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἂν οὐχ ύπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐποιήσατο κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεάς τῶν κρείττονων, ὅτι τε πονοῦντι μοι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιας τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὑμῶν μεταβολῆς φροντίδα λαμβάνοντι συνηγωνίσατο καὶ παρέσχεν ἐν ἁπασιν αὐτῶν ἡμῖν εὔμενη.

317 μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸς ἢν καὶ τὴν ἁφήγησιν αὐτῶν δίδοις καὶ τὰ τελὴ χαριζόμενος, ὕποστρατήγω χρώμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ υπηρέτη ὁν τὸν ἡμετέρον λαὸν

318 εὐεργετεῖν ἡθέλησεν. ἀνθ' ἃν προευλογήσας τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὃ μελήσει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῶν, ἀπαλλασσόμενος καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην, αὐτὸς τε ταύτην ὀφειλομένην ἁμοιβὴν ἀποδιδός καὶ καταλείπον εἰς μνῆμα ὑμῖν τὸ σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν προσῆκεν τούτων ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, πάντων ὃν τε παρέσχηκε καὶ μένων εὐμενῆς ἐτί

319 παρέξει δώρημα κάλλιστον, φυλάττειν· ὅς δεινός μὲν ἐχθρός καὶ ἀνθρωπός νομοθέτης ὑβριζομένων αὐτῶ τῶν νόμων καὶ μόρον κειμένων, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ περαθείη τε χαλεπαίνοντος ύπὲρ ἀμελουμένων νόμων, ὅς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ὑμῖν ἐδώκε."  

320 (48) Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τελευτή τοῦ βίου φήσαντος καὶ μετ' εὐλογίας ἐκάστη τῶν φυλῶν

1 στρατιάν MS.  
2 ex Lat. edd.: ἡμετέρων codd.  
3 ed. Genev.: ἐπινοοῦντι SP (omitting κατὰ): ἐπὶ νοῦν rell.  
4 ὑμῖν RO.
campaign against the Canaanites, assured of God's cooperation 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.\(^a\) 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

\(^a\) Gr. "us" (sing. for plur., as often).

\(^5\) προσευλογήσας SIL. \(^6\) Niese: τελευτήν codd.
According to another reading, "that in fact came to pass."

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each of the tribes the things that in fact were to come to pass, 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
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325 ὃς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὀρεὶ τῷ 'Αβαρεὶ καλομένῳ ἐγένετο, τούτῳ δὲ ὑψηλὸν Ἰεριχώντος ἀντικρὺν κείται γῆν ἀρίστην τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ πλείστην παρέχον τοῖς ἐπὶ αὐτοῦ κατοπτεύειν, ἀπέπεμπε τὴν γερού- 326 σίαν. ἀσπαζομένου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἑλεάζαρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομλούντος ἐτί, νέφους αὐτοῦ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ στάντος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βιβλίοις τεθείσα, δείσας μὴ δὲ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρῆσαι τομήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.

327 (49) 'Εβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔτων εὐκοσί καὶ ἐκατόν, ὃν ἠρέξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνι λείπον ἀκαταπαύσας δὲ τῷ ὕστάτῳ μηνὶ τοῦ ἐτους, ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων Δύστρου καλομένου Αδάρου
328 δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν νομιμίᾳ, συνέσει τε τοὺς πώποτ' ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ χρησάμενος ἀριστα τοῖς νοηθείσιν, εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πλῆθεσιν ὁμιλῆσαι κε- χαρισμένος τὰ τέ ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτωρ,
329 ὃς μηδὲ εὐευίης τούτων τῇ ψυχῇ δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ γνώσκειν μόνον αὐτῶν τῆς προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ

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1 +κατ' SPL. 2 Niese: λείποντι codd.

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a 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.

b 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—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. But he has written of himself in the sacred books that he died, for fear lest they should venture to say that by reason of his surpassing virtue he had gone back to the Deity.

(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, 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

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).

c 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.

d The same phrase in i. 85 (of Enoch), iii. 96 (of Moses).

e Feb.–March: Rabbinic tradition named the 7th (not the 1st) of Adar (Weill).
παρ’ ἄλλοις αὐτὰ βλέπειν μᾶλλον ἡ παρ’ αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις, προφήτης δὲ οἴος οὐκ ἄλλος, ἀφοῦ ὁ τι ἂν φθέγξαιτο δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροάσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. πενθεὶ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐφ’ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, λύπη δὲ οὐκ ἄλλη κατέσχεν Ἐβραίους τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, ὅση τότε Μωυσέος ἀποθανόντος. ἔποθον δ’ αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ πειραθέντες αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐτοῦ δεινὴν ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν, τὸ περὶ ὧν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκ τούτων λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Μωυσῆν τέλος τοιούτοι ήμῖν 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 whosoever 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 636
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. References to the smaller sections and pages of the present edition are appended.
Προοίμιον περὶ τῆς ὅλης πραγματείας.¹

α'. 'Η τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις καὶ διάταξις τῶν στοιχείων.

β'. Περὶ τοῦ γένους 'Αδάμου καὶ τῶν ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέκα γενεῶν τῶν μέχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.

γ'. 'Ὡς ὁ κατακλυσμός ἐγένετο καὶ ὃν τρόπον Νῶχος σωθεὶς ἑν λάρνακι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κατώκησεν ἐν τῷ Σινάρῳ πεδίῳ.

δ'. 'Ὡς πύργον² οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἔφ' ὑβρεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ ψυκοῦσάν,³ καὶ ὃς τὰς φωνὰς αὐτών μετέβαλε καὶ ὁ τόπος, ἐν ὃ τοῦτο γέγονε, Βαβυλῶν ἐκλήθη.

ε'. 'Ὡς οἱ Νῶχου ἔγγονοι πάσαν τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπώκησαν.

ζ'. Ὁτι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκαστον ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκισάντων⁴ προσηγορεύθη.

ζ'. Ὅπως Ἄβραμος ὁ πρόγονος ἡμῶν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς κατέσχε τὴν τότε μὲν Χανααίαν νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην.

¹ om. Lat. (in which the table of contents stands after the Proem).
² πύργον Niese: πύργος ὑπ' codd. ³ + κατέπεσεν ed. pr. ⁴ Niese: οἰκισάντων codd.
BOOK I

Preface concerning the whole work.

(i) The construction of the world and disposition of the elements.
(ii) Concerning the race of Adam and the ten generations from him up to the flood.
(iii) How the flood came and how Noah, being saved in an ark with his family, settled in the plain of Sinar.
(iv) How his sons built a tower, in God's despite, and how He confounded their languages and the place wherein this was done was called Babylon.
(v) How the descendants of Noah colonized all the habitable earth.
(vi) How that each of the nations was named after its founder.
(vii) How Abraham, our forefather, quitting the land of the Chaldaeans, occupied that which was then called Canaan and now Judaea.

Gr. "changed."
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I

η’ "Οτι λιμοῦ τὴν Χαναναίαν καταλαβόντος εἰς Αἰγυπτον ἀπῆρε καὶ διατράφας ἐν αὐτῇ τινα χρόνον ὑπέστρεφεν ὑπὶσω.

θ’. Ἡττα Σοδομίτῶν Ασσυρίων αὐτοίς ἐπιστρατευσάντων.

ι’. Ὡς Ἀβραμος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ασσυρίους ἐκστρατεύσας ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς αἵμαλάτους τῶν Σοδομίτων ἔσωσε καὶ τὴν λείαν ἥν ἔλαβον ἀφείλετο.

ια’. Πώς τὸ Σοδομίτων ἔθνος θεὸς κατεστρέφατο χολωθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφ’ οἷς ἥμαρτανον.

ιβ’. Περὶ Ἰσακῆλου τοῦ Αβράμου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ Ἀράβων.

ιγ’. Περὶ Ἰσάκου, ὅς ἦν γνήσιος παῖς Αβράμου.

ιδ’. Περὶ Σάρρας τῆς Ἀβράμου γυναικός, καὶ πῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεφεν.

ιε’. Ὡς ἐκ Κατούρης Ἀβράμῳ γαμηθείσῃ τὸ τῶν Τρωγλοδυτῶν Ἀράβων ἐθνὸς ἐγεννήθη.

ις’. Περὶ τῆς Ἀβράμου τελευτῆς.

ιζ’. Περὶ τῆς Ἰσάκου παϊδῶν Ἡσαῦ καὶ Ἰακώβου γενέσεως καὶ διατροφῆς.

ιη’. Ἰακώβου φυγὴ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διὰ τὸν ἐκ ταδελφοῦ φόβον, καὶ ὡς γῆμας ἐκεῖ καὶ δῶδεκα γεννήσας παῖδας πάλιν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐπανήλθεν.

1 om. Lat.
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I-II

10'.  'Ως "Ἰσακος τελευτήσας ἐτάφη ἐν Νεβρώνι. Περιέχει ἡ βιβλικὸς χρόνον ἐτῶν ὡς 'Ἰώσηπος ,γη', 'Εβραίοι ,αωβ', Εὐσέβιος ,γυνθ'!

BIBLIION B

α'.  'Ως Ἰσαίς καὶ Ἰάκωβος Ἰσάκοι παιδεῖς ὄντες διείλοντο τὴν οὐκήσιν καὶ Ἰσαίς μὲν τὴν Ἰδομενίαν κατέσχεν, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τὴν Χανααίαν.

β'.  'Ως Ἰώσηπος διενέστατο τῶν Ἰακώβου παιδών ὑνειράτων αὐτῶν προδεικνύοντο τὴν μέλλουσαν εὐθαμονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐφθονίθη.

γ'.  'Ως αὐτῶς οὕτως εἰς Αἰγυπτόν πραθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν δια τὸ πρὸς αὐτὸν μίσος καὶ γενόμενος ἐπίσημος ἐκεῖ καὶ λαμπρός2 τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἐσχεν ὑποχειρός.

[δ'].  Ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς πάσης πρὸς αὐτὸν μετάβασις διὰ τῶν γενόμενον λιμον.

ε'.  "Οσα τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ συνέβη κακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπ’ ἔτη τετρακόσια.

ς'.  'Ως Μωσέως ἤγομενον τῇ Αἰγυπτῷ ἔξελιπον.

ξ'.  Ἡ Μωσέως γένεσις καὶ ἀνατροφή.

1 περιέχει . . . γυνθ' om. SL Lat.: περιέχει ἡ βιβλικὸς χρόνον ἐτῶν γωλγ' P (the opening words of this ms).

2 λαμπρότατος RO.

a So the Latin version: the Greek mss have "Nebron" (i. 170 note).

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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.

(ii) How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob’s sons, by his dreams foreshowing his future fortune, excited the envy of his brethren.

(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.

(iv) The migration of his father with all his family to join him because of the famine.

(v) What befell the Hebrews in Egypt, suffering affliction for 400 years.

(vi) How, under the leadership of Moses, they left Egypt.

(vii) Birth and education of Moses.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, II III

η'. Ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις διωκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀγνηπτῶν ἀνακοπείσα φυγὴν δὲ αὐτῆς παρέσχεν.

Περιέχει δὲ ἡ βίβλος ἑτη διακόσια εἴκοσι.]¹

BIBAIION Γ²

α'. Ὡς Μωσῆς τὸν λαὸν ἀπ' Ἀγνύπτου ἀναλαβὼν ἠγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σωναίον ὅρος πολλά ταλαιπωρήσαντα ἐν τῇ ὀδοιπορίᾳ.

β'. Ὡς πολεμήσαντες Ἑβραίοις Ἀμαληκίται καὶ οἱ πέρεξ ἡττήθησαν καὶ πολλὴν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλον.³

γ'. "Ὅτι τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτοῦ Ἰέθηρ Μωσῆς παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Σωναίον ἀσμένως ὑπεδέξατο.

δ'. Ὡς ὑπέθετο διατάξει τὸν λαὸν αὐτῶ κατὰ χλιάρχους καὶ ἕκαστον ἄτακτον ὅντα τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὃς⁴ ἕκαστα τούτων ἐποίησε Μωσῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ παραμείνων.

¹ The bracketed portion (in MSP) is omitted by ROL Lat.; in place of it cod. O has ὃς Ἑβραίοι ἐδοκίμασαν τοῖς Ἀγνυπτῖοι | ὃς Μωσῆς τραφεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Φαραωθοῦ παιδός καὶ μέγας γενόμενος πληγάς προσῆκε τοῖς Ἀγνυπτῖοι ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ | ὃς λαβὼν τὸν λαὸν καὶ διελῶν τὴν ἐρυθράν αὐτὸς διεπέρασεν.

² List of contents in ROSEP Lat.: om. ML.

³ Section omitted by O, with corresponding alteration of the subsequent figures: καὶ πολλὴν . . . ἀπέβαλον] et Israelitae praedam hostium perceperunt Lat.; πολλὴν] τὴν πολλὴν SP.

⁴ καὶ ὃς] quomodo Lat., beginning a new section (v), with alteration of subsequent figures.

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(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.]

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 b 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

a 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.

b Jethro : Raguel in the text of A. iii. 63.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III

ε'. Ὅσα ἀναβάς Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖον ὄρος καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐδωκεν.

ζ'. Περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἣν κατεσκεύασε Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ ἑρμήν εἰς τιμήν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὦστε ναὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

η'. Ὅσα ἐκεῖθεν ἁρας Μωυσῆς ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ τοὺς κατοικομένους αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸ μέγεθος ἐξαπέστειλεν.

θ'. Ὅτι τῶν πεμφθέντων μετὰ τεσσαρακοστῆν ὑποστρεφάντων ἠμέραν καὶ λεγόντων οὐκ ἄξιο-μάχους αὐτοὺς ἄλλα τὴν τῶν Χαναναίων ὑπεξαιρόντων δύναμιν, τὸ πλῆθος ταραχθὲν καὶ πεσὼν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ὀρμησεν ὦστε καταλεύσαι παρὰ μικρὸν τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Λέγυπτον ὑποστρέφα σουλεύειν διεγνωκότες.

ι'. Καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μωυσῆς διαγανακτήσας τὸν θεοῦ αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρμῆν διατριβὴν προειπευ καὶ μὴν παρὰ μικρὸν om. SP.

1 ὑμερῶν SP.
2 καὶ τῶν . . . διατέτακται] et quae purificationes et quemadmodum de festiuitatibus et singulis diebus fuerit constitutum Lat.
3 τὸ μέγ.] magnitudines Lat. 4 παρὰ μικρὸν om. SP.
5 SP Lat. : προειπεῦν rell.
6 text doubtful (iratum Lat.).
(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\(^a\) is ordered. 151 386 224 424 237 430

(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\(^b\) for them a sojourn for forty years in the wilderness, and

\(^a\) Or, according to another reading, “days.”
\(^b\) Text doubtful.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III-IV

eis Aigupton upostrepein mhte labein tòn Xananaian.

Periechei h biblos chronon eton duo.¹

BIBAIION Δ

α'. 'Eβραιων δίχα τῆς Μωυσεός-γνώμης μάχη πρὸς Xananaious kai ἤττα.

β'. Στάσις Κορέου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς Μωυσήν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

γ'. Τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς 'Εβραίοις εὖ τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἐτεσίων ὅκτω καὶ τριάκοντα.²

δ'. Ὡς Σηκώνα καὶ Ὡγην τοὺς Ἀμορραιῶν βασιλεῖς νικήσας Μωυσῆς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν [ἀπασαν]³ αὐτῶν διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν δυοι φυλαῖς καὶ ἡμισεία τῶν 'Εβραιῶν.⁴

ε'. Μωυσεός πολιτεία καὶ πῶς εξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφανίσθη.

Periechei η βιβλος αὕτη⁵ χρόνον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ὅκτω.

¹ μήτε λαβεῖν . . . δύο om. Lat.
² + δ' (om. P) ὡς οἱ μὲν τῆς στάσεως κατάρξαντες διεφθάρθησαν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δ' ἱερωσύνην Ἰαρῶν ὁ Μωίσεως ἀδελφὸς κάτεσχε καὶ οἱ ἑγγονοὶ (ἐκγ. P) αὐτοῦ: L inserts this section between (ii) and (iii).
³ om. Lat.: τρίς, αὐτῶν ἀπασάν SP.
⁴ + ε' (om. PL) περὶ Βαλάμου τοῦ μάντεως καὶ ποταμὸς (ποτα-πῶν S) ἤν τὸ εἰδος. ὡς ἐπὶ Μαδιανίτας 'Εβραίοι στρατευόμενες ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν SPL.
⁵ R Lat.: om. rell.
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,\(^a\) 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

This book covers a period of thirty-eight years.

\(^a\) Gr. Sêchon and Oges; the latter is more precisely described in the text (A. iv. 96) as "king of Galadene and Gaulanitis."

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