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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

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

*b Ant. l. 6.
the race which was now permeating every household.\textsuperscript{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 \textit{Ῥωμαϊκὴ Αρχαιολογία} (\textit{Roman Antiquities}). Exactly a century later Josephus produced his \textit{magnum opus}, also in twenty books and entitled \textit{Ἰουδαϊκὴ Αρχαιολογία} (\textit{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,”\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{d}

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

Data. In the final paragraph of his work he 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.

Patron. 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

* Ant. xx. 267.  b ib. xx. 259-266.  c Vita 359.
* Ant. i. 8 f., Vita 430, Ap. i. 1, ii. 1, 296.
* 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. 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" (ῥήχας πολυτροπώς), 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. 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

\[\text{Sources: }\]

\[\text{Scripture.}\]

\[\text{Dio Cassius, lxvii. 14.}\]

\[\text{Ant. i. 8.}\]

\[\text{Schürer, G.J.V. (ed. 4) i. p. 80 note.}\]
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the sources employed for the second half may be reserved for a later volume. For the first half the author is mainly dependent on Scripture and traditional interpretation of Scripture. As a rule he closely follows the order of the Biblical narrative, but he has, with apologies to his countrymen, 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 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. Here, as elsewhere, 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 Oecateuch his main authority seems to be the Hebrew (or Aramaic) text; the use of the Greek Bible is here slight, and the translation is for the most part his own. For the later historical books the position is reversed: from 1 Samuel to 1 Maccabees the basis of his text is a Greek Bible, and the Semitic text becomes a subsidiary source.

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

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\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{Ant.} iv. 196 ff.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{iö.} i. 17, x. 218.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{iö.} iii. 99 note.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{iö.} iii. 126 note.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize \textit{iö.} i. 17, x. 218.}\]
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traditional lore, forming a collection of first century Midrash of considerable value. In the realm of Hagga-
dah or legendary amplification of Scripture, we have, for instance, tales of the birth and infancy of Moses a and of the Egyptian campaign against Ethiopia under his leadership, b which find partial parallels in Rabbini-
cal and Alexandrian writings; other additions of this nature may be illustrated from the Book of Jubilees (c. 100 B.C.). c In the sphere of Halakah—the practical interpretation of the laws according to certain traditional rules, τὰ νόμιμα as Josephus would call them—the detailed exposition of the Mosaic regulations in the present volume d 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 Philo. on Moses prefixed to it e betrays clear dependence on the De opifìcio mundi of Philo; acquaintance with a few other works of the Alexandrian writer is shown elsewhere. f

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

a Ant. ii. 205 ff.  b ii. 233 ff.

  c i. 41, 52, 70 f., ii. 224 (with notes).

d iii. 224 ff., iv. 196 ff.

  e i. 18-28 (notes).

  f De Abrahamo, i. 177, 225, and perhaps De migrations Abrahâmi, i. 157: De Josepho, ii. 41 f., 72.
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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 (σωφρόνωι). 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 com-

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* Ant. i. 94, 107 f., 158 f.; cf. vii. 101.
* iv. 92.
* Ap. l. 50.

xiv
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 ἃπεσα ταυλειμάτων (Soph. Ant. 179), 300 κακὸς κακῶς ἀπόλυτος (Phil. 1368), iii. 15 τὰ ἐν τοσὶ κακὰ (cp. 13 : Ant. 1327), 99 πρόνοιαν ἄρειν περὶ πτωσί (Ant. 283), 141 and 165 περὶ (else only Iph. 925), 264 εἰς εὐερετεῖν (O.T. 760), iv. 15 ἡπάθεται κ. s. Ent. (A. 2), iv. 265 ἄνωτες γῆς (cp. A. 1326 f.). Euripides (Herc. Fur. 323 f.) is clearly the model in the story of Hagar's expulsion (i. 218). From Homer we have ὦ τὸ γῆς φησὶν ὀδὺ (i. 222 : cp. Π. xxii. 60 etc.), πίδακις ῥίζων (iii. 33 : Π. xvi. 825), ἥχλιους (iii. 203 : Οδ. xii. 406), ἄπτε παιδας εὐφραίνει καὶ γυναῖκας (iv. 117 ; after Π. 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 ἁλευν ἀνεσχοντα (iv. 305).

Beside this dependence on classical authors, another marked feature of this assistant, which he shares with his
favourite poet * 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 ἱστορέας who appears later on (A. vi) and is characterized by his love of ἱεραδύνας 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. 392 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. τὰ ἤν ... ἡν ἐγραφαῖς ... ὡς τὰς ἡμιλεῖς ...). Three alternative methods of delivering the Israelites at the Red Sea are open to the Deity (ii. 337). Instances of similar grouping are to be found in ii. 189, 275 (φωνὴ, ὕψος, ἀργότερα), 293, 326, iii. 22, 45 διὰ (τοῦ ἄλλου χρημάτων τροφῆς: ἀλλακτον ἀνετέρα), 80 (ἀνακει ... ἀναπαυτα ... κεραυνοῖ), 319 (οἱ ἦν ... οὶ δὲ ... πολλοί δὲ ...), iv. 26 (οὐκ ἐπειδὴ ... οὐ μὴν οὐδ' εὐγενεῖς ... οὗτοι διὰ φαλακηλείας), 40 (ἦσανα τῶν ἐκ' αὐτῶν τοιαύτα τε καὶ γῆς καὶ βαλάνσης, cf. 45), 48 (αὐτούς ἢμα γῆ γενεὰ 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

* See the writer's paper on Sophocles and the Perfect Number (Proceedings of the British Academy, vol. xvi).
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 ἄρχωσθα 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,⁶ 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.


b s.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.

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.
Exc. Excerpts made by order of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, cent. x.
E Epitome, used by Zonaras, and conjectured by Niese to have been made in cent. x or xi.
Zon. The Chronicon of J. Zonaras, cent. xii.
ed. pr. The editio princeps of the Greek text (Basel, 1544) seems to be derived in part from some unknown ms and is occasionally an important authority.

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

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. Maudner 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).
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

(Προεμ 1) Τοις τάς ἱστορίας συγγράφεως βουλομένους οὐ μίαν οὐδὲ τὴν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ τῆς σπουδῆς γινομένην αἰτίαν, άλλα πολλὰς καὶ πλείων 2 ἀλλήλων διαφεροῦσας. τινὲς μὲν γὰρ ἐπιδεικνύμενοι λόγων δεινότητα καὶ τὴν ἀπ’ αὐτῆς θηρευόμενον δόξαν ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῆς παιδείας τοῦ μέρος ὀρμῶσιν, ἄλλοι δὲ χάριν ἐκείνους φέροντες, περὶ ὑπὸ τὴν ἀναγραφὴν εἶναι συμβεβηκε, τὸν εἰς αὐτὴν 3 πόνον καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν ὑπέστησαν: εἰς δ’ οἰτινες ἐβιάσθησαν ὑπ’ αὐτῆς τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἀνάγκης οἷς πραττόμενοι παρέτυχον ταῦτα γραφῆ δηλούσε περιλαβεῖν πολλοὺς δὲ χρησίμων μέγεθος πραγμάτων ἐν ἁγνοῖς κειμένων προϋτρεψε τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν ἱστορίαν εἰς κοινὴν ὀφθέλειαν ἔξενεγ- 4 κεῖσθαι τούτων δὴ τῶν προειρημένων αἰτίων αἱ τελευταῖαι δύο κάμοι συμβεβηκασι: τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρὸς τοὺς Ῥωμαίους πόλεμον ἡμῖν τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις γενόμενον καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῶν πράξεις καὶ τὸ τέλος οὗν ἀπεβη πειρὰ μαθῶν ἔβιαινὴν ἐκδιηγήσα- 2 σθαι διὰ τούς ἐν τῷ γράφειν λυμαίνομενοι τὴν

1 Οἱ θηρεύμενοι rell.

* The Bellum Judaicum, published some twenty years before the present work.
(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.  

5 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.
5 ἀλήθειαν, (2) ταύτην δὲ τὴν ἐνεστὼσαν ἐγκεκεχειρίσαμεν πραγματείας νομίζον ἀπασὶ φανεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἑλλησίων ἄξιαν στουδῆς: μελέτει γὰρ περιέξεων ἀπασαν τὴν παρ᾽ ἡμῖν ἀρχαιολογιῶν καὶ [τὴν] διάταξιν τοῦ πολιτείατος ἐκ τῶν Ἑβραϊκῶν μεθηρμηνευόν μένην γραμμάτων. ἂν δὲ μὲν οὖν καὶ πρῶτον διενοθήνη, ὅτε τὸν πόλεμον συνέγραφον, δηλόωσαι τίνες ὀντες ἐξ ἀρχῆς Ἰουδαίοι καὶ τίνις χρησάμενοι τύχαις, ὥστε οὐκ ἐπὶ ταῦτα εὐθυγράμματα τὰ πρὸς εὐσέβειαν καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀσκήσιν ἀρετῆς, πόσους τε πολέμους ἐν μακροῖς πολεμήσαντες χρόνοις εἰς τὸν τελευταίον ἀκόντες πρὸς Ἀρμαῖοις κατέστησαν. ἂλλα ἐπειδὴ μείζον ἢν τούτῳ τοῦ λόγου περιβολή, καθ᾽ αὐτὸν εἰκονίκος χωρίσας ταῖς ἱδίαις ἀρχαῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῷ τελεί τῆς γραφῆς συνεμετρήσα χρόνου δὲ προϊόντος, ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς μεγάλοις ἀπτεπθαί διανοούμενοι, ὁκνοὶ μοι καὶ μελλήσαι ἐγών τηλικοῦ πλενεγκεκτε ὑπόθεσιν εἰς ἀλλοδαπὴν ἡμῖν καὶ ξένην διαλέκτου συνήθειαν. ἦσαν δὲ τίνες οἴ πόθῳ τῆς ιστορίας ἐπ᾽ αὐτῆς με προοτριπότε, καὶ μάλιστα δὴ πάντων Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἄνηρ ἀπασαν μὲν ἰδέαις παιδείας ἡγαστικῶς, διαφορώντως δὲ χαῖρων ἐμπεριώς πραγμάτων, ἀτὸ δὴ μεγάλοις μὲν αὐτῶς ὁμιλήσας πράγμασι καὶ τύχαις ποιντρόποις, ἐν ἀπασι δὲ βαυματικὴν φύσεως ἐπιδιεξάμενος ἱσχύν καὶ προαλ- γρεσὸν ἀρετῆς ἀμετακίνητον. τούτῳ δὴ πεποιημένος ἦς αἰεὶ τοῖς χρήσιμον ἢ καλὸν τι πράττειν δυνατόν.

1 προεγκεχειρίσαμε SPL. 2 om. O. 3 καὶ αὐτῶν OE. 4 ὅτι αἰεὶ O : del rell.

* Josephus bases the first part of his narrative on the Biblical story; but his rôle 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.\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) 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.

\(^a\) See Introduction. The historian's later works, the \textit{Antiquities}, its appendix the \textit{Life} (§ 430), and the \textit{Contra Apionem}, are all dedicated to this patron.
μένος συμφιλιοκαλούντε καὶ ἑμαυτὸν αἰσχυνόμενος, εἰ δόξαιμι βαθυμία πλέον ἢ τῷ περὶ τὰ κάλλιστα χαῖρειν πόνῳ, προθυμότερον ἐπερρωσθῆν, ἐτι κάκεινα1 πρὸς τοὺς εἰρημένους λογισάμενος οὐ παρέργως, περὶ τε τῶν ἡμετέρων προγόνων εἰ μεταδιδόναι τῶν τοιούτων ἤθελον, καὶ περὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων εἰ τινὲς αὐτῶν γνώναι τα παρ’ ἡμῖν ἐσπούδασαν.

10 (3) Ἐδρον τούτων ὑπὲρ Πτολεμαίων μὲν ὁ δεύτερος, μάλιστα δὴ βασιλεὺς περὶ παιδείαν καὶ βιβλίων συναγωγὴν σπουδάσας, ἐξαιρέτως ἐφιλοτιμήθη τῶν ἡμέτερον νόμων καὶ τῆς κατ’ αὐτὸν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας εἰς τὴν Ἐλλάδα φωνὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὡς ἐν τοῖς παρ’ ἡμῖν ἀρχιερέως οὐδενὸς ἀρετῆς δεύτερος Ἐλεάζαρος τῷ προειρημένῳ βασιλεὺς ταύτης ἀπολαύσαι τῆς ὀφελείας οὐκ ἐφθόνησε, πάντως ἀντειπὼν ἂν, εἰ μὴ πάτριος ἢν ἡμῖν τὸ μηδὲν ἔχειν.

11 τῶν καλῶν ἀπόρρητον. κάμαντί δὴ πρέπειν ἐνόμισα τὸ μὲν τοῦ ἀρχιερέως μμήσασθαι μεγαλόψυχον, τῷ βασιλεῖ δὲ πολλοὺς ὀμοίως ὑπολαβεῖν καὶ νῦν εἶναι φιλομαθεῖς· οὐδὲ γὰρ πάσαν ἐκείνος ἐφθή λαβεῖν τὴν ἀναγραφὴν, ἀλλὰ αὐτὰ2 μόνα τὰ τοῦ νόμου παρέδωσαν οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξήγησιν εἰς τὴν Ἀλεξάνδρειαν· μυρία δ’ ἔστι τὰ δηλοῦμεν διὰ τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων, ἀτε δὴ πεντακοσικίλιαν ἐτῶν ἱστορίας ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐμ-

1 O: κάκεινο rel. Lat.
2 ἄλλα (om. αὐτὰ) O.

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* Ptolemy II. "Philadelphus" (283–245 n.c., E. Bevan).
* The reputed high priest in the Aristaeas story.
* The traditional story of the origin of the Greek version.
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, that king who was so deeply interested in learning and such a collector of books, was particularly anxious to have our Law and the political constitution based thereon translated into Greek; while, on the other side, Eleazar, 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. 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 all our records: it was only the portion containing the Law which was delivered to him by those who were sent to Alexandria to interpret it. The things narrated in the sacred Scriptures are, however, innumerable, seeing that they embrace the history of the Pentateuch is told in the so-called Letter of Aristaeus and repeated by Josephus in A. xii. 11-118.

4 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.
περιελημμένης, καὶ παντοσίν φέρεται, καὶ παντοτις πεπράγη, καὶ παλαιαὶ καὶ στρατηγικών διαφόρων τοιούτων μεταβολαί. 14 τούσολον δὲ μάλιστα τις ἂν ἐκ ταύτης μάθειν τῆς ἱστορίας ἐδείξας αὐτὴν διελθεῖν, ὅτι τοῖς μὲν θεοῦ γνώμης κατακολούθουσα καὶ τὰ καλῶς νομοθετηθέντα μὴ τολμώσει παραβαίνειν πάντα καταρθοῦσι πέρα πίστεως καὶ γέραις εὐδαιμονία πρόκειται παρὰ θεοῦ. καὶ ὅσον δὲ ἂν ἄποστῳ σὺ τούτων ἀκριβοὺς ἐπιμελείας, ἀπόρα μὲν γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, τρέπεται δὲ εἰς συμφοράς ἀνήκεστος 15 δὲ τι ποτ' ἂν ὡς ἄγαθον δράν σουνάξοσσι. ἤδη τοῖς τούς ἑπταεξάεσιν τοῖς βιβλίοις παρακαλῶ τὴν γνώμην θεῷ προσάνεγειν καὶ δοκιμάσειν τὸν ἡμέτερον νομοθέτην, εἰ τὴν τε φύσιν ἄξιος αὐτοῦ κατενόησε καὶ τῇ δυνάμει προποῦσας ἂν τὰς πράξεις ἀνατέθεικεν πάσης καθαροῦ τῶν περὶ αὐτοῦ φυλάξας λόγον τῆς παρ' ἄλλοις ἀσχήμονος μυθο- 16 λογίας· καίτοι γε ὅσον ἐπὶ μῆκος χρόνου καὶ παραλογίστη πολλῆς ἔχειν 
2 ἰδεῖν ἡμῶν πλασμάτων· 
γέγονε γὰρ πρὸ ἐτῶν δισχιλιῶν, ἐφ' ὅσον πλῆθος 
αἰῶνος οὐδ' αὐτῶν ὁ ποιητής τὰς γενέσεις τῶν 
θεῶν, μήτε γε τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων πράξεις ἢ τοὺς 
17 νόμους ἀνενεγκείς ἑτολυμησάν. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀκριβῆ 
τῶν ἐν ταῖς ἀναγραφαῖς προϊόνον ὁ λόγος κατὰ τὴν 
οἰκείαν τάξιν συμμανεί· τούτο γὰρ διὰ ταύτης 
ποιήσεως τῆς πράγματείας ἐπηγγειλάμεθα οὐδὲν 
προοθείς οὐδ' αὐτοὶ παραλεπών. 1 παραλαβεῖν 
R: παριθίνει O. 2 polnisset (as ἔχει;?) Lat.

* ἀπόρα γίνεται τὰ πόριμα, the reverse of the phrase of Aeschylus (P. V. 904), ἀπόρα πόριμος "making impossibilities
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 ὅχειδον ἐκ τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου σοφίας ἡμῶν ἀνηρτηται Μονοσέος, ἀνάγκη μοι βραχέα περὶ ἐκείνου προσεπεῖν, ὅπως μὴ τινες τῶν ἀναγνωσμένων διαπορώσῃ, πόθεν ἡμῖν ὁ λόγος περὶ νόμων² και πράξεων ἔχων τὴν ἀναγραφὴν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον φυσιολογίας κεκατεινώθηκεν.

19 ἵστον οὖν, ὅτι πάντων ἐκείνως ἀναγκαίωτάτων ἡγήσατο τῷ καὶ τὸν ἐαυτοῦ μέλλοντι βίου οἰκονομήσειν καλῶς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις νομοθετεῖν θεοῦ πρῶτον φύσιν, κατανοησαί καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐκείνου θεατὴν τῷ νῦν γενόμενον οὕτως παραδειγμα τὸ πάντων ἀριστοῦ μμεῖοθαι, καθ’ ὅσον 20 οὖν τε, καὶ πειράζοντι κακακολουθεῖν. οὔτε γὰρ αὐτῷ ποτ’ ἀν γενέσθαι νοῦν ἀγαθὸν τῷ νομοθέτῃ ταύτης ἀπολειπομένῳ τῆς θέας, οὔτε τῶν γραφησμένων εἰς ἀρετῆς λόγον οὐδὲν ἀποβηθεσθαι τοῖς λαβόσιν, εἰ μὴ πρὸ παντὸς ἄλλου διδαχθεῖν, ὅτι πάντων πατήρ τε καὶ δεσπότης ὁ θεὸς ὁμοὶ καὶ πάντα ἐπιβλέπων τοὺς μὲν ἐπομένως αὐτῷ διδόσων εὐδαίμονα βίον, τοὺς ἔξω δὲ βαίνοντας ἀρετῆς 21 μεγάλαις περιβάλλει συμφοράς. τοῦτο δὴ παίδευσαι βουληθεῖς Μονοσῆστι τὸ παιδευμα τοὺς ἐαυτοῦ πολίτας τῆς τῶν νόμων θέσεως οὐκ ἀπὸ συμβολαίων καὶ τῶν πρὸς ἄλλους δικαίων ἥρξατο τοῖς ἄλλοις παραπλησίως, ἅλλ’ ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ τὴν τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευήν τὰς γνώμας αὐτῶν ἀναγαγῶν καὶ πείσας, ὅτι τῶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἔργων τοῦ
(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.\(^2\) 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;\(^3\) 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

\(^2\) 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 deduced the multitude by prefixing to them mythical inventions. Moses did neither, but, in order to mould (προτυπώνει) the minds of those who were to use his laws, did not at once prescribe what they should do or not do (μὴ ἀπὸ τὸ χρόνιον πρᾶξεως τὴν ὁμολογίαν), but began with a marvellous account of creation (§§ 1-3 Cohn-Wendland).
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θεοῦ κάλλιστον ἐσμεν ἀνθρώποι, ὅτε πρὸς τὴν εὐσεβείαν ἔσχεν ὑπακούοντας, ὡφάνει ζηῇ περὶ 22 πάντων ἐπειδή. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλοι νομοθέται τοῖς μέθοδοις ἐξακολουθήσαντες τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν ἀμαρτημάτων εἰς τοὺς θεούς τῷ λόγῳ τῆς αἰσχύνης μετέδωσαν καὶ πολλῆν ὑποτίμησιν τοὺς ποιηροὺς 23 ἔδωκαν· ὁ δ’ ἡμέτερος νομοθέτης ἀκραφυῆς τὴν ἁρετὴν ἔχοντα τοῖς θεοῖς ἀποφήγματα φήμη δεῖν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖνης πειράζῃ μεταλαμβάνειν καὶ τοὺς μὴ ταῦτα φρονοῦντας μὴδὲ μὴν πιστεύοντας 24 ἀπαραιτήτως ἐκόλασε. πρὸς ταύτην οὖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ποιεῖται τὴν ἐξέτασιν τοὺς ἀναγνωσμένους παρακαλῶ. φανεῖται γὰρ σκοπουμένους οὕτως οὐδὲν οὔτ’ ἀλογον αὐτοῖς οὔτε πρὸς τὴν μεγαλειώτητα τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν φιλανθρωπίαν ἀνάρμοστον πάντα γὰρ τῇ τῶν ὅλων φύσει σύμφωνον ἔχει τὴν διάθεσιν, τὰ μὲν αἰνετομένου τοῦ νομοθέτου δεξίως, τὰ δ’ ἀληθοροῦντος μετὰ σεμνότητος, ὅσα δ’ εἰς εὐθείας λέγεσθαι συνέφερε 25 ταῦτα ῥήτως ἐμφανίζοντος. τοῖς μὲντοι βουλομένους καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἐκάστου σκοπεῖν πολλὴ γένοετ’ ἀν ηθορία καὶ λάθων φιλοσοφοῖ, ἢν ἐγὼ νῦν μὲν ὑπερβάλλωμαι, θεοῦ δὲ διδόντος ἢμῖν χρόνον πειρᾶσομαι μετὰ ταύτην γράψαι τὴν πραγ- 26 ματεῖαν. τρέφομαι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφηγήσιν ἢδη τῶν πραγμάτων μνημεῖος πρότερον ὡς περὶ τῆς τοῦ κόσμου κατασκευῆς εἶπε Μωσῆς· ταῦτα δ’ ἐν

* 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 φόρμα καὶ τοῦ κόσμου τῷ κόσμῳ συνφέδοντος καὶ τοῦ φόρμου ἀνδρίς εὐθὺς διότι καὶ 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,

τὸ βούλημα τῆς φύσεως τὰς πράξεις ἀπευθύνοντο, καὶ ἢν καὶ ὁ σώµατος κόσμου διεκινήτω,” De op. mundi 3.

This projected work on “Customs and Causes” (A. iv. 198) was apparently never completed, but the mention of its “four books” (A. xx. 208) 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.
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taís ieraís biblous eisron anaggeiraména. ēhei dé oútws.

27 (i. 1) 'En árkhê éktenan ó theos tôn oufranón kai tìn γῆν. tautheis dé úp' óphn oúk érrchomenhs, allá bahei mén kruptoméniés skótei, pneúmatos dé authein ánwbhsen eipistoventos, gevenóthai fws ékaleusen ó 28 theos. kai genoménu toutou katañosas tìn òlính úlhin diekórwsis to te fws kai to skóstos kai tòv mén onomá étheo lýkta, to dé ñmèrav ékalese, éspérav te kai óbrhon tìn árkhìn tout póstos kai 29 tìn ánaptusin prósagoreúasas. kai authein mén án eìn próssth ñmèrα, Mauusòs dé authein máin éispe-
tìn dé autías íkanós mén eiìmi apódówina kai nín, épêi dé úpeóchhmai tìn aítomologíaiá pàntwn idías syngrapaménon paraðósein, eis tòte kai tìn perí 30 authein érrmienan anabállomain. metà dé touto tì deunérα tôn ñmérav tôn oufranón tois òlois épiplíthoun, ôt' autón àpto tòv òllwv diakrínas kaiô autón ñeiówse tetákhthai, krústallón te periphtēas autò kai nòtwn autòn kai òstódo phí proph tòn àpto tòv òrrwswv wphelwvan ármoodión 31 gý mhkhanósáménov. tì dé tríth étou tìn òlính ánakhēas perì authein tìn thalassan kai' authein dé tauthein tìn ñmèrav evðus fwtá te kai spérmata gíthei anýtewle. tì têratth dé diakosmei tôn oufranón òlíw kai selhnh kai tòis òllwv òstrow kinhseis autòis épistellías kai drómmous, oís ēn

1 LE: érrxwst rELL.

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

* Gen. i. 5 “There was evening and there was morning, 14
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.

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: ημέραν ὁ ποιῶν ἐκδεσε, καὶ ἠμέραν ἐχθρί πρῶτην, ἀλλὰ μέλα, ὃ καλεται διὰ τῆς τοῦ νοοῦ κύρου μόριων μεναδικήν ἔχοντος φύσιν, De or. (9) § 35.

§ 25 note.

So Philo, op. cit. (12) § 40 (quoted by Weil): ἐδεξίαζε δὲ πάντα καρποῖς εὐθέω ἀρα τῆς πρῶτης γενέσει κατὰ τὸν ἐκάστον τρόπον ὡς τὸν νυνί καθιεστώτα.
32 αἰ τῶν ἄρχων περιφοραί σημαίνοντο. πέμπτη δ' ἡμέρα ζώα τε κατ' αὐτὴν νηκτά καὶ μετάρσοια τὰ μὲν κατὰ βάθους ἐδῶ τῇ δὲ δὲν ἀέρος ἀνήκει συν- δησάμενος αὐτὰ κοινωνία καὶ μίξει γονής ἕνεκα καὶ τοῦ συναιξεθίματα καὶ πλεονάζειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν. τῇ δὲ ἑκτῇ ἡμέρᾳ δημιουργεῖ τὸ τῶν τετραπώδων γένος ἅρρεν τε καὶ θῆλυ ποιήσας ἐν ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ 33 τὸν ἀνθρώπον ἐπιλασε. καὶ τὸν κόσμον ἐξ ταῖς πάσαις ἡμέραις Μωυσῆς καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ φησι γενέσθαι, τῇ δὲ ἐβδόμῃ ἀναπαύσασθαι καὶ λαβεῖν ἀπὸ τῶν ἐργῶν ἐκεχερίαν, θεὸν καὶ ἡμεῖς σχολὴν ἀπὸ τῶν πόρων κατὰ ταύτην ἁγομεν τὴν ἡμέραν προσαγορεύοντες αὐτὴν σάββατα. δηλοὶ δὲ ἀνάπαυσιν κατὰ τὴν Ἠβραίων διάλεκτον τούμοιμα.

34 (3) Καὶ δὴ καὶ φυσιολογεῖν Μωυσῆς μετὰ τὴν ἐβδομήν ἤρξατο περὶ τῆς ταύρωπου κατασκευῆς λέγων οὕτως: ἐπιλασεν ὁ θεὸς τὸν ἀνθρώπον χοῦν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς λαβῶν, καὶ πνεύμα ἐνήκαεν αὐτῷ καὶ ἡμιήν. ὁ δὲ ἀνθρώπος οὖς Ἄδαμος ἔκλεψη· σημαίνει δὲ τούτῳ κατὰ γλώτταν τὴν Ἠβραίων πιπρόν, ἐπειδῆπερ ἀπὸ τῆς πυρρᾶς γῆς φυραθείσης ἐγενόει τοιαύτῃ γὰρ ἔστιν ἡ παρθένος γῆ 35 καὶ ἀληθινῆ. παράστησις δὲ ὁ θεὸς τῷ Ἄδαμῳ κατὰ γένη τὰ ζῷα βῆλυ τε καὶ ἅρρεν ἀποδεικνύοντες, καὶ τούτους ὁμοίας τίθησιν ὅς ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν καλοῦνται. βλέπων δὲ τὸν Ἄδαμον οὐκ ἔχοντα κοινωνίαν πρὸς τὸ θῆλυ καὶ συνδιαίτησιν,

1 βυθοῦ SPL.
2 πιπρός SPL Lat.

* i.e., as modern critics recognize, near the point of transition from one document (" P ") to another (" J ").

16
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, Moses begins to interpret nature, writing on the formation of man in these terms: "God fashioned man by taking dust 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. And God brought before Adam the living creatures after their kinds, exhibiting both male and female, and gave 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

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5 Greek "physiologicus"; cf. § 18.
6 Adāmah = "ground," from which Adam or man was formed (Gen. ii. 7); Adōm = "red" (cf. Edom). "The old derivation [of Adam and Adāmah] from the verb 'be red' is generally abandoned, but none better has been found to replace it" (Skinner, Genesis).

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.
οὔδε γὰρ ἦν, ἐνειζόμενον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζώοις οὕτως ἔχουσι, μίαν αὐτοῦ κοιμωμένου πλευράν ἐξελὼν ἐξ αὐτῆς ἐπλάσε γυναῖκα.  
καὶ ὁ Ἄδαμος προσαχθείσαν αὐτήν ἐγνώρισεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γενομένην. ἔσο δὲ καθ’ Ἐβραίων διάλεκτον καλεῖται γυνή, τὸ δ’ ἐκεῖνης ὄνομα τῆς γυναικὸς Εὕα ἦν: σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο πάντων [τῶν ζώντων] μετέρα.

37 (3) Φησὶ δὲ τὸν θεὸν καὶ παράδεισον πρὸς τὴν ἀνατολὴν καταφυτεύει παντοῦ τεθηλότα φυτῷ ἐν τούτωι δὲ εἶναι καὶ τῆς ξωῆς τὸ φυτὸν καὶ ἄλλο τὸ τῆς φρονήσεως, ἡ δὲ διεγειρόσκετο τὸ [τὸ] εἰρ τὸ ἁγάθον καὶ τὸ τὸ κακὸν. εἷς τοῦτοι δὲ τὸν κῆπον εἰσαγαγόντα τὸν τὸ Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα κελεύον τῶν φυτῶν ἑπμελείσθαι. ἀρκεταί δ’ οὕτως ὁ κῆπος ὑπὸ ἐνὸς ποταμοῦ πάσαν ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς γῆς περιφρέων, δὲ εἷς τεσσάρα μέρη σχίζεται. καὶ Φεισίων μὲν, σημαίνει δὲ πλῆθος τοῦνομα, ἐπὶ τὴν Ἰνδικὴν φερόμενον ἐκδίδοσιν εἷς τὸ πέλαγος ἐνῷ Ἔλληνων Γάγγης λεγόμενος, Εὔφρατης δὲ καὶ Τίγρης ἐπὶ τὴν Ἡρωθρᾶν ἀπίσθανα δᾶλασσαν καλεῖται δὲ δὲ μὲν Εὐφράτης Φοράς, σημαίνει δὲ ἤτοι σκεδασμὸν ἢ ἀνθός, Τίγρης δὲ Διαλάθ, ἢς οὔο χράζεται τὸ μετὰ στενότητος δεῖ: Ἰηνὸν δὲ δια

1 RO: τῆς γυναῖκα rell.
2 om. RO.
3 RO: ϕ rell.
4 RO Lat.: Φορά rell.

* Ishašก in modern transcription (Gen. ii. 23 R.V. margin).
* Strictly Ἰσχασ (Eve) = “living” or “life”: Josephus, constantly loose in his etymology, following the Biblical “because she was the mother of all living,” implies that that is the actual meaning of the word.
* Heb. Pishon, river and etymology unknown (by some connected with Heb. peshà = “spring up”); Josephus
other creatures who had their mates, He extracted one of his ribs while he slept and from it formed woman; and when she was brought to him Adam recognized that she was made from himself. In the Hebrew tongue woman is called esse; 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.

a 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.

b Heb. Perâth: derived by Josephus from either (?) פָּרָס "divide" or פָּרֹת "be fruitful." Philo adopts the second interpretation, rendering by καρποφορία (Leg. Alleg. i. 28, § 72). These etymologies are probably taken over from others.

c Diglath is the Aramaic equivalent of Heb. Hiddeckel; Josephus quotes the Aramaic form but translates the Hebrew הָדָר = "sharp" (ὁξίος), כַּד = "thin" (στεφάνος); this, though it leaves out the last syllable el, seems the most satisfactory explanation.
JOSEPHUS

τῆς Αἰγύπτου ρέων δηλοὶ τὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἑναυτιᾶς ἀναδεδόμενον ἦμῖν, ὅν δὴ Νείλον Ἑλλήνες προσ-

αγορεύουσιν.

40 (4) Ὁ δὴ τοίνυν θεὸς τὸν Ἄδαμον καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα τῶν μὲν ἄλλων φυτῶν ἐκέλευε γενέσθαι,

τοῦ δὲ τῆς φρονίσεως ἀπέχεσθαι, προειπὼν ἀφα-

41 μένους ἀπ' αὐτοῦ διέθησαν γενησόμενον. ὅμο-

φωνοῦσαν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνῳ καταφύγοντο ἐκόμια ἄπαντων ὑφίστηται καταφύγεσθαι τῷ τε Ἄδαμῳ καὶ

τῇ γυναικί. φθονερῶς μὲν εἶχεν ἐφ' ὦς αὐτοὺς εὐθαμονηθῆσαι κεκοσμενοὶ τοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ

42 παραγγέλμασιν, οὐκένοις δὲ συμμορφῇ περιπεσεῖται παρακούσαντας ἀναπέθει κακοθῆτος τῆς γυναῖ-

κα γενέσθαι τοῦ φυτοῦ τῆς φρονίσεως ἐν αὐτῷ λέγων εἶναι τὴν τε τάγαθον καὶ τοῦ κακοῦ διά-

γνωσιν, ὡς γενομένης αὐτοῖς μακάριον καὶ μηδὲν

43 ἀπολείποντα τοῦ θεοῦ διάζευς βίον. καὶ παρά-

κρούεται μὲν αὐτῷ τῆς γυναίκας τῆς ἐντολῆς τοῦ

θεοῦ καταφύγησαι γενναμένη δὲ τοῦ φυτοῦ καὶ

 OMITTED ΤΟΥ ἘΔΕΣΜΑΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΟΝ "ΑΔΑΜΟΝ ἈΝΕΠΕΙΣΕΝ

44 αὐτῷ χρήσασθαι καὶ συνιεῦσαν τε αὐτῶν ἥδη
gεγυμνωμένων καὶ τῆς αἰσχρῆς ὑπαθήρον ἔχοντες

σκέπην αὐτοῖς ἐπενύουσιν τὸ γὰρ φυτὸν ὀξύτητος

καὶ διανοίας ὑπήρχε. φύλλοις οὐν ἐκατοικούσις

διεκέπαισαν καὶ ταῦτα πρὸ τῆς αἰῶνος προβαλλό-

45 μάλιστα ἐδόκουν εὐθαμονηθῆναι ὅσι ὅν πρότερον

1 RO: ἐποτηλῆς cell. 2 προβαλλόμενο Niese with S.

* Heb. Gihon; derived by Josephus, as by modern critics, from ἱερίον “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, 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 "Ἀαλαντος τοῦ ὄρου  sodom ἄνδιδοναι (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 ἱσβίλον καὶ ἑγγενὲς ἐπιτῶν [酡哉] ἀνθρώπου φωνὴ πρὸκεισθαι (quoted by Welli).
JOSEPHUS

45 ἐσπάνιζον εὐρόντες. τοῦ θεοῦ δὲ εἰς τὸν κήπον ἐλθόντος ὁ μὲν Ἀδαμός, πρότερον εἰς ὅμιλίαν αὐτῷ φοιτῶν, συνειδόσωσον αὐτῷ τὴν ἁδικίαν ὑπεχώρει, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἔξενυξε τὸ πραττόμενον καὶ τὴν αὐτίκαν ἐπιμυθάνετο, δι’ ᾧ πρότερον ἱδόμενος τῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν ὅμιλία νῦν φεύγει ταύτην καὶ περισταται.

46 τοὺς δὲ μηδὲν φθεγγομένου διὰ τὸ συγκινήσεως ἐαυτῷ παραβάντι τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόστασιν ᾤ ἄλλ’ ἐμοὶ μὲν,’ εἶπεν ὁ θεὸς, ἐγνωστο περὶ ὑμῶν, ὅπως βλένει εὐθαίμων καὶ κακοῦ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ βιώσετε μηδεμία δαιμόνιοι τῇ ψυχῇ ψυγνίκη, πάντων δ’ ὑμῶν αὐτομάτων ὅσα πρὸς ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ ἱδονήν συνελεῖ κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀνάστην πρόνοιας χωρὶς υμετέρου πόνου καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ὧν παρόντων γήρας τιθάτων οὐκ ἁν ἐπελθοὺ καὶ τὸ ξῆν’ ύμων μακρὸν γένοιτο. νῦν δὲ εἰς ταύτην μοι τὴν γνώμην ἐνυβρίσας παρακούσας τῶν ἡμῶν ἐντολῶν οὐ γὰρ ἑπ’ ἄρετῇ τὴν σιωπὴν ἀγείς, ἀλλ’ ἐπὶ συνειδότι πονηρῷ.” ὁ Ἀδαμός δὲ παρηγείτο τῆς ἀμαρτίας αὐτῶν καὶ παρεκάλει τὸν θεὸν μὴ χαλεπαίνειν αὐτῶ, τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ γεγονότος αὐτωμένος καὶ λέγων ὅτι αὐτῆς ἐξαπατηθείς ἀμαρτεῖν, ἢ δ’ αὐτὴ κατηγόρει τὸν ὀφεισ. δὲ θεὸς ἢτοινα γυναίκεια συμβουλία αὐτῶν γενόμενον ὑπερτίθη τιμωρία, τὴν γῆν οὐκέτι μὲν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναδώσειν αὐτομάτως εἰπών, πονοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τριβομένοις τὰ μὲν παρέξεως, τῶν δ’ οὐκ ἀξιώσειν. Εἰςαν δὲ τοκετοὺς καὶ ταῖς ἐξ ὀδίνων ἀληθιδότι έκόλαζεν, ὅτι τὸν ᾽Αδαμον οἰς αὐτὴν ὁ ὄρθις ἐξηπάτησε τούτοις παρακρονοσαμένην συμφοράς περιεβαλεν. ἀφείλετο δὲ καὶ τὸν ὀφειν τὴν φωνὴν ὀργισθεὶς 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,\(^a\) indignant at his

\(^a\) See § 41 (note).
τὸν Ἀδαμὸν καὶ ὢν ἐντίθησον ὑπὸ τὴν γλώτταν αὐτῶν πολέμου ἀποδείξας ἀνθρώπους καὶ ὑποθέμενος κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς φέρειν τὰς πληγὰς, ὅσ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τοῦ τε κακοῦ τοῦ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους κειμένου καὶ τῆς τελευτῆς βάσιτος τοῖς ἀμυνόμενοι ἐσομένης, ποῦ τοῖς αὐτῶν ἀποστερήσας σύρεσθαι καὶ ὅ μὲν θεός ταῦτα προστάξας αὐτοῖς πᾶσχειν μετοικίζει τὸν Ἀδαμὸν καὶ τὴν Εὐαν ἐκ τοῦ κήπου εἰς ἔτερον χωρίον.

52 (ii. 1) Γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς παῖδες ἄρρενες δύο, προφητορεύειτο δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Καίσ, κτήσιν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦτο μεθερμηνεύμενον τοῦτο τοῦ τιμοῦσαν, Ἀβελός δὲ ὁ δεύτερος, σημαίνει δὲ αὐθεν·

53 τούτοις γίνονται δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ δογγατέρες, οὖν μὲν οὖν ἄδελφοι διαφόροι εὐχαρίαν ἐπιτυθεῖμαι· Ἀβελός μὲν γὰρ ὁ νεώτερος δικαιοσύνης ἐπεμέλειτο καὶ πάσι τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ προπολέμονος παρείναι τῶν θεον νομίζων ἀρετῆς προεκύκλουσι τοῖς διὰ τὸ κερδαίνει μόνον ἀποβλέπων γην τε ἄροιν ἐπενόησε πρῶτος καὶ κτείνει δὲ τὸν δὲ ἀδελφὸν εἰς τοιαύτης αἰτίας· θύσαι τῷ θεῷ δόξαν αὐτοῖς ὁ μὲν Καίσ τοὺς ἀπὸ τῆς γεωργίας καὶ φυτῶν καρποὺς ἐπίθεσινεν, Ἀβελός δὲ γάλα καὶ τὰ πρωτότοκα τῶν βοσκημάτων. ὃ δὲ θεὸς ταύτη

1 RVd: O Lat.: πένθους rell. 2 proēbth 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 ἔγερσαμεν), from Heb. ἴσανα "acquire."
malignity to Adam; He also put poison beneath his tongue, destining him to be the enemy of men, and admonishing them to strike their blows upon his head, because it was therein that man’s danger lay and there too that his adversaries could most easily inflict a mortal blow; He further bereft him of feet and made him crawl and wriggle along the ground. Having imposed these penalties upon them, God removed Adam and Eve from the garden to another place.

(ii. 1) Two male children were born to them; the first was called Cain," whose name being interpreted means “acquisition,” \(^{b}\) and the second Abel, meaning “nothing.” \(^{c}\) They also had daughters.\(^{d}\) Now the brothers took pleasure in different pursuits. Abel, the younger, had respect for justice \(^{e}\) 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 \(^{f}\) and the firstlings of his flocks. This was the offering which found more

\(^{a}\) Abel, Heb. Ḫēḇēl = “vapour” or “vanity”; the noun is translated, as here, by ὀξύθος in Is. xlix. 4. The reading πένθος ( = Heb. אִּנָל) presents another etymology found also in Philo, De nat. Abrid. 13, § 74 ὀξύθος ἐστὶ τὰ ὀνείρα πενθόντως (quoted by Weil).

\(^{b}\) Legendary addition: Jubilæus iv. 1, 8 names them ’Āwan and ’Āzura.

\(^{c}\) Or “righteousness.”

\(^{d}\) Heb. "fat" and so LXX (στεάτως): Josephus, with a different vocalization of the Heb. בּוּב, reads "milk," showing independence of the Greek Bible.
μᾶλλον ήδεικε τῇ θυσίᾳ, τοῖς αυτομάτοις καὶ κατά
φύσιν γεγονόσι τιμώμενος, ἀλλ’ οὕτω τοῖς κατ’
ἐπινοιαν ἀνθρώπου πλεονέκτου [καὶ] βια πεφυκόσιν.
53 ἐπειδή ο Καίως παροξυσθεὶς ἐπὶ τῷ προτετμήσαται
tοῦ “Ἀβελον ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κτείνει τὸν ἄδελφον καὶ
tὸν νεκρὸν αὐτοῦ ποιήσας ἁφανὴ λήσειν ὑπέλαβεν.
ὁ δὲ θεὸς συνείς τὸ ἔργον ἥκε πρὸς τὸν Καίν περὶ
tάδελφον πυθανόμενος, ποὺ ποτ’ εἰη’ πολλῶν γάρ
αυτὸν οὐκ ἠδείν ἡμερῶν τὸν ἀλλὸν χρόνον πάντα
56 μὲ τ’ αὐτοῦ βλέπων αὐτὸν ἀναστρεφόμενον. ὁ δὲ
Καίως ἀπορούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἔχων ὃ τι λέγοι πρὸς
τὸν θεόν ἀμηχανεῖς μὲν καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασκε τὸ
πρῶτον ἐπὶ τάδελφῳ μὴ βλεπομένῳ, παροξυσθεὶς
δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ λιπαρῶς ἐγκεκρεμένου καὶ πολυπραγμο-
νοῦντος οὐκ εἶναι παιδαγωγὸς καὶ φύλαξ αὐτοῦ
57 καὶ τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ πραττομένων ἔλεγεν. ὁ δὲ
θεὸς τοινύνθεν ἠλεγχεν ἢδη τὸν Καίν φονεὰ
τάδελφον γενόμενον καὶ “θαυμαζώ,” φησί, “ἐπὶ
περὶ ἀνδρὸς ἁγνοείς εἰπέων τι γέγονεν, διὸ αὐτὸς
58 ἀπολαύλεικα.” τῆς μὲν οὖν ἐπὶ τῷ φόνῳ τιμωρίας
αὐτοῦ ἤφθει, θυσίαν τε ἐπετελέσαντα καὶ δε’ αὐτῆς
ικετεύσαντα μὴ λαβεῖν ὀργὴν [ἐπ’] αὐτῷ χαλε-
πωτέραν, ἐπάρατον δ’ αὐτὸν ἐτίθει καὶ τοὺς
ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ τιμωρήσεθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐβδομήν
ἡπείλησε γενεάν, καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτὸς ἐκείνης
59 ἐκβάλλει σὺν τῇ γυναικὶ. τοῦ δὲ μὴ θηρίως ἀλώ-
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, thinking to escape de-
tection. 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 con-
stantly 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 in-
sistent 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 sacri-
cifice and therewith supplicated Him not to visit him
too severely in His wrath; but He made him accursed
and threatened to punish his posterity in the seventh
generation, and expelled him from that land with his
wife. But, when Cain feared that in his wanderings
to him as repentance" (Pir'ha R. Eliezer, xxi, quoted with
other passages by Weill).

The rendering of "k̄rād" by "until" seems unwarranted.
Josephus apparently, in common with the Targum (Weill),
means that Cain's penalty is suspended until the seventh
generation, cf. § 65. Gen. iv. 15, however, on which this
interpretation is based, as interpreted by modern critics
states something quite different, viz. that seven lives, that of
the slayer and six of his family, would be exacted for the
slaughter of Cain.
μενὸς περιπέτειι δεδιότος καὶ τοῦτον ἀπόληται τῶν τρόπων, ἔκελευε μηδὲν ὑφοράσθαι σκυθρωπόν ἀπὸ τοιαύτης αἰτίας, ἀλλ' ἐνεκα τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἐκ θηρίων γενέσθαι δεινῶν διὰ πᾶσης ἁδείως χωρεῖν γῆς· καὶ σημεῖον ἐπιβαλὼν, ὃ γνώριμος οὖν εἶναι, προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι.

60 (2) Πολλὴν δὲ ἐπελθὼν γῆν ἱδρύεται μετὰ τῆς γνωμικῆς Καίσ. Ναί εἶδα τόπον οὗτῳ καλοῦμενον καὶ αὐτὸθι ποιεῖται τὴν κατοίκησιν, ἐνθ' αὐτῷ καὶ παιδεῖς ἔγενοντο. οὐκ ἐπὶ νουθεσία δὲ τῆς κόλασις ἔλαβεν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ αὐξήσει τῆς κακίας, ἡδονὴν μὲν πάσαν ἐκπορίζον αὐτοῦ τῷ σώματι, κἀν μὲθ' ἐδρέων τῶν συνόντων δὲ ταύτην ἐχεῖν· αὐξῶν δὲ τὸν οἶκον πλήθει χρημάτων ἤξι ἄρπαγῆς καὶ βίας πρὸς ἡδονήν καὶ ληστείαν τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας παρακαλῶν διδάσκαλος αὐτοῖς ὑπηρέτευεν ποιηράν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, καὶ τὴν ἀπαγορεύσειν, ὡς πρὸτερον συνεξῶν οἱ άνθρωποι, μέτρων ἐπενοικαὶ σταθμῶν μετεστήσατο ἀκέραιον αὐτοῖς ὡντα τὸν βίον ἐκ τῆς τούτων ἀμαθίας καὶ μεγαλόψυχον εἰς μακροχρόνια περιγαγών, ὥστε τῇ γῆς πρώτως ἐθέτο καὶ πόλιν ἐδείκτησε καὶ τείχεσιν ὁχυρώσεν εἰς ταύτων συνελθὲν τοὺς οἰκείους καταναγκάσασα. καὶ τὴν πόλιν δὲ ταύτην ἀπὸ Ἄνωχοῦ τοῦ προ-
63 σφητάτου παιδός Ἀνωχαν ἐκάλεσεν. Ἀνωχοῦ δὲ Ἰαράδης γεῦς ἦν, ἐκ δὲ τοιοῦτον Μαρούμιλος, οὐ γίνεται παῖς Μαθουσάλας, τοῦ δὲ Λάμεχος, ὃς παιδεῖς ὑπηρέτεσ' ἐπτα καὶ ἐβδομῆκοντα ἐκ δύο
64 γνωμικῶν αὐτῷ φύτες Σελλᾶς καὶ Λυδιᾶς. τοῦτων

1 + εἰς E (Lat. in loco).

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

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s Heb. and lxx Enoch (city and son).

s Heb. Irad, lxx l'æidā. s 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 ek δε λάμεχ ἑξάκοιλαντάκι šττά).
Ἰώβηλος μὲν ἐξ Ἀδας γεγονός σκηνᾶς ἐπήχατο καὶ προβατεῖαν ἡγάπησεν, Ἰουβαλὸς δὲ, ὁμομήτριος δ’ ἦν αὐτῷ, μονοκικὴν ἑαυώῃ καὶ ψαλτήρια καὶ κιθάρας ἐπενόησεν, Ἰουβηλὸς δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας γεγονότων ἱσχύ ψάντας ὑπερβαλλόν τὰ πολεμικά διαπρεπῶς μετήθησαν, ἐκ τούτων καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἡδονὴν τοῦ σώματος ἐκπορίζων, χαλκεῖαν ὡς τε πρῶτος ἐπενόησεν. πατὴρ δὲ θυγατρὸς γενόμενος ὁ Λάμεχος Νοεμάς ὄνομα, ἔπει τὰ θεῖα σαφῶς ἐξειστάμενος εὐάρα δίκην αὐτὸν ὑφέζοντα τῆς Κάιος ἀδελφοκονίας [μελίζων], τούτο ταῖς ὡς ἕαυτον γυναῖξιν ἐποίησεν φανερῶν. ἔτι δὲ ζῶντος ὁ Ἀδάμ Κάιος τοὺς ἑγγόνους ποιητοτάτους συνῄσθη γενέσθαι κατὰ διαδοχὴν καὶ μέρης ἄλλου ἄλλου γεώργια τελευτῶν· πρὸς τε γὰρ πολέμους εἰχόν ἀκρατῶς καὶ πρὸς λῃστεῖαν ὀρμήκεσαν. ἄλλως δ’ εἰ τις ὁκτηρὸς ἦν πρὸς τὸ φονεύειν, ἄλλην ἀπόνοιαν ἦν ἡράσσεσί υἱερεῖς καὶ πλειονεκτῶν. 67 (3) Ἀδαμὸς δὲ ὁ πρῶτος ἐκ γῆς γενόμενος, ἀπαιτεῖ γὰρ ἡ διέργῃς τὸν περὶ αὐτοῦ λόγον, Ἀβελοῦ μὲν ἐσφαγμένου, Κάιος δὲ διὰ τὸν ἐκείνου φῶνον περιφερότας, παιδοποιίας ἐφρούτηξε, καὶ δεινὸς εἰχέν αὐτὸν γενέσεως ἔρως ἐτῆ τριάκοντ’ ὑδη καὶ διακόσια ἡμικότα τοῦ βίου, πρὸς οἷς ἐτέρα.
Ada. Of these children, Jobèl, 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; Jubèl, 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. e

(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 280 f years of his life;

a 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.

b Text a little doubtful.

c So xxx; in the Heb. Bible Adam was 180 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.
68 ξήσας ἐπτακόσια τελευτῇ. γίνονται μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ παιδεὶς ἀλλοι τε πλεῖοι καὶ Σήβος; ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων μακρὸν ἄν εἰς λέγειν, πειράσομαι δὲ μόνα τὰ τῶν ἀπὸ Σήβου διελθεῖν. τραφεῖς γὰρ οὗτοι καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἡλικίαν ἤδη [τὰ] καλὰ κρέαν δυναμένην [ἀρετὴν ἐπετήθευσεν] καὶ γενόμενος αὐτὸς ἀριστος μιμητὰς τῶν αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀπο- 
00 γόνους κατέλειπεν. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἄγαθοι φύσες γην 
τε τὴν αὐτὴν ἁστασίαστοι κατώκησαν εὐδαιμονή-


42 ὄντας, μηδὲνος αὐτοὶς ἁχρὶ καὶ τελευτής δυσκόλου 
προσπεσόντος, σοφίαν τε τὴν περὶ τὰ οὐδένα καὶ 
7ο τὴν τούτων διακόσμησιν ἐπενόησαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τοῦ 
μὴ διαφυγείν τους ἀνθρώπους τὰ εὑρημένα μηδὲ 
πρὶν εἰς γνῶσιν ἐλθεῖν φθαρῆναι, προειρήκοτος 
ἀφανισμὸν 'Ἀδάμῳ τῶν ὅλων ἔσεσθαι, τὸν μὲν 
κατ’ ἱσχύν πυρὸς τὸν ἔτερον δὲ κατὰ βίαν καὶ 
πλῆθος ὑδάτος, στήλας δύο ποιησάμενοι τὴν μὲν 
ἐκ πλάτου τὴν ἔτεραν δὲ ἐκ λίθων ἁμφοτέραις
71 ἑνέγραψαν τὰ εὑρημένα, ἵνα καὶ τῆς πλουθίας 
ἀφαιρεθείσης ἕως τῆς ἐπομένης ἡ λιθοῦν μείναςα 
παράσχῃ μαθεῖν τοῖς ἄνθρωποι τὰ ἐγγεγραμμένα 
δηλοῦσα καὶ πλουθίαν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀνατεθήσαι.


5εῖ δ’ ἁχρὶ δεύτερο κατὰ γην τὴν Σειρίδα. 
72 (iii. 1) Καὶ οὕτω μὲν ἐπτα γενεάς διέμεναι θεοῦ ἡγούμενωι δεσπότηι εἶναι τῶν ὅλων καὶ πάντα 
πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἀποβλέπουτες, εἰτα προϊόντος χρόνου

1 om. RO. 
2 Σειρίδα ΣΡΕ. Εξε.

* See preceding note.
* The Bible mentions "sons and daughters," but names none except Seth: Jubilee iv. 10 specifies "yet nine sons."
* Rabbinical amplification; Enoch in particular was credited with these discoveries (Jubilee iv. 17 and the book that bears his name).
he lived for 700 years more before he died. Many other children were born to him, and among them Seth; it would take me too long to speak of the rest, and I will only endeavour to narrate the story of the progeny of Seth. He, after being brought up and attaining to years of discretion, cultivated virtue, excelled in it himself, and left descendants who imitated his ways. These, being all of virtuous character, inhabited the same country without dissension and in prosperity, meeting with no untoward incident to the day of their death; they also discovered the science of the heavenly bodies and their orderly array. Moreover, to prevent their discoveries from being lost to mankind and perishing before they became known—Adam having predicted a destruction of the universe, at one time by a violent fire and at another by a mighty deluge of water—they erected two pillars, one of brick and the other of stone, and inscribed these discoveries on both; so that, if the pillar of brick disappeared in the deluge, that of stone would remain to teach men what was graven thereon and to inform them that they had also erected one of brick. It exists to this day in the land of Seiris.

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

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Another version of this story appears in Jubilees viii. 8 (discovery of a writing carved on the rock recording the teaching of the watchers or angels concerning the heavenly bodies).

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

μεταβάλλονται πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἑδυσμῶν μήτε τὰς νεκρομιμενὰς τιμᾶς ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ παρέχοντες μήτε τοῦ πρὸς ἀνδρόπους δικαίου πυκνώμενοι λόγον, ἀλλ’ ἂν πρότερον ἔχον τῆς ἀρετῆς ζῆλωσιν διπλασίονα τῆς κακίας τῶν ἐπι- δεικνύμενοι δὲ ὁν ἐπραττόν· ἐνθεὶ ἑαυτοῖς τὸν 73 θεὸν ἐξεπολέμωσαν. πολλοὶ γὰρ ἄγγελοι θεοῦ γνωρίζοντες ὑμιτίας ἐγένησαν παῖδας καὶ παντὸς ὑπεράπτασι παῖδι διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ τῇ δυνάμει πεποιθήσαν· ὁμοία γὰρ τοῖς ὑπὸ γεγαντών τε- τολμήσαν λεγομένους ὑφ’ Ἐλλήνων καὶ οὕτωι 74 δράσαι παραδίδονται. Νῦνος δὲ τοῖς πραττο- μένοις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν δυσχεραῖνων καὶ τοῖς βουλεύ- μαιν ἀγῶν ἔχον ἐπειδῆ ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτούς καὶ τὰς πράξεις μεταφέρειν, ὅρων δ’ οὐκ ἐνδιαλέσαται, ἀλλ’ ἰσχυρῶς ὑπὸ τῆς ἱδονῆς τῶν κακῶν κεκρατημένους, δείκας μὴ καὶ φονεύσωσιν αὐτὸν μετὰ γυναικῶν1 καὶ τέκνων καὶ τῶν τούτως συνοικουμένων ἐξεχώρησε τῆς γῆς.

75 (2) Ὁ δὲ θεὸς τούτων μὲν τῆς δικαίωσυνης ἡγάπησε, κατεδικαζέ δ’ οὖν ἐκεῖνων μόνων τῆς κακίας, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάν ὅσον ἂν ἀνθρώπων τότε δόξαν αὐτῷ διαφθείρα καὶ ποιήσαι γένος ἐτερον πονηρίας καθαρόν, ἐπετεμόρμενοι αὐτῶν τὸν βίον καὶ ποιήσας ἑτῶν οὐκ ὅσα πρότερον ἔχον, ἀλλ’ ἐκατόν εἴκοσι, εἰς ἀλάσαν τὴν ἡπειρον μετέβαλε. 76 καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀφανίζονται πάντες, Νῦνος δὲ σώζεται μόνος, ὑποθεμένου μηχανῆν αὐτῷ καὶ

1 γυναικῶς Bekker with Lat.

* 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 Gen. vi. 1. consisted 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 The flood. for those men, He condemned not them alone for their wickedness, but resolved to destroy all mankind then existing and to create another race pure of vice, abridging their term of life from its former longevity to one hundred and twenty years; he therefore converted the dry land into sea. Thus were they all obliterated, while Noah alone was saved, God having

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

b " Nöchos."

c 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.
77 πόρων πρὸς σωτηρίαν τοῦ θεοῦ τοιαύτην· λάρνακα
tetrástegeon κατασκευάσας πηχὰν τὸ μῆκος τρια-
κοσίων πεντῆκοντά δὲ τὸ πλάτος καὶ τριάκοντα
tὸ βάθος, εἰς ταύτην σὺν τῇ μητρὶ τῶν παιδῶν
cal ταῖς τοῦτοις γυναιξίν ἀνέβη, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα
pρὸς τὰς χρείας ἐπικουρήσεων αὐτοῖς ἐμελλέν
ἐνθέμενος, ζωὰ τε παντοία πρὸς διατήρησιν τοῦ
gένους αὐτῶν ἀρρενάς τε καὶ θηλείας συνεισβάλ-
μενος ἄλλα τε τοῦτων ἐπταλασίαν τὸν ἀριθμὸν.
78 ἦν δ’ ἡ λάρναξ τοὺς τε τοῖχους καρτερὰ καὶ τὸν
ὀροφὸν, ὡς μηδαμόθεν ἐπικλύζεσθαι μηδ’ ἠττᾶσθαι
τῆς τοῦ ὑδατος βίας. καὶ Νάχοξ μὲν οὕτως μετὰ
79 τῶν οἰκείων διασώζεται. ἦν δ’ αὐτὸς μὲν ἀπὸ
Ἀδάμου δεκατὸς· Λαμέχου γὰρ ἐστὶν υἱὸς, οὗ
πατὴρ ἦν Μαθουσάλας, οὗτος δὲ ἦν τοῦ Ἀνώχου
tοῦ Ιαρέδου, Μαλαήλου δὲ Ἰαρέδου ἐγεγόνει, ὅς
ἐκ Καίνα τεκνοῦται τοῦ Ἀνώχου σὺν ἀδελφαῖς
πλείσσων, Ἀνώχος δὲ Σήθου υἱὸς ἦν τοῦ Ἀδάμου.
80 (3) Συνέβη δὲ τούτῳ τὸ πάθος κατὰ τὸ ἔξα-
κοσιοστὼν ἔτος ἦδη Νάχου τῆς ἀρχῆς, ἐν μηρὶ
δευτέρῳ Δίῳ μὲν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων λεγομένῳ, Μαρ-
σουάη δ’ ὑπὸ Ἐβραίων οὕτω γὰρ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ
81 τὸν ἐναυτὸν ἦσαν διατεταγμένοις. Μαυσοῦς δὲ τῶν
Νισῶν, ὃς ἐστὶ Σανθᾶκος, μὴν πρῶτον ἐπὶ ταῖς

1 OL: ἐνίγη ῥελ.
put into his mind a device and means of salvation on this wise. He constructed an ark of four stories, Gen. vi. 15 f. three hundred cubits in length, fifty in breadth and thirty in depth, on which he embarked with [his children.] 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. 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 Mathusalah, the son of Anoch, the son of Jared, the son of Malael, who with many sisters was begotten by Cainas, son of Anos, the son of Seth, the son of Adam.

(3) This catastrophe happened in the six hundredth year of Noah's rulership, in what was once the second month, called by the Macedonians Dias and by the Hebrews Marsuan, 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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* Heb. Methuselah.
† Heb. Enoch.
‡ Heb. Mahalalel.
§ Read perhaps ἀδελφοί = "brothers and sisters."
¶ Heb. Kenan.
# Heb. Enoch.
$ "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.

Heb. Marheshwan (=October-November). Josephus commonly takes the names of the months from the Macedonian calendar, appending the Hebrew post-exilic equivalents.
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, Ḳeṭaḥ Hashanaḥ, i. 1, distinguishing four New Years' Days for various purposes. (Driver on Exodus loc. cit.; i. Abrahams in Hastings' B.D., art. "Time" supports the accuracy of Josephus.)

So rxx: Heb. "on the seventeenth day."

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 r.xx 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 commencement 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>
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<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total = date of Flood</td>
<td>1056</td>
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<td>anno mundi</td>
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</table>
άκριβείας τῶν τότε καὶ τὰς γενέσεις τῶν ἐπι-
φανῶν ἀνδρῶν καὶ τὰς τελευτάς.

83 (4) Ἀδάμῳ μὲν [οὖν] τριακοστῷ ἡμὶ καὶ δια-
κοσιοστῷ ἦτε γεγονότι παῖς Σῆθος γίνεται, ὡς
ἐνακόσια καὶ τριάκοντα ἐτῶν ἠβίωσε. Σῆθος δὲ
κατὰ πέμπτον καὶ διακοσιοστὸν ἦτος ἐγείρησεν
"Ἀνώσον, ὡς πέντε ξῆσας ἐτη καὶ ἐνακόσια Καῦνα
τῷ παιδὶ τῆς τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμελείαν διδασκ
tεκνώσας αὐτόν περὶ ἐνενήκουσθαι καὶ ἐκατοστὸν
ἐτος· οὕτος ἐβίωσεν ἐτη δώδεκα πρὸς τοὺς ἔνα-
κοσίους. Καῦνας δὲ βιοὺς δέκα καὶ ἐνακόσια
Μαλάγλους ἤν ἐσχεν ἦτε γενόμενον ἐβδομη-
kοστῷ καὶ ἐκατοστῷ. οὕτος ὁ Μαλάγλος ξῆσας
πέντε καὶ ἐνενήκουσα καὶ ὀκτάκοσια ἐτη ἐτελευ-
tτασεν Ἰάρεδον καταλύσας ἢν, ὃν ἦτος πέμπτον
ἐξήκουσθαι καὶ ἐκατοστὸν γενόμενος ἐγείρησε.
85 τούτων εἰς δύο καὶ ἐξήκουσα πρὸς τοὺς ἐνακόσιους
βιοτὸν ἶθα Ἀνώσος ἢν διαδέχεται γεννηθεὶς περὶ
ἐτη δύο καὶ ἐξήκουσα καὶ ἐκατον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῷ
τυγχάνοντος. οὕτος ξῆσας πέντε καὶ ἐξήκουσα
πρὸς τοὺς τριακοσίους ἀνεχώρησε πρὸς τὸ θεῖον,
86 ὅπερ οὐδὲ τελευτὴν αὐτὸν ἀναγεγράφῃ. Μα-
θουσάλας δὲ Ἀνώσοι παῖς κατὰ ἐτος αὐτῷ γεγονός
πέμπτων καὶ ἑξήκουσα καὶ ἐκατοστὸν Ἀμέχου
ὕν ἐσχεν περὶ ἀντὶ γεγονός ἔπτα καὶ ὐγνηθεὶν
καὶ ἐκατόν, ὃ τὴν ἀρχὴν παράδοξων αὐτῷ αὐτὴν
κατασκομένην ἐνέδει καὶ ἑξήκουσα καὶ ἐνακόσιος.
87 Λάμεχος δὲ ἀρξεῖς ἔπτα καὶ ἐπετακοσίοις ἔτεος
Νῶχον τῶν πραγμάτων ἀποδείκνυσι προστάτη
νὴν, ὃς Λάμεχος γενόμενος ὕμνον καὶ ὕμνη-
κοστὸν καὶ ἐκατοστὸν ἔτος ἦμικοτε πεντήκοντα
88 καὶ ἐνακόσιοις ἔτεος ἥρξε τῶν πραγμάτων. ταῦτα
minute care the birth and death of the illustrious men.

(4) For Adam was 230 years old when his son Seth was born and 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. Mathusala 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, f. v. 29.

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 § 88 & ... εὕρησεν, εὗτες εὕρησαν κτλ., may be later marginal insertions which have become misplaced in the text.

b Enos.
c Kenan.
d Gr. "he": see note a.
e Malalael.
f Enoch.
g "God took him" or in xxx-"transported him" (μετέβασαν), Gen. v. 24; Josephus uses the same phrase "return to the divinity" of the passing of Moses, A. iv. 326 (iii. 96).
h Methuselah.

1 ἐσπέρα O Lat.
συναγόμενα τὰ ἔτη τῶν προαναγεγραμμένων πληροῦν εἰς τοὺς τελευταίας τῶν ἁνδρῶν, τοῖς γὰρ αὐτῶν παῖσι καὶ τοῖς ἑκείνων ἀπογόνωις παρεξήγησαν τὸν βίον, ἀλλὰ τὰς γενέσεις αὐτῶν μόνον ὑπάρχει.

89 (5) 'Επισημηνάντως δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δεόν ἀρξαμένου τὸ ὕδωρ ἡμέρας τεσσάρακοντα δόεις κατεφέρετο, ὡς ἐπὶ πῆχεις πεντεκαίδεκα τὴν γῆν ὑπερέχειν. καὶ τούτῳ ἦν τὸ αἰτίων τοῦ μὴ διασωθῆναι πλεῖονας φυγῆς ἀφορμῆς οὐκ ἔχοντας.

90 πανταμένου τοῦ ὕδατος μόλις ἡρέτω ὑποβαίνει τὸ ὕδωρ ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἐκατόν καὶ πεντήκοντα, ὡς μνή ἐβδόμω, ἵσταμένου δὲ ἄν ἐβδόμῃ, καὶ ὑλίγον ὑπονοοῦν ἀπολύγοντος. ἐπειτα τῆς λάρνακος περὶ ἄκραν τινὰ ὅρους σταθείσης κατὰ τὴν 'Αρμενίαν συνεις ὁ Νάγχος ἀνοίγει τ' αὐτήν καὶ θεοσάμενος γῆν βραχεῖαν περὶ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ χρηστοτέρας ἡγη γεγονός ἐλπίδος ἡρέμει. ὑλίγοις δ' ὑστερον ἡμέραις μᾶλλον ὑποχωροῦντος τοῦ ὕδατος μεθύσαν κόρακα, βουλόμενος μαθειν ἐκ τι καὶ ἄλλο τῆς γῆς ἐκλειπεμένον ύπὸ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀσφάλεις

1 συμπληροὶ SPL.
2 συμπαρεξήγησαν SPL.
3 τ' αὐτὴς Niese: ταύτην codd.

* Greek ὡς "so that": possibly for should be read.
* Gr. "in the seventh month, and it was the seventh (day) of its first decade."
* Such I take to be the meaning: ἀπολύγοντος (μόλις τοῦ μηδὲν) is the converse of ἱσταμένου and a variant for the normal ἐβδόμω or φηγετοῦς, 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 the seventh month the earth..."
added together, give the total above mentioned. The reader should not examine the ages of the individuals at death, for their life-times extended into those of their sons and of their sons' descendants, but should confine his attention to their dates of birth.

(5) When God gave the signal and caused the rain- fall to begin, the water poured down for forty entire days, insomuch that it rose to fifteen cubits above the surface of the earth. That was the reason why no more escaped, since they had no place of refuge. When the rain at length ceased, for 150 days the water scarcely began to sink, until at the opening of the seventh month, from the seventh day, it little by little subsided as the month drew to a close. 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, 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 (rxx 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 rxx) the 27th. On the further stages in the subsidence (Gen. viii. 5, 14) he is silent.

* Gen. viii. 6 (J) Noah sends out the raven "at the end of the "forty days" of the flood."
ἐστιν ἣδη πρὸς ἐκβασιν· οὐ δὲ πάσαν εὐρών ἔτι λειμαζομένην πρὸς Νῶχον ἐπανήλθε. μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἔπτα περιστερὰν ἐπὶ τῷ γνώναι τὰ περὶ 92 τῆς γῆς προϋπερμείν· ἐπανελθοῦσα δὲ πεπηλωμένης ἀμα καὶ θαλλόν ἐλαίας κομιζούσης, μαθὼν τὴν γῆν ἀπηλλαγμένην τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ μείνας ἄλλας ἔπτα ἡμέρας τὰ τε ξώρια τῆς λάρνακος ἐξαφέσαν αὐτὸς τε μετὰ τῆς γενεᾶς προελθὼν καὶ θύσας τῷ θεῷ συνευσώκειτο τοῖς οἰκείοις. ἀποβατήριον μέντοι τὸν τόπον τούτον Ἀρμένωι καλοῦσιν· ἐκεί γὰρ ἀνασωθεῖσα τῆς λάρνακος ἔτεν νῦν αὐτῆς ἡ λείψανα ἐπιδεικνύσει.

93 (6) Τοῦ δὲ κατακλυσμοῦ τούτου καὶ τῆς λάρνακος μέμνηται πάντες οἱ τὰς βαρβαρικὰς ἱστορίας ἀναγεγραφότες, ὡν ἐστὶ Βερουσίως ὁ Χαλδαῖος· διηγομένους γὰρ τὰ περὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ οὕτως που διέξειν· "λέγεται δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλοίου ἐν τῇ Ἀρμενίᾳ πρὸς τῷ ὀρεί τῶν Κορδυαίων ἔτει μέρος τι εἶναι καὶ κομίζειν τινάς τῆς ἀσφάλτου ἀφαιροῦντας· χρώνας δὲ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τῷ κομιζομένῳ πρὸς 91 τοὺς ἀποτροπισμοὺς." μέμνηται δὲ τούτων καὶ Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Ἀλγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τῆς Φουκικῆς συγγραφάμενος καὶ Μνασέας δὲ καὶ

1 αὖτῆς ΡΟ: οἱ ἐπιχόριοι Μ Λατ.: the rest, including Euseb., present a conflated text.

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

* πεπηλωμένης: this detail comes apparently from Berosus (mentioned below), who writes in his account of the flood.
to disembark; but the bird found the whole land inundated and returned to Noah. Seven days after Gen. viii. 8. 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 διὸν) ὃς τὰν εἰς τὴν ναῦν έλθὼν τοῦ φόνος τετηλεκαίνοις ἔγγοντα. C. Müller, Frag. Hist. Græc. 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).
ἀλλοι πλείουσ, καὶ Νικόλαος δὲ ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ ἑνεκτοστῇ καὶ ἐκτῇ βιβλίῳ ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτῶν 95 λέγων οὖτως: "ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τὴν Μυρώνα μέγα ὅρος κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμενίαν Βάρις λεγόμενον, εἰς ὁ πολλοὺς συμφυγόντας ἐπὶ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ λόγος ἔχει περισσοθὲν καὶ τυφλὸς λάρνακος ὑποτιμούμενον ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὅκειλαι καὶ τὰ λείψανα τῶν ἐνιόμων ἐπὶ πολύ σωθῆναι. γένοιτο δ’ ἄν οὖτος, οὕτω καὶ Μονισῆς ἀνέγραφεν ὁ Ἰουδαίων νομοθέτης."

96 (7) Νάγχος δὲ φοβούμενος, μὴ καθ’ ἐκαστὸν ἐτος ἐπικλῆσθα τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς φοβοῖς ἀνθρώπων κατα-μφισομένος, ἵνα1 καύσας ἐδείκτο τὸν θεόν τοῦ λουποῦ ἐπὶ τῆς πρώτης μένειν εὐταξίας καὶ μηδὲν ἐτί τοιούτω ἐπενεγκαίν πάθος, ὡς ὁ θεός κυνωνεύσει πᾶν ἀπολέσθαι τὸ τῶν ζώων γένος, ἀλλὰ τετραυρημένον τοὺς πονηροὺς φειδὼ ποιεῖσθαι τῶν διὰ χρηστότητα περιλειφθέντων καὶ τὸ δευτέρῳ 97 διαφυγεῖν κεκριμένοις· κακοδαμονεστέρους γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἔσχεθαι καὶ χείρω κακίαν καταδικασθέν- τας, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς εἰκὼν σοφισμένοι, πηρθείειν δ’ ἐτέρῳ κατακλυσμῷ, τοῦ μὲν πρῶτον τὸν φόβον καὶ τὴν ἱστορίαν μαθώντες; 2 τοῦ δευ- 98 τέρου δὲ τὴν ἀπώλειαν. εἰμινεῖς τε οὖν αὐτὸν προσδέχεσθαι τὴν θυαλαν παρεκάλει καὶ μηδεμίαν

1 RO Lat. (sumam i): iepoia rell.
2 u.l. παθόντε, 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, l. 112.
* Friend and biographer of Herod the Great and author of a Universal History which was one of the main sources
by Mnaseas and by many others. Nicolas of Damascus in his ninety-sixth book relates the story as follows: "There is above the country of Minyas 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.

The Minni of the O.T. (Jer. li. 27), like the Mannus of Assyrian inscriptions, are mentioned in close connexion with Ararat. Another tradition, mentioned elsewhere by Josephus (A. xx. 24 f.), places the relics of the ark in a region remote from Ararat, viz. at Carrhae, S.E. of Edessa.
ἀργὴν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ὀμοίαν λαβεῖν; ὥσπερ ἐργοῖς τε τοῖς ταύτης προσλεπαροῦντες καὶ πόλεις ἀναστή-  
σαντες εὐβαμμόνως ξῆν ἔχοιεν καὶ μηδενὸς ὁν καὶ  
πρὸ τῆς ἐπομβρίας ἀπελαυνοῦ ὑστερῶσιν ἀγαθῶν,  
eis μακρὸν αὐτῶν γῆρας καὶ βίου μήκος ὧμοιον  
tois τάχιον ἐπερχομένων.

90 (8) Ὅτι γὰρ τούτας ποιησαμένου τὰς ἱκετείας  
ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ δικαιοσύνη τὸν ἄνδρα ἄγατων ἐπένευεν  
αὐτῷ τὰς εὐχὰς εἰς τέλος ἁξείων, οὕτω τούς διε-  
φθαρμένους λέγων αὐτός ἀπολέσαι, κακία δὲ τῇ  
oἰκείᾳ ταύτῃ αὐτοῖς ὑποσχεῖν τὴν δίκην, οὕτω  
ἀν, εἰ γενομένους ἄνθρωπους ἀφαίνεις διεγνώκεις,
100 παραγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸν βίον, σώφρον γὰρ  
eῖναι τὴν ἀρχὴν αὐτοῖς μὴ διέ χαρίσασθαι τὸ ἢ  
ἡ δοντα τοῦτο διαφθέρεσθαι "ἀλλ’ οἰς ἐξύβριζον  
eἰς τὴν ἐμὴν εὐσέβειαν καὶ ἄρετἡν, τούτως ἐξ-  
εβιάσαντο με ταύτῃ αὐτοῖς ἐπιζητεῖν τὴν δίκην.
101 παύσομαι δὲ τοῦ λουτροῦ μετὰ τοσαύτης ὀργῆς  
tὰς τιμωρίας ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀδικήμασιν εἰσπραττόμενος καὶ  
πολὺ μᾶλλον σοῦ παρακαλοῦντος. εἰ δὲ ἐπὶ πλέον  
pοτὲ χεμάσαμι, μὴ δείσῃς τῶν ὁμορροῦ τὸ μέγε-  
θος· οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἐπικλὺσει τὸ ὕδωρ.
102 παραινῶ μέντοι σφαγῆς ἀνθρώπων ἀπέχεσθαι  
cαὶ καθαρεύειν φάνοι τοὺς δράσαντας τὰ τοιοῦτον  
kολάζοντας, χρῆσαι δὲ τοῖς ἄλλοις ξύφος ἀπασὶ  
πρὸς ἀ βούλευσθε καὶ τὰς ὀρέχεις ἔχετε· δεσπότας  
γὰρ ἀπάντων ὄμοιας εἶναι πεποίηκα τῶν τε χερσαίων

1 So most ms. (cf. l. 58): βαλεῖ βολῶν RO.

* τάχιον is occasionally used in Josephus as equivalent to πρῶτον, e.g. Λ. κοιλ. 179, B. l. 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

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\(^a\) God's covenant with Noah. C.f. Gen. viii. 21 ff.

\(^b\) \text{πραθεία, 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."
καὶ νηκτῶν καὶ ὁσα τῇς μετάρρυμοιν αἰώναν ἔχει
cαὶ φοράν, χωρὶς αἵματος. ἐν τούτω γάρ ἔστων ἡ
103 ψυχή. σημανῦ δὲ ὡμῶν παυλαν ἐσομένην τοξεία
tῇ ἐμῇ," τῇ ἰριν ἀποστημάνων τόξον γάρ εἶναι
tοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ νενόμισται. καὶ ο μὲν
θεὸς ταῦτ' εἴπων καὶ ὑποσχέμενος ἀπαλλάσσεται.
104 (9) Ἦψως δὲ βιοῦς μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν πεντήκοντα καὶ τριακόσια ἔτη καὶ πάντα τῶν
τούτων εὐθυμῶν διαγαγόν τελευταὶ ζῆσας ἐτῶν
105 ἄριθμόν ένακοσίων καὶ πεντήκοντα. μηδεῖς δὲ
πρὸς τὸν νῦν βιον καὶ τὴν βραχύτητα τῶν ἔτων
ἀ ποκεμὲν συμβαλῶν τῶν τῶν παλαιῶν ψευδὴ νομι-
ζήτω τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα τῷ μηδένα νῦν
tοσσοῦ τον ἐν τῷ βίῳ παρατείνειν χρόνον τεκμιρό-
μενος μηδ' ἐκείνος εἰς ἐκείνο τὸ μέρος τῆς ζωῆς
106 ἀμφόθευ. οἱ μὲν γάρ θεοφιλεῖς οὖντες καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
tοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενοι καὶ διὰ τὰς τροφὰς ἐπιτηδειο-
tέρας πρὸς πλείονα χρόνον οὕσας εἰκότως ἐξων
πλῆθος τοσσοῦ τοῦ ἐτῶν· ἐπείτη καὶ δὲ τοῦτην καὶ
tὴν εὐχρηστίαν ἕων ἐπενόουν, ἀστρονομίας καὶ
γεωμετρίας, πλείον χζῆν τὸν θεόν αὐτοῖς παρασχειν,
ἀπερ οὐκ ἔφασιν αὐτοῖς προειπεῖν μὴ ζῆσαιν
ἐξακοσίων ἑναυτοῖς· διὰ τοσσοῦν γὰρ ὁ μέγας
107 ἑναυτός πληροῦται. μαρτυροῦσι δὲ μοι τῷ λόγῳ
πάντες οἱ παρ' Ἐλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις συγγραφῆ-
μενοι τὰς ἁρκαλολογίας· καὶ γάρ καὶ Μακεδονίς τῇ
110 Ἀλευπτίων ποιησάμενοι ἀναγραφῇ καὶ Βηρω-
σῶς ὁ τὰ Χαλδαίκα συναγαγόν καὶ Μώχος τε καὶ
Ἐστιαῖος καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὁ Ἀλευπτίως Ἰερώ-
νυμος, οἱ τὰ Φωνικὰ συγγραφῆμεν· συμ-

1 SPL: σημανῦ rell. Lat.
2 ἀστρονομίας SP Lat. Eus.  3 ROE: συμβαλων rell. Lat.
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. 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, Hestiacus, along with the Egyptian Hieronymus, authors of Phoenician his-

* 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.III.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 παντοτ.
108 φωνοῦσι τοῖς ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ λεγομένοις, Ὑσίόδος τε καὶ Ἐκαταιός καὶ Ἑλλάνικος καὶ Ἀκουσίλαος καὶ πρὸς τούτους Ἑφορος καὶ Νικόλαος ἱστοροῦσι τούς ἀρχαίους ἠχόμενος ἐπὶ τὴν χώρα. ἐπεὶ μὲν [οὖν]1 τούτων, ἀς ὁ ἑκάστος ὃς φίλων, οὕτω σκοπεῖτοσαν.

109 (i. v. 1) Οἱ δὲ Νώχου παῖδες τρεῖς ὄντες, Σήμασ καὶ Ἰάβδας καὶ Χάμας, ἔτεσιν ἑκατον ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἐπομενίας γεγονότες, πρῶτον κατελάβοντες ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρῶν εἰς τὰ πεδία τὴν ἐν τούτοις οἰκίσεω τοῦ ἐπισιαστο καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους σφόδρα δεδύτας διὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τὰ πεδία καὶ ὁκηρῶς ἔχοντας πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν ύψηλων τόπων κατάβασιν ἐπει-110 σαν θαρσοῦσας μιμητὰς αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πεδίον, εἰς ὁ πρῶτον αὐτοὶ κατῴκησαν,2 καλεῖται Σέναραρ3· τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος αὐτοὺς διὰ πολυνανθρωπίαν στέλλειν ἀποκλισίας, ἧν μὴ οκοσίδον πρὸς ἄλλους, ἄλλα γῆ κολλήθη γεωργοῦσις ἀρθροις ἀπολαῦσαν τῶν καρπῶν, ὧπο ἀμαβίας παρῆκουσαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο συμφοραῖς περιπεσοῦντες ἁπατοῦ τῆς ἀμαρτίας.

111 ἐπεὶ γὰρ ἦν τοὺς νεότητος πλήθει, πάλιν ὁ θεὸς

1 om. ROE.
2 So most ms. (supported by lxx): Νίλαις αὐτοῦς κατῴκησαν.
3 Σέναραρ Λ.
tories, concur in my statements; while Hesiod, Hecataeus, Hellanicus, Acusilaus, as well as Ephorus and Nicolas, report that the ancients lived for a thousand years. But on these matters let everyone decide according to his fancy.

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

a rule for historians. "And should any myth come into question, it should be related but not wholly credited: rather it should be left open (ἐν μυστήρεσι) 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).

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

4 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.

* 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."

7 LXX form of the Heb. Shinar.
autōs suneboulēuse poieisbhai tīn āpokiaiav' oî dé ou kath tīn eumēneiaw tīn ēkeīnou nomizontes échei tā ágathā, tīn d' ēsychn autōs tīn oikeiav aithan tīs eunpiais ὑπολαμβάνontes ouk épeī-
112 bontho. prosettevēsan dé tī parakouēn tīs tōv theou gnōmēs kai to kat' épiboulēn ὑπονοein eis āpokiaiav autōs paromēn, oun diarebēvētes eu-
epiheirhetōteroi gévontai.

113 (2) Ἐξηρέ τη αὐτοὺς πρὸς τό ὑβριν τν θεοῦ 
και καταφρόνησιν Νεβρῶθης,1 ὡς νῦνοι μὲν ἦν 
Χάμου του Νώχου, τολμηρός δὲ και κατα χεὴ 
γενναίος· ἐπειδὴ οὖν αὐτοὺς μὴ τῷ θεῷ διδὼν 
to δ' ēkeīnou eudaimoivei, allā tīn idian ārethn
114 tauta parēxein autōs ἤγεισθαι, και περιστα δὲ 
kat' ὅλων εἰς τυραννία τά πράγματα, μόνως 
autou nomizōn āpōsthesen touc anθrobouc touc 
phóbou touc parά touc theou, ei chrūmēnou tη 
autōu dunamei diatelešen, amneiasthai te touc theoiv pālen 
hpelai tīn gīn επικλώσai thelēsaneta: pūron gār 
oikodomēsean ὑψηλόteron ἢ to ʿudōr ānabhvai 
dunθei, metaleuēsebhai δὲ και tīs tōn proγoνων 
ἀπωλείας.

115 (3) Τὸ δὲ πλήθos prōthumou ἦν τοίς Νεβρῶθου 
ἐπεσθαι δύγμαι δουλείαν ἱγούμενοι2 τὸ εἰκεν τῷ 
θεῷ, καὶ τον pūron φωκόδομου ouδὲν ἀπο− 
λείπontes spoudhēs ouδὲ πρός τὸ ἐργον οἰκνηρᾶς 
exontes· ελάμβανε δὴ ὅπω τῆν ὑψον ἢ ἑπροσεδό− 
116 kīsen, ἀν τῆς ὑπὸ πολυχειρίας· τὸ μεντοῦ πάχos

1 So most (with lxx): Niese with other mss. Ναβρῶθη.
2 M: ἤγορμενον ρηλ.
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 b 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

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b 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),” *Chagiga* 13a, i. (Streane); again I owe the reference to M. Weill.
Hēn ἵσχυρὸν τὸσοῦτον, ὅσθ᾽ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ μειοῦσθαι τοῖς ὁρῶν τὸ μῆκος. φικὸδομέστο δὲ ἐκ πλὴν ὁππῆς ἄσφάλτω συνδεδεμένης, ὡς ἂν μὴ περιπέτευο. οὕτως δὲ μεμηνότας αὐτοῦ ὁρῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀφαινόσαι μὲν ἐκ παντὸς οὐκ ἔκρενέν, ὃτι μηδ᾽ ὑπὸ τῶν 117 πρῶτων ἀπολυλότων σωφρονισθεῖν, εἰς στάσιν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνέβαλεν ἀλλογλώσσους ἀπεργασάμενος καὶ ὑπὸ πολυφωνίας ποιῆσας ἑαυτῶν ἀσυνετῶς εἶναι. ὃ δὲ τόπος ἐν ὁ τῶν πύργων φικὸδόμησαν καὶ τῆς ἐμβιώσασαν καὶ σιφυλλα λέγουσα ὑπ᾽ υἱῶν, πάντων ὁμοφώνων δότων τῶν αὐρώπων πύργων φικὸδόμησαν τινες ὑψηλότατον ὡς ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρανῶν ἀναβησάμενοι δι᾽ αὐτοῦ, οὐ ὁ θεὸς ἀνέμοις ἐπιτέμψατες δι᾽ ἐκτεθαν τῶν πύργων καὶ ίδίων ἑκάστῳ φωνῆ ἐδωκαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βαβυλὼν συνῆθη κληθήναι τὴν 119 πόλιν. οὑ περὶ τοῦ πεδίου τοῦ λεγομένου Σεναὰρ ἐν τῇ Βαβυλωνίᾳ χώρᾳ μετομενεῖ Εστιαῖος λέγων ὑπ᾽ υἱῶν, τῶν δὲ ἐκείνων τοὺς διασωθέντας τὰ τοῦ Ἐσσαλίου Δίδος ἑρώματα λαβόντας εἰς Σεναὰρ τῆς Βαβυλωνίας ἐδέθειν.

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

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

ἀλλ᾽ ὡς ἂν μεγάλοις θεοῖς τελέσαται ἄπειλαί,
ἀς πῶς ἐκπετάλεσο βροτοῖς, δοὺς πύργων ἐτευχάν
χώρῃ ἐν Ἀσσυρίᾳ ὅλωσαν δ᾽ ἔστω ἄπαντες
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 overthrew 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 Sennaar in the region of Babylon, Hestiaeus speaks as follows: "Now the priests who escaped took the sacred vessels of Zeus Enyalius and came to Sennaar in Babylonia."

The plural comes from Alexander's paraphrase (ap. Rsaeh), τοις δὲ θεσθε ἄρμους ἐμφυσάντως ἀνατρέψας.

Already mentioned (§ 107) as author of a Phoenician history; his date is unknown.

"The Warlike" (Enyo = Lat. Bellona), in Homer epithet of Ares, here only applied to Zeus; Gutschmid proposed to read Ζ. Ἑράλδος, i.e. Poseidon (T. Reinach).
120 (v.) Σκίδνανται δὴ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐνετεθεν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀλλογλωσσίας τὰς ἀποκικας ποιησάμενοι πανταχοῦ, καὶ γῆν ἕκαστοι κατελάμβανον τὴν ἐντυχοθεσίαν καὶ εἰς ἔν αὐτοὺς ἦγεν ὁ θεός, ὡς πληρωθῆναι πᾶσαν αὐτῶν ἥπειρον μεσόγεων τε καὶ παράλιων· εἰ δὲ οἱ καὶ περαιωσάμενοι ναυσὶ τὰς ἴσοις κατόκησαν. 121 καὶ τῶν ἐθνῶν ένια μὲν διασώζει τὰς ὑπὸ τῶν κτισάντων κειμένας προσηγορίας, ἐνια δὲ καὶ μετέβαλεν, οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὸ σαφέστερον ἐξῄνει δοκοῦν τοὺς παροικοῦσι τροπὴν ἔλαβον. Ἑλλήνες δὲ εἰσὶν οἱ τούτου καταστάντες αὐτοὶ· ἱσχύσαντες γὰρ ἐν τοῖς ἄστεροι ἔδιωκαν ἐποιήσαντο καὶ τὴν πάλαι δόξαν, καλλωπισάντες τὰ ἐθνή τοῖς ὀνόμασι πρὸς τὸ σωφτὸν ἄνωτες καὶ ἴσων θέμενοι πολιτείας ὡς ἄφθατῶν γεγονόσιν.

122 (vi. 1) Ἡσαν δὲ τῶν Νάγχου παιδῶν νικότ, ὅπει τιμῇ τοὺς ἑθνεῖς τὰ ὀνόματα ἐπετίθεσαν οἱ γῆν τινα καταλαμβάνοντες. Ἰάφθα μὲν οὖν τοῦ Νάγχου παιδὸς ἦσαν ἐπτὰ νικότ. κατοικοῦσι δὲ ὑπὸ Ταύρου καὶ Ἀμάνου τῶν ὅρων ἀρβανίους καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀσίας ἀχρι ποταμοῦ Ταμιόδος, ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς Εὐρώπης ἔσω Γαθερίου· γῆν ἂν ἐτυχον καταλαμβάνοντες, καὶ μηδενὸς προ- κατωκήκοτος τὰ ἐθνή τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐκάλουν ὀνόματι. τούς συμμένοις Ἐλληνον Γαλάτας καλομένους, Γιομαρεῖς δὲ λέγομένους, Γόμαρος ἐκτίσει. Μαγώνης δὲ τοὺς ἄπταντι αὐτοῦ Μαγώνας

1 μετέβαλεν codd.  
2 Γαθέρων RO (Gazirorum Lat.).

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* Or "to sojourners among them."  
* Greek "Japhtha."  
* The Don, regarded in antiquity as the boundary between Asia and Europe.  
* Cadiz.  
* Or "provinces."  
* Biblical Gomer: in reality "the Gomir of the Assyrian
(v.) From that hour, therefore, they were dispersed through their diversity of languages and founded colonies everywhere, each group occupying the country that they lit upon and to which God led them, so that every continent was peopled by them, the interior and the seaboard alike; while some crossed the sea on shipboard and settled in the islands. Of the nations some still preserve the names which were given them by their founders, some have changed them, while yet others have modified them to make them more intelligible to their neighbours. 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(os), etc., are as a rule not reproduced in translation.
ονομασθήτας φίκισεν, ἡκίδας δὲ ὑπ’ αὐτῶν
124 προσαγορευομένους. τῶν δὲ Ἰάφθα παιδῶν Ἰανά-
νου καὶ Μάθων ἀπὸ μὲν τούτων Μαδαιοῦ γίνονται
ἐθνοῖς, οἳ πρὸς Ἐλλήνων Μῆδων κέκληται, ἀπὸ δὲ
Ἰανάνου Ἰωνία καὶ πάντες Ἐλλήνες γεγόνασι.
κατοικίζει δὲ καὶ Θεοβήλοις Θεόβηλος, οἵτινες ἐν
125 τοῖς νῦν Ἰβηρίας καλοῦνται. καὶ Μεσχήνωι δὲ ὑπὸ
Μέσχου κτισθέντες Καππάδοκες μὲν ἄρτι κέκλη-
ται, τῆς δὲ ἀρχαίας αὐτῶν προσηγορίας σημεῖον
δείκνυται: πόλεις γὰρ ἐστὶ παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἐτεί καὶ νῦν
Μαζακα, δηλοῦσα τοὺς συνιέναι δυναμένους οὕτως
ποτὲ προσαγορευθὲν τῶν τὸ ἔθνος. Θείρης δὲ
Θείρης μὲν ἐκάλεσεν ὁ Ἰρών, Ἐλλήνως δὲ Θρά-
126 κας αὐτοῦς μετωνόμασεν. καὶ τοσαῦτα μὲν ἔθηκ
ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰάφθου παιδῶν κατοικεῖται: Γομάρου δὲ
τριῶν νῦν γενομένων Ἀσχαράξης μὲν Ἀσχα-
ράξεις φίκισεν, οἳ νῦν Ῥήγινες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐλλήνων
καλοῦνται, Ἐρίθης δὲ Ἐρίθεαν τοὺς Παφλα-
γόνας λεγομένους, Θυγράμης δὲ Θυγραμαίους, οἳ
127 δόξαν Ἐλληνοὶ Φρύγες αὐνομάσθησαν. Ἰανάνου δὲ
τοῦ Ἰάφθου τριῶν καὶ αὐτοῦ παιδῶν γενομένων

1 Ἰανώδους RO: Ἰανάνου SPL (similar variants below).

* Bibl. Madai (the common Heb. name for Medea and the
  Medes).
* Bibl. Tubal (λαξ Θεβδα).
* Bibl. Meshech (Μεσχ). 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 Ταβαλιοὶ and Μάχαις" of Herodotus
  (iii. 94, vili. 78); they appear in Assyrian monuments as
  Tabali and Musk 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, gave birth, the latter to the Madaeans—the race called by the Greeks Medes—the former to Ionia and all the Greeks. Theobcl founded the Theobelians, nowadays called Iberians. The Messenians, 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

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4 The name had in fact been changed to Caesarea when Cappadocia became a Roman province under Tiberius.
5 Bibl. Tiras: now conjectured to be identical with the Tripolitans, Mediterranean pirates who gave their name to the Etruscans (Skinner; his valuable edition of Genesis in the Int. Crit. Comm. has been consulted throughout this passage).
6 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).
7 Name unknown, perhaps corrupt.
8 Bibl. Riphath: otherwise unknown.
9 Bibl. Togarmah (LXX Θηργαμ, Θηργαμ); “traditionally associated with Armenia” (Skinner).
'Αλισάνε μὲν 'Αλισάνους ἐκάλεσεν δὲν ἦρχεν, Ἀιο-
λεῖς δὲ νῦν εἰσι, Ὁδώρος δὲ 'Οδώρους· οὕτως γὰρ
ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ παλαιὸν ἢ Κιλικία. σημεῖον δὲ-
Ταρσός γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς τῶν πόλεων ἡ ἀξιολογ-
τάτη καλεῖται, μητρόπολις οὖσα, τὸ ταῦτα πρὸς τὴν
128 κλήσια ἀντὶ τοῦ θήτα μεταβαλόντων. Χέβιμος δὲ
Χέβιμα τὴν νῆσον ἔσχε, Κύπρος αὐτή νῦν καλεῖται,
καὶ ἀπ' αὐτής νῆσος πεσάται καὶ τὰ πλείω τῶν
παρὰ θάλατταν Χέβιμα. ὡσποδ' Ἐβραίων ὄνομαζεται·
μάρτυς δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ μία τῶν ἐν Κύπρῳ πόλεων
ισχύσασα τὴν προσηγορίαν φυλάζει. Κάτων γὰρ
ὑπὸ τῶν ἔξελλημισάντων αὐτὴν καλεῖται μηδ' οὕτως
dιαφηγοῦσα τοῦ Χέβιμου τὸ ὄνομα. 'Ιάβδα
μὲν δὴ παίδεσε τε καὶ νεώνοι τοσαῦτα ἤσχον ἔθνη.
129 δ' ἐσώς ύπ' Ἐβραίων ἀγνοεῖται, τοῦτο προειπὼν
τρέφομαι πρὸς τὴν ἀφήγησιν δὲν κατέλειπον. τὰ
γὰρ ὄνομα διὰ τὸ τῆς γραφῆς εὐπρεπεῖς ἡλ-
λυμισται πρὸς ἡδονὴ τῶν ἐντευξομένων· οὐ γὰρ
ἐπιχώριος ἦμοι ὁ τοιοῦτος αὐτῶν τύπος, ἀλλ' ἐν
tοις αὐτῶν σχήμα καὶ τελευτή μία. Νόμος γε τοῦ
Νόμε καλεῖται καὶ τοὺτον τὸν τύπον ἐπὶ παντὸς
τῆς σχήματος.

130 (2) Ὑδ' ἐν Χάμου παίδεσε τὴν ἀπὸ Συρίας καὶ
'Αμάνου καὶ Λίβανου τῶν ὀρῶν γῆς κατέσχον, ὅσα

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1 Lat. (Cethim): Χέβιμ (ἡμ) etc. codd.

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a Bibl. Elishah (Ἑλησά), else only known as the name of "isles" supplying Tyre with purple (Ezek. xxvii. 7); Conder's identification with Alasia of the Tel-Amarna Tablets (probably = Cyprus) is now widely accepted.
b Bibl. Tarshish (Θαρσός), doubtless = Ταρσός; in the south of Spain; Tarsus in Semitic has no z but a z (Ταρσῖ).
c Bibl. Kittim (Κιττίμ); the view here given and still prevalent that Cyprus is primarily intended has recently been questioned, a site farther west being desiderated.
Halicasa gave his name to his subjects the Halisaeans —the modern Aeoliots—and Tharsus 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 Ta having been converted into T. Chethimos held the island of Chethima—the modern Cyprus—whence the name Chethima given by the Hebrews to all islands and to most maritime countries; 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 Citium is not far removed from the name of Chethimos. 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. The form in which they here appear is not that used in our country, where their structure and termination remain always the same; thus Nochus (Noah) in Hebrew is Noe, 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 of Ham. Cf. Gen. x. 6ff.

In the phrase "ships of Kittim" it denotes the coasts of the Mediterranean generally, including in one instance (Dan. xi. 30) Greece. Mod. Larnaka.

Josephus omits one name, Dodanim (LXX 'Podoi'), also omitted in one group of MSS. of the Greek Bible.

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.)

The usual LXX transliteration of the Hebrew NH (in the vocalized Masoretic form Noah).
πρὸς θάλασσαν αὐτὴς ἔτεραππο καταλαβόντες καὶ τὰ μέχρι τοῦ ὤκεανοῦ ἑξιδιωσάμενοι· αἱ μὲντοι προσηγορίας τῶν μὲν καὶ παντελῶς ἐξήπτυσαν γεγόνασιν, ἐνὶ δὲ μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ μεταρρυθμοῦσα πρὸς ἐτέρας δύσγνωστοι τυχανόουσιν, ὁλγοὶ δὲ οἱ φυλάσσοντα ἀκεραίους τὰς πρὸς
131 ηγορίας ὑπάρχουσιν. τεσσάρων γὰρ Χάμου παιδῶν γενομένων Χούσαιοι μὲν οὐδὲν ἐβλάφες ὁ χρόνος. Αἰλίσσες γὰρ ὃν ἦρξεν ἐπὶ καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ ἐαυτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ Ἀσίᾳ πάντων Χούσαοι καλοῦνται. 132 ἔπηκεβή δὲ καὶ Μερσαίος ἦ κατὰ τὴν προσηγορίαν μνήμην τὴν γὰρ Ἀγνοντο Μέρσην καὶ Μερσαίος τοὺς Ἀγνοτικοὺς ἀπαντείς οἱ ταύτῃ καλοῦμεν. ἐκτε- σε δὲ καὶ Φοῦτης τῆς Λιβύης Φοῦτου αὐτοῦ 133 καλέσας τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. ἔστε δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐν τῇ Μαυρῶν χώρα τούτη ἔχων τὸ ἐνομα, ὅθεν καὶ τοὺς πλείστους τῶν Ἕλληνων ἱστοριογράφων ἔστιν ἱδεῖν μεμημένους τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς παρακεκλήσης αὐτοῦ χώρας Φοῦτης λεγομένης. μετέβαλε δὲ ὁ νῦν αὐτὴ ἐστίν ἐνομα ἀπὸ τῶν Μερσαίου νῦν Λίβνους λεγομένου· μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δ’ ἔρουμεν τὴν αὐτίαν, δ’ ἤν αὐτὴν καὶ "Αφρικαν
134 προσαγορεύονται συμβεβήκε. Χανααίος δὲ τέ- ταρτος ὁ Χάμου πάις τὴν νῦν Ἰουδαίαν καλοῦ- μενην οἰκίας αὐτοῦ Χανααίος προσηγόρευσεν. γινόνται δὲ παιδεῖς ἔξι αὐτῶν Χούσου μὲν ἐξ, ὅν Σάβας μὲν Σαβαίοις, Εὐδας δὲ Εὐδαίοις ἐκτίσεν,

1 Mæstraioi. SPE and so (with Mærty) below.
2 Niese (cf. § 132): Μεσ(α)μου codd.

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* The Mediterranean.
* The Indian Ocean.
* Bibl. Cush (lxx Xoös).
* Or (with v.l.) "Mestraeans": Bibl. Mizraim (lxx, some mss., Mæstraem).
of the sea and appropriating the regions reaching to the ocean. 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, 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 also have kept their memory alive in their name, for we in these parts all call Egypt Merse and the Egyptians Mersaeans. Phut 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. But this country has changed its name into that which it now bears, taken from one of the sons of Mersaeus named Libys; I shall state shortly why it also came to be called Africa. The fourth son of Ham, settled in the country now called Judaea and named it after himself Chananaeus. The sons of Ham had sons in their turn. Chus had six, of whom Sabas founded the Sabaeans; the Evilaeans, the Gaetulians of

* The author, writing in Rome, adopts the standpoint of his native Palestine.
  Or “Mestre.”
  Bibl. Put (Φοῦ or Φου).
  Unverifiable.
  Or “Mestramus.”
  §§ 289-241.
  Bibl. Canaan (LXX Ταυρανός).
  Bibl. Cush, called Chusaeus above.
  Bibl. Seba.
  There were Sabaeans on either side of the Red Sea and elsewhere; as the Ethiopian branch seems to be alluded to below, this may mean the Arabian clan.
  Bibl. Havilah, probably to be located in N. Arabia, not in N.W. Africa, as here.

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οἱ μὲν Γαϊτοῦλοι λέγονται, Σαβάθης δὲ Σαβαθη-
νοῦς, ὁνομάζονται δὲ Ἡστάβαροι παρ’ Ἕλληναν.
135 οἰκίζει δὲ καὶ Σαβάκτας Σαβακτηνοῦς. Ράμος
dὲ Ραμαίου ὥκισε καὶ δύο παῖδας ἔσχεν, ὥστε
Ἰουδάδας μὲν Ἰουδαδαίους Ἀλιθουκίνου ἔθνος 
τῶν ἐστερίων οἰκίσας ἐπάνυμον αὐτοῦ κατέλυτε, Σα-
βαίους δὲ Σαβαίος. Ναβρώδης δὲ Χούσου υἱὸς
ὕπομείνας παρὰ Βαβυλωνίως ἐπιτάνησεν, ὡς καὶ
136 πρῶτερον μοι διδήλωται. τῶν δὲ Μερσαίου
παῖδων ὅκτω γενομένων οἱ πάντες τῇ ἀπὸ Γάζης
ἐως Δερύππον γῆν κατέχον, μόνῳ δὲ Φυλιστίνου
τὴν ἐπώνυμιάν ἡ χώρα διεφύλαξεν. Παλαιστίνην
137 γὰρ οἱ Ἕλληνες αὐτῷ τὴν μοῦραν καλοῦσι. τῶν
dὲ ἄλλων, Λουμαίου καὶ Ἀμαδιοῦ καὶ Δαβίδου τοῦ
μόνου κατοικήσαντος ἐν Διβίθῃ καὶ ὥστε τὴν 
χώραν ἀφ’ αὐτοῦ καλέσαντος, Νεδέμου τε καὶ Πεθρωσίμου
καὶ Χεσλόμου καὶ Χεβρώμου πέρα τῶν ὁνομάτων
ὑδεῖν ὅμεν· δὲ γὰρ Ἀλιθουκίς πόλεμος, περὶ οὗ
δηλώσομεν ὑστερῶν, ἀναστάτους αὐτῶν τὰς πόλεις
138 ἐπολέσαν. ἐγένετο δὲ καὶ Χαναναίου παῖδες,
Σιδώνιος δὲ καὶ πόλιν ἐπώνυμον ἐκτισεν ἐν τῇ
Φούνικῃ, Σιδών δὲ ὑφ’ Ἕλληνων καλεῖται, Ἀμα-

1 τ.Ι. Μεπταίου.

* Bibl. Sabtah.
* Astaburnas appears elsewhere as a tributary of the upper Nile, which it joined at the city of Saba, the later Meroe, capital of the Ethiopian realm of the Queen of Sheba (A. ii. 249).
* Bibl. Sabtica.
* 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.
* Bibl. Raamsah (LXX Ῥεγμα).
to-day, Sabathes the Sabathenians, whom the Greeks call Astabararians, Sabactas the Sabactenians, and Ramus the Ramaeans; the last-named had two sons, Judadas, founder of the Judadaeans, a people of western Aethiopia to whom he bequeathed his name, and Sabaesus, who stood in the same relation to the Sabaeeaeans. Nabrodes, [the sixth] son of Chus, remained in Babylonia, where he held sway, as I have previously related.

Mersaeus had eight sons, all of whom occupied the territory extending from Gaza to Egypt; but Phylistinum 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—who alone settled in Libya and thus gave his name to the country,—Nedemus, Pethrosimus, Chesloimus and Cephthomus, we know nothing beyond their names; for the Ethiopian war, of which we shall speak later, reduced their cities to ruins.

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

1 Bibl. Sheba.
2 Another mention of this ubiquitous name: the Heb. refers to the great state in S.W. Arabia.
3 Nimrod. § 113. i.e. Mizraim.
4 Bibl. Ludim, Anamim, Lehabin.
5 Given differently as Libys in § 133.
6 Bibl. “Naphtuhim, Pathrusim, Casluhim (whence went forth the Philistines) and Caphtorim.” Pathros = Upper Egypt; Caphtor = Crete.
7 A. ii. 238 ff.
8 Bibl. “the Hamathite” (LXX Ἄμαθι). Josephus here deserts the Biblical order of names.
9 Hamath on the Orontes, modern Hamah: the “Macedonian” or Seleucid name was short-lived.
θοὺς δὲ Ἀμάθουν καταφίκεσθε, ἢτις ἔστι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ μὲν τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ἀμάθη καλουμένη, Μακεδόνες 8’ αὐτὴν Ἐπιφάνειαν ἀφ’ ἐνὸς τῶν ἐπιγόνων ἐπωνόμασαν, Ἀρουδαιοῖς δὲ Ἀραδοῦ τὴν νήσου ἐσχέν, Ἀρουκάιος δὲ Ἀρκην τὴν ἐν τῷ Λιβάνῳ. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων ἑπτά, Ευαίον Χεσταῖον Ἰεβουσαίον Ἀμορραίον Γεργεσαίον Σεναϊοῦ Σαμαραίον, πλὴν τῶν ἀνομάτων ἐν ταῖς Ἰεραίσι βιβλίοις οὐδὲν ἔχομεν Ἐβραίοι γὰρ αὐτῶν ἀνεστησαν τὰς πόλεις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας ἐν συμφορᾷ γενομένων.

140 (3) Νῶχος μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τῆς γῆς κατασταθείσης εἰς τὴν αὐτῆς φύσιν ἐπ’ ἔργα χωρεῖ καὶ καταφυτεύεται αὐτὴν ἀμπέλοις, ἣνικα τοῦ καρποῦ τελεσφορηθέντος καθ’ ὄραν ἐτράγυχε καὶ παρῆν εἰς χρήσιν ὁ οἶνος, θύσις ἐν εὐώχιας ἦν. 141 μεθυσθεὶς δὲ εἰς ὑπνόν καταφέρεται καὶ γεγυμνωμένος παρακόσμως ἔκειτο. θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν ὁ ἀνέτατος τῶν παίδων τῷ ἄδελφῳ ἐπιγελῶν 142 δεῖκνυσιν οἱ δὲ περιστέλλουσι τὸν πατέρα. καὶ Νῶχος αἰσθάνεται ποὺς μὲν ἄλλοις παισίν ἐνδαμονόις εὐχεταί, τῷ δὲ Χάμῳ διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτῷ μὲν ἢ κατηράσατο, τοῖς δ’ ἐγγόνοις αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων διαπεφευγότων τὴν ὀρὰν τοὺς Χαναὰιον παῖδας μέτεισιν ὁ θεὸς· καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν τοῖς ἔξης ἐφοίμεν.
which the inhabitants to this day call Amathe, though the Macedonians renamed it Epiphaneia after one of Alexander’s successors. Arudaeus\(^a\) occupied the island of Aradus, and Arucae\(^b\) Arce in Lebanon. Of the seven others—Euæus,\(^c\) Chettæus,\(^d\) Jebuseus, Amorreus, Gergæus, Seinaeus, Samaraeus\(^e\)—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\(^f\) 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 Chananæus. But of this I shall speak hereafter.

and the birthplace of the Roman emperor, Alexander Severus.

\(^a\) So lxx, Heb. “Hîv(yl)te.”

\(^b\) So lxx, Heb. “Heth”: the wide range of the Hittite empire has been revealed by modern exploration.

\(^c\) Bibl. Jebusite, Amorite, Girgashite, Sinite (lxx ‘Aσυροῖς), Zemarite (lxx as in Josephus).

\(^d\) 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.
JOSEPHUS

143  Ἔςις δὲ τῷ τρίτῳ τῶν Ναὼν νεών πέντε γίνονται παῖδες, οἳ τῇ μέχρι τοῦ κατ᾽ Ἰουδαίον ὀκεανοῦ κατοικοῦσιν Ἁσίαν ἀπ’ Εὐφράτου τὴν ἀρχήν πεποιημένοι. Ἐκλημὸς μὲν γὰρ Ἐλμαίαν Ἑρσῶν ἀνταρχηγεῖς κατέληπεν. Ἀσσύρας δὲ Νίνου οἰκίζει πόλιν καὶ τοὺς ὑπηκόους Ἀσσυρίους ἐπιομάζεν, οἳ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονίας.

144 Ἀρφαζάδης δὲ τοὺς νῦν Χαλδαίους καλουμένους Ἀρφαζάδαιος ἰδώμασεν ἁράζων αὐτῶν. Ἀραμαῖοι δὲ Ἀράμος ἔχειν, οὗ Ἐλλήνες Σύρους προσαγορεύουσαν οὗ δὲ Λυδοὺς τῶν καλοῦσι, Λυδοὺς δὲ τότε, Λούδας ἔκτυσε. τῶν δὲ Ἀράμου παιδῶν τεσσάρων ὄντων Οὔσης μὲν κτίζει τὴν Τραχωνίτων καὶ Δαμασκόν, μέση δὲ ἐστὶ τῆς Παλαιστίνης καὶ κολῆς Συρίας, Ἀρμενίας δὲ Οὐροῦ, καὶ Γεθέρης Βακτριανοῦ, Μῆσας δὲ Μησανοῦ, Στασίνου 146 Ἀραβῶν εἶν τοὺς νῦν καλεῖται. Ἀρφαζάδου δὲ παῖς γίνεται Σέλης, τοῦ δὲ Ἔβερος, ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους Ἑβραίους ἀρχηγεῖν ἐκάλουν. Ἐβερος δὲ Ἰουκταν καὶ Φάλεγον ἐγέννησεν. ἕκληθα δὲ Φάλεγος, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὸν ἄποδασμον 2 τῶν οἰκήσεως τίτκηται φαλὲκ γὰρ τὸν μερισμὸν Ἐβραίου

1 Niese: "Οτροι most ms.: ᾿Οβλες (after lxx) SP.

2 LM: τῶν ἀποστελω (τῶν ἀποστελῆ E) the rest.

* First in age, but Josephus follows Scripture in naming his descendants, the progenitors of the Hebrews, last.
* Bibl. Elam (Ἄλαμ), a non-Semitic people.
* Bibl. Asshur.
* 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.
* Bibl. Lud: the equation with Lydia in Asia Minor presents difficulties.

70
(4) Shem, the third son 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. Assyrae founded the city of Ninus, and gave his name to his subjects, the Assyrians, who rose to the height of prosperity. Arphaxades named those under his rule Arphaxadaeans, the Chaldaeans of to-day. Aramus ruled the Aramaeans, 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 Damascus, situated between Palestine and Coele Syria. Urus founded Armenia, Gatheres the Bactrians, and Messe the Mesanaeans in the region to-day called Spasini Charax. Arphaxades 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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147 kalouin. Ἰούκτα δὲ τῶν ἑβεροῦ παῖδων ἦσαν ὑόι: Ἐλμόδαδος Σάλεφος Ἀζερμώθης Εἰράς Ἐδώραμος Οὐζέλης Δάκλης Ἡθαλος Ἀβμαθός Σάμθας Ὀφίρης Εὐλίθης Ἰώβηλος. οὕτωι ἀπὸ Κω-κτήμος ποιαμόν τῆς Ἰνδικῆς καὶ τῆς πρὸς αὐτήν Σηρίας τινὰ κατοικοῦσιν. ταύτα μὲν περὶ τῶν Σήμαι παῖδων ἰστορίζων.

148 (3) Ποιήσομαι δὲ περὶ ἑβεραῖω τὸν λόγον: Φαλέγου γάρ τοῦ ἑβεροῦ γίνεται παῖς 'Ρεοῦς τούτου δὲ Σεροῦγος, ὃς Ναχύρης υἱὸς τύκτεται τούτου δὲ Θέρρος πατήρ δὲ οὕτως Ἀβραίμος γίνεται, ὃς δεκατος μὲν ἐστιν ἀπὸ Ναώχου, δευ-τέρῳ δὲ ἐτει καὶ ἑνεκκοστῷ πρὸς ἑνακοσίους μετὰ 149 τῆς ἐπομηριάς ἐγένετο. Θέρρος μὲν γὰρ ἐβδομη-

1 M: Σηρίας the rest. 2 Bekker: ἰστορεῖσθων codd. 3 ὁ RSP: read perhaps ὁ Ἰδα. 4 So LXX: Heb. Almodad. 5 Bibl. Sheba (LXX Σαββ) or the like. 6 Bibl. Havilah (Ἑβιλά). 7 Bibl. Jobah, and so (Ἰώβας or the like) some ms. of Josephus. 8 Tributary of the Indus. 9 Probably N.W. China. The corresponding Biblical verse (Gen. x. 30) runs: And their dwelling was from Mesha, as thou goest toward Sephar (LXX Σεφερ), the mountain of the east." The names are probably Arabian; but the LXX, in which Σεφερ 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. 16 of Solomon's sending for gold εἰς τὴν παλαι ἑβεραὶ μέν Σαφεραῖν μὲν ἐκ χρυσῆς γῆς καλομένην, τῆς Ἰνδικῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῆ. 10 Tributary of the Indus. 11 So Niessle's two principal ms., 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 ms. (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, Saleph, Azermoath, Ira, Edoram, Uzal, Dacles, Ebal, Abimael, Saphas, Ophir, Evil, Jobel. These, proceeding from the river Cophen, inhabited parts of India and of the adjacent country of Seria. 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; 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. 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 (Kasōs). 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>Kasōs</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Shelah</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Eber</td>
<td></td>
<td>34</td>
<td>134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peleg</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reu</td>
<td></td>
<td>32</td>
<td>132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Serug</td>
<td></td>
<td>30</td>
<td>130</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nahor</td>
<td></td>
<td>29</td>
<td>79</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terah</td>
<td></td>
<td>70</td>
<td>70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total= Years from flood to birth of Abraham</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>1072</td>
<td>993</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
κοστὸν ποιεῖται τὸν Ἀβραμον. Ναχώρης δὲ Θέρρον εἰκοστὸν αὐτὸς καὶ ἐκατοστὸν ἤδη γεγονὸς ἐγέννησε. Σεροῦγω δὲ Ναχώρης τίκτεται περὶ ἕτος δεύτερον καὶ τριακοστὸν καὶ ἐκατοστὸν· Ρούμος δὲ Σεροῦγων [ἔσχεν] ἐτη τριάκοντα γε-

150 γονὸς πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν· ἐν δὲ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἔτεοι
καὶ Ρούμον Φάλεγος ἔσχεν. Ἑβέρος δὲ τέταρτον καὶ
tριακοστὸν πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν γεννᾶ. Φάλεγον
gεννηθεὶς αὐτὸς ὑπὸ Σελου τριακοστὸν ἔτος ἔχον-
tος καὶ ἐκατοστὸν, διὸ Ἀρφαξάδος ἐκέκυσε κατὰ
πέμπτο καὶ τριακοστὸν ἔτος πρὸς τοῖς ἑκατόν·
Σήμα δὲ ὑδὸς Ἀρφαξάδης ἤν μετὰ ἔτη δώδεκα τῆς

151 ἐπομβρίας γενόμενος. Ἀβραμὸς δὲ ἔχεν ἅδελφοὺς
Ναχώρην καὶ Ἀράμην· τούτων Ἀράμης μὲν ὕδων
καταλειπόντων Ἀδων καὶ Σάρραν καὶ Μελχαν
θυγατέρας ἐν Χαλδαίους ἀπέθανεν ἐν πόλει Ὀρηθῆ
λεγομένη τῶν Χαλδαίων, καὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ μέχρι
νῦν δείκνυται. γαμοῦσι δὲ τὰς ἅδελφιδὰς Μελχαν

152 μὲν Ναχώρης Σάρραν δὲ Ἀβραμος. Θέρρον δὲ
μισήσαντος τὴν Χαλδαίαν διὰ τὸ Ἀράμου πένθος
μετακιζόντας πάντες εἰς Χάρραν τῆς Μεσο-
pοταμίας, ὅπου καὶ Θέρρον τελευτήσαντα βάπ-
tουσον ἔτη βιώσαντα πέντε καὶ διακάστα: συν-
etέμενον γάρ ἄδη τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὸ ξῆν καὶ
βραχύτερον εἴνευτο μέχρι τῆς Μωσοῦς γενέσεως,
μεθ' ὃν ὄροι τοῦ ξῆν ἑκατόν ἔτη πρὸς τοῖς
eἰκοσὶ τοῦτοι ὁρίσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅσα καὶ

153 Μωσοῦς συνέβη βιώναι. Ναχώρη μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς
Μελχας ὁκτὼ πάδοις ἑγέρνουτο, Ὀδεῖς Βαοῦζος

1 Dindorf: ταῦτα μεσ.

* Called Reus above (Heb. Reu): 'Payaus, the reading of other mss. of Josephus. is doubtless derived from the LXX (Payau).
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. Nachor had eight children by Melcha, namely, Ux, Baux,

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* Bibl. Haran.
* Bibl. Sarai, later in the narrative Sarah: the spelling Σάρα of Josephus (for Σαρά) has the support of one important group of mss. According to Gen. xi. 29 Haran's two daughters were Milcach and Iscah; the latter, otherwise unknown, is identified with Sarah by Josephus, following Rabbinical tradition. In Josephus Sarah is Abraham's niece, in Scripture (Gen. xx. 12) his half-sister, daughter of Terah by another wife.
* Bibl. Haran (Harran), the Latin Carrhae.
* A combination of Gen. vi. 3 with Deut. xxxiv. 7.
* Bibl. Uz and Buz (‘Už, Baş).
Μαθούηλος ὁ Χάζαμος Ἄζαούς Ἰαδελφᾶς Ἰαδαφᾶς Βαθούηλος ποτὲ καὶ τῶν Ἰαχώρων παῖδες γενόμενοι ἦσαν καὶ Γάδαμος καὶ Ταυῖος καὶ Μαχᾶς ἐκ ʹΡούμας παλλακῆς αὐτῶ γεγόνασιν. Βαθούηλος δὲ τῶν Ἰαχώρων γνωσάτω παῖες γίνεται Ἀνάτηρ καὶ Λάβανος νῦς.

154 (vii. 1) Ἀβραμὸς δὲ Δώτον ὁ Ἑλαίνος τοῦ Ἀράμου τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ τύτο, δὲ γνωρίω πατὸς τοῦ Δάρρας ἀδελφόν εἰσεποίησατο γνωσών παιδός ἀπορών, καὶ καταλείπον τὴν Χαλδαίαν ἐφοδιάσκειν καὶ πέντε γεγονός ἐτη τοῦ ἄδελφου κελεύσαντος εἰς τὴν Χαλδαίαν μεταθείν, ἐν ἧ [καὶ] κατάβαθα καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις κατέληπεν, δεινὸς ὡς συνιέναι τε περὶ πάντων καὶ πληθανοίς αὐτῶν ἀκρωμομένους περὶ τε ἃ ἔνω εἰκάσαναι. οὐ διαμαρτάνειν. διὰ τούτο καὶ φρονεῖν μείζον ἐπ’ ἀρετὴ τῶν ἄλλων ἡγημονεῖ καὶ τὴν περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δόξαν, ἢν ἀπατεῖν προεπερᾶν εἰναι, κατάςαι καὶ μεταβαλεῖν ἐκεῖνο. πρῶτος σὺν τομῆς θεοῦ ἀποφήγημα τιμιομορεῖ τῶν ὅλων ἐνα, τῶν ἐν λοιπῶν εἰ καὶ ταῖ πρὸς εὐδαιμονίαις συνετέλες κατὰ προσταγῆς τὴν τοῦτον παρέχειν ἐκατοντά

155 καὶ ὅ ὁ ἕκειαν ἱσχύν. εἰκάζει δὲ ταῦτα τοῖς γῆς καὶ βαλασοὶς παθήματα τοῖς τε περὶ τῶν ἠλιοῦ καὶ τὴν σελήνην καὶ πάση τοῖς κατ’ οὐρανὸν συμβαίνουσι δυνάμεις γᾶρ αὐτοῖς παροῦσας καὶ προσήκοι τῆς καθ’ αὐτῶς εὐταξίας, ταύτης δ’

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1 So or Μαθούηλος mss. : Canuel (with lxx) Lat.

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* Bibli, Kemuel.
* So lxx : Heb. Hazo.
3 Bibli, Pildash and Jidlaph.
4 Bibli, Tebah (Tabēx).
Mathuel, Chazam, Azau, Iadelphas, Iadaphas, Bathuel. These were Nachor's legitimate children; his other sons, Tabai, Gadam, Taau, and Machas, 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, but, since they lacked this last, it was

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*Bibl. Gham, Tahash, Maucah.*

*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

...οι στερούνται εὐαρεία γίνεσθαι μηδ' ὅσα πρὸς τὸ κρησμομέτρων ἦμων συνεργοῦσι κατά τὴν αὐτῶν ἐξουσίαν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ κελεύστου λοιχάν ὑπουργεῖν, ὥς καλῶς ἔχει μόνω τὴν τιμὴν καὶ τὴν εὐχαριστίαν ἀπονέμειν. δι' ἀπερ Χαλδαίων τε καὶ τῶν ἄλλων Μεσοποταμιτῶν στασιμάτων πρὸς αὐτῶν μετοικεῖ δοκιμάζεις κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ βοηθεῖαν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χαναάλαν ἀπόχε γῆν, ἐδρυθεὶς τε αὐτὸθε βωμὸν ὕκοδόμησε καὶ θυσίαν ἔτελεσε τῷ θεῷ.

158 (2). Μημιουνεῖε δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀβράμου Βηρωσίων, ὅππος ὅνομάζεων λέγων δὴ οὕτως. "μετὰ δὲ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν δεκάτη γενέα παρὰ Χαλδαίους τῆς ἡμεῖς δίκαιος ἄνηρ καὶ μέγας καὶ τὰ οὐράνια ἔσπερος." "Εκαταῖος δὲ καὶ τοῦ μημιουνεῖ πλεῖον τι πεποίηκε βιβλίων γὰρ περὶ αὐτοῦ συνταξάμενος κατέληπτε. Νικάλαος δὲ ο Δαμασκηνὸς ἐν τῇ τετάρτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν λέγει οὕτως. "Ἀ-βράμης ἔβασίλευσεν ἐπὶ πολλοῖς σεβασμοῖσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς τῆς ὑπὸ Βαβυλῶνος Χαλδαίων λεγομένης. μετ' οὖ πολλῶν δὲ χρόνων μεταναστάς καὶ ἀπὸ ταύτης τῆς χώρας συν τῷ σφετέρῳ λαῷ εἰς τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναάλαν λεγομένην νῦν δὲ ᾽Ιου-δαίαν μετέκινησε καὶ οἱ ἀπ’ ἑκεῖνου πληθυσμάτες,

1 RO: ἔβασίλευσε Δαμασκῆ Ρελ.

* 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 ὦτι ἄλλοι τῶν φασμάτων σφετέρων ὅσον ἠδὲν αἰτίαν τὸ περάται, ἀλλ' ἤλθος καὶ σελήνης καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀστέρων αἰ περίδοι τά τε ἄγαθά καὶ τὰ ἑνάτα ἐκάστη τῶν ἄστων ἀποκηρύσσει
manifest that even those services in which they cooperate for our greater benefit they render not in virtue of their own authority, but through the might of their commanding sovereign, to whom alone it is right to render our homage and thanksgiving. It was in fact owing to these opinions that the Chaldaeans and the other peoples of Mesopotamia rose against him, 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 Judæa, where he settled, he and his

\[De migrat. Abr. \S\ 83, i. 464 M.\]. This is the argument combated in the text above.

\[Cf. Ap. l. 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.

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perὶ δὲν ἐν ἐτέρῳ λόγῳ διέξειμι τὰ ἱστοροῦμενα.
τοῦ δὲ Ἀβράμου ἤτι καὶ νῦν ἐν τῇ Δαμασκήνῃ
τὸ δόμομα δοζάζεται καὶ κόμη δείκνυται ἀπ’ αὐτοῦ
Ἀβράμου οὐκής τε λεγομένης.

161 (viii. 1) Λίμου δὲ χρόνοις ύστερον τὴν Χανααλίναν
καταλαβόντος Ἀβράμος Αλγυπτίους εὐθυμοῦμεν
πυθόμενοι μεταίρεις πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἦν πρόθυμος τῆς
τε ἀφθονίας τῆς ἐκείνων μεθέξεων καὶ τῶν ἱερέων
ἀκροατῆς ἑσόμενος ἦν λέγουν περὶ θεῶν· ἢ γὰρ
κρείσσωσιν εὐρεθεῖσιν κατακολούθησιν ἡ μετα-
κοσμήσεις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον αὐτὸς ἄμεινον

162 φρονῶν· ἐπαγόμενος δὲ καὶ τὴν Σάρραν καὶ
φοβοῦμεν τὸ πρὸς τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν Αλγυπτίων
ἐπιμανέσ, μὴ διὰ τὴν εἰμιρρίαν τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ
βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν ἄνελθη, τέχνην ἐπενόησε τοιαύτην·
ἀδελφὸς αὐτῆς εἶναι προσεποιήσατο κάκεινην τοῦτον.

163 ὑποκρίνονται, συμμέτειραν γὰρ αὐτοῖς, ἐδιδαξαν. ὡς
δὲ ἦκον εἰς τὴν Άλγυπτον, ἀπέβαινε τῷ Ἀβράμῳ
καθὼς ὑπενόησε· τὸ γὰρ κάλλος ἐξεβοήθη τῆς
γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ, διὸ καὶ Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς
tῶν Αλγυπτίων οὐτοῖς περὶ αὐτῆς λεγομένους
ἀρκεσθείς ἄλλα καὶ θεάσασθαι πεπουδάσας όλος τ’

164 ἦν ἄμασθαι τῆς Σάρρας. ἐμποδίζει δὲ αὐτοῦ ὁ
θεὸς τὴν ἄδικον ἐπιθυμίαν νόσῳ τε καὶ στάσει τῶν
πραγμάτων· καὶ θυμοκήν περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς κατὰ
μήνῃ θεοῦ τὸ δεινὸν αὐτῷ παρεῖναι ἀπεσήμαινον

* Nicolas (i. 94) is good authority for the traditions of
his native place. A rather earlier Latin writer, Trogus
Pompelus (c. 20 B.C.), likewise mentions Abraham among
the kings of Damascus: "Post Damascum (the eponymous
king) Azelas, 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 noise abroad, insomuch that Pharaoh,\(^\text{b}\) 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 \textit{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.

\(^{b}\) The Hellenized form of Pharaoh normally employed by Josephus; once (\textit{A. viii. 151}) he writes \(\Phi \rho \alpha \alpha \rho \alpha \nu \gamma \varsigma\), once (\textit{B. v. 379}) \(\Phi \varphi \alpha \alpha \kappa \iota \varsigma\). In the last-mentioned passage he gives a strange version of the present story, in which \(\Phi\), surnamed \(\lambda \nu \epsilon \chi \alpha \varsigma \varsigma\), is represented as invading Palestine and carrying off Sarra.
οἱ ἱερεῖς, ἐφ’ οἷς ἥθελεσεν ὑβρίσαυ τοῦ ξένου τῆς 465 γυναίκα. ὁ δὲ φοβηθεὶς ἥρωτα τὴν Σάραμαν, τίς 166 τοῖς ἐξ ἔτη καὶ τίνα τοῦτον ἐπάγωτο, πυθόμενος τοῖς ἐκλήσιαν Ἀβραμόν παρηγεῖτο, νομίζων γὰρ ἀδελφὴν ἄλλη ὑγναίκα αὐτοῦ σπουδάσαι περί αὐτῆς συγγένειας ποιήσατον βουλόμενος, ἄλλη ὑπ’ ἐντεύκει τῇ ἐπιθυμίᾳ ἐρρημένος συμβίαι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολλοῖς χρήματι, καὶ συνήκα Αἰγυπτίων τοῖς λογωτάτοις, τῆς τε ἀρετῆς αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῆς δόξας ἐντεύκει τῇ ἐπιφανεστέρᾳ συνέβη γενέσθαι.

166 (2) Τῶν γὰρ Αἰγυπτίων διαφόροις ἀρεσκομένων ἔθεσαν καὶ τὰ παρ’ ἄλληλοις ἐκφανιζόντων νόμμα καὶ διὰ τοῦτο δυναμῶς ἐχόντων πρὸς ἄλλῃ, συμβαλόν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔκάστοις καὶ διαπίπτων τῶν λόγων οὕς ἐποιοῦντο περί τῶν ἱδίων κενοῦς καὶ μὴ δὲν ἐχόντας ἀληθεῖς ἀπέφανε. θαυμασθέαν σὺν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ὡς συνετάτοις καὶ δεινός αὐτής ὑπ’ νοήσαι μόνον ἄλλα καὶ πεῖσαι λέγων περὶ ὅν ἦν ἐπιχειρήσεις διδάσκειν, τήν τε ἀρετημητικήν αὐτοῖς χαρίζεται καὶ τὰ περὶ ἀστρονομιῶν παραδίδωσι. πρὸ γάρ τῆς Ἀβραίμου παρουσίας Αἰγυπτίων τούτων ἔχων ἀμαθῶς ἐκ Χαλδαίων γὰρ τάτο ἐφοίτησαν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, ἔθεν ἤλθε καὶ εἰς τοὺς Ἐλληνας.

167 (3) Ὡς δ’ εἰς τὴν Χαλδαίαν ἀφίκετο, μερίζεσθαι

1 συνεδραίος RO.
2 ἀστρολογίαν L Lat. Eus.
Euseb., Eustath.: εἰς Αἴγυπτον RO: the rest have a confute text.

* Or perhaps with the other reading “permission to
the wrath of God, because he had wished to outrage the stranger’s wife. 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 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. 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 with Lot. Gen. xiii. 6.

In Scripture the presents are given before the discovery, after which Abraham and his wife are dismissed forthwith.

So Artapanus (c. 2nd cent. a.c.) states that Abraham migrated with his household to Egypt and taught Phara-thones astrology (ap. Eus. Praep. Ev. ix. 18).
πρὸς Λάωτον τὴν γῆν τῶν πομένων αὐτοῖς στασια-ζώνων περὶ τῆς ἡχώρας ἐν ἡ νέμοιεν· τὴν ἐκλογὴν
170 μέντοι καὶ τὴν αἴρεσιν ἐπιτρέπει τῷ Λάωτῳ, λαβὼν δ' αὐτὸς τὴν ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου καταλελεμμένην ὑπόφυ-ρειαν ὥριμον ἐν τῇ Ναβρῷ πόλει· παλαιοτέρα δὲ ἐστιν ἐπεὶ πρὸς τὸν Τάνδος τῆς Ἀχείπτου. Λάωτος δὲ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πεδίον κειμένην καὶ ποταμὸν Ἱόρδανον εἶχεν εἰκὸς ἀποθετεῖ τῆς Σωδομιτῶν πόλεως, ἥ τοτε μὲν ἦν ἀγαθή, νῦν δὲ ἡφαίνεται κατὰ βουλής θεοῦ. τὴν δὲ αἰτίαν κατὰ χώραν σημανῶ.

171 (ix.) Καὶ ἐκείνου δὲ τοῦ καιρὸν Ἀσσυρίων κρατοῦν τῆς Ἁσίας Σωδομίτας ἤνθει τὰ πράγματα εἰς την πλούσιον αὐτῶν ἐπὶ ἐδοκιμῆς καὶ νεότητα πολλήν· βασιλείας δὲ αὐτοῖς πέντε διείστη τὴν χώραν, Βάλας Βαλαίας Συναβάνης καὶ Συμ-μόβορος δὲ τῆς Βαλμών βασιλείας· μοίρας δ' ἦρχον 172 ἑκατόστος ιδίως. ἦπι τούτους στρατεύσαντες Ἀσ-σύριοι καὶ μέρη τέσσαρα ποιήσαντες τῆς στρατιάς ἐπολιόρκησαν αὐτοὺς· στρατηγὸς δ' ἐκάστοις ἦν·
eis εἰς ἐπιτεταγμένος. γενομένης δὲ μάχης νικήσαντες οἱ Ἀσσύριοι φόρον ἐπιτάσσοντο τοῖς Σωδομιτῶν
173 βασιλεύσι. δοῦσι δὲ μὲν οὖν ἐνη δουλεύοντες καὶ
toús ἐπιταχθέντας αὐτοῖς φόρους τελοῦντες ὑπέ-έμειναν, τῷ δὲ τρισκαιδεκάτῳ ἄπεισθαν, καὶ
diaβαίνει στρατὸς Ἀσσυρίων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατη-

* Bibl. Hebron. This name takes a variety of forms in different parts of Josephus: Ναβρῷ (or Ναβρῶν), Νεβρῶν, Γαβρῷ, Εβρῶν and Χεβρῶν.

* 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 84
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 Balei—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 (Xeβρω) 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 Balid), Birsha (Bapod), Shinab, Shemeber, Bela (Balid).

† Or "crossed over" (sc. the Euphrates).
γοιντων Ἀμαραφίδου Ἀριόχου Χοδολαμόρου Θα-
δάλου. οὗτοι τήν τε Συρίαν ἀπάσαν διηρπόσαντο
καὶ τοὺς τῶν γεγάντων ἀπογόνους κατεστρέφαντο,
γενόμενοι δὲ κατὰ τὰ Σόδομα στρατοπεδεύοντες
κατὰ τὴν κοιλάδα τὴν λεγομένην φρέατα ἀσφάλτου·
κατ' ἐκείνων γὰρ τὸν καιρὸν φρέατα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ,
νῦν μέντοι τῆς Σοδομιτῶν πόλεως ἀφαιρεθέντης
ἡ κοιλᾶς ἐκείνη λίμνη γέγονεν ἡ Ἀσφαλτίτις
λεγομένη. περὶ μὲν οὐ τῆς λίμνης ταύτης ἀθεῖς
μετ' οὐ πολὺ δηλώσομεν, τῶν δὲ Σοδομιτῶν συμβαλόντων
toίς Ἀσσυρίως καὶ καρτεράς τῆς máχης
λεγομένης, πολλοὶ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθανον, οἱ λοιποὶ
δὲ ἡχυμαλατιότητιαν, οὗ οἷς καὶ Λώτος ἦγετο τοῖς
Σοδομίταις σύμμαχοι ἑλπιδοθέως.

176 (Χ. 1) Ἀβράμῳ δὲ ἀκούσαντε τὴν συμφοράν
αὐτῶν φόβος τε ἄμα περὶ Λώτου τοῦ συγγενοῦς
εἰσῆλθε καὶ οἷκτος περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν φίλων
177 οὕτως καὶ γευμανῶν. καὶ βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς δοκι-
μάσας οὐκ ἀνέμενεν, ἀλλ' ἐπειχθεὶς καὶ κατὰ
πέμπτην ἐπιπεσόν νῦκτα τοῖς Ἀσσυρίων περὶ
Δάνου, οὗτως γὰρ ἡ ἔτερα τοῦ Ἰορδάνου προσ-
ἀγορεῦεται πηγῇ, καὶ φθάσας πρὶν ἐν ὀπλοῖς
gενέσθαι τοὺς μὲν ἐν ταῖς κοίταις οὖν ἀπέκτεινε
μηδ' ἐπίνοιαν τῆς συμφορᾶς ἔχοντας, οἱ δὲ μήπω
πρὸς ὑπὸν τετραμμένου μάχεσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ μέθης

* Bibl. Amrachel (Ἀμαράχαλ).
* Bibl. Chedorlaomer (Χοδολαμόμρ).
* Bibl. Tidal (Θαλγά or the like).
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 f fell upon the Assyrians in the neighbourhood of Dan g (such is the name of one of the two sources of the Jordan), h 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

a Gen. xiv. 5, “the Rephaim” (LXX τὸ βιοτο φασαρας).  
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.  
f § 203, describing the fate of Sodom, does not mention the lake; a description is given in B.J. iv. 476 ff.  
g These details of time and circumstances are legendary.  
h So Gen. xiv. 14: the older Laish, renamed Dan in the period of the Judges.  

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

87
178 ἀδύνατος ἐφυγον. Ὁ Αβραμὸς δὲ διώκων εἴπετο μέχρι καὶ δευτεραῖοις συνήλασεν αὐτοὺς εἰς Ἡβᾶ τῆς Δαμασκῆνας γῆς, ἐπιδείξας ὧτι τὸ νικάν οὐκ ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τῇ πολυχειρίᾳ κεῖσθαι συμβέβηκεν, ἀλλὰ προθυμία τῶν μαχομένων καὶ τὸ γενναῖον κρατεὶ παντὸς ἀριθμὸν, τριακοσίων καὶ δεκαοκτὼν οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ τρισὶ φίλοις τοσοῦτον στρατοῦ περιγενόμενος. ὑπόσοι δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ διέφυγον ἀδόξως ἀνέστρεψαν.

179 (2) Ὁ Αβραμὸς δὲ τοὺς τῶν Σοδομιτῶν σώσας αἰχμαλώτους, οἱ ληφθέντες ἐφθησαν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων, καὶ τὸν συγγενή Δώτων ἀνέξευσεν μετὰ εἰρήνης. ἀπήγησε δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν βασιλεὺς εἰς τὸπον τινά δὴ καλοῦσι πεδίον βασιλικῶν. ἔνθα ὁ τῆς Σολομῶν ὑποδέχεται βασιλεὺς αὐτὸν Μελχισεδέκ· σημαινεῖ δὲ τὸτε ταύτῃ βασιλεὺς δίκαιος· καὶ ἢν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὑμολογομένως, ὡς διὰ ταύτην αὐτὸν τὴν αἰείαν καὶ ηερα γενέσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ· τὴν μέντοι Σολομῶν ὑστερον ἐκάλεσαν

180 Ιεροσόλυμα. ἔχορήγησε δὲ οὔτος ὁ Μελχισεδέκ τῷ Ἀβράμῳ στρατῷ ξένῳ καὶ πολλῶν ἄββανισι τῶν ἐπιτυρείων παρέσχε καὶ παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν αὐτόν τε ἐπαινεῖν ήρξατο καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ εὐλογεῖν

1 εκάλεσαν ROP.

* Weill quotes a striking parallel from Philo, De Abr. (40) § 283 Cohn: εὐκαίρετε τοῖς πολεμιοὺς δεδεποταιμένοις ὡς καὶ πρὸς ὦντος μᾶλλον τρέτεσθαι· καὶ τοῦτο μὲν ἐν εἰρήνῃ ἔρειν, τοῦτο δὲ ἀστικάβλεται δρόνην ἀχρέα, πάντων δὲ ἕρωμεν εὐπρώτεται τῷ δαραλέω τῆς ψυχῆς μᾶλλον ἢ ταῖς παρασκευάσις.
* Bibl. Hlobh (Xωθάλ), Gen. xiv. 15.
* Gen. xiv. 94 (cf. 13).
* "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 (βασιλεύς δικαιος, ἡ γαρ δὴ τοιούτος) 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 (LXX Ιερουσαλημ) used throughout Josephus, who here and elsewhere (A. vii. 67, B. vi. 438, cf. Ap. i. 174) takes over, besides the name, the popular fantastic etymology of it, “the holy Solyma” (or Salem).
JOSEPHUS


183 (3) Ἐπανέσας δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀρετὴν ὁ θεός, ἴνα ἄλλοι ἀπολείψης," φησι, ἵνα μισθοὺς οὓς ἤξιον ἐστίν σε ἐπὶ τοιαύτας ἐργαλείας κομίζονθαι." τοῦ δὲ ὑπολαβόντος καὶ τίς ἄν εἰς χάρις τούτων τῶν μισθῶν, οὐκ ἄρτων οἱ διαδέονται μετ' αὐτῶν, ἐτέ γὰρ ἥν ἀπαίς, ὁ θεὸς καὶ παῖδα αὐτῶν γενήσεσθαι καταγγέλλει καὶ πολλὴν ἐξ ἐκείνου γενέσθαι, ὡς παραπλησίως αὐτὴν τοῖς ἀστροῖς ἔσεβον τὸν ἄριστον. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' ἀκοῦσας θυσίαν προσφέρει τῷ θεῷ κελευθεῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ἦν δὲ ὁ τρόπος τῆς θυσίας τοιοῦτος. δάμαλιν τριτίζουσαν καὶ αἰγὰ τριτίζουσαν καὶ κριὰν ὁμοίως τριετή καὶ τρυγόνα καὶ περιστερὰς κελεύσαντος διεῖλε, 185 τῶν ὀρνέων οὐδὲν διελάν. εἴτε πρὶν στῆναι τὸν βωμὸν οἴων ἐφιππαμένον ἐπιθυμία τοῦ αἰματοφωνηθένθαι παρὰ θεῷ αὐτοῦ ποιῆσαι μένος κατὰ τὴν Λαίνυπτον, ἐν οἷς κακοπαθήσαντας

1 ROM: παρασχεῖν τελλ.
2 τριετία σαίνιο.
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

* Bibl. Eschol: Josephus agrees with LXX in placing this name "first," not second.
* Bibl. Aner (LXX Aúrds).
* Bibl. Mamre.
περιέστεθαί τῶν ἔχθρῶν καὶ κρατήσαντας πολέμων Χαναναίων ἔξειν αὐτῶν τὴν γῆν καὶ τὰς πόλεις.

186 Ἀβραὰμος δὲ κατοίκησε μὲν περὶ τὴν Ὡγύγην καλουμένην δρόν, ἵστη δὲ τῆς Χαναναίας τὸ χωρίον ὡς πόρρω τῆς Ἑβρωνίων πόλεως, δυσφορών δὲ ἐπὶ γνωρική μὴ κυνόσχη ἢκετεύει τὸν θεὸν γονὴν

187 αὐτῶν παιδὸς ἁρσενὸς παρασκευῇ. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ βαρσεὶν αὐτὸν παρακελεύσαντος τοὺς τε ἅλλους ἀπασίν ὡς ἐπὶ ἁγαθὸς αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ηγεμόνιν καὶ παιδῶν ἐσομένων, Σάρρα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἐπικλήσει μίαν τῶν θεραπευτῶν Ἄγάρην ὄνομα, γένος οὗ ὦσαν Αἰγυπτίαν,

188 ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδοποιησμένῳ, καὶ γενομένῃ ἐγκύῳ ἡ θεραπείας ἐξυμβέλει εἰς τὴν Σάρραν ἑτόλυμης βασιλίσσαν, ὡς τῆς ἡγεμονίας περιστημένης εἰς τὸν ἐκ αὐτῆς τεχθησόμενον. Ἀβραὰμον δὲ αὐτὴν πρὸς αἰκὶαν παραδίδοντος τῇ Σάρρᾳ δρασμὸν ἐπεβούλευσεν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα τὰς ταλαιπωρίας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐκείνου οἰκτὸν αὐτῆς

189 λαβεῖν. ὑπαντοῖξε δὲ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου προϊόντας αὐτὴν ἄργαλος θείος κελεύσαν πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας ἐπανέναι: βίου γὰρ μείζονος τεύξεσθαι σωφρονοῦσαν καὶ γὰρ νῦν ἐκ τῆς δέσποτας ἀγνώρισαν καὶ αὐθάδη γενομένην ἐν τούτοις εἶναι τοῖς κακοῖς.

190 παρακούσαν μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ προσωπέρω χωρῆσαν ἔλεγον ἀπολείεσθαι, νοστῆσαν δὲ αὐτὴν ὁπίσω γενήσεσθαι μητέρα παιδὸς τῆς γῆς ἐκείνης βασιλεύσοντος. τούτους πείθεται καὶ ἐπανελθοῦσα

*Bibl. "the oaks (or "terebinths") of Mamre," and so Josephus, following the ΙΙΧ, writes below, § 196 πρὸς τῇ δρότῃ τῇ Μαμβρή; in B. iv. 583 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. Thereon God bade him be assured that, as in all else he had been led out of Mesopotamia for his welfare, so children would come to him; and by God's command Sarra brought to his bed one of her handmaidens, an Egyptian named Agar, 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

bith 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.

* Greek Agare: Bibl. Hagar.
πρὸς τοὺς δεσπότας συγγνώμης ἔτυχε· τίκτει δὲ μετ’ οὐ πολὺ Ἰσμᾶήλων, θεοκλυτοῦν ἀν τις ἐποιεῖ, διὰ τὸ εἰσακοσίας τὸν θεὸν τῆς ἱκεσίας.

191 (5) Ἀβράμω μὲν οὖν ἐκτὸν ἡμὴ καὶ ὅγδοικοςτόν ἔτος γεγονότοι ὁ προειρημένος ἐγεννήθη, εἰς ἐκαυτοῦ δ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐνενήκοστόν παρεδόντε ἐπιφανεῖς οἱ θεοὶ ἀπήγγειλεν ὡς παῖς αὐτῷ ἐκ Σάρρας ἐσοιτοκελεύει δ’ αὐτὸν καλέσαι Ἰσακον δηλῶν ἐσόμενα ἔδη μεγάλη ἂπ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ βασιλεῖς, καὶ ὅτι πολεμήσαντες καθέξουσι τὴν Χανααλαν ἀπασάν

192 ἀπὸ Σιδώνων μέχρι Αἰγύπτου, προσέταξε τε βουλόμενος τὸ ἄπ’ αὐτοῦ γένος μένειν τοῖς ἄλλοις οὖν συμφυρόμενον περιτέμνον τὰ αἰδοία καὶ τοῦτο ποιεῖν ὄνδοι ἡμέρα μετὰ τὸ γεννηθῆναι, τὴν ἀιτίαν δὲ τῆς περιτομῆς ἡμῶν ἐν ἄλλοις δηλῶσω.

193 πιθανόν τε Ἰσμᾶήλων καὶ περὶ τοῦ Ἰσμᾶήλου, εἰ ζήσεται, πολυχρόνοις τε ἀπεσήμαινεν ὁ θεός καὶ μεγάλων ἔθνων πατέρα. καὶ Ἀβραμος μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις εὐγαριστήσας τῷ θεῷ περιτέμνεται παραχρῆμα καὶ πάντες οἱ παρ’ αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ παῖς Ἰσμᾶήλως, οὗ κατ’ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν τρισκαυδέκατον ἔτος ἔχοντος αὐτὸς ἐνενήκοστόν πρὸς τοὺς ἐννέα δέχεν.

194 (xi. 1) Ἡπό δὴ τούτων τῶν καὶ ὅτι Σιδώματι πληθεὶς καὶ μεγέθεις χρημάτων ὑπερφρονοῦντες εἰς τέ αὐθαύτους ἦσαν ὑβρισταὶ καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεὸν

1 ROE: πλεόντωι rell.

* 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 ἀκόηθεοθ (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 ninety-nine.

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

5 Motive not mentioned in Scripture.
6 In the projected work on "Customs and Causes," often alluded to elsewhere (§ 25 note).
7 Josephus seems to have read Gen. xvii. 18 as a question, Ἰσμαήλ οὗτος οὖν ἔσται (so one ms. of xxx for ἦν ἔσται) τοῖς ὑμῖν οὖν. Heb. "Oh that I. might live before thee!"
ἄσεβείας, ὡς μηκέτι μεμηχανήθαι τῶν παρ' αὐτοῦ γενομένων ὕφελεμῶν, εἶναι τε μισοζένοι καὶ τὰς 196 πρὸς ἄλλους ὁμιλίας ἔκτρεπεσθαι. χαλεπήνας, ὦν ἐπὶ τούτως ὁ θεὸς ἔγνω τιμωρήσασθαι τῆς ὑπερηφανίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τε πόλιν αὐτῶν κατασκάφασθαι καὶ τὴν χώραν οὐτως ἀφανίσαι, ὡς μήτε φυτὸν ἐπὶ μήτε καρπὸν ἔτερον ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀναδοθῆναι.

196 (2) Ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κρίναντο περὶ τῶν Σοδομιτῶν "Αβραάμος θεασάμενος τρεῖς ἄγγελους, ἐκαθέξετο δὲ πρὸς τῇ δρυὶ τῇ Μαμβρῆ παρὰ τῇ θύρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ αὐλῆς, καὶ νομίζας εἶναι ξένους ἀναστάς ἠπασάτο τε καὶ παρ' αὐτῷ κατακθέντας παρεκάλει 197 ξενίων μεταλαβεῖν. ἐπιευσάντων δὲ ἄρτους τε προσέταξεν εὐθὺς ἐκ σεμιδάλεως γενεῖθαι καὶ μόσχον βύσας καὶ ὀπτήσας ἐκόμισεν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τῇ δρυὶ κατακεκλεῖον· οἱ δὲ δόξαν αὐτῷ παρέσχον ἐσοβιόντων, ἔτι δὲ καὶ περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς ἐπισθανόντο, ποι ποτ' [ἄν] εἰ Ἐσέρα. τὸν δ' εἰπόντος εὐδούν εἶναι, ἦξειν ἐφασαν εἰς τὸ μέλλον καὶ εὐρήσειν 198 αὐτὴν ἱδίᾳ μητέρα γεγενημένην. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἐπὶ τούτῳ μειδιασάσης καὶ ἀδίκωτον εἶναι τὴν τεκνοποιῶν εἰποῦσης, αὐτῆς μὲν ἐνενίκοντα ἐτῇ

1 SP: ἄλλους tell.
2 αὐτὴν ROE.

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*The μυστικὰ of the Sodomites is mentioned in Wisdom xix. 18 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.

96
more remembered the benefits that they had received from Him, hated foreigners and declined all intercourse with others.\textsuperscript{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.

\textbf{(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,\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{d} and find that she had become a mother. Thereat the woman smiled\textsuperscript{e} and said that child-bearing was impossible, seeing that she was ninety years old and

\textsuperscript{a} In Genesis "tent": Josephus introduces the idea of a Greek house.

\textsuperscript{b} Gen. xviii. 8, "they did eat." The "Docetic" paraphrase of Josephus reappears almost verbatim in Philo: \textit{τεράστιον δὲ... τὸ μὴ ἔσθηται ἐσθιόμενον παρέχων φαντασίαν}. \textit{De Abrahamo}, 23 § 118 (cf. § 116 \textit{παρέχων ἐτέλεσθαι}). Cf. also the Palestinian Targum, "He (Abraham) quieted himself (to see) whether they would eat." Such avoidance of anthropomorphism is characteristically Rabbinic.

\textsuperscript{c} \textit{εἰς τὸ μῆλλον} (cf. Lk. xiii. 9): the Heb. is taken to mean "a year hence."

\textsuperscript{d} Gen. "laughed within herself."
έχουσις τοῦ δ’ ἀνδρὸς ἐκατόν, οὐκέτι κατέσχον λαυθάνοντες ἀλλ’ ἐμήνυσαν ἑαυτοὺς δέντας ἀγγέλους τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ὅτι πεμφθείη μὲν ὁ ἔλεγχος σημαίνων περὶ τοῦ παιδός, οἱ δύο δὲ Σοδομίταις καταστρέφομεν.

199 (3) Ταῦτ’ ἀκούσας "Ἄβραμος ἠγγέλησεν ἐπὶ τοῖς Σοδομίταις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἀναστάς ἴκετευσε παρακαλῶν, μὴ τοὺς δικαίους καὶ ἀγαθοὺς συναπαλλάξαι τοῖς πονηροῖς. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ φήσαντος μηδένα εἶναι τῶν Σοδομίτων ἀγαθοὺς, εἰ γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς δέκα εἶναι συγχωρεῖν ἀπασί τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἀμαρτίμασι συμφωνίαν, δὲ μὲν "Ἄβραμος ἱστορακεῖν ἰδίᾳ τοῖς ἀγγέλοις παρεγένοντο εἰς τὴν τῶν Σοδομίτων πόλιν, καὶ ὁ Λάωτος αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ ξέναν παρεκάλει λίαν γὰρ ἐν περὶ τοὺς ξένους φιλάνθρωπος καὶ μαθήτη τῆς Ἀβράμου χρηστότητος. οἱ δὲ Σοδομίται θεασάμενοι τοὺς νεανίσκους εὑρεθεῖσαν ἐπὶ τῆς υἱκεως διαφέροντας καὶ παρὰ Λάωτος καταχθέντας

200 ἐπὶ βίον καὶ υβριν αὐτῶν τῆς ἀρα ἐτράπησαν. τοῦ δὲ Λάωτος παραινοῦντος σωφρονεῖν καὶ μὴ χωρεῖν ἔπι αἰσχύνη τῶν ξένων, ἀλλ’ ἔχειν αἰῳν τῆς παρ’ αὐτῷ καταγωγῆς, εἰ δὲ ἔχουσιν ἀκρατῶς, τὰς θυγατέρας αὐτοῦ υπὲρ ἐκεῖνων ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν λέγοντος παρέξειν, οὐδ’ οὕτως ἐπείσθησαν.

201 (4) Ὁ θεὸς οὖν ἀγανακτήσας αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμήμασι τοὺς μὲν ἤμαυρωσεν, ὡς μὴ δινηθῆναι τὴν εἴσοδον τὴν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν εὑρεῖν, Σοδομίτων δὲ κατέκρηνα πάνθηνον ὀλέθρον. Λάωτος δὲ τοῦ

1 ἱστορακεῖν RO.

* This difference of functions was inferred in Rabbinical tradition (cited by Weill) from Gen. xix. 1, where two angels only are mentioned as visiting Sodom. The text of that verse
her husband an hundred; whereupon they could maintain dissimulation no longer but confessed themselves messengers of God, of whom one had been sent to announce the news of the child and the other two to destroy the Sodomites.\textsuperscript{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.\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{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" (Pirḳê R. Eliezer, xxv.).
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θεοῦ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἀπάλειαν τῶν Σοδομιτῶν αὐτῶν φράσαντος ἀπαλασσεται τὴν τε γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας, δύο δὲ ἦσαν ἐτί παρθένοι, ἀναλαβὼν οἱ γὰρ μνηστήρες περιεφράζοντας τῆς ἐξόδου εὐθύειαν ἐπικαλοῦντες τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸτου λεγομένους. καὶ ὁ θεὸς ἐνσκήτηκε βέλος εἰς τὴν πόλιν καὶ σὺν τοῖς οἰκήτοροις κατεπίμπρα τὴν γῆν ὅμοια πυρᾶς ἀφανίζων, ὡς μοι καὶ πρὸτερον ἠλέκται τὸν Ἰουδαίον ἀναγράφοντι πόλεμον. ἡ δὲ Λώτου γυνὴ παρὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν συνεχώς εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναστρεφομένη καὶ πολυπραγμονοῦσα τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς, ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ μὴ ποιεῖν, εἰς στήλην ἅλων μετέβαλεν ἑστόρησα δὲ αὐτῆς, ἐτί γὰρ καὶ νῦν διαμένει. διαφεύγει δὲ αὐτὸς μετὰ τῶν θυγατέρων εἰς βραχὺ τι χωρίων κατασχον περιγραφέν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς. Ζωὰρ ἐτὶ καὶ νῦν λέγεται καλοῦσι γὰρ στόιχεος Ἑβραίοι τὸ ὅλον. ἐνταῦθα τοιῶν ὑπὸ τὸ ἄνθρωπων ἑρμήνειας καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίας ταλαιπώρως δεῖγεν.

203 (5) Δὲ δὲ παρθένοι πάν ἤφανίσθαι τὸ ἀνθρώπων ὑπολαβοῦσα τῷ πατρὶ πλησιάζουσα προνοοῦσα λαβεῖν ἐποίου ὑπὸ τοῦ μη τὸ γένος ἐκλεῖπεν. γίνονται δὲ παῖδες ὑπὸ μὲν τῆς πρεσβυτέρας Μώαβου· εἰτοι δὲ ἄν τις ἀπὸ πατρός. Ὅμων δὲ ἡ νεωτέρα ποιεῖται γένους υἱῶν

1 RO: ὑπερφράζοντας tēll.

* The phrase recalls Hdt. iv. 79 ὑπὸ τάς (τὴν οἰκίαν) ὑπὸ ἐνείπησε βέλος καὶ ὑπὸ κατακάθηκα πάσα.
* B.J. iv. 483-485.
* 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 100
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 Zoar, that being the Hebrew word for "little." Gen. xix. 22. 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).

Bibl. Zoar (lxx Σωρρω), usually located to the S.E. of the Dead Sea, some five miles from the present shore. Heb. za'ir = "little," "insignificant."

So lxx (Heb. Ben-ammi). From the lxx also Josephus takes over the interpretation of both names.
206 ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. καὶ κτίζει δὲ αὐτῶν ὁ μὲν 
Μωαβίτας μέγιστον ὄντας καὶ τῶν ἔθνων, Ἀμμανί-
τας δὲ ὁ ἔτερος. Συνήσις τῆς κοιλῆς ἐστὶν ἀμφότερα.
καὶ Λαώτω μὲν τοιαύτην συνέβη τῆν ἑκ Σοδομώτων 
ἀναχώρησιν γενέσθαι.

207 (xii. 1) Ἀβραὰμος δὲ μετώπισεν εἰς Γέραρα τῆς 
Παλαιστίνης ἐν ἄδελφῃς ἐπαγόμενος σχήματι τῆν 
Σάρραν, ὅμοια τοῖς πρὶν ὑποκρινόμενοι διὰ τὸν 
φόβον. ἐδείξει γὰρ Ἀβιμέλεχον τὸν βασιλεὰ τῶν 
ἐπικυρίων, ὅσ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔφασείς τῆς Σάρρας 
θείειν αἷός τε ἑν. εὐργεταὶ δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπὸ 
νόσου χαλέπης αὐτῶν προσπεσοῦσέ ἐκ θεοῦ, καὶ 
τῶν λατρῶν αὐτῶν ἀπεγνωκότων ὑπνώσας ὀναρ ὅρα 
μηδὲν ὑβρίζειν τὴν τοῦ ξένου γυναίκα, καὶ ἰδίων 
dιατεθείς φράζει πρὸς τοὺς φίλους, ὡς ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ 
ταύτην ἐπαγάγοι τὴν νόσου ὑπὲρ ἐκδικίας τοῦ 
ξένου φυλάσσων ἀνύβριστον αὐτῷ τὴν γυναίκα, μὴ 
γὰρ ἄδελφην οὐδὲν ἐπάγεσθαι νόμῳ δὲ αὐτῶ 
συν-

οικούσαν, ἐπαγγέλλεται τε παρέξειν αὐτὸν εὐμενὴ 
τὸ λοιπὸν ἁδεούς ἐκείνου περὶ τὴν γυναίκα γενο-

209 μένου. ταῦτα εἰπὼν μεταπέμπεται τὸν Ἀβραὰμον 
συμβουλευσάντων τῶν φίλων καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι περὶ 
τῆς γυναικὸς αὐτῶν ὡς πεισομένης τι τῶν αἰσχρῶν 
ἐκέλευσε δεδιέναι, θεὸν γὰρ αὐτοῦ κήδεσθαι, καὶ 
κατὰ τὴν συμμαχίαν τὴν ἐκείνου μεμενήκυια 
ἀνύβριστον κομίζεσθαι τοῦ τε ἱεροῦ μάρτυρος 
ὁντος καὶ τοῦ τῆς γυναικὸς συνειδότος ἔλεγε 
<τε> ἡμᾶς ἀν ὀρεχθήναι τὴν ἀρχήν, εἰ γαμετήν

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, 588 (on the varying meanings of the name, originally given to the hollow between the Lebanons).

c In Egypt, § 162.

d Amplification of Scripture.
οδον ἡπιστατο, ὡς ἀδελφὴν δὲ ἀγόμενον 1 οὐκ ἡδίκουν: παρακαλεὶ τε πρᾶσος ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ ποιεῖν, παρ’ αὐτῷ τε μένειν βουλομένω εἰςαν ἀφθονίαν ὑπάρξειν, ἀπίεναι τε προαιρομένου τεῦξεσθαι πομπῆς καὶ πάντων ὁσών καὶ χρήζων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίκοιτο. ταῦτ’ εἰσόντος “Ἀβραμος οὐτε τὴν συγγένειαν τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφεύσθαι ἐλεγεν, ἀδελφῷ γὰρ αὐτῆς εἶναι παιδα, καὶ δίχα τοιαύτης ὑποκρίσεως οὐκ ἀσφαλῆ τὴν ἐπιθημιάν ὑπολαβεῖν. ὅσα τε ἐπὶ τῷ μηδὲν αἰτίω τῆς νόσου γεγονόν ἐπειμηθήναι δ’ αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν, ἑτοίμως ἐφάσεκεν ἔχειν παρ’ αὐτῷ μένειν. καὶ Ἀβίμελεχος τὴν τε γῆν πρὸς αὐτὸν νέμεται καὶ τὰ χρήματα, καὶ συντίθενται ἀδόλως πολιτεύσεσθαι2 ὑπέρ τινος φρέατος ποιοῦ- μενοι τοῦ ὄρκου, ὃ Βηροουβαί καλοῦν· ὃρκιον δὲ φρέαρ λέγοντ’ ἄν. οὕτω δ’ έτι καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ὑνόμασται.

213 (2) Γίνεται δὲ Ἀβράμω μετ’ οὐ πολὺ καὶ παῖς ἐκ Σάρρας, ὡς αὐτῷ υπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ προείρητο, διὶ Ἰσακον ἀνόμασε· τοῦτο γέλωτα σημαίνει· διὰ μέντοι τὸ τὴν Σάρραν μειδιάσαι τέξεσθαι φήσαντος αὐτῆς τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ προοδοκῶσαι ἢδη τοκετοῦ πρεβυτέραν ὁδον τὸν νῦν οὕτως ἐκάλεσεν· αὐτῇ μὲν γὰρ ἐνενήκοντα εἶχεν ἔτη ἑκατὸν δὲ Ἀβραμος.

1 MP2P: + ἰω rell.
2 Niese: κολιτεύσεσθαι or -εσθαι codd.

* 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 δσλφσδγ not δσλφσδγ: but the latter can be used loosely = "kinswoman." According to Genesis she was Abraham's half-sister.

* Heb. Beer-sheba, strictly = "well of seven" (or "seven wells"). Josephus takes over the Biblical etymology: Ι.ΧΧ translates by Φρεαρ δρακκφου (or τοι δρκφου), vs. 31, 33. The two words were probably not unallied, if, as is thought, the Heb. verb "to swear" originally meant "to bind oneself by pledging seven things." * § 108.
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214 τίκτεται δὲ παῖς ἐκατέρων τῷ ὑστάτῳ ἔτει, ὅν εὐθὺς μετ’ ὅγιον ἤμεραν περιτέμνουσι, καὶ ἑκείνου μετὰ τοσαῦτα ἔθος ἔχουσιν οἱ Ἰουδαῖοι ποιεῖσθαι τὰς περιτομὰς. “Ἀραβῖς δὲ μετὰ ἕτος τρισκαί-δεκατον, Ἰσμάήλος γὰρ ὁ κτίστης αὐτῶν τοῦ ἐθνοῦς Ἀβράμως γενόμενος ἕκ τῆς παλλακῆς ἐν τούτῳ περιτέμνεται τῷ χρόνῳ” περὶ οὗ τὸν πάντα λόγον ἐκθέσομαι μετὰ πολλῆς ἀκριβείας.

215 (3) Σάρρα δὲ γεννηθέντα τὸν Ἰσμάήλον ἐκ τῆς δούλης αὐτῆς Ἄγάρῆς τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐστεργεν οὐδὲν ἀπολείπουσα τῆς [ὡς]1 πρὸς Ἰδιὸν υἱὸν εὑνοίας, ἔτρεψεν γὰρ ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς ἡγεμονίας δια- δοχῆ, τεκοῦσα δὲ αὐτὴ τὸν Ἰσακον οὐκ ἦσσο παρα- τρέψεσθαι τοῦτῳ τὸν Ἰσμάηλον δύναται πρεσβύτερον καὶ κακουργεῖ δυνάμενον τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἀπο- 216 θανόντος. ἐπειδὴ οὖν τὸν “Ἁβραμον εἰς ἀποκλίαν ἐκπέμπεις αὐτὸν μετὰ τῆς μητρός. ὁ δὲ κατὰ μὲν ἄρχας οὐ προσετίθετο τὴν αὐτοῦ γυνώμην οἷς ἡ Σάρρα ἐσπουδάκει πάντων ὁμότατον ἡγεμόνευς εἶναι παῖδα νήπιον καὶ γυναῖκα ἀπορον τῶν ἄναγ- 217 καίων ἐκπέμπειν. ὥστεν δὲ, καὶ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἤρεσκετὸ τοῖς ὑπὸ τῆς Σάρρας προστατομέονοι, πεισθεὶς παρεδίδον τὸν Ἰσμάήλον τῇ μητρὶ μὴτω δ’ αὐτοῦ χωρεῖν δυνάμενον, ὕδωρ τε ἐν ἀσκώ καὶ ἄρτον φερεμένην ἐκέλευεν ἀπενε ὅδηγῷ τῇ ἀνάγκῃ 218 χρωμένην. ὡς δ’ ἀποισαν ἐπιλειτούσε τὰ ἀναγ- καία, ἐν κακοῖς ἦν, ὦδατος δὲ σπανίζοντος ὑπ’ ἐλάτη τῷ θείῳ τοῦ παιδίον ψυχορραγοῦν, ὡς μὴ

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1 om. ROE.

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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
child was born in the year after (that prediction). 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.  

(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 θρατως in late Greek is used for θρωτες and δυκτος in LXX for "latter," so Josephus may have used δυκτος for θρωτες. The obvious rendering, "in the last year of both," is impossible; the parents, we are told, lived for many more years.

See § 192 note.
παρούσης τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφῆ, προῆει πορρωτέρω.
219 οὐντυχῶν δ’ αὐτῇ θείος ἄγγελος πηγὴν τοις φράζει παρακεμένη καὶ κελεύει προνοεῖν τῆς ἀνατροφής τοῦ παιδίου: μεγάλα γὰρ αὐτήν ἄγαθα περιμένειν ἐκ τῆς Ἰσραήλου σωτηρίας. ὡς ἐδάρσησε τοῖς προκατηγορημένοις καὶ συμβαλοῦσα ποιμέοι διὰ τὴν εἰς αὐτῶν ἐπιμελείαν διαφεύγει τάς ταλαιπωρίας.
220 (4) Ἀνδρωθέντι δὲ τῷ παιδὶ γόνατον ἀγεταὶ τὸ γένος Λαγύπτων, ἐνθένθε ἂν καὶ αὐτῇ τὸ ἀρχαῖον, ἐξ οὗ παῖδες Ἰσραήλῳ γίνονται δώδεκα πάντες. Ναβαώθης Κήδαρος Ἀβδέγλος Ἰάσαμος Μάσσαμος Ἡσαμποὺς Ἰνδούρος Ἡραίασος Κάδμασος. οὕτως πάσαν τὴν ἄπτεν Εὐφράτου καθήκουσαν πρὸς τὴν Ἑρυθράν θάλασσαν καταιχοῦσιν ἐπὶ κάραν ὁμοίας ἀνθρώπων. εἰς δὲ οὕτως, οἱ τῶν Ἀράβων ἔθνος καὶ τὰς φυλὰς ἄφηντον καλοῦσι διὰ τὴν ἔρευναν σφαεὺς καὶ τὸ Ἀράμαν ἀξίωμα.
221 (xiii. 1) Ἰσακον δὲ ὁ πατὴρ Ἀβρααμος ὑπερηγάπα μονογενῆ δόντα καὶ ἐπὶ γῆς ὄντως κατὰ δωρεάν αὐτῶ τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενον. προεκάλεστο δὲ εἰς εὖνοιαν καὶ τὸ φιλεύθη μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων

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

* Modelled on Eurip. Hercules Furens, 323 f. ὁτι μὴ τέκνοι εἰσίν υμῶν, ἄρα γὰρ ἰδέαν ἐκάλεσα καὶ καλεῖτε μοι πέρα. That play seems to have been a favourite of the author, or rather of his assistant.  
* Amplification of Scripture.
* So one group of lxx mss. : Heb. Adbeel.
* So lxx : Heb. Mibsam.
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, Abdeēl, Massam, Masmas, Idum(as), Massmes, 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

![Footnotes]

7. The Nabataeans were a flourishing kingdom in Graeco-Roman times; Josephus derives the name from Ishmael’s eldest son Nabaioth.
8. Or (with the other reading) “on the various tribes of the Arabian nation.” One cannot resist the suspicion of a preposterous connexion of the name Arab with the first two letters of ἄραςμωρ and of ἄραςμωρ!
καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ παῖς ἐπιτηδεύων πᾶσαν ἁρετὴν καὶ τῆς τε τῶν πατέρων θεραπείας ἐχόμενος καὶ περὶ τῆν 223 τοῦ θεοῦ βρηκείαν ἐσπονδακώς. Ἀβραὰμος δὲ τὴν ἰδίαν εὐθαμοίναν ἐν μόνῳ τῷ τῶν ἀπαθῆ καταληπτῶν ἔξελθεν τῷ ζήτῳ ἐνίβετο. τούτου μέντοι κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήσεως ἔτυχεν, ὃς διάπειραν αὐτὸν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν τῆς περὶ αὐτοῦ βρηκείας ἐμφανισθεῖς αὐτῷ καὶ πάντα ὡσα εἰς παρεσχημένος 224 καταραύμησάμενος, ὡς πολεμίων τε κρείττονα ποιήσει καὶ τὴν παροῦσαν εὐθαμοίναν ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ σπονδῆς ἔχοι καὶ τὸν ιὸν ᾽Ισακοῦ, ὦτε τούτον αὐτῷ ἄγνη καὶ ἱερείων ἀνομοῦν] παρασχεῖν, ἐκείνευ τε εἰς τὸ Μάρυσιον ὅρος ἀναγαγόντα ὀλοκαντότωσαι βωμὸν ἰδρυμένον ὁτωσ γὰρ ἐμφανίσεων τῆν περὶ αὐτοῦ βρηκείαν, εἰ καὶ τῆς τοῦ τέκνου σωτηρίας προτιμήσει τὸ τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον.

225 (2) Ἀβραὰμος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενί κρίνων παρακούειν τοῦ θεοῦ δίκαιον ἀπαντᾶ ἐν ὑποργείω, ὥσ ἐκ τῆς ἑκείνου προνοίας ἀπαντῶν ὁ λόγος ἐν εὐθαμήν ἑξελθεῖν ἐπικραυμένος πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν καὶ ἦν εἰρεῖν αὐτὸς γνώμην περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδε τῶν οἰκετῶν τινι δηλώσας, ἐκυψίτωο γὰρ ἄν υπηρετήσει τῷ θεῷ, λαβὼν τὸν ᾽Ισακοῦ μετὰ δύο οἰκετῶν καὶ τὰ πρὸς τὴν ιερουργίαν ἐπισάξας ὄνω ἀπῆλθε πρὸς τὸ ὄρος. 226 καὶ δύο μὲν ἠμέρας αὐτῷ συνώδευσαν οἱ οἰκεται,

1 ἀπαντᾷ 6 ROE.
2 ἀπάντων ἧς ὡς ed. pr. with Lat. is attractive, but cf. for ἀπαντᾷ § 254: perhaps ἀπάντων has dropped out before δ. (Niese).

* Genesis (xxii. 2) speaks of “one of the mountains” in “the land of Moriah” (1xx τὸν γῆν τῆς ὑψηλῆς). “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, 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, 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, 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 μηδεὶ τῶν ἱδίων ξειπτῶν τῆς λόγων.
τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ ὡς κάτοπτον ἵνα αὐτῷ τὸ ὄρος, καταλυτῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τούς συνόντας μετὰ μόνου τοῦ παιδὸς παραγίνεται εἰς τὸ ὄρος, ἐφ᾽ ὅν τὸ ἱερὸν
227 Δαυίδης ὁ βασιλεὺς ἦστερον ἱδρύεται. ἐφερον δὲ σὺν αὐτῶι ὅσα λουπὰ πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν ἤν πλὴν ἱερείου. τοῦ δ᾽ Ἰσάκου πέμπτον τε καὶ εἰκοστὸν ἔτος ἠχόντος τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάζοντος καὶ πυθομένου, τί καὶ μέλλον θύειν ἱερείου μὴ παρόντος,
[ὁ δὲ] τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς παρέξειν ἐλέγεν ὅντα ἔκανον καὶ τῶν οὐκ ὄντων εἰς εὐπορίαν ἀνθρώπους8 παραγαγεῖν καὶ τὰ ὄντα τῶν ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς θαρρουάντων ἀφελέσθαι διός οἷον κάκειν ἱερείου, εἰπερ εὐμενῆς μέλλει τῇ θυσίᾳ παρατυγχάνειν αὐτοῦ.
228 (3) Ὡς δὲ ὁ βωμὸς παρεκκευάστηκα ταῖς σχίζαις ἐπενημόχει καὶ ἂν εὐτρεπὴ, λέγει πρὸς τὸν ιῶν ὁ παῖ, μορίας εὐχαῖς αἰτησάμενος σε γενέσθαι μοι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὶ παρῆλθες εἰς τὸν βίον, οὐκ ἔστων δὲ τὴ μὴ περὶ τὴν σὴν ἀνατροφὴν ἐφελοτιμήσαμην οὐδ᾽ ἔφ᾽ ὧδ᾽ μᾶλλον εὐδαιμονήσεις ὁμὴν, ὡς εἰ σὲ τ᾽ ἱδομί ἁγιαγμένον καὶ τελευτῶν διάδοχον τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ κατάληψοι.
229 ἁλλ᾽ ἐπεὶ θεοῦ τε βουλομένου σος πατήρ ἐγενόμην καὶ πάλιν τούτῳ δοκοῦν ἀποτίθεμαι σε, φέρε γενναίοις τὴν καθέρων· τῷ θεῷ γὰρ σε παραχωρῶ ταύτης ἀξιώσαντι παρ᾽ ἡμῶν τῆς τιμῆς, ἀνθ᾽ ὅν εὐμενῆς γέγονεν μοι παραστατῆς καὶ σύμμαχος, 230 νῦν ἐπιτυχεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ᾽ ἐγεννηθής • • ἀπὶθε νῦν9 αὐ

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

* Or rather "Solomon . . . in the place that David had appointed" (2 Chron. iii. 1). But see § 224 note.
servants accompanied him, but on the third, when the mountain was in view, he left his companions in the plain and proceeded with his son alone to that mount whereon king David 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, 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) * quit thou now this life not by the

* Age unrecorded in Scripture.
* Apparent lacuna in the Greek.
τοῦ κοινῶν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν τρόπων, ἀλλὰ ὑπὸ πατρὸς ἱδίου θείω τῷ πάντων πατρὶ νόμῳ θυσίας προ- 231 πεπομένων, ἀξίων οἷοί σε κρίναντος αὐτοῦ μήτε νόσῳ μήτε πολέμῳ μήτε ἄλλῳ τῶν παθῶν; ἀ 232 συμπίπτειν πέφυκεν ἀνθρώποις, ἀπαλλαγήναι
tοῦ βίου, μετ’ εὐχῶν δὲ καὶ ἱερουργίας ἐκείνου
ψυχῆν τὴν σήν προσδεξομένου καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ
καθέξοντος. ἔσοθ’ τ’ ἐμοὶ εἰς κηδεμόνα καὶ γηρο-
κόμου, διὸ καὶ σε μάλιστα ἀνετρεφόμην, τὸν θεοῦ
ἀντὶ σαυτοῦ παρεσχημένος.”

233 καὶ ἐπράχθη τὸ ἐργὸν μὴ στάντος ἐμποδῶν τὸν
θεοῦ· βοᾷ γὰρ ὄνομαστὶ τὸν “Ἀβραμον εἰργῶν τῆς
τοῦ παιδὸς σφαγῆς. οὐ γὰρ ἐπιθυμήσας αἴματος
ἀνθρωπίνου τὴν σφαγήν αὐτῷ προστάξαι τοῦ
παιδὸς ἔλεγεν, οὐδὲ οὐ πατέρα ἐποίησεν αὐτὸς
αὐτοῖς τούτῳ βουλόμενος μετὰ τοιαύτης ἀ-
σεβείας, ἀλλὰ δοκίμασεν θελῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν διάνοιαν,
234 εἰ καὶ τοιαύτα προστασσόμενος ὑπακούοι. καθὼς
dὲ αὐτοῦ τὸ πρόβυμυν καὶ τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς
θρησκείας ἤδεσθαι μὲν οἷς αὐτῶ παρέσχεν, οὐχ
ὑστερήσεις δὲ αὐτῶν ἀεὶ πάσης ἐπιμελείας καὶ τὸ
γένος ἢξιοῦτα, ἢσσαί τε τὸν ὦν αὐτοῦ πολυ-
χρονοποτάων καὶ βιώσαντα εὐδαμόνως παισῖν
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

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1 τ.λ. βουλέωσαν.
235 μονίαν. προεδχλου τε τὸ γένος τὸ αὐτῶν εἰς ἐθνη πολλά καὶ πλούτον επιδώσειν, καὶ μνήμην αἰώνιον αὐτῶν ἔσωσθαι τοῖς γενάρχαις, τὴν τε Ἑλληνίδαν ὅπλως κατακτησαμένους ἔχοντος 236 ἔσωσθαι πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις. ταύτα ὁ θεὸς εἰπὼν κριόν ἐκ τάφανος παρῆγαγεν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὴν ἱερογραφίαν. οἱ δὲ παρ’ ἐλπίδας αὐτοὺς κεκομισμένοι καὶ τοιούτων ἀγάθων ἔπαγγελλας ἀκηκοότες ἵσταντο τὸ ἄλληλος καὶ θύσαντες ἀπενοῦσθησαν πρὸς τὴν Σάρραν καὶ δίηγον εὐθαμάνως, ἐφ’ ἀπασίν οἷς ἐθελήσαν τὸν θεοῦ συλλαμβάνοντος αὐτοῖς.

237 (xiv.) Καὶ Σάρρα μὲν οὖν πολύ ύστερον ἀποθησάκει βιώσασα ἐτης ἐπτά καὶ ἔκοσι πρὸς τοὺς ἐκατόν. ἔπατοι δὲ αὐτήν ἐν Νεβρώνι παγχωρούντων μὲν τῶν Ἑλληνίδων καὶ δημοσία χρῶν αὐτῆς τὸν τάφον, Ἀβραὰμον δὲ σύννησαμένον τὸ χώριον σίκιων τετρακοσίων παρ’ Ἐφραίμῳ τεῦν ἐκ τῆς Νεβρώνος. καὶ τὰ μνημεία Ἀβραὰμὸς τε καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι αὐτοῦ ταύτῃ κατεσκευάσαντο.

238 (xv.) Γαμείς δὲ αὐτὸς Κατούραν ύστερον, οὐ ἴσα αὐτῷ παιὰς ἐς γίνονται πρὸς τε πόνους καρτεροὶ καὶ δεινοὶ συννέναι, Ζεμβράς Ἰαζάρης Μαδάνης Μαδάνης Λουσούβακος Σοῦς. φύονται δὲ καὶ τούτων παιὰς καὶ Σοῦς μὲν Σαβακίνης γίνεται καὶ Δαδάνης, τούτου δὲ Λατοῦσίμος Ἀσσοῦρις Λουσούρις. Μαδάνου δὲ Ἡφάς Ἐφέρην Ἀνωχος 239 Ἑβιδάς Ἔλδάς. τούτως ἀπαθι τοὺς παιὸς καὶ τοὺς νεώνιος Ἀβραὰμος ἀποκειμένων στόλους μη-

¹ αὐτοῦ κεκομισμένων ROE.

* Greek “Nebron,” see § 170 note. ** Bibl. Ephron.
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 Ephas,\(^m\) Eophren,\(^n\) Anochi(os), Ebidas\(^o\) and Eldas.\(^p\) All these sons and grandsons Abraham contrived to send out

\(^a\) LXX (some mss.): Heb. Midian.
\(^b\) Bibl. Ishbax (Ἰσβάξ).
\(^c\) Bibl. Shuah (Σουά).
\(^d\) Bibl. Sheba (Σαβὰ, LXX, some mss.).
\(^e\) With LXX (some mss.) : Heb. Dedan.
\(^f\) Bibl. “Asshurim, Letushim (Λατουσιμ), Leummiim” (in this order).
\(^g\) Bibl. Ephraim (Εφραίμ).
\(^h\) Bibl. Abida.
\(^i\) Bibl. Eldaah (ἐλδαά, with Ἱ).
χανάται, καὶ τὴν τε Ἑρωθρὰν καθήκει βάλασαν. λέγεται δ’ ὡς οὖσος ὁ Ἑσάφρης στρατεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν Λεβύθην κατέσχεν αὐτὴν καὶ οἱ νιώνοι αὐτοῦ κατοικήσαντες ἐν αὐτῇ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἑκείνου ὅνοματος "Ἀφραῖον προσηγόρευσαν.

240 μαρτυρεῖ δὲ μου τῷ λόγῳ ᾿Αλέξανδρος ὁ πολυϊστώρ λέγων οὖτως: "Κλεόδημος δὲ φησιν ὁ προφήτης, ὁ καὶ Μάλχος, ἱστορῶν τὰ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, καθὼς καὶ Μουσῆς ἱστορήσειν ὁ νομοθέτης αὐτῶν, διτέ ξῆς Κατοῦρας ᾿Αβράμος ἐγένοντο παιδεῖς ίκανοί.

241 λέγει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ τὰ ὅνοματα ὅνοματα τρεῖς ᾿Αφεραν Σοῦρην ᾿Ιάφραν. ἀπὸ Σοῦρου μὲν τὴν ᾿Ασσυρίαν κεκληθοῦσα, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δύο ᾿Ιάφρα τε καὶ ᾿Αφεραν πόλεως τε ᾿Αφραῖον καὶ τὴν χώραν "Ἀφραῖον ὅνομασθήναι. τούτους γὰρ ᾿Ηρακλεῖς στρατεύσασθαι ἐπὶ Λεβύθην καὶ ᾿Ανταῖον, γῆμαντά τε τὴν ᾿Αφραῖον θυγατέρα ᾿Ηρακλεὰ γεννήσας ὑμνὸν ἐκ αὐτῆς Δίδωρον τούτοις δὲ γενέσθαι Σόφωνα, ἀφ’ οὗ τοὺς ἑβραίους Σόφακας λέγεσθαι."

242 (xvi. 1) Ἰσάκῳ δὲ περὶ τεσσαρακοστὸν ἔτος γεγονότα γυναῖκα γυνοῦ ἀγαγέσθαι ὁ πατὴρ ᾿Αβραμος ᾿Αββέκκαμ, Ναχωροῦ παῖδος θυγατέρα ταξινομοῦ, τὸν πρεσβυτάτον πέμπει τῶν οἰκετῶν ἐπὶ τὴν μηποταίαν ἐνδησάμενος μεγάλας πίστεις.

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1 Ἔπραυν μόστ 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."

b Cf. § 133.

c 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 Eōphrēn
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 Kātura. He
moreover gives their names, mentioning three—
Aphrases, Sures, Japhras—adding that Sures gave his
name to Assyria, and the two others, Japhras and
Aphrahas, 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).

2 The fluctuating spelling leaves it uncertain which son is
intended.

* Gen. xxv. 20.
243 γίνονται δὲ αὐτοὶ τούτον τὸν τρόπον. ὑπὸ τοὺς μηροὺς ἀλλήλοις τὰς χεῖρας ἐπαγαγόντες ἔπειτα ἐπικαλοῦνται τῶν θεῶν μάρτυρα τῶν ἐσομένων. ἔπειτα δὲ καὶ δώρα τοῖς ἑκεί διὰ τὸ σπάνιον 244 ἡ μηδὲ ὅλος ἐπιχωρίαζεν ἐκτετιμημένα. οὕτος ἀπερχόμενος χρόνῳ διὰ τὸ εἶναι χαλεπὴν ὀδεύεσθαι τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν, χειμώνι αἰνέει μὲν ὑπὸ πηλῶν βάθους βέρους δ' ὑπὸ ἀνυδρίας, ἐπὶ δὲ καὶ λῃστηρίων ὄντων ἐν αὐτῇ, ἡ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἐνήθη μὴ πυρονοσί τούτου τοῖς ὀδεύονσι, εἰς πόλιν ἀφικνεῖται Χάρραν· καὶ γενόμενος ἐν τοῖς προαστείοις παρθένοις ἐνυγχαίρει πλείοσιν ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδίζοντι. 245 εὐχεταὶ μὲν οὖν τῷ θεῷ Ὄρεβέκκαν, ἡν τῷ παιδί τῷ Ἀβραμος μυνησεύσομεν ἐξαπέστειλαν, εἰ κατὰ νοῦν τοῦ αὐτοῦ μέλλει ο γάμος ὁ λόγος συνελείθησαι, ἐν ἐκείναις εὑρεθῆναι γνωρισθῆναι τε αὐτὴν τῶν μὲν ἄλλων αἰτοῦντι ποτὸν ἀρνομένων ἐκεῖνης δὲ αὐτῶν παρασχούσης.

246 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ἐπὶ ταύτης ὅν τῆς διανοίας ἐπὶ τῷ φρέαρ παραγίνεται καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὰς παρθένους ποτὸν αὐτῶν παρασχεῖν τῶν δ' ἐκτρεπομένων ὡς χρηζουσῶν οἶκαδε κομίζειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐκείνῳ παρασχεῖν, καὶ γὰρ οὐδ' εὐληπτον εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ, μία ἐς ἀπασῶν ἐκείναις τῇ πρὸς τὸν Ἕρων ἐπιπλήστῃ δυσκολίας, τῶν ἄλλων κοινωνίσεων πρὸς ἀνθρώπους αὐτὸς ποτε, αἰ μηδ' ὑδατος μετέδοσαν 247 λέγουσα, καὶ παρέχει αὐτῶν φιλοφρόνως. ὁ δὲ ἐν ἐπιδίω μὲν τῶν ἄλλων γενόμενος, βουλόμενος δὲ τὴν ἀλήθειαν μαθεῖν, ἐπιμένει τε τῇς εὐγενείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς χρηστότητος, ὅτι καὶ μετ' οἰκείου πόνου τοῖς δεομένοις ἐπαρκεῖν οὐκ ἐφύγειν, ἐπινυσάνετο 1 Κάρραν most MSS. 2 SPE: καὶ τελλ.
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 rebuked the rest for their churlishness to the stranger, saying "What will you ever share with anyone, who refuse even a drop of water?", and with that she graciously offered him some. He, now in high hopes of attaining his main object, but wishing to learn the truth, commended her for her nobility and goodness of heart in not hesitating to minister to another's need at the cost of her own toil, and inquired who
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ten wón eikh gnovón kai kateúxetai aútois ánthen tóiaúthn paidós kai "númbeúseis," phéoun, "óws aútois ésti kekharisáménov, eis oíkou ánðros ágadóu 248 paidás aútw téxoméntiv gnesiónous." h dé oðdè touútw enóðounen aútw buoloménov matheíw, állass kai tó génos ápseímáine kai "'Rebékka mév," phosín, "eŋw kaloúmai, patíp dé wóit Badoúthlos ōn; állass o oíkou ténh ténhke, Lábánov dé aðelphós èstov ëmèteros tóu te oíkou pantoús suv tì muðrì pronoúmenov kai tìs ëmòn partheínias. épímeló-249 muñov." touútw anórassáménov exaire te tois gegovnósi kai tois eirhímáneis tóv theón oútoús órówn aútw tìs òdoú sarfás sullambanoménon,1 kai prókoomíasas órméskon te kai tìsas kósmous, oús eútrepès eforein parthenóis, ánedidou tì kórhe tìs èpí tì fpeíw xaráwos ámbovhn eínavi kai géras, dikaiou légovn tóouútw aúthn tugháneis ágathn 250 parà tás tósoúta parthenou gnoménh. h' éwou te par' aútois kátauqhnh, toú prósowtov xorwín tìs nuktoús aúthn áfiairouménhs, kósmon te ferein gnwistikov polutelh pistevn aúthn ouk áfia- lestérous éfasken h tóouútw, óías2 aúthhs épete- ráth. tékmýresbhai dé kai tìtìs mútrov kai tádelphov filanvnpían aúthhs éléven, óws ou duxhevaránoun, ek tìs perì aúthnh aréthns. oðdè gàr éseosbhai barús múthon te tìs filoxeínias telesov 251 kai dapanas idías chrísámenv. h dé perì mèn tìs tòw gnovón filanvnpías aúthhs órhoús eikáxein aúthn eípnev, épemémbeto dé óws miqro-

1 sullambénta 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."
JOSEPHUS

λόγους ὑπειληφότας: πάντων γὰρ ἀμοιβὴ μεθὲξειν. δηλώσασα μὲντοι Λαβάνων πρότερον τάδελφος συγ-
χωροῦντος ἡξειν αὐτῶν ἔλεγεν.

252 (3) Ὑς οὖν τούτου γενομένου παρῆγε τὸν ἥξεον,
τὰς μὲν καμήλους αὐτοῦ παραλαμβάνοντες οἱ
Λαβάνων θεράποντες ἐπιμέλουν, αὐτοῖς δὲ δειπνήσων
εἰσῆγετο σὺν αὐτῷ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ δειπνὸν φησι πρὸς
τε αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μητέρα τῆς κόρης ""Ἀβραάμος
Θέρρους" μὲν ἑστών ὑώδος, συγγενής δὲ ὑμετέρος.
Ναχωρῆς γὰρ ὁ τούτων, ὁ γὰρ, τῶν παιδίων
πάππος ἀδελφὸς ἤν Ἀβραάμον ὀμοπάτριος τε καὶ

253 ὀμομήτριος. πέμπει τοῖς οὖσι πρὸς ὕμας ἄξιοιν
τὴν κόρην ταύτην παιδὶ τῷ ἑαυτοῦ λαβεῖν πρὸσ
γάμον, ὃς γυνήσιός ἔστων αὐτῷ καὶ μόνος ἐπὶ τοῖς
πάσι τεθραμμένοις· ὃ τῶν μὲν ἐκεί γυναικῶν δυνατὸν
ἐὰν αὐτῶ τῇ τὴν εὐδαιμονεστᾶτην λαβεῖν οὐκ ἤξεσθεν
ἀγαγέσθαι, τιμῶν δὲ τὸ γένος τῶν γάμων πολιτεύει

254 τούτων. οὐ τὴν σπουδὴν καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν μὴ
ὑβρίσθητε· κατὰ γὰρ θεοῦ βουλὴν τὰ τε ἄλλα μοι
κατὰ τὴν ὅδον ἀπῆρυπτησε καὶ τὴν παῖδα καὶ τῶν
ὑμέτερον οἶκον εὐρών. ἐπεὶ γὰρ πλησίον τῆς
πόλεως ἐγενόμην, παρθένους ἠδον πολλὰς ἐπὶ τὸ
φρέαρ παραγινομένας ἡξάμην εἰς ταύτην ἐμπεσεῖν,

255 δὲ γέγονε. γάμον οὖν ὑπὸ θείας μυστερίωμεν
ἐπιφανείας καὶ οὐκ ἐνυπάρκσεται καὶ "Ἀβραὰμον τὸν
μετὰ τοσαῦτης ἀπεσταλκότα σπουδῆς τῷ κατα-
νεύσας τὴν κόρην τιμῆσατε." οἱ δὲ, καλὰ γὰρ ἦν
αὐτῶς καὶ κεχαρισμένα, τὴν τε γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ
συνῆκαν καὶ πέμπουσιν ἐφ’ οἷς ἤξιον τὴν θυγατέρα.
γαμεῖ δὲ ταύτην ὁ Ἰσακος τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς

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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

* Or Tharrus (Bibl. Terah), § 148.

1 v.l. Θαρρον, Θάρρον.
αυτον ἀφικομένων· οί γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Κατούρας εἰς τὰς ἄποικιας ἔστησαν.

256 (xvii.) Τελευτᾶ δὲ καὶ Ἀβραμός μετ’ ὅλον, ἀνὴρ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἅκρος καὶ τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ὁμοιότητος ἔξως ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετμημένους. ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἔτων ἐβδομηκονταπετέντε πρὸς τοὺς ἔκατον καὶ ἀπέπτει ἐν Νεβρών μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς Σάρρας ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν Ἰσακοῦ καὶ Ἰσμαήλου.

257 (xviii. 1) Ἰσακψ δὲ μετὰ τὴν Ἀβράμου τελευτῆν ἔκαε τὸ γύναιον, καὶ τῆς γαστρὸς ἐπὶ μείζον ὁγκομενήν ἀγωνιάσας ἀνήρετο τῶν θεών. φράζει δ’ αὐτῷ διδύμους τέσσαρας, τὴν Ῥεβέκκαν καὶ φερόνυμα ἐσεθαι τοῖς παιδίων ἔθνη, τοῦ δὲ μείζονος προτερήσεως τὸ δοκοῦν ἔλαιον εἶναι. τίκτηται δ’ αὐτῷ μετ’ ὅλον κατὰ πρόβροσιν τοῦ θεοῦ δίδυμα παιδία, ὡν τὸ μὲν πρεσβύτερον ἀπὸ κεφαλῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς πόδας περισσώς ἦν δασύ, τὸ δὲ νεώτερον ἐχέτο προϊόντος αὐτῶν κατὰ πτέρναν. ἡγάπα δὲ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ τῶν πρεσβύτερον 'Ησαῦν λεγόμενον κατ’ ἐπωνυμίαν τῆς τριχώσεως: Ἐβραίων γὰρ τὸ ἡσαυρόν τρίχωμα λέγουσιν· Ἰάκωβος δὲ ο νεώτερος τῇ μητρὶ προσφιλῆς ἦν.

258 (2) Λυμοῦ δὲ τὴν γῆν καταλαβόντος Ἰσακός, δοξαν αὐτῷ χαρεῖν εἰς Δέντατον τῆς χώρας ἀγαθής ὑπαρχούσῃ, ἐπὶ Γεράρων ἀπηγεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος. ὑποδέχεται δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀβιμέ-

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1 Σήρων MSLE, Seirian Lat.: after trichōsēs SP ins. eixe δ’ καὶ ἄτερον ἄνεμα Σήρων λεγόμενον τῆς τριχώσεως (doubtless a gloss).

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

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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. 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 ?esaron; 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. 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.

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 Selr ("hairy"), but not apparently on Esau itself. Josephus is weak in philology, and it is idle to discuss his text and meaning.

*Gerar in Philistia.*
JOSEPHUS

λέχος κατὰ ξενίαν καὶ φιλίαις τὴν Ἀβράμον καὶ 
πολλῆς πάνω πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοία χρησάμενος κατ᾽ 
ἀρχαί ἐπὶ ταύτης ὑπὸ φθόνου μεῖναι πρὸς τὸ πᾶν 
260 ἐκκαλύβη. ὡρῶν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τῷ Ἰσάκῳ συμ-
παρόντα καὶ τοσάτῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ σπούδῃ χρώμενον 
ἀπόσατο αὐτόν. ὃ δὲ τοιούτοι πάλιν ἐκ μετα-
βολῆς τῆς ἀπὸ τοῦ βασικάνου πειραθεὶς Ἀβιμελέχου 
τότε μὲν ἄνεχωρησεν εἰς τὴν λεγομένην Φάραγγα 
χωρίον όμοιον μεγάρων, ὡρᾶσθαι δὲ αὐτῷ 
φρέαρ ποιμένες ἐπιπεσόντες εἰς μάχην ἐχώρησαν 
κυκλώσαντες τὸ ἔργον, καὶ μὴ βουληθέντος φιλονικῆσαι 
261 ἔδοξαν κεκρατηκέναι. ὑποχωρήσας δὲ ἔμρυσαν 
ἐτερον, καὶ βιασαμένων ἀλλων των Ἀβιμελέχου 
ποιμένων καὶ τοῦτο καθαλπῶν ἀπεχώρησαν εὐ-
γνώμονα λογισμῷ κτώμενος αὐτῷ τὴν ἀδειαν. 
262 εἶτα (τ)αυτομάτου παρασχόντος αὐτῷ τὴν 
φρεω-
ρυχίαν ἀνεπικόλυτον, Ἰουβαβῶθ τὸ φρέαρ 
ἀναμασάν 
εὐρύχωρον ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τῶν δὲ προ-
τέρων τὸ μὲν Ἐσκον καλεῖται: μάχην ἄν 
tis αὐτὸ 
φήσειε· τὸ δὲ ἐτερον Στένα: ἐχθραν 
ἀποσημαίνει 
to ὄνομα.

263 (3) Ἰσάκῳ μὲν οὖν ἀκιμάζειν συνέβαινε τὴν ἴσχυν 
ὑπὸ μεγάθους πραγμάτων, Ἀβιμελέχος δὲ καθ᾽ 
αὐτῷ φύσεσθαι νομίζων τὸν Ἰσακον, ὑπόπτον 
μὲν αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς συνδιατήσεως γενομένης, ἐτ产业集群 
τὴς φάνερα δὲ ἐχθραῦ τοῦ Ἰσάκου ὑπεκινθήσατο, δεῖσας 
μὴ τῆς προτέρας αὐτῶ φιλίας ουδὲν ὀφέλος γένηται 
πρὸς ἁμαρταν ὅν ἔπαθεν Ἰσάκον ἑπαρτές φιλίαν 
ἀνωθέν ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτόν, ἐνα τῶν στρατηγών

1 After Niese (Στέναν): Σέσιμανν or Σέτένανν codd.

* § 212.

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former friendship and hospitality to Abraham, a 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 b 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 Roôbôoth, a name which denotes "spacious." Of the former wells one was called Eskos, d that is to say "Combat," the other Stena, e 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, f one of his generals.

b After lxx, taking θεάγης as a proper name: Heb. "in the vale of Gerar."

a After lxx (εὐρυκοσμάτα): Heb. Rechoboth = "broad places."

d Heb. Esok, "contention": lxx ἄδιξία.

e Heb. Sitnah, "enmity": lxx ἄχροπα.

f Heb. Phicol: the same transposition of consonants occurs in some mss. of lxx.
264 Φίλοχον ἔπαγόμενος. πάντων δὲ τετυχήκος ὃν ἥξιον διὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου χρηστότητα, ἄργης προσφάτου πρεσβυτέραν χάριν εἰς αὐτὸν τε καὶ τὸν πατέρα γεγενημένην προτιμῶντος, ἀπήρεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ.

265 (4) Τῶν δὲ Ἰσάκου παιδῶν Ἡσαῦς, περὶ δὲν μάλιστα ὁ πατὴρ ἐσπουδάκει, τεσσαράκοντα γεγονός ἐτη γαμεῖ Ἅδαν τὴν Ἡλώνος καὶ Ἀλεβάμην τὴν Ἑσαββεώνος, δυναστευόντων ἐν Χαναιάοις ἀνδρῶν θυγατέρας, ἑαυτὸν ποιήσας τὰς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἐξουσίας κυρίον καὶ μὴ δὲ τῷ πατρὶ συμβουλευοῦσιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἂν ἐπέτρεψεν Ἰσακος ἐπὶ αὐτῷ τῆς γνώμης γενομένης· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ δὲ ἤδονὴς συνάφασθαι συγγένειαν πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους. οὐ βουλόμενος δὲ ἀπεχθῆς εἶναι τῷ παιδὶ κελεύων ἀφίστασθαι τῶν γυναικῶν σιγῶν ἔκρινε.

266 (5) Γῆραιος δὲ ὁ ἦν καὶ τὰς ὀφεις εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ἤφαισμονος προσκαλεσάμενος τὸν Ἡσαῦν καὶ τὸ γήρας εἰπὼν ὡς καὶ δέχα τῆς πηρώσεως καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὰς ὀφεις πάθους ἐμποδῶν ἡν αὐτῷ θεραπεύειν τὸν θεόν, ἐκείλεσεν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπὶ κυνηγόσιν καὶ θηρασάμενον ὡς ἄν αὐτῷ δυνατόν γίνηται παρασκευάσας δεῖπνον, ἵνα μετά τοῦτο ἐκείζοσθη τὸν θεὸν σύμμαχον αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργὸν εἰς ἁπαντα παρεῖναι τὸν βίον, ἄδηλον μὲν εἶναι λέγων, ὡσπές καὶ τελευτήσεις, πρὸ δὲ τούτου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ

1 'Εσαββεών Bernardi.
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 Ada and Alibamé, daughters respectively of Helon and Eusebeon, 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 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

* 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 Basevath.

BB. Bibl. Obollbamah (LXX 'Ελοεμα or 'Ολα).
BB. Bibl. Elon ('Ελωμ).
BB. Bibl. Zibeon (Σεβεγώ).

* He could not procure a sacrifice himself; such seems to be the meaning.
βουλευθαί τὸν θεὸν ταῖς εὐχαῖς ταῖς ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ παρακεκλημένον.

269 (6) Καὶ Ἡσαῦς μὲν ἐπὶ τὸ κυνηγέσιον ἐξώρμησεν· ἢ δὲ Ρέβεκκα τὸν θεόν εἰς τὴν εὐνοιαν ἀξιοῦσα τὴν Ἰακώβου παρακαλεῖν καὶ παρὰ τὴν Ἰσάκου γνώμην ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἔριφος κατασφάξαντα δείπνον παρασκευάζειν. ὦ δὲ Ἰακώβος ὑπηρέτει τῇ μητρὶ 270 παίντα παρ’ αὐτῆς πεπυσμένος· ἐπεὶ δ’ εὐτρεπὴς ἦν τὸ δείπνον, ἔριφον δέρματι τὸν βραχίονα περιβαλὼν, ὡς πιστεύοντο παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ διὰ τὴν δασύτητα Ἡσαῦς εἶναι, τὰ γὰρ ἄλλα πάντ’ ὄν ὄμοιος διὰ τὸ εἶναι δίδυμος τούτων μόνως διέφερε, καὶ φοβηθεὶς μὴ πρὶν γενέσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς εὑρεθεὶς κακουργῶν εἰς τούναντιον παροξύνη τὸν πατέρα ποίησασθαι ταῦτας, προσέφερε τῷ πατρὶ τὸ δείπνον. καὶ ὁ Ἰσακος ἐπαισθόμενος τῷ κατὰ τὴν φωνὴν ἴδιών προσκαλεῖται τὸν νιῶν τοῦ δὲ τὸν βραχίονα προτείναντος, ὃ τὴν αἰγεάν περιβεβλητο, ταυτίς ἐπαφώμενος “φωνεῖς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “Ἰα- 271 κώβου παραπλησίου, κατὰ δὲ τὸ τῆς τριχὸς βάθος Ἡσαῦς εἶναι μοι δοκεῖς.” καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαβὼν κακουργὸν δεινήσας τρέπεται πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ “δέσποτα,” λέγων, “παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ δημιουργῆ τῆς ὀλῆς οὐσίας· σὺ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ μεγάλαι ἱσχὺς προὔθηκας ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἥξιωσας καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένοις ὑπέσχου βοήθος εὐμενῆς.” καὶ ὀστήρ 272 Ἡσαῦς εἶναι ἴδιων προσκαλεῖται πρὸς εὐχὰς καὶ παράκλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ “δέσποτα,” λέγων, “παντὸς αἰῶνος καὶ δημιουργῆ τῆς ὀλῆς οὐσίας· σὺ γὰρ πατρὶ τῷ ἐμῷ μεγάλαι ἱσχὺς προὔθηκας ἀγαθῶν καὶ τῶν παρόντων ἥξιωσας καὶ τοῖς ἐξ ἐμοῦ γενομένοις ὑπέσχου βοήθος εὐμενῆς.” καὶ ὀστήρ 273 ἴδιων προσκαλεῖται ταῦτα· σὺν καὶ βεβαλῶσον καὶ μὴ περίδιπς με διὰ τὴν παρούσαν ἀσθένειαν, δι’ ἓν καὶ μᾶλλον σου δεδεμένος τυγχάνων, καὶ μοι παίδα τούτων εὐμενῆς σῶζε καὶ παντὸς ἀπαθῆ κακοῦ διαφύλαττο δοῦς αὐτῷ βίον ευδαιμόνα.
before that time to procure God’s protection for him
by his prayers on his behalf. The blessing
(6) So Esau sped forth to the chase; but Rebecca, of Jacob.
being determined to invoke God’s favour upon Jacob,
even in defiance of Isaac’s intent, bade him kill some
kids and prepare a meal. And Jacob obeyed his
mother, taking all his instructions from her. Accord-
ingly, 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 ex-
tended the arm which he had wrapped in the goat-
skin, feeling which his father exclaimed, “Thy voice
is like that of Jacob, but from the thickness of the
hair I take thee to be Esau.” So, suspecting no
fraud, he supped and then turned to prayer and
invocation of God, saying,“ 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 pre-
serve him from every touch of ill; grant him a bliss-

a Wholly independent of Gen. xxvii. 27 ff.

1 Casaubon: ἐπίτευγον codd.
καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθῶν, ὀσιω σοι δύναμις παρασχεῖν, ποιήσας δὲ αὐτὸν φοβερὸν μὲν ἐχθροὺς φίλους δὲ τίμων καὶ κεχαρισμένον.’’

274 (7) Καὶ ὁ μὲν νομίζων εἰς Ἡσαΐων ποιεῖσθαι τὰς εὐχὰς παρεκάλεσάν τοὺς θεόν ἄρτι δὲ πέπαινο τούτων καὶ παρῆν Ἡσαΐως ἀπὸ τῆς βῆρας. καὶ τῆς δια-
μαρτίας Ἰσακος αἰσθόμενος ἡσυχίαν ἔγει, Ἡσαΐως
de ἤξιον τῶν ὁμοίων ταξιλίφω παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς
275 τυγχάνειν τοῦ δὲ [πατρὸς] ἀρνομένου διὰ τὸ
pάσας εἰς Ἰάκωβον τὰς εὐχὰς ἀνηλωκεῖνα πένθος
ἡγεν ἐπὶ τῇ διαμαρτίᾳ, καὶ αὐτὸς τοὺς δάκρυσιν
ἀγθόμενος ἐπὶ πατήρ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὸ κυνηγεῖσιν καὶ
dύναμιν σῶματος ἐν ὑπόλει καὶ πᾶσιν ἔργοις
eὐδοκιμέσθαι αὐτὸν ἐφασκε καὶ καρπώσεσθαι τὴν
ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δόξαν δὲ αἰώνως καὶ τὸ ἄν’ αὐτοῦ γένος,
dουλεύοντες δὲ ταξιλιφῶ.

276 (8) Ἰάκωβον δὲ φοβούμενον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τιμω-
ρίαν βουλόμενον λαβεῖν τῆς ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς δια-
μαρτίας ἡ μὴ τριτί ρύθειν πείθει γὰρ τὸν ἄνδρα
Μεσοποταμίαν ἀγαγέσθαι τῷ Ἰάκωβῳ γυναῖκα
277 συγγενῆ. ἦδη γὰρ τὴν Ἰσραήλ παιδα Ἡσαΐὡς
παρειλθεὶς πρὸς γάμου Βασιμάθεν’ οὐ γὰρ εὐνόουν
tοῖς Χαναναίοις οἵ περὶ τὸν Ἰσακόν, ὡστε ἐπὶ
tοῖς πρότεροι αὐτοῦ γάμοις δυσχερᾶς διακει-
mένων εἰς τὸ ἐκείνους κεχαρισμένον τὴν Βασιμάθην
παρέλαβε μάλιστα περὶ αὐτῆς σπουδάσας.

278 (xix. 1) Ἰάκωβος δὲ εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν
στελλόμενος ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς κατὰ γάμον τῆς
Λαβάνου θυγατρὸς τοῦ ἐκείνης ἀδελφοῦ, ἐπι-
tρέφαντος Ἰσάκου τὸν γάμον διὰ τὸ πείθεσθαι
tοῖς βουλήμασι τῆς γυναίκος, διὰ τῆς Χαναναίας
1 om. O Lat. * ed. pr.: καρτώσασθαι 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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3 ἀνολαβεῖν MSPL. 4 ἀρκῇ OMSP.
JOSEPHUS

ἐπορεύετο καὶ διὰ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς ἐπιχυρίους μῖσος
279 παρ’ οὐδὲνι 1 μὲν ἦξιον κατάγεσθαι, ὑπαίθρος 2 δὲ
ηὐλίζετο τὴν κεφαλὴν λίθους ὡς αὐτοῖς συμ-
φορομένοις ἐπιπεδεῖς καὶ τοιαῦτήν κατὰ τοὺς
ὕπνους ὄξων ὀρᾷ παραστάσαν αὐτῷ· κλίμακα γῆθην
ἔδοξεν ἐφικνομένην τοῦ οὐρανοῦ βλέπειν καὶ δὲ
αὐτῆς ὄψεις κατιούσας σεμνότερον ἢ κατὰ ἀνθρώπου
φύσιν ἔχονσας, καὶ τελευταίον ὑπέρ αὐτῆς τὸν
θεὸν ἐναργῶς αὐτῷ φαινόμενον ἄνομαστε τε
280 καλέσαι καὶ ποιήσασθαι τοιούτους λόγους. “ Ἰά-
κωβε, πατρὸς οὗτα σε ἀγαθὸν καὶ πάππων δόξαν
ἀρετῆς μεγάλης εὐραιμένου κάμμειν ἐπὶ τοῖς
παροῦν ὑπερσήκεν, ἀλλ’ ἐπίλεξαν τὰ κρεῖττονα.
281 καὶ γὰρ ἀφθονος ἐκδέχεται σε μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν
παρούσῃ πρὸς τὸ πῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν ἐπικούριαν.
"Αθρομᾶν τε γὰρ ἔγω [ἐκ] 3 τῆς Μεσοποταμίας
δεύτερο ἡγαγὼν ἐλαιόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν συγγενῶν, καὶ
πατέρα τὸν σὸν εἰδαίμονα ἀπέφηνα· ὅπι όὐχ ἦττο
282 μοῦραν εἰς σὲ καταθήσομαι. θαρρῶν όν καὶ
ταύτῃν πορεύον τὴν ὁδὸν ἐμοὶ προπομπῷ 4 χρό-
μενος· ἀνασθήσεται γάρ σοι γάμος, ἐφ’ ὅν ἐσπού-
δακας, καὶ γενήσονται σοὶ παῖδες ἀγαθοί, τὸ δὲ
πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἄρμιθμοι κρεῖττον ἔσται, μείζον
νὸς αὐτῶν καταλληλωπότες· οἷς ἔγω τὸ ταύτης
κράτους τῆς γῆς δίδωμι καὶ παισί τοῖς αὐτῶν, οἱ
πληρώσωσιν ὅστις ἔλεος ὀρᾷ καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν.
283 ἀλλὰ μήτε κίνδυνον ύφορὼ μηδένα μήτ’ εὐλαβοῦ
τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πόνων, ἐμοὶ ποιομένου τῶν σοὶ
πρακτησομένων πρόνοιαν ἐν τῷ τοῖς τῶν καὶ πολὺ
πλέον ἐν τοῖς υἱοτερον."

284 (2) Ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ὁ θεὸς Ἰακώβως προαγρεύει·
1 οἰδὲνα ROE.
2 ὑπαίθρος RO.
136
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 be seem 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,

* Greek "multitude."  
^ Text doubtful.

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2 ed. pr., Lat.: om. codd.

3 RO: ποιμ. rell.
JOSEPHUS

ό δὲ περιχαρῆς γενόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐωραμένοις καὶ κατηγγελμένοις φαιδρών τε τοὺς λίθους ὡς τηλικοῦτων ἀγαθῶν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς προρρήσεως γεγενήμενης καὶ εὐχὴν ποιεῖται θύσεων ἐπὶ αὐτῶν, εἰ κτησάμενος βλέντον ἀπαθῆς ἔπανοι, τῷ θεῷ [dé]1 δεκάτην τῶν πεπορισμένων ποιεῖσθαι οὕτως [αὖθις]2 αφικόμενος, τίμιον τοῦ κρίνει τὸ χωριὸν ὅνωμα αὐτῷ Βηθῆλ θέμενος· σημαίνει δὲ τούτῳ θείαν ἐστίναν κατά τὴν τῶν Ἑλλήνων γλώσσαν.

285 (3) Προϊόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσσοποταμίας χρόνῳ παρῆν εἰς τὴν Χαρράν, καὶ ποιμένας ἐν τοῖς προ- αστείοις καταλαβῶν καὶ παιδὰς ἐφήβους καὶ παρθένους ὑπὲρ τινος ἵδρυμένους φρέατος συν- δέστρευον αὐτοῖς χρῆσιν ποτοῦ, εἰς τὸ λόγους αὐτοῖς ἀφικόμενος ἁνέκρινεν αὐτοὺς, εἰ τυχ- χάνουσι Λάβανον τινα παρ' αὐτοῖς εἰδότες ἐτὶ 286 περιόντα. οἱ δὲ πάντες ἐπίστασθαι τε ἐφάσαν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι τοιούτων ὡστε ἀγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ συμ- ποιμαίνεις αὐτοῖς θυγατέρα αὐτοῦ, ἢν θαυμάζειν ὅτι μήπως παρείη· "παρὰ γὰρ ταύτῃ μεμαθήκεις ἃν ἀκριβέστερον ὅσα περὶ αὐτῶν ἀκούσαι ποθεῖς." ταύτα δὲ αὐτῶν ἔτι λεγόντων παρῆν ἡ παῖς σων 287 τοῖς ἐπικατεύουσί τῶν ποιμένων. καὶ δέκινουσι τοῦ Ἰάκωβου αὐτῇ λέγοντες, ὡς ξένοις οὕτως ἦκοι τὰ περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἀναπτυκάμονεος. ἡ δὲ ἡσθεῖα ὑπὸ νηπιότητος τῇ παρουσίᾳ τοῦ Ἰακώβου ἁνέκρινεν αὐτῶν, τίς τε ὁ ὁ καὶ πόθεν ἦκοι πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν χρείας ἡγήμονος, τῷ γέγεντο δὲ δυνατῶν εἶναι αὐτοῖς παρέχειν ὃν ἀφικνεῖται δεόμενοσ.

288 (4) Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὐχ ὑπὸ τῆς συγγενείας οὐδὲ

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

(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 wouldst 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. There-
upon 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

* Sc. with Tell: LXX ἠπέλεξεν τλαιν.
  b LXX ὀλεσε θεοῦ.
  c om. RO.
τῆς διὰ ταύτην εὐνοίας, ἀλλ᾽ ἔρωτε τῆς παιδὸς ἡπτηέεις ἐκπέπληκτό τε τοῦ κάλλους ὅρων οὕτως ἔχουσαν, ὡς ἁλλιγαί τῶν τότε γυναικῶν ἡμῶν, καὶ φησιν "ἀλλ᾽ ἐμοὶ πρὸς σὲ καὶ πατέρα τὸν σὸν, εἰπέρ Λαβάνου παῖς τυγχάνεις, οἴκειότης ἐστὶ προσβευτέρα τῆς τε σῆς καὶ ἐμῆς γενέσεως."

289 ἔκ Θέρρου γάρ Ἄβραμος καὶ Ἄρράνης καὶ Ναξώρης ἦσαν νῦϊ, διὸ Βαβουήλος ὁ σῶς πάππος Ναξώρου γίνεται παῖς, Ἄβραμον δὲ καὶ τῆς Ἄρρανου Σάρρας Ἰσακὸς ὁ ἐμὸς πατήρ. ἐγγιν δὲ καὶ νεότερον τοῦθ ἦμεις τῆς συγγενείας ὁμήρου πρὸς ἄλληλους ἔχομεν. Ἄρρακκα γάρ μητήρ ἐμὴ Λαβάνου πατρὸς τοῦ σοῦ ἀδελφὴ πατρός τε τοῦ αὐτοῦ καὶ μητρός, ἀνεφιολ δὲ ἐσμὲν ἦμεις ἐγώ τε καὶ σὺ, καὶ νῦν διέθρη ἦκω ἀσπασόμενος τε ὑμᾶς καὶ τὴν προπάρχουσαν ἦμαῖν συγγενεῖαν ἀνανεσόμενος." ἦ δὲ ὑπὸ μνήμης, ὅποια φιλεῖ συντυχώνει τοῖς νέοις, προπεποθυμένη παρὰ τοῦ πατρός τὰ περὶ τῆς Ἄρρακκας καὶ τοῦς γονέως εἰδώλα πολυβύτασι αὐτῆς τὸ ὅνομα, ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν πατέρα εὐνοίας ἑκάκρυς γενομένη περιβάλλει 292 τὸν Ἰακώβου, καὶ κατασπασμένη τὴν εὐκταιριο- τάτην καὶ μεγίστην ἡδονήν αὐτῶν κομίζαι τῷ πατρί καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας ἀπασίν ἐλεγεν ἐπὶ τῇ μνήμῃ τῆς μητρός αὐτοῦ κειμένῳ καὶ πρὸς μόνῃ ταύτῃ τυγχάνοντι φανεῖσθαι δ᾽ αὐτῷ παντὸς ἀντάξιον ἀγαθοῦ. χωρεῖν τε ἐκέλευεν ἴδῃ πρὸς τὸν πατέρα καὶ ἐπέστη πρὸς αὐτὸν ἡγουμένη καὶ τῆς ἡδονῆς μὴ ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὸ πλέον αὐτῶν βραδύτων.

293 (5) Ταύτ᾽ εἶποῦσα παρῆγεν αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν Λαβάνον, καὶ γνωρισθεῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ μητρῶς αὐτῶς 140
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 \textsuperscript{a} and Nahor were sons of Therrus, \textsuperscript{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 \textsuperscript{c}; and being recognized by his uncle he for his

\textsuperscript{a} Bibl. Haran. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{b} Bibl. Terah. \hspace{1cm} \textsuperscript{c} In Genesis Laban runs to meet him, and brings him into his house.
JOSEPHUS

te ἀδείης ὃν ἐν φίλοις γενόμενος κάκεινος πολλήν
294 ἡδονὴν παρεῖχεν ἀδοκήτως ἐπιφανεῖς. μετὰ δὲ
οὗ πολλὰς ἡμέρας ὁ Λάβανος χαίρειν μὲν ἐπ᾿ ἀυτῷ
παρόντι μειζόνως ἢ ὡς τῷ λόγῳ δηλώσειεν ἔλεγεν,
tὴν δ᾿ αἰτίαν δὲ ἢν ἀφύκται μητέρα τε καὶ
πατέρα προσβύτας καταλυτῶν καὶ θεραπείας τῆς
παρὰ αὐτοῦ δεομένους ἀνεπυθάνετο· παρέξειν γὰρ
295 αὐτῷ καὶ πρὸς ἀπασαν ἐπαμυνεῖν· χρείαν. Ἱακώβος
δὲ πασαν αὐτῷ τὴν αἰτίαν δυνατὸ λέγων Ἰσαὰκος
γενέσθαι παίδας διδόμους αὐτὸν τε καὶ Ἡσαῦν,
ἂν, ἐπεὶ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς εὐχῶν διήμαρτε σοφία
τῆς μητρὸς εἰς αὐτὸν γενομένων, ἀποκτείναι ζητεῖν
ἀὐτὸν ὡς ἀφηρημένον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας
cαὶ ἀγαθῶν ὅν ὁ πατὴρ ηὐζατο· ταύτην
τε εἶναι τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἐνθάδε παρούσας κατὰ
tὴν τῆς μητρὸς ἐντολὴν. “πάπποι ὑμῖν ἀδελφοὶ
tυγχάνουσι καὶ πλέον τοῦ κατ᾿ ἐκείνους
sburgovoi τῆς μητρὸς προσλαμβάνει. ἔρυμα δὲ τῆς
ἐμῆς,” φησίν, “ἀποδημίας σὲ τε καὶ τὸν θεοῦ
ποιούμενος ἀδρῶν τοὺς παροῦσα.”
297 (6) Λάβανος δὲ καὶ διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὑπερηχεῖται πάσης αὐτῷ μεταδώσεις φιλανθρωπίας
καὶ διὰ τὴν μητέρα, πρὸς ὧν τὴν εὐνοιαν διὰ τῆς
περὶ αὐτὸν σπουδὴς ἐνδείξεσθαι καὶ μὴ παρούσης
πομπιών τε γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐπιμελήτην καταστήσειν
ἐφασκε καὶ προνομίας ἀντὶ τούτων ἀξιώσειν, καὶ
πρὸς τοὺς ἱδίους ἀπαλλάττεσθαι γονεῖς βουλόμενον
μετὰ διώρων ἐπανήξειν καὶ τιμῆς ὅσης εἰκὸς ὑπὲρ
298 τυχεῖν τὸν ὑπὸ συγγενῆ. Ἱακώβον δὲ ἀσμενῶς
ταῦτα ἀκούσαντος καὶ φήσαντος ἦδεις πάντα
μένων παρ᾿ αὐτῷ πόνον εἰς ἡδονὴν ὑπομενεῖν τῆς
1 Naber: ἐπαμυνεῖν codd.
part now felt secure among friends and withal afforded them great pleasure by his unlooked-for appearance. A few days later Laban said that his presence indeed gave him more joy than he could express, but he asked him for what reason he had come, leaving his mother and father at an age when they would need his care, and assured him of his aid and succour in his every need. Jacob then recounted the whole matter to him, saying that Isaac had twin sons, himself and Esau; and Esau, being defrauded of his father’s blessings, which through his mother’s artifice had been bestowed upon himself, sought to kill him for having deprived him of God’s destined gift of the kingdom and of the benefits invoked by his father; that was the reason for his coming thither in compliance with his mother’s behest. “For,” said he, “our grandfathers were brothers, and my mother brings us into yet closer relationship than that. And so, placing myself on my sojourn here under thy protection and God’s, I have confidence in my present state.”

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

\[ \text{Jacob’s service and marriages.} \]

\[ ^2 \text{Niese: ποιει codd.} \]
\[ ^3 \text{Bakker: ἀναδεικνυσθαι codd.} \]
\[ ^4 \text{προάνεθi ROE.} \]
\[ ^5 \text{Dindorf: ὑπομενει codd.} \]
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ékeíνου, μεθὸν δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου λαβεῖν ἀξιοῦντος τὸν Ὁραχῆλας γάμουν, διὰ τα τὰ ἄλλα τιμῆς ἀξίας παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ τυγχάνειν οὐσία καὶ ὅτι διάκονος τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφίξεως γένοιτο· ὁ γὰρ τῆς παιδὸς ἔρως αὐτὸν ἴμαγκασε πουήσασθαι τοὺς περὶ τούτου 299 λόγους. Δάβανος δὲ ἤσθε εἰς τούτοις ἐπιευκεῖ τὸν γάμον αὐτῷ τῆς παιδὸς οὐκ ἄλλον ἀμέλεως γαμφρόν εὐξάμενον ἠλθεῖν· εἰ μὲντοι παρ᾽ αὐτῷ μένοι τινὰ χρόνον, τούτῳ ποιήσειν· εἰς γὰρ Χαναάδος οὐκ ἦν πέμψειν τὴν θυγατέρα, μεταμέλειν γὰρ αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ τῆς ἀδελφῆς κήδους ἐκεῖ συναφθέντος. 300 τού δ᾽ Ιακώβου τούταις συγχωροῦντος ἐπὶ τὸ ἐτῶν χρόνον συντιθείται· τοσάδε γὰρ αὐτῷ κέκρεται θη- τεῦσαν τῷ πενθερῷ, ἵνα τῆς ἀρετῆς πέφαγαν δοῦν ἐπιγνωσθῇ μᾶλλον τις εἰς· καὶ προσδεξάμενος τὸν λόγον Δάβανος τοῦ χρόνου διελθόντος προνύθει 301 τὴν εὐωκίαν τῶν γάμων. νυκτὸς δ᾽ ἐπιγενομένης οὐδὲν προσθηκήμενος τῷ Ιακώβῳ παρακατακλίνει τὴν ἐτέραν τῶν θυγατέρων προσβυτέραν τῇ τῆς Ὁραχῆλας καὶ τῇ ὧν οὐκ εὑρετήτω· συνελθὼν δ᾽ ἐκεῖνὸς ὑπὸ μέθης καὶ σκότους, εἶτα μεθ᾽ 302 ἡμέραν γνοὺς, ἀδικίαι ἐπεκάλει Δαβάνω. ὁ δὲ συγχωρῶμην ἤτειτο τῆς ἀνάγκης, υφ᾽ ἢ ταύτα πράξειν· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ κακουργίαν αὐτῷ τῷ Ἐβελον παρασχεῖν, ἀλλ᾽ υφ᾽ ἐτέρου μεῖζόνος νευρ- κημένον. τοῦτο μέντοι γ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐμποδίζειν πρὸς τὸν Ὁραχῆλας γάμουν, ἀλλ᾽ ἐρωτὶ διάσεων ταύτην μετ᾽ ἄλλην ἐπταστάν. πείθεται δ᾽ ὁ Ιακώβος,

1 πέμψει Niese.

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

* Greek, here and throughout, “Leila.”

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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. 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 but from another more overpowering motive. 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

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* Weill suspects a lacuna in the text; the motive is stated in Gen. xxxix. 26, "It is not so done in our place, to give the younger before the firstborn."
οὐδὲν γὰρ ἑτέρον αὐτῷ ποιεῖν ὁ τῆς κόρης ἔρως ἐπέτρεπε, καὶ διελθούσης ἀλλής ἐπταστίας τὴν Ῥαχήλαν παρελαβεῖν.

303 (7) Ἡσαν δὲ ἑκάτεραις θεραπανίδες τοῦ πατρὸς δόντος, Ζελφα μὲν Λείας Ῥαχήλας δὲ Βάλλα, δοῦλαι μὲν᾽ οὐδαμῶς ὑποτεταγμέναι δὲ. καὶ τῆς Λείας ἢπτετο δεινῶς ὁ πρὸς τὴν ἁδελφὴν ἔρως τάνδρος, προσεδόκα τε παιδῶν γενομένων ἔσεσθαι τιμία ἰκέτευε τε τὸν θεὸν διερκάως. καὶ γενομένου παιδὸς ἄρρενος καὶ διὰ τούτο πρὸς αὐτὴν ἐπεστραμμένου τάνδρος Ῥουβήλου ὅνομάζει τὸν νιὼν, διότι κατ᾽ ἐλεον αὐτῆ τοῦ θεοῦ γένοιτο· τούτῳ γὰρ σημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. τεκνοῦνται δὲ αὐτῇ καὶ τρεῖς ἑτέροι μετὰ χρόνων· Συμεών, ἀποσημαίνει δὲ τὸ ὄνομα τὸ ἐπήκοον αὐτῆ τὸν θεὸν γεγονόντα, εἰτα Λείας, κοινωνίας οἶον βεβαιωθῆς, μεθ᾽ ὀν 305 Ἰουδᾶς, εὐχαριστήσαν τοῦτο δηλοῖ. Ῥαχήλα δὲ φοβομενή, μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐθειαν τῆς ἁδελφῆς ἡττονος παρὰ τάνδρος μοῖρας τυχάνη, παρακατελέλυε τῷ Ἰακώβῳ τὴν αὐτῆς θεραπανίδα Βάλλαν. γίνεται δὲ παιδὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς Δάν, θεόκριτον ἀν τινας ἐποιεῖν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνῶν γλώσσαν καὶ μετὰ αὐτῶν Ἕβραεσ, μηχανητὸς οἶον, διὰ τὸ ἀντιτεχνάσασθαι πρὸς τὴν εὐθειὰν τῆς ἁδελφῆς.

1 + ὁ δὲ ΡΟ. 2 Σαμεών Μ.

* Ὅ Λατ. (ex machinationibus): ἁμηχανητος (εὐμηχανητος) rell.
the damsel permitting of no other course, and after the lapse of seven years more he won Rachel.

(7) The two sisters had each a handmaid given them by their father—Leah had Zelphah* 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 "thanksgiving." Rachel, fearing that her sister's fecundity would lessen her own share in her husband's affections, now gave as concubine to Jacob her handmaid Balla. By her he had an infant, Dan, 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 (παθς λεοντώς)." 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.

* Heb. ʼalama "hear."

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

† Meaning in Heb. "he judged."

* Bibl. Naphtali (Nephtali): the verb ʼiphtal (translated "wrestle"), from which Scripture derives the name, means rather "twist," suggesting tortuousness, cunning.
306 τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ Λεία ποιεῖ πρὸς τὸ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔργον ἀντιτεχνισμένης παρακατακλίνει γάρ τὴν αὐτῆς θεράπαιναν, γίνεται τε καὶ ἐκ τῆς Ζέλφης νιὸς Γάδας, τυχαίον ἄν τις καλέσειεν αὐτὸν, καὶ μετ' αὐτῶν Ἀσηρος, μακαριστῆς λέγοντ' ἂν εἴ 307 ὃν πρὸς εὐκλείαν¹ προσελάβανε. Ἦρωβηλου δὲ τοῦ πρεσβυτάτου τῶν νιῶν Λείας μαινδραγόρου μῆλα κομίζοντος τῇ μητρὶ 'Ραχήλα θεασαμένη παρακαλεῖ μεταδοῦναι δὲ ἐπιθυμίας τοῦ βρῶματος γενομένη, τῆς δ' οὖ πειθομένης, ἀρκεῖοι δ δ' αὐτὴν ἀξίονης, ὅτι τῆς τιμῆς αὐτῆς ἄφελοιτο τῆς παρὰ τοῦ ἄνδρός, 'Ραχήλα πεπαίνουσα τὸν θυμὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς παραχωρήσεως αὐτῆς τάνδρος ἔλεγε κομησμένου παρ' αὐτῇ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἐσπέραν.

308 τῆς δὲ προσιεμένης τὴν χάριν 'Ιάκωβος συγκαθε-εύδει τῇ Λείᾳ 'Ραχήλα χαριζόμενος. πάλιν οὖν γίνονται πάθεις αὐτῆς, Ἰσααχάρης μὲν σημαίνων τὸν ἐκ μισθοῦ γενόμενον, Ζαβουλῶν δὲ ἰδεχρασμένον εὐνοία τῇ πρὸς αὐτὴν, θυγάτηρ δὲ Δείνα. χρόνοις δ' ύστερον καὶ 'Ραχήλα γίνεται [δ'] Ἰω-σήπος νιῶς προσοθήκην γενησομένου τοῦ δηλοῦ.

309 (8) Τοῦτον ἄπαντα τὸν χρόνον, ἐτη δ' ἐστὶν εἰκόσι, ἐποίμαινε τῷ πενθερῷ μετὰ τοῦτον δ' ἥξιον τὰς γυναικές ἀναλαβὼν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν τὸν δὲ πενθεροῦ μὴ συγχωρήσοντος κρύφα 310 τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπενόει. τῶν γυναικῶν οὖν ἀπεπειράτο, πῶς ἔχοιεν πρὸς τὴν ἀποδημίαν, τῶν

¹ RO: +τῇ Λείᾳ τελλ.
² μετὰ τῶν δ' RO: μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ most mss.

* Gad, “the name of an Aramaean and Phoenician god of Luck, mentioned in Is. lxv. 11” (Skinner).
* Bibl. Asher (‘Λσήφ), 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 Gen.xxx. 14. 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 Flight of 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."

"Genesis (xxx. 20) offers two derivations, from zebad, "endow" (zebed, "dowry"), or zebul, "dwell": Josephus seems to connect the word with ἔβαλ, "a pledge."

"Or "of something to come." Josephus adopts the second of the two Biblical etymologies of his own name, "May Jehovah add" (LXX προσβάλω σε θεόν μεξ ἐπερον νῦν, Gen.xxx. 24).
δ' ἔχουσών ἤδειος Ἄραχῆλα καὶ τοὺς τύπους τῶν θεῶν, οὓς σέβειν πατρίους ὑπατα σώματον ἥν, συνανελομένη συναπεδίδρασκε μετὰ τῆς ἀδελφῆς· οἱ τε ἐκατέρων παῖδες καὶ ἀἱ θεραπαίνηδες σὺν τοὺς νέοις εἰ τέ τις ἢν κτήσεις αὐτῶν· ἐπήγετο δὲ Ἰάκωβος καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων τῆς ἑλεοῦν Λαβάνου μὴ προεγνωκότος. τοὺς δὲ τύπους ἐπεφέρετο τῶν θεῶν ἩΡαχῆλα καταφρονεῖν μὲν τῆς τοιαύτης τιμῆς τῶν θεῶν διδαξαίτως αὐτὴν Ἰάκωβον, ἵνα δ' εἰ καταληφθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς διωχθέντες ἔχοι τούτους προσφυγοῦσα συγγνώμης τιθάνειν.

312 (9) Λαβάνος δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν πρῶτην γυναῖκα τὴν τε Ἰάκωβου ἀναχώρησιν καὶ τῶν θυγατέρων δεισοπαθῶν ἤλαινεν ἐπὶ αὐτῶν μετὰ δυνάμεως ἐπειγομένως, καὶ καθ' ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν ἐπὶ πάνω ἐλπίζων λαμβάνει προκαθαρισμένους. καὶ τότε μὲν, ἐσπερα γὰρ ἦν, ἠσύχαζεν· ὅναρ δὲ ὁ θεὸς ἐπιστὰς αὐτῷ παρῆνεσε λαβόντι τὸν γαμβρόν καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας ἡρεμεῖν καὶ μηδὲν εἰς αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τολμᾶν, σπουδάσει δὲ πολεισθαί πρὸς Ἰάκωβον, αὐτὸς λέγων ἐκείνῳ συμμαχήσεις, εἰ καταφρονήσας αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐλεοῦς ἤρθεις αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης.

313 Λαβάνος δὲ τοιαύτην αὐτῶ προφήτεσσας γεγενέμενης μεθ' ἡμέραν τῶν Ἰάκωβον εἰς λόγους προκαλεσάμενος καὶ δηλώσας αὐτῷ τὸ ὅναρ, ἔπει πρὸς αὐτοῦ ἠλθεὶς πεισθεῖς, ἤρειτο κατάγορεῖν αὐτοῦ προφήτας ὃτι καὶ πέντε αὐτῶν ἔλθοντα πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ πάντων ἀπορον ὑπεδέξατο καὶ

*a Midrashic addition. For other motives given for the theft of the Teraphim cf. Pirḳe 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.” 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.

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 ἐμὰς συνεξεύξα τὴν εὐνοιάν, σου τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς τούτους αὐξήσεσθαι 316 λογιζόμενον. οὐ δὲ οὕτω τῆς μητρὸς τῆς σαυτοῦ καὶ [κοινωνίας] 1 ἦς ἔχεις πρὸς ἐμὲ συγγενείας οὕτω γυναικῶν ἀς ἐγκείσας αἰδῶ ποιησάμενος οὐδὲ τέκνων ὃν εἰμὶ πάππος φροντίσας, ἐχρήσο μοι πολέμου νόμω, κτήσῃ μὲν ἄγων τὴν ἐμῆν θυγατέρας δὲ ἀναπείσας ἀποδράναι τὸν γεγενηκότα, 316 οἱρὰ τε πάτρια βαστάσας οὐχ θερόμενος ὑπὸ τε τῶν ἑμῶν τιμηθέντα προγόνων καὶ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ βραχκείας τῆς αὐτῆς ἔκειν τοίς ἀξιωθέντα· καὶ ταῦτα ἅ μηδὲ οἱ ποιησάμενος τοὺς ἐξόρους ἐδρασαν ὁ συγγενής σοι καὶ τῆς μὲν ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς υἱός, θυγατέρων δὲ τῶν ἑμῶν ἀνήρ, ἔνοις δὲ καὶ ἐφέστις τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκίας γεγενημένος 317 ἐδρασαν." ταῦτα εἰπόντος Λαβάνου Ἰάκωβος ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ μόνος πατρίδος ἔρωτα τὸν θεόν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πᾶσιν ἐμφύσασι, καὶ μετὰ τοσοῦτον χρόνον 318 καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῷ καταλθεῖν εἰς ταύτην. "ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς λείας ἢς ἐγκαλεῖς," φησιν, "ἄδικόν αὐτὸς ἂν εὑρεθῇ ἐπ’ ἄλλῳ κρυτῇ ὑπὲρ γὰρ ἢς ἔχρην σι χάριν ἡμῖν ἔχειν καὶ φυλαχθεῖσας υφ’ ἡμῶν καὶ πλεῖονος γεγενημένης, ὑπὲρ ταύτης πῶς ὁ διαμαρτάνεις τῶν δικαίων χαλεπαίνων ἐμοί, εἰ μορίαν αὐτῆς ὁλίγην ἀλλόντες ἔχομεν; περὶ μὲν τού γε τῶν θυγατέρων ἦς μὴ κατ’ ἐμὴν κακουργίαν ἀπαναστήσατος ἀκολουθεῖν, ἀλλὰ κατε ἐμύνοικον δικαίων, ἢν γυναῖκα γαμεταῖς πρὸς τούς συνοικοῦντας εἶναι συμβεβηκέν ἐποντα τοῖνυν οὐχ ὡς ἐμοὶ τοσοῦτον, 319 ὁσον τοῖς παισίν αὐτῶν." καὶ ταῦτα 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
τοῦ μεθέν ἀδικεῖν αὐτὸς ἔλεγε, προσενεκάλει δὲ καὶ κατηγορίαν ἐποιεῖτο, ὅτι μητρός ἦν ἄδελφος τῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ συζεύξας αὐτῷ τὰς θυγατέρας ἐπιτάγμασιν ἐκτρυχώσεις χαλεποῖς εἴκοσι ἕτοιμον ἕν αὐτοῦς κατασχοῦν. καὶ τὰ μὲν προβάσει τῶν γάμων ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γενόμενα καίπερ ὅντα χαλεπὰ κοινότερα ἐφασκε, χεῖρω δὲ τὰ μετὰ τοὺς 320 γάμους καὶ ἂ τις ἄν ἔπαθεν ἔχθρος: καὶ γὰρ σφόδρα κακοῦργως ὁ Λάβανος ἐχρήσατο τῷ Ἰακώβῳ ὄργῳ ὡς αὐτῷ τὸν θεόν πρὸς ὃ τι θελήσῃς συλλαμβανόμενον ὑποσχεῖτο τῶν τεχθεσιωμένων αὐτῷ παρέξεις ἐστὶ ὅτε μὲν ὃ τι καὶ γένους λεικόν, ποτὲ δ' αὐτὸ τὰ μέλαια τῶν γενναίων. 321 πληθυνώντων δὲ τῶν ἐπ' ὀνόματι τῷ Ἰακώβου τικτομένων, τὴν μὲν εἰς τὸ παρόν οὐκ ἐφύλαττε πολυν, εἰ δὲ παρέξειν ἐπηγγέλλετο διὰ τὸ ἐποφθαλμῶν τῷ πλήθει τῆς κτήσεως, ἐπαγγελλόμενος μὲν διὰ τὸ δυσελπιστὸν γενέσθαι τοσαῦτα, ψευδόμενος δὲ ἐπὶ γενναίων.

322 (10) Περὶ μέντοι τῶν Ἴρωμάτων ἐκέλευσεν ἔρευναν ποιεῖσθαι: δεξαμενοῦ δὲ Λάβανου τὴν ἔρευναν Ἄραχθα πυγναομένη κατατίθησιν τοὺς τύπους εἰς τὴν σάγην τῆς φεροῦσας αὐτῆς καμήλου ἐκαθέζετο δὲ φάσκουσα τὴν κατὰ φύσιν καθαρῶν 323 αὐτῇ ἐνοχλεῖν, καὶ Λάβανος μὲν ἀφίσταται τῆς ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἔρευνης οὐκ ἀν οἰκεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα μετὰ τοιούτου πάθους τοὺς τύπους προσελθεῖν, ποιεῖται δ' ὀρκοῦς πρὸς Ἰακώβου οὐδενὸς αὐτῷ μητρικακτῆσιν τῶν γενομένων, ἀλλὰ κάκεινος

1  τὸ ἔχθρος ἐφύγετο ἐν SPL: τὸς ἄν ἔπαθεν (om. ἔπαθεν M) ἔχθρος ἐφύγει rell.
2  ROE: τὸ ἔχθρος rell.

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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 incommode 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."
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324 ἀγαπήσειν αὐτοῦ τὰς θυγατέρας. καὶ τὰς πίστεις τὰς ἐπὶ τούτους ἐποιήσαντο ὑπὲρ ὅρων τινῶν, ἐφ’ οἷς στήλην ἀνέθεσαν κατὰ βωμοῦ σχῆμα, ὅθεν Γαλάδης\(^1\) λέγεται [ὁ] βουνός, ἀφ’ οὗ καὶ νῦν Γαλαδηνήν καλοῦσι τὴν γῆν. ἐστιαθείσων δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρκοῖς ὁ μὲν Λάβανος ἀνέζευξεν.

325 (XX. 1) Ἰακώβως δὲ εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν προῆνε ἑαυτοῦ ποιησάμωσα συνετύγχανεν ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας ὑπ’ ἀγορεύοντα περὶ τῶν ἐς ὑστεροῦν καὶ τῶν μὲν τόπων ἑκείνων προσαγορεύει θεοῦ στρατόπεδον, βουλόμενος δὲ εἰδέναι, τί ἐὰν ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ φρονεῖ, τοὺς γνωσμένους ἔκαστα μετὰ ἀκριβείας προὔπημι. 326 δεδώς αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν προτέραν ὑπομίαν. ἐν-ετέλετο δὲ τοὺς περιπομένους λέγειν πρὸς τὸν Ἡσαύν, ὅτι νομίζας Ἰακώβως ἀδικον συνδιατάσσομαι αὐτὸν τῇ ὑγρῇ τῆς χώρας ἐκῶν ὑπεξέλθοι, καὶ νῦν τὸν χρόνον ἑκατὸν ἡγούμενος εἰναι διαλλάκτην ἑπανήκοι γνωάκας τε καὶ παίδας ἐπαγόμενος μετὰ τοῦ πορισθέντος βίου, μετὰ τῶν τιμωτάτων ἑαυτὸν ἑκείνῳ παραδίδους, ὅτι κρίνοι μέγιστον ἀγαθὸν τὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν συμμεταλμαβάνειν τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένων. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα ἐυθὲς, Ἡσαύν δὲ περιγραφή γίνεται καὶ τῷ ἀδελφῷ ὑπήρτα σῦν ὀπλίταις τετρακοσίοις. καὶ Ἰακώβως πλενθανόμενος ἤκειν αὐτὸν ὑπαντησόμενον μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἤν περίφοβος, τῷ μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐπίθετος σωτηρίας ἐπέτρεπε καὶ πρόνοιαν εἴχεν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων, ὅπως αὐτὸς ἀπαθῆς σώζοι τοὺς σῦν αὐτῷ κρατήσας τῶν ἔχθρῶν εἰ θέλουσιν ἀδικεῖν.

\(^1\) Γαλάδης Μ.: Γαλαδηνή ἐτῆς.

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*Strictly "a slab": Josephus takes over the Greek word στέλε from the LXX.*

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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.

328 νείμας οὖν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς μὲν προὔπεμπε, τοὺς δὲ λειπομένους ἄσσον ἐκέλευεν ἀκολουθεῖν, ὅπως εἰ βιασθεῖν οἱ προπεμφθέντες ἐπιθεμένου τοῦ ἄδελφου, καταφυγὴν ἔχοντας τοὺς ἐπιμένος. 329 καὶ τούτον διατάξας τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν τρόπον ἑκμεταίρα ὑπὸ δώρα κομίζοντας τάξεις ὑπὸ ὑγιά, δέ ἦν τὰ πεμπόμενα καὶ πλῆθος τετραπόδων ποικίλων, ἀ δὴ τίμια τοῖς ληφομένοις ἐμελλέν 330 ἐσεθαί παρὰ τὸ σπανίζειν αὐτῶν. ἃς τε ὑπὸ οἱ πεμφθέντες ἐκ διαλειμμάτων, ἐνα συνεχόστερον ἐνυγχάνοντες πολλοὶ δοκῶσιν ἀνήσειν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν δωρεῶν τῆς ὀργῆς, εἰ διαμένοι τεθυμομένοις· ἐπὶ μέντοι καὶ λόγους χρηστοῖς ὁμιλεῖν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐβηρτο τοῖς πεμπόμενοις.

331 (2) Ταῦτα συνεθεῖς διὰ πᾶσης τῆς ἡμέρας νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἕκυκεν τοὺς σὺν αὐτῷ· καὶ χειμάρρουν τινὰ Ιαβακχον λεγόμενα διαβεβηκότων Ἰάκωβος ὑπολειμμένοιο φαντάσματε συντυχόν διεπάλαινε, ἐκείνου προκατάρχοντος τῆς μάχης, ἐκράτει τε 332 τοῦ φαντάσματος, ὡδὴ καὶ φαντὶ χρῆται καὶ λόγοις πρὸς αὐτὸν, χαίρειν τε τοῖς γεγενημένοις παραινοῦν καὶ μὴ μικρὸν κρατεῖν ὑπολαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ θείῳ ἄγγελῳ νεικηκέναι, καὶ σημείον ἔγγεινοι τούτῳ μεγάλων ἀγαθῶν ἐσομένων καὶ τοῦ μηδέποτε τὸ γένος ἐκλείψειν αὐτοῦ, μηδὲ ὑπέρτερον αὐθρώπων 333 τινὰ τῆς Ἰωκύλου ἐσεθαί τῆς ἐκείνου. ἐκέλευε τε καλεῖν αὐτὸν Ἰσραήλων· σημαινεῖ δὲ τοῦτο κατὰ τὴν Ἐβραίων γλαύτταν τὸν ἀντιστάτην ἀγγέλων

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1 ἃς τε codd.
2 μικρὸν MPL.
3 καλεῖσθαι SPL. Lat.: perhaps αὐτῶν should be read for αὐτῶν.
4 RO: ἀντιστάτατα tell.

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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 Jabacco, 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


* = "striver with God," or "God strives."
JOSEPHUS

334 ἐπειδὴ ταῦτα μέντοι προφέλεγεν Ἰακώβου δεήθεντος, αἰσθόμενος γὰρ ἀγγελον εἶναι θεοῦ, τίνα μοίραν ἔξει σημαίνειν παρεκάλει. καὶ τὸ μὲν 335 φάντασμα ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀφανές γίνεται. ἢσθεῖς δὲ τούτοις Ἰακώβος Φαρουήλον ἄνωμάζει τῶν τόπων, δὲ σημαίνει θεοῦ πρόσωπον. καὶ γενομένου διὰ τὴν μάχην ἀλγήματος αὐτοῦ περὶ τὸ νεῦρον τὸ πλατὺ αὐτὸς τέ απέχεται τῆς τούτων βρώσεως καὶ δι’ ἐκείνων οὐδὲ ἦμιν ἔστων ἐκδόμου.

336 Πλησίον δ’ ἦδη τὸν ἀδελφὸν πυνθανόμενος κελεύει προφέλεις τῶν γυναικῶν ἔκατεραν καὶ αὐτὴν μετὰ τῶν θεραπαινίδων, ἵνα πόρωθην ἀφορσίζῃ τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνδρῶν μαχομένων, εἰ τούτῳ δικήσεις Ἰσαὰκς προσεκινεῖ δ’ αὐτὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐγγύς αὐτοῦ γενομένων οὐδὲν περὶ αὐτοῦ δόλων ὕπονοιτα, καὶ δ’ Ἰσαὰκς ἀποσάμενος αὐτὸν ἀνήρετο τῶν παιδῶν τὸν ὀχλον καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας, ηὐζου τὰ μαθῶν περὶ αὐτῶν τὸ πῶν καὶ αὐτῶς συμβαδίζει αὐτοὺς ἐν τῷ πατέρα, Ἰακώβου δὲ προφασιζομένου τῶν κόπων τῶν ὑποξυγίων ὑπεχώρηςε εἰς Σάεπαν’ ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἐποιεῖτο τὴν διάμοιραν προσαγορεύσα τὸ χωρίον ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτοῦ πρεσβύτευσες [δασεῖαν].

337 (xxi. 1) Ἰακώβου δὲ ἀφίκετο εἰς τὰς ἐκ νῦν Ἐκκλησιὰς λεγομένας, ὡθεν εἰς Σάκκμον παρῆν. Χαναάλων δ’ ἦστον ἡ πόλις, τῶν δὲ Σκαματῶν ἐστὶν ἄγοντων Δανά, θυγατὴρ ἦν Ἰακώβου

1 Probably a gloss (“Bushy”).

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*a* Bibl. Peniel (xxx εἰςοὶ θεοῦ).
*b* Commonly explained as the sciatic nerve, running from thigh to ankle.
*c* Bibl. Seir (Σειρὰ).
*d* So xxx renders, correctly, the Heb. Succoth, Gen. xxxiii. 17.
*e* After xxx : Heb. Shechem.
he gave at the request of Jacob, who, perceiving him
to be a messenger of God, besought him to declare
what destiny was in store for him. The apparition,
having thus spoken, vanished; and Jacob, delighted
with the vision, named the place Phanuel, that is to
say, "the face of God." And because in the contest
he had suffered injury near the broad sinew, 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, 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," whence he passed to Sikim,
which is a city of the Canaanites. As the Sikimes
were holding a festival, Dina(h), Jacob's only 1

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 (A.P. i.
216). According to the paraphrase of this poem given in
Eusebius, Praep. Ev. ix. 22, Theodotus related that ἡς Δεινέαν
πάρθενον εδειλε τὰ Σικίμης ἐνθεί πανηγύρις εδόθη, βουλομένη
θεάσασθαι τὴν πόλιν. The passage, with Rabbinical parallels,
is quoted by M. Weill.
μόνη, παρήλθεν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὁμομένη τὸν κόσμον τῶν ἐπιχωρίων γυναικῶν. θεασάμενος δὲ αὐτήν Συγχέμης ὥρα 'Εμμώρου τοῦ βασιλέως ὑώδες φθείρει δὲ ἀρπαγής καὶ διάσωσις ἐρωτικῶς ἱκετεύει τὸν 338 πατέρα λαβεῖν αὐτῷ πρὸς γάμον τὴν κόρην. δὲ πεισθεῖς ἤκε πρὸς τὸν Ἰάκωβον δεόμενος τῷ παιδὶ αὐτοῦ Συγχέμη συζεύγει τῇ Δεώνι καὶ νόμον. Ἰάκωβος δὲ οὐτ' ἀντιλέγετι έχων διὰ τὸ ἀξίωμα τοῦ παρακαλουτὸς οὐτὲ νόμιμον ἡγούμενος ἀλλοφύλῳ συνοικίζει τὴν θυγατέρα ἡζέσκει ἐπιτρέψαι 339 αὐτῷ βουλήν ἀγαγεῖν περὶ ὧν παρακαλεῖ. αὐτῆς μὲν οὖν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐλπίζων Ἰάκωβον παρέξειν τὸν γάμον, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τοῖς παισὶ δηλώσας τὴν τε φθορὰν τῆς ἀδελφῆς καὶ τοῦ Ἐμμώρου τὴν δέον θέσκει βουλεύεσθαι τί δέι ποιεῖν. οἱ μὲν οὖν πλείους ἡσύχαζον γνώμης ἀποροῦντες, Συμεών 340 δὲ καὶ Δεών ὑμομήτριοι τῆς κόρης ἀδελφοὶ συν- τιθένται πρὸς ἀλλήλους τοιούτῳ τῶν πράξεων ὁδύσει ἐφρτῆς καὶ τῶν Σικμιματῶν εἰς ἀνέκου καὶ εὐ- ωχίαν τετραμμένον νύκτωρ πρώτοις ἐπιβάλλοντες τοῖς φύλαξι κτείνουσι κοιμώμενοι καὶ παρελ- βόντες εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναρθοῦν πᾶν ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν βασιλέα σὺν αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, φείδουται δὲ τῶν γυναικῶν, πράξαντες δὲ ταῦτα δία τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμης ἐπανάγουσι τῇ ἀδελφῆς. 341 (2) Ἰακώβῳ δὲ ἐκπλαγέντι πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν γεγονότων καὶ χαλεπαίνοντι πρὸς τοὺς υἱοὺς θεοῦ παραστάς ἐκέλευσεθαρρεῖν, ἀγνίσαντι δὲ τάς σκηνὰς θυσίας ἐπετελέειν, ἃς τὸ πρῶτον ἀπιῶν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν ἐπὶ τῇ ὁφει τοῦ ὀνείρου ἡμέρας.

1 Σεμεών RM.

* Bibli. 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, b when the Sikimates 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.
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342 ἀγνίζων οὖν τοὺς ἐπομένους ἐπιτυγχάνει τοῖς Λαβάνῳ θεὸς, οὐ γὰρ ἢπιστατο ὑπὸ τῆς Ὁραχίλης κλαπέντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς ἐκρυφεῖν ἐν Σικίμοις εἰς γῆν ὑπὸ τινα δρόν, ἀπάρας τε τοὺς τεθεόντας ἐν Βαιθήλοις ζῆνεν, ὅπου τὸ ὄνειρον ἔθεασα τῷ χωρίῳ πρῶτον ἐπὶ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας.

343 (3) Ἐνετέθην δὲ προῖδαν οὖν κατὰ τὴν Ὁραχίλης γίνεται, ἐνθάδε Ὁραχίλης ἐκ τοκετοῦ θανοῦσαν θάπτει, μόνην τῶν συγγενῶν τῆς ἐν Ὁραχίλῃς τιμῆς οὐ τυχοῦσαν. πενθόσας δὲ μεγάλως τὸ ἐξ αὐτῆς παιδίων Βενεμέσπει ἐκάλεσε διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτῆς γενομένην ὀδύνην τῇ μητρί. οὕτως ἦταν παιδεῖς οἱ πάντες, ἀρρενεῖς μὲν δώδεκα θήλεια δὲ μία. τούτων δὲτο ἡγήσαι, ἔκ Λείας μὲν εὗ, διὸ δὲ ἔκ Ὁραχίλης, τέσσαρες δὲ ἔκ τῶν θεραπαινίδων, δύο εὗ ἑκατέρας, ὡς καὶ τὰ ὁνόματα πάντων προεῖπον.

344 (xxii.) Παρῆλθεν δὲ ἐνετέθην ἐπὶ Ὁραχίλῃς πόλιν ἐν Χανάναιοις κεκυμένην, ἦκεὶ δὲ Ἰσακός τὴν διὰ τοὺς άσταν εἴξε. καὶ βραχέα μὲν ἀλλήλοις συνενοπτίζονσι τὴν γὰρ Ἱσακοῦ Περδεκκαὶ Ἰάκωβος οὐ κατελάβε τίσαν, θυσίας καὶ Ἰσακός οὐ μετά πολὺ τῆς ἀφίξεως τοῦ νόοι καὶ ταφῆς ἐτυχεῖν ὑπὸ τῶν παιδῶν συν τῇ γεναικί ἐν Ὁραχίλῃς κυριεῖ τοῦ πρωγόνικον ἐν αὐτῇ τυγχάνοντος αὐτοῖς. ἐγένετο δὲ Ἰσακός ἄνθρωπος ἰεροφυλής καὶ πρωνοίας πολλῆς ἡξιώμενος ὑπ’

* § 234.
* Genesis mentions "strange gods" generally, without specifying the Teraphim of Laban.
* "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).

* Bibli. Ephrath (Eφραθα); in Benjamite territory, otherwise unknown.

* 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, πολυχρονιότατος as here). But it is unnecessary to alter the superlative to the comparative; the former includes the latter (see note on ὑπάρχων § 214, and cf. in N.T. Jo. 1. 15 πρῶτός μου ἢν).
father Abraham; in longevity he even surpassed him, having completed one hundred and eighty-five years of a virtuous life when he died.\textsuperscript{5}

\textsuperscript{5} 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 \textipa{\gamma\dot e\nu\acute{s}} \textipa{\kappa\delta\sigma\mu\omicron\omicron\nu} 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."
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ B

(1. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἰσάκου τελευτῆς οἱ παιδεῖς αὐτοῦ μερισμένοι τὴν οἰκήσει πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὐχ ἦν ἔλαβων ταύτην κατέσχον, ἀλλ' Ἰσαὰκ μὲν τῆς Νεβρωνίας¹ πόλεως ἐκχωρήσας τάδελφῳ ἐν Σαείρᾳ δεκτάτο καὶ τῆς Ἰδουμαιάς ἤρχεν οὕτω καλέσας τὴν χώραν ἄφ' αὐτοῦ. "Ἄδωμος γὰρ ἐπινοομάζετο κατὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν τυχῶν τῆς ἐπικλήσεως. 2 ἀπὸ θήρας ποτὲ καὶ πόνου τοῦ περὶ τὸ κυνηγήσιον² λιμαντῶν ἐπανήκειν, ἐτὶ δὲ ἦν παις τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἐπιτυχῶν δὲ τάδελφῳ φακῆν ἐσκευακότα πρὸς ἀριστον αὐτῷ, ἕσπεραν σφόδρα τὴν χρονίαν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἐτι μᾶλλον ὀρεχθείς ἢξίου παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ 3 πρὸς τροφῆν. ὁ δὲ ἀποδόσθαι τὸ πρεσβείων αὐτῶ τοῦ φαγεῖν συνεργῶ  χρησάμενος τῇ πείνῃ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἥνάγκαζε,² κάκεινος ὑπὸ τὸ λιμὸν προαχθεῖν παραχωρεῖ τῶν πρεσβείων αὐτῶ ἐεθ' ὅρκων. ἓνθεν διὰ τὴν ἐαυτότητα τοῦ βρώματος ὑπὸ τῶν ἡλικιωτῶν κατὰ παιδιάν Ἄδωμος ἐπικληθεῖς, ἄδωμα γὰρ Ἐβραίοι τὸ ἔρυθρον καλοῦσιν,

¹ Νεβρωνίας SPE. ² κυνηγήσιον RE. ³ SP: ἥνάγκαζε rell.

* Gen. xxxvi. 7, "For their substance was too great for them to dwell together, and the land of their sojournings 168
BOOK II

(1. 1) After the death of Isaac his sons divided the
territory between them, not retaining that which
they had inherited. a Esau, for his part, left the
city of Hebron to his brother, and taking up his
abode in Saeira b ruled over Idumaea, calling the
country thus after himself: for he bore the surname
of Adom, c which he had obtained under the following
circumstances. One day, while yet a lad, he was xxv. 27, 29.
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, in-
stigated by hunger, surrendered to him his rights
under an oath. Hence, by reason of the ruddy
colour of the pottage, he was jestingly nicknamed
by his youthful comrades Adom—adoma d being the
Hebrews’ word for “red”—and that was how he
(LXX τὰς παρακηθέσεως, whence τὴν ὅφεις of Jos.) could not bear
them because of their cattle.”

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.
b Bibl. Edom.
c Heb. adóm = “red.”
τὴν χώραν οὕτως προσηγόρευσεν· Ἔλληνες γὰρ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τὸ σημεῖον τοῦ Ἰδουμαίαν ὀνόμασαν.

4 (2) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ πατήρ παιδών πέντε τῶν ἄραθμῶν, ὡς Ἰάους μὲν καὶ Ἰόλαμος καὶ Κορής ἐκ γυναῖκος μίας Ἀλιβάμης τούτου, τῶν δὲ λοιπῶν Ἀλιφάζης μὲν ἐξ Ἀδάσης, Ραουηλὸς δὲ Ἐκ Βασαμάθης ὑπήρξαν αὐτῶ γεγονότες. καὶ Ἰσαμ βᾶς μὲν ὁ ποτέ παῖδες ἤσαν· Ἀλιφάζη δὲ γίνονται γνήσιοι πέντε Θημανὸς Ὀμερὸς Σόφους 2 Ιάθαμος Καναξὸς. Ἀμαλήκος γὰρ νόθος ἦν ἐκ παλλακῆς

5 αὐτῶ γεγονός Θαμάς ὁνόμα. οὕτως κατάσκησαν τῆς Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Γοβολίτην λεγομένην καὶ τὴν ἄπο Ἀμαλήκου κληθέτων Ἀμαληκίτων· πολλῷ γὰρ γεγομένῃ ποτὲ ἦ Ἰδουμαία τὸ τε πάσης αὐτῆς ἀπέσωζεν ὅνομα καὶ τῶν μέρεσι τὰς ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκετών προσηγοριάς διεφθάλειν.

7 (ii. 1) Ἰακώβω δὲ συνέβη παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐδαιμονίας μέγεθος ὅλον οὐκ ἄλλω τινὶ ράγιῳ· πλοῦτων τε γὰρ ὑπερβαλλε τοὺς ἐπιχωρίους καὶ παιδῶν ἀρετῶν ζηλωτός καὶ περίβλεπτος ἦν· συνενὸς γὰρ ἀλλω ὤντερον, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς ἔργα χειρῶν καὶ πάσων ὑπομονῆς ἤσαν εὐφυκοί καὶ δεινοὶ συνενέαι.

8 τοσαύτην δὲ ἀρα τὸ θεῖον αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔσχε καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας ἐπιμελείαν, ὡς κὰκ τῶν ὑπηρέτων αὐτῶ δοξάντων τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῶν ἁγαθῶν παρασχεῖν καὶ ποιῆσαι τῆς ἀπ᾽ Ἀλεπιγκ Ῥαγχαίνον τῶν ἡμετέρων

1 Niese: Ὄφου (ect.) codd.
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, Ιολαμ (Iolam) and Κορέ (Korē) came of one wife named Alibame; as for the others, Aliphaz (Aliphas) was born of Adasa and Raûël (Raâl) of Basamathe.

Such were the sons of Esau. Aliphaz had five legitimate sons—Thêman, Omer (Omer), Sophous, Jotham, Kanaz (Kanaz): Amalek (Amalek) 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

1 Bibl. Teman (Temān).
2 Bibl. Omar.
3 Bibl. Zephno (Zēphno).
4 Bibl. Gatan (Gatan the ms. of LXX mentioned above).
5 Bibl. Kenaz (Kenāz).
6 Bibl. Timna (Timnā).
7 Cf. A. iii. 40 “The inhabitants of G. and Petra who are called Amalekites,” and ix. 188 “Gabalites” (|| Amalekites and Idumaeans); it is the Gebal mentioned beside Amalek in Ps. lxxiii. 7, Arabic Jībāl, in north Edom.
προγόνων ἀναχωρήσεως αὐτὸν αὐτὸν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγονότας ὑπὸ τουαύτης αἰτίας.

9 Ἰωσήφον ἐκ Ραχήλας πεπαιδοποιημένος Ἰάκωβος διά τε τὴν τοῦ σώματος εὐγένειαν καὶ διὰ φυσικὴς ἀρετῆς, φρονήσει γὰρ διεφερε, τῶν ἄλλων πλέον υἱῶν ἡγάπα. τούτῳ παρὰ τῶν ἄδελφῶν ἠμῆν πατρὸς στόργη φθόνον ἐκώπησε καὶ μύσος ἡ τε ἐκ τῶν ὀνειράτων, ἀ θεασάμενος τῷ τε πατρὶ καὶ τούτους ἐμήνυεν, εὐδαμονία καταγγελλομένη, ἐγνωστοποιήτω ἁρὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων καὶ τὰς τῶν ὀικειοτάτων ἐυπραγίας. αἱ δὲ ὄψεις, ἡς κατὰ τὸς υἱὸν εἰδήν Ἰωσήφος, τοιαύτες ἦσαν.

11 (2) Ἐκπεμφθεῖς μετὰ τῶν ἄδελφῶν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ συλλογὴ τῶν καρπῶν θέρους ἀκμάζοντος ὁμιλῶν τοῖς τὸν κατὰ συνθήκην ἐπιφοιτούντων κατὰ τοὺς υἱούς ὀνειράτων διαφέρουσιν ὄψεις, ἡ περιεγερθεῖς τοῖς ἄδελφοῖς ὑπὸ κρινοῦσιν αὐτῷ τὸ σημαινόμενον ἐξέθετο, λέγων ἤδειν ἐπὶ τῆς παρελθοῦσης νυκτὸς τὸ μὲν αὐτοῦ δράγμα τῶν πυρῶν ἑρέμεων ἐφ᾽ οὐ κατέθηκε τόπου, τὰ δὲ ἐκείνων προστρέχοντα προσκυνεῖν αὐτὸ καθάπερ 12 οἱ διὸι τοὺς δεσπότας. οἱ δὲ συνέντευξις ἰσχύν αὐτῷ καὶ μέγεθος πραγμάτων τήν ὄψιν προλέγουσαν καὶ κατ᾽ αὐτῶν εἰς ἑξοικονομήσαν ἐσομένην τῷ μὲν Ἰωσήφῳ τοῖς οὐδὲν ὥσα οὐ γνώριμον αὐτοὺς τὸ διαρ ϑων διεσαφήσαν, ἀρὰς δ᾽ ἐποιήσαντο μηδὲν εἰς τέλος αὐτῷ παρελθεῖν ὃν ὑπενδοῦν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ἀπεχθῶς ἔχουτες διετέλουν.

13 (3) Τῷ δὲ παρ᾽ αὐτῶν φθόνῳ προσφιλονυχήσαν τὸ θείον δευτέραν ὁμὸν ἐπιπέμπει τῷ Ἰωσήφῳ

* For Rachel's exceptional beauty cf. 1. 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

 Or “wowed (or "bound themselves under a curse") that nothing ... should” etc.
JOSEPHUS

πολὺ τῆς προτέρας θαυμασιωτέραν τὸν ἢλιον γὰρ ἔδοξε τὴν σελήνην παραλαβόντα καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἀστέρας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν κατελθεῖν καὶ προσκυνεῖν 14 αὐτὸν. ταύτην τὴν ὁψιν τῷ πατρὶ μηδὲν παρὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κακόθενες ὑφορώμενος καὶ τούτων παρατυχανόντων διεσάφησε, τί καὶ βούλεται σημαινεῖν 15 φράσαι παρακαλῶν. ο ὁ δὲ ἴθι 1 τῷ ὑπερατεί, τὴν γὰρ πρόρρησιν αὐτοῦ τῇ διανοίᾳ συνελαβὼν καὶ μετὰ σοφίας οὐκ ἀσκόπτος εἰκάσας ἔχαρις ἐπὶ μεγάλους τοὺς σημαινομένους, ἀ εὐθαμονιών τῷ παιδὶ κατήγγειλε καὶ καίρων ἤξειν θεοῦ δόμωσ, καθ' ὅν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τε τῶν γυνέων καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν 16 ἔσεσθαι τίμιων καὶ προσκυνήσεως ἔξιον, τὴν μὲν σελήνην καὶ τὸν ἢλιον μητρὶ καὶ πατρὶ, τῆς μὲν αὐξοῦσης ἀπαντα καὶ τρεφοῦσας τοῦ δ' ἐκτυποῦντος καὶ τῆς ἅλλης ἵσχυν ἐντεθέντος εἰκάζων, τοὺς δ' ἀστέρας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς' καὶ γὰρ τούτους ἐνδέκα εἶναι καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς ἀστέρας ἀπὸ τὴν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης τῆς ἱσχύος λαμβάνοντας.

17 (4) Καὶ ο μὲν Ἰάκωβος τοιαύτην οὐκ ἀσυνετῶς ἐποιήσατο τῆς ὁφεὼς τὴν κρίσιν, τοὺς δ' ἀδελφοὺς τοῦ Ἰωσήφου σφόδρα ἐλύπησε τὰ προειρημένα καὶ διετέθησαν ὡς ἐπὶ ἀλλοτρίω εἰς μέλλοντι τὰ σημαινόμενα διὰ τῶν ἀνειράτων ἄγαθά ἤξειν, 2 ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀδελφῶς καὶ ὧ συναπολαύσεως αὐτοὺς 3 εἰκὸς ἦν, κοινωνοῦσι ὡς τῆς γενέσεως οὕτως καὶ τῆς εὐ- 18 δαιμονίας ἐσομένους· ἀνελεῖν τε ἄμφιμηκεσαν τὸ μετα-

1 Hudson, Dindorf: ἴθις codd.
2 ἤξειν OP.
3 Niese: ἐν συναπολαύσεως αὐτῶ codd.

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 Weil.

* 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 ταῦτην κυρώσαντες τὴν βουλῆν, ἔπει τὰ τῆς συγκομιδῆς αὐτοῖς πέρας εἶχεν, ἔπει Σικίμων τραπέντες, χώρα δ’ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ βόσκεις ἀγαθὴ θρέμματα καὶ νομᾶς ἐκτρέφειν, αὐτὸθε τῶν ποιμνίων ἐπεμελοῦντο μὴ προδηλώσαντες τῷ πατρὶ τὴν ἐκείστε ἀφίζων. ὦ δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀγνοίας καὶ τοῦ μηδὲ ἀπὸ τῶν ποιμνίων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀφικέσθαι τινὰ τῶν περὶ τῶν παιδῶν αὐτῶν τάληθες σημαίνειν δυνάμενον, σκυθρωπότερον τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν διάνοιαν λαμβάνων καὶ περιδείη ὧν πέμπει τὸν Ἱωσήφ αἰδὲ τὰ ποιμνὶα μαθησόμενον τὰ περὶ τῶν ἄδελφῶν καὶ τὰ πράττοιεν σημανοῦντα.

20 (iii. 1) Οἱ δὲ τῶν ἄδελφῶν ὡς εἶδον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφιγμένον, ἠσθησαν μὲν, ἀλλ’ ως ἐπ’ οἰκεῖου παροικία καὶ πατρὸς ἀπεσταλκότος, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐπ’ ἐχθροῦ καὶ ταῖς χερῶν αὐτῶν κατὰ θείαν βουλήν παραδοθέντο, ἀναφεύ τε ἡδὲ καὶ μὴ τὸν ἐν 21 ποιῷ ὑπερβαλέσθαι καιρὸν ὁρμήκεσαν. οὕτως δ’ αὐτοῖς Ὅμοιος ὅρῶν ἔχοντας ὁ πρεσβύτατος αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν πρᾶξιν ὁμονοικότας ἐπειράτο κατέχειν ὑποδεικνύο ὁ μέγεθος τοῦ τολμήματος 22 καὶ τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῶν μύσος, ως ποιητῶν μὲν καὶ θεῷ καὶ ἄνθρωπος ἀνόσιον δοκοῦν καὶ τὸ μὴ συγ- γενοῦς ἄνθρωπον χειρουργῆσαι φόνον, πολὺ μέντοι μιστοῦτερον τὸ σφαγῆ ἄνθρωπος ἀδελφοῦ δρᾶσατας ὄφθη- ναι, ὃ πατὴρ τε ἀναρουμένῃ συναδικεῖται καὶ μήτηρ ἐἰς πένθος καὶ παιδὸς ἀποστέρησιν οὐ κατ’ 23 ἄνθρωπων γενομένην νόμον συγκαταστάται. τοῦ-

1 ἐκθέτειν RO.
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).
τῶν οὖν αὐτῶν αἰδώ λαβόντας καὶ τῷ λογισμῷ τι καὶ πείσονται τεθηκότος αὐτοῖς παιδὸς ἄγαθον καὶ νεωτάτον παραδεμένους ἀποσχέσθαι τοῦ τολμήματος παρεκάλει, καὶ τὸν θεόν δεῖσαντας, ὅς θεατὴς ἀμα καὶ μάρτυς ἡδη καὶ τῆς βουλῆς αὐτῶν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν γεγενημένον ἀποστάντας μὲν τῆς πράξεως ἀγαπήσειν ὡμανοία καὶ τῷ σωφρονεῖν
24 εἰξαντας, προελθόντας δὲ ἐπὶ τούργον οὐκ ἐστιν ἢν οὐκ εἰσπράξεται τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας δίκην μιανάτας αὐτοῦ τὴν παιναγού παρούσαν πρόνοιαν καὶ μὴς τῶν ἐν ἐρημίαις πραττομένων ὀστερούσαν μήτε τῶν κατὰ τὰς πόλεις· ὅπου γὰρ ἂν ἄνθρωπος ἢ
25 χρῆ δοκεῖν ἐνταῦθα παρεῖναι καὶ θεοῦ. τὸ τε συνειδὸς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἢδον ἐξειν ἐχθρόν ἐπὶ τοῖς τολμηθέντων ἔλεγεν, ὁ μήτε τοῖς ἀγαθοῦν ἄγουμεν ἐλεοῦσιν μήτε τοιοῦτον ὅποιον αὐτοῖς συνουσίης τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀνέλοιον ἐστίν ἀποδράναι. προσετίθει δὲ καὶ ταῦτα τοῖς προειρήμενοι, ὡς ἀδελφὸν οὐδὲ ἀδικήσωσιν κτεῖνον δοῦσιν, καλὸν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ μνημεικακεῖν τοῖς οὕτῳ φίλοις ὑπὲρ δὲν ἀμαρτείν ἐδοξαν. Ἰωσηπὸν δὲ οὐδὲ ποιηθὼν εἰς αὐτοὺς γεγενημένον διαφθεροῦσιν, ὃ τὸ τῆς ἡλικίας ἀσθενεῖς ἔλεον μᾶλλον καὶ τὴν παρ’ ἡμῶν ἑραί-
27 ξεται κηδεμονίαν· ἢ τε αὕτη τῆς ἀναιρέσεως πολὺ χείρῳ τὴν πράξειν αὐτοῖς τίθησι, διὰ φθάνων τῶν ἐσομένων ἄγαθῶν αὐτῶ τοῦ ἢ δὲγαγεῖν δι-
εγνωκότων, ὅν τὸ ἰσον ἀπολαῦοντες κοιμώνοντες αὐτῶ τῆς μετουσίας οὐκ ἀλλοτρίων ὄρνων ἀλλ’
28 οἰκεῖων· ἴδια γὰρ αὐτῶν ὑπολαμβάνων, ὥσα ὁ θεὸς 'Ἰωσήφον διώσει· προσήκειν οὖν τὴν ὅργην καὶ δια

1 Bekker: γεγενημένη codd. 2 ἐρημή ROE. 3 ὡσα οὐσικήσεις 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-

\[5 \text{ \textit{πρὸς έκείνου oν} Niese with cod. O; προςκείνου R.}\]
τούτων καλὸς ἔχειν ταχεύτεραν ἔσθε οὖσα θυμοῖς, ἐὰν τῶν ὑπ’ αὐτούς κεκριμένων τῶν ἐπιτυχομένων ἁγαθῶν ἄξιον ἀποκτείναντες ἀφαιρήσουν τὸν θεόν ὃ τάντα χαρίστηται.

29 (2) Καὶ ὁ μὲν Ρουβήλος ταύτα λέγων καὶ πρὸς τούτους ἐπὶ πλείω καὶ διόμενος ἐπειράτο τῆς ἀδελφοκτονίας αὐτοῦς ἀποτρέπειν, ἐπεὶ δὲ οὐδὲν μετριστέρους ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων ἑώρα γεγενημένους, ἀλλὰ σπεύδοντας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν, συνεβούλευε τὸ κακὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπιεικέστερον ποιῆσαι τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ἀναίρεσεως, [καὶ γὰρ] ἀμείνων μὲν <ἀν> οἷς παρῆλθε τὸ πρῶτον πεπείθθα λέγων αὐτούς, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐκράτησαν ὡστε ἀνελεῖν τὸν ἀδελφόν, οὐκ ἔσεσθαι σφόδρα κακοὺς οἷς νῦν παρανεὶ πεισθέντας· οὐ γάρ τούτους εἶναι καὶ τὸ ἔργον, ἐφ’ ὃ σπεύδοντας, οὐ μέντοι τοιοῦτον, ἀλλ’ ὡς ἐν ἀπόροις κούφοτερον. ηὐδ’ γὰρ αὐτοὺς αὐτόχειρας μὲν μὴ γενέσθαι τάδελφου, ῥήματα δὲ εἰς τὸν παρακείμενον λάκκον οὔτως ἀποθανεῖν ἔδαπα καὶ τὸ γε [μὴ] μιανθῆται τὰς χεῖρας αὐτῶν κερδαίνειν. συναισθάνων δὲ τούτους τῶν νεώτερων παραλαβόντες τὸ Ρουβήλος τὸ μειράκιον καὶ καλωδίων ἐκδήσας ἑτέρα μαθήσιν εἰς τὸν λάκκον· καὶ γἀρ ἰκανῶς ἀνυδρὸς ἦν, καὶ ὁ μὲν τούτῳ ποιῆσας ἀπαλάσσεται κατὰ ζήτησιν χωρίων πρὸς νομᾶς ἐπιτηδείων.

30 (3) ‘Ἰουδας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νῦν τῶν Ἰακώβου παιδῶν ἐμπόρος ἦλθον Ἀράβας τοῦ Ἰσμαιλίτων γένους ἀρώματα καὶ Σύρα φορτία κομίζοντας

1 Probably a gloss on προσέχειν.  2 Bracketed by Niese.  
3 ins. eadd. with Exc.  4 om. RO (Lat.?).  
5 RO: καθίστησεν τελ.
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-

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* Gen. xxxvii. 24, "The pit was empty, there was no water in it." The adverb ἐκεῖνος ("sufficiently") in Josephus may be due to misreading of ξένος ("empty") found in some MSS. of the LXX.

* Amplification of Scripture.
Αγνώστοις ἐκ τῆς Γαλατὶδος μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῆς Ῥουβήλου τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς συνεβούλευεν ἀναιρισταὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀπεμπολῆσαι τοὺς "Ἀραβίνα" 33 ἐκείνον τε γὰρ ὅτι πορρωτάτω γενόμενον καὶ τεθνήσεσθαι παρὰ τοὺς ξένους, αὐτοὺς τε τοῦ μιᾶς σαυτοῦ ὀὕτως ἀπαλλαγήσεθαι. δόξαν οὖν τούτο, τοῖς ἐμπόροις ἀποδίδοντα τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἀνελκύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ λάκκου μνῶν ἐκκοσῳ, ἐπτακαὶ καθεκα ἐτῶν γεγονότα. Ῥουβήλου δὲ νύκτι ἐπὶ τὸν λάκκον ἐλθὼν σώσαι τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς λαθὼν τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐγκόκλει, καὶ ὡς ἀνακαλουμένω μὴ ὑπῆκονι, δεῖσις μὴ ἐφθάρκαιν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν αὐτοῦ κατεμέμβετο τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς. τῶν δὲ τὸ πραγμάτειαν αὐτῷ φρασάντων παύεται τοῦ πένθους Ῥουβήλου.

35 (τ) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐπέπρακτο, τι ποιήσαντες ἄν ἐξω τῆς ὑπονοιας παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ γενηθεῖν ἐξήτων, καὶ δὴ τὸν γενεΌν, ὁ ἄρκτο μὲν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰώσηπος ἐνδεδειμένος, περιηγήκειαν δ' αὐτὸν ὅτε καθέσαν εἰς τὸν λάκκον, ἐδοξεν αὐτοῖς διασπαράξαν αἵματι τράγου μολυνα καὶ τῷ πατρὶ δείξει φέροντας, ὡς ἀν ὑπὸ θηρίων αὐτῷ φανεῖν δι' ἐθαρμένος. καὶ τούτῳ ποιήσαντες ἥκων πρὸς τὸν πρεσβύτην ἥδη τῶν περὶ τὸν νῦν εἰς γῆνων ἀφιγμένον, ἔλεγον δὲ τὸν μὲν Ἰώσηπον οὔτ' ἰδεῖν οὐδ' ἢ κέχρηται συμφορᾷ μεμαδθηκέναι, χειρὰν δὲ τούτου εὐρεῖν ἠμαγμένον καὶ λελακισμένον, ὅθεν αὐτοῖς ὑπόνοιαν εἶναι περιπεσόντα θηρίον στὸν

* Bibl. Gilead.
dene a 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, b he being then seventeen years of age. c As for Rubel, he returned by night d 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, d 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,

b Heb. "20 (sc. shekels) of silver," the price of a male slave between the ages of 5 and 20 (Lev. xxvii. 5): ἐκκ "20 (pieces) of gold." Josephus, in naming the mina, like the xxx in another fashion, greatly magnifies the sum.
c Gen. xxxvii. 2.
d Amplification.
ἀπολωλέναι, εἴγε τούτων ἐνδεδυμένος οἶκοθεν 37 ἑστάλη. Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπὶ κοινοτέραις ὦν ἐλπίζων ὡς ἡμιραποδίσμενον δήθεν αὐτῷ τοῦ παιδός, τούτων μὲν ἀφένει τὸν λογισμόν, πίστων δὲ αὐτοῦ τῆς τελευτής ἐναρχῆς τῶν χιτώνα ύπολαβάσιν, καὶ γὰρ ἐγκόλμησεν [ὡς] ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ὃν ἐνδεδυμένον ἐκπέμποι πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς, ὡς ἐπὶ νεκρῷ τῷ λουτρῷ οὕτω διέκειτο ἐπὶ τῷ μειρακίῳ πενθῶν. 38 καὶ ὡς ἐνὸς πατηρ ὁν καὶ τῆς ἐξ ἀλλοι παραμυθίας ἐστηρημένος οὕτως ἦν παρὰ τῷ κακῷ, πρὶν ἢ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς συμβαλέαν εἰκάζων ὑπὸ θηρίων Ἰωσήπου ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. ἐκαθέζετο δὲ σακκίων ἐξαφαμένος καὶ τῇ λύπῃ βαρύς, ὡς μηθ' ὑπὸ παῖδων παρηγοροῦντων αὐτῶν ῥόνον γενέσθαι μήτε καμησντα τοῖς πόνοις ἀπαγορεύειν.

39 (iv. 1) Ἰωσήπου δὲ παυλούμενοι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐμπόρων ὑπηράμενος Πετυφρῆς, ἀνήρ Ἀλγύπτιος ἐπὶ τῶν Φαραώθου μαγείρων τοῦ βασιλέως, εἶχεν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ καὶ παιδείαν τε τῆς ἐλευθερίου ἐπαιδευει καὶ διαίτη χρήσθαι κρείττους τῆς ἐπὶ δούλων τούχης ἐπέτρεπεν, ἐγχειρίζεται τε τήν τῶν κατὰ τὸν οἶκον αὐτῶ πρόνοιαν. ὁ δὲ τούτων τε ἀπέλαυε καὶ τῇ ἁρετῇ, ἦτος τῇ περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐδ' ὑπὸ τῆς μεταβολῆς ἐγκατέλειπεν, ἀλλὰ διεδείξα τὸ φρόνιμον κρατεῖν τῶν ἐν τῷ βίῳ δυσκολῶν δυνάμενον, ὡς ἐν παρῇ γνωρίως καὶ μὴ πρὸς τὰς εὐπραγίας τὰς κατὰ καιρὸν μόνον ἡμιραμένον.

41 (2) Τῆς γὰρ τοῦ δεσπότου γυναικὸς διά τῇ ἡ ομ. RO.

2 ν.Ι. Πετυφρῆς (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, an Egyptian and chief of the cooks of king Pharaotes; 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.

\[\text{b So } \text{LXX } \alphaρχιμαγειρος: \text{ the Hebrew word (literally "slaughterers") means "apparently the royal cooks or butchers, who had come to be the bodyguard" (Skinner).} \]

\[\text{c Amplification.} \]
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eυμορφίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ δεξιότητά ἐρωτικῶς διατεθέσθης καὶ νομιζόμεθα, εἰ ποιήσειν αὐτῷ τοῦτο φανερὸν, ῥαδίως πείσειν αὐτὸν εἰς ὁμολάιαν ἔλθειν εὐτύχημα· ἤγισάμενον τὸ τῆν 42 δέσποιναν αὐτοῦ δεσμῆναι, καὶ πρὸς τὸ σχῆμα τῆς τότε δουλείας ἀλλ' οὐ πρὸς τὸν πρόπον αἴφορώσης τὸν καὶ παρὰ τὴν μεταβολὴν παραμένοντα, τὴν τε ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτῷ ποιήσασθαι καταφανῆ καὶ λόγους προσφεροῦσης περὶ μέξεως, παρέπεμπε τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐ κρίνας ὅσιον εἶναι τοιαύτην αὐτῇ διδόναι χάριν, ἐν ὧ τοῦ πρωιμένου καὶ τοσαύτης ἡξιωκότος τιμῆς ἁδικίαν συνεβαίνειν εἶναι καὶ 43 ὦβριν, ἀλλὰ κρατεῖν τοῦ πάθους κάκειν παρεκάλει τὴν ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ τεῦξαθαι τῆς ἐπιθυμίας προβαλλόμενος, σταλῆσθαι γάρ [τε] αὐτῇ τοῦτο μὴ παρουσίας ἐλπίδος, αὐτὸς τε πάντα μᾶλλον ὑπομενεῖ 1 ἐλεγεν ἢ πρὸς τοῦτο κατα- πείθης ἔσεθαι· καὶ γάρ εἰ τῇ δεσποινῇ δούλον ὑπατὰ δεῖ ποιεῖν μηδὲν ἐναντίον, ἢ πρὸς τὰ τοιαύτα τῶν προσταγμάτων ἀντιλογία πολλὴν ἢν ἔχων 44 παραίτησιν. τῆς δ' ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐπέτεινε τὸν ἔρωτα τὸ μὴ προσδοκήσως τὸν Ἰώσηπου ἀντισχέως καὶ δεινῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ κακοῦ πολιορκουμένη δευτέρα πάλιν πείρᾳ προεθυμεῖτο κατεργάσασθαι.

45 (3) Δημοσελοῦσ οὐν ἐφερὲς ἐπιστάσεις, καὶ ὃν εἰς τὴν πανήγυριν καὶ γυναιξὶ φοιτῶν νόμιμον ἢν, σκηνίτεται νόσου πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα θηρωμένη μόνωσιν καὶ σχολὴν εἰς τὸ δεσμῆναι τοῦ Ἰωσήπου, καὶ γενομένης αὐτῇ ταύτης λεπαρεστέρους ἔτει τῶν

1 Bekker: ὑπομενεί 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.

(8) 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

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* εὐμορφία : Philo, De Jos. 9 § 40, uses the same word.
* Phrase taken from Philo, loc. cit. (περὶ μίξεως λόγους προσέφερῃ).
* 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).
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46 πρῶτων αὐτῷ προσημέγκατο λόγους, ὡς καλῶς μὲν εἶχεν αὐτὸν μετὰ τὴν εἰς ἄρχης δέθησιν εἶχαί καὶ μηδὲν ἀντειρηκέναι κατὰ τὸν τῆς παρα- καλοῦσθες ἐντοπῆθαι καὶ τὴν τοῦ πάθους ὑπερβολὴν, ὥσπερ δὲ διασθεῖσά δέσποινα οὕσα τοῦ καὶ αὐτήν ἡ ἀξιώματος ταπεινοτέρα γενέσθαι, φορεῦσε δὲ καὶ νῦν ἄμενων ἐνδούς καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ τοῖς παρελθοῦσιν
47 ἄγνωσθαι διορθώσεται: εἰτέ γὰρ δεύτεραν δέθησιν ἐξεδέχετο, ταῦτῃ γεγονέναι καὶ μετὰ πλείονος σπουδῆς νόσον τε γὰρ προφασίσασθαι καὶ τῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τῆς πανηγύρεως τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν ὁμιλίαν προτείμησα. εἰτέ τοὺς πρῶτους ὅπως ἀποστάλας ἀντέκρουσε λογισμοῖς, τοὺς μιθημένας κακουργήσαν εἴλαι κρίκειν σὺμβολὸν τὸ τοῖς αὐτοῖς ἐπιμένειν.
48 προσδοκῶν τε τῶν παρόντων ἁγαθῶν ὄνησιν, ὅτι ἐνεκεχει, προσθέμενον αὐτῆς τῷ ἔρωτι καὶ μειζόνων ἀπόλαυσιν ὑπήκουσον γενόμενον, ἅμως ὁ δὲ καὶ μέσος παρ’ αὐτῆς ἀποστραφέντα τὴν ἀξίωσιν καὶ τοῦ χαρίζεσθαι τῇ δεσποτῇ τῆς τῆς
49 σωφροσύνης δόκησθαι ἐπίπροσθε δέθμονεν. οὐ γὰρ αὐτόν τοῦτο ὑφελθείσων τραπείσης εἰς κατηγορίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ καταφευγαμένης πείραν ἐπὶ τάνδρι, προσεξεῖν δὲ μᾶλλον τοῖς αὐτῆς λόγοις Πεντεφρήν ἡ τοῖς ἑκείνῳ, καὶ ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπὸ τῆς ἀληθείας φέρονται.
50 (4) Ταῦτα λεγούσης τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ δακρυοῦσης οὕτε ὁκτος αὐτοῦ μὴ σωφρονεῖν ἐπεισεν οὕτ’ ἡνάγκασε φόβος, ἀλλὰ ταῖς δέθησιν ἀντέσχε καὶ ταῖς ἀπειλαῖς οὐκ ἐνδιώκε, καὶ παθεῖν ἀδίκως καὶ

¹ κατὰ ταῦτα 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 neither pity could induce him to unchastity nor fear compel: he resisted her entreaties and yielded not to her threats, choosing to suffer unjustly and to

\(^a\) 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.

\(^2\) μετέχει Niese.  \(^4\) Niese: ἀπολάθεσιν (λάθεσι) codd.  
\(^5\) O: δεῖσας (δεῖσας καὶ) recon.
JOSEPHUS

υπομένειν2 τι τῶν χαλεπωτέρων ἐλετο μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν παρόντων ἀπολαμβάνεις χαρισάμενος ἐφ' οἷς 51 ἄν αὐτῷ συνειδῆ δικαίως ἀπολογομένως. γάμου τε αὐτῆς ὑπεμιμήσκε καὶ τῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα συμβιβάζοντας καὶ τούτοις τὸ πλέον νέμειν ἢ προσκαίρω τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἢδονή παρεκάλει, τῆς μὲν καὶ μετάνοιαν ἐξούσιας αὐθίς ἐπὶ ὁδύνη γενησομένην οὐκ ἐπὶ διορθώσει τῶν ἠμαρτημένων καὶ φόβον τοῦ μὴ κατάφερεν γενέσθαι καὶ ἀρίτ. τοῦ λαθεῖν 52 ἀγνοουμένου τοῦ κακοῦ], τῆς δὲ πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα κοινωνίας ἀπόλαυσιν ἐξούσια ἀκινδύνουν καὶ προσέτι πολλὴν τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ συνειδότος καὶ πρὸς τὸν θέον παρρησίαν καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους· καὶ ὡς αὕτη δεσπόζει μᾶλλον μείνασα καθαρὰ καὶ δεσποίνης ἐξουσία χρήσεται πρὸς αὐτῶν, ἄλλ' οὐ συνεξαμαρτάνοντος αἰδοὶ· πολὺ δὲ κρέατον εἶναι παραφων ἐπὶ γνωσκομένους τοὺς εὐ δεσποινής ἢ ἐπὶ λαθανοῦσῃ κακοπραγίᾳ.

53 (5) Ταῦτα λέγων καὶ ἔτι πλείω τούτοις δομιά τῆς τὴς γυναικὸς ὁρμήν ἐπέχειν ἐπειράτο καὶ τὸ πάθος αὐτῆς εἰς λογισμὸν ἐπιστρέφειν, ἢ δὲ βιαστέρων ἔχοιτο τῇ σπουδῇ καὶ ἐπιβαλόντας τὰς χεῖρας ἀναγκάζειν ἀπογνώσθην τοὺς πείθειν ἥθελεν. 54 ὡς δ' ἐξίσοις ὑπὸ ὀργῆς ο Ἰωσήφους προσκαταλιπτῶν καὶ τὸ ἰμάτιον, κατεχούσης καὶ γὰρ αὐτῶν ἐκ τούτου μεθείς ἐξεπήδησε τοῦ δωματίου, περιδεῖσας γενομένη, μὴ κατείτη πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα αὐτῆς, καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως περιληγὼς ἐχούσα φθάσαι καταψεύδονται πρὸς τὸν Πεντεβρῆν ἔγνω τοῦ Ἰωσήφου, καὶ τούτῳ τῷ ἐπὶ τρόπῳ τιμωρῆσαι μὲν αὐτῇ δεινῶς

1 καὶ (sic PO) υπομένεις Niese. 2 καὶ ἄλλα.
endure even the severest penalty, rather than take advantage of the moment * 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, † 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

* Cf. Heb. xi. 25, "choosing rather to be evil entreated . . . than to enjoy the pleasures of sin for a season" (of Moses).

† I follow Reinach in rejecting the obscure words in brackets as a gloss.
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ὑπερηφανημένη, προλαβείν δὲ τὴν διαβολῆν σοφὸν
55 ἀμα καὶ γυναικεῖον ἤγησατο. καὶ καθήστο μὲν
κατηφής καὶ συγκεκχυμένη τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ διαμαρτεῖν
τῆς ἐπιθύμιας λύπην ὡς ἐπὶ πείρα διαφθορᾶς
πλασμένη μετ’ ὀργῆς, ἐλθόντι δὲ ταύτῃ καὶ πρὸς
τὴν ὁμον ταραχθέντες καὶ πυθανομένως τὴν αἰτίαν
τῆς καταγορίας τῆς Ἰωσήφου κατήρτατο καὶ
“τεθναῖς,” εἶπεν, “ἀνερ, ἢ ποιηρὸν δούλον
56 κοίτην μιᾶναι τὴν σὴν ἐθελήσασται κόλασον, ὅσ
οὐ δ’ οἶος ὄν εἰς τὸν ἡμέτερον οἶκον ἀφῆκται
μηνοθεῖς ἐσωφρονήσεν οὐθ’ ὅν ἐκ τῆς σῆς χρη-
στάτης ἐπικεν, ἀλλ’ ἀχάριστος ὃν ἂν, εἰ μὴ
πάντα παρεῖχεν αὐτὸν ἀγαθὸν εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἐπεβού-
λευσεν ύβρίσας γάμου τὸν σὸν καὶ ταῦτ’ ἐν ἐορτῇ
τὴν σὴν ἀπούσαν παραφυλάξας. ὡς σοι καὶ
μέτριος ἔδοκεν πρότερον διὰ τὸν ἐκ σοῦ φόβον
57 ἴρεμει καὶ οὐχὶ φύσει χρηστὸς ἦν. τοιοῦτον δ’
ἀρα τὸ παρ’ ἀξίαν αὐτὸν καὶ παρ’ ἐλπίδας εἰς
τιμὴν παρεῖχεν ἐποίησεν, ὡς δεόν ὧς τὴν τῆς
κτήσεως τῆς σῆς πίστιν καὶ τὴν οἰκονομίαν λαβεῖν
ἐξεγένετο καὶ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων οἰκετῶν προ-
τυμήθηναι τούτῳ καὶ τῆς σῆς ψαίειν γυναικὸς.”
58 παυσαμένη δὲ τῶν λόγων επεδείκνυεν αὐτῷ τὸ
ἐματίον, ὡς ὅτ’ ἔπεχερει βιάσασθαι καταλιπόντος
αὐτὸ. Πεντεφρῆς δὲ μήτε διακρούσῃ τῇ γυναικὶ
μήθ’ οἷς ἔλεγε καὶ εἶδεν’ ἀπιστεῖν ἔχων, τῷ τε
πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔρωτι πλέον νέμων, ἐπὶ μὲν τὴν τῆς
59 ἄληθειας ἐξέτασιν ὡς ἐτρέπετο, δοῦς δὲ σωφρονῶν
τῇ γυναικὶ ποιηρὸν δ’ εἶναι κατακρίνας τῶν
Ἰωσήφου τὸν μὲν εἰς τὴν τῶν κακούργων εἰρκτὴν

1 + ipse Lat.: aītēr 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 Pentephes 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
ἐνέβαλεν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ μᾶλλον ἑφρόνει κοσμώσετα καὶ σωφροσύνην αὐτῇ μαρτυρῶν.

60 (v. 1) Ἰώσηπος μὲν οὖν πάντ' ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ ποιησάμενος τὰ περὶ αὐτὸν οὐδ' εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐδ' ἐπ' ἀκριβῆ τῶν γεγονότων δήλωσιν ἑτράπη, τὰ δεσμὰ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην συγών ὑπῆλθεν, ἀμείωνα ἔσεθαί τῶν δεδεκτῶν βαρρῶν τὸν τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συμφόρας καὶ τὴν ἀληθείαν εἰδότα θεόν,

61 οὐ πείραν τῆς προνοίας εὐθὺς ἐλάμβανεν· ὁ γάρ δεσμοφυλακῆς τὴν τε ἐπιμελείαν καὶ τὴν πίστιν αὐτοῦ κατανοήσας ἐν οἷς τάξεις αὐτὸν καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῆς μορφῆς ὑπανεί τε τῶν δεσμῶν καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἑλαφρότερον αὐτῷ καὶ κούρον ἑποίησε, δια ναὶ ἐρχότα κρείττων δεσμωτῶν ἐπέτρεπε.

62 τῶν δὲ ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς δυντῶν εἰποτε παύσαντο τῆς περὶ τὰ ἔργα ταλαίπωριας εἰς ὁμιλίαν, οὐα φιλεῖ κατὰ κοινωνίαν τῆς ὁμοίας συμφόρας, τρεπομένων καὶ παρ' ἄλληλων τὰς αἰτίας ἐφ' αἷς κατακρίθηκεν

63 ἀναπυθαμαμένων, οἰνοχόδος τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ σφόδρα δ' αὐτῷ τιμώμενος κατ' ὀργήν δεδεμένος καὶ συνδιαφέρων τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ τὰς πέδας συντρέτερος αὐτῷ μᾶλλον ἐγένετο καὶ, συνέσει γὰρ ἑδόκει αὐτὸν προὔχειν, ὦναρ ἰδων εξέθετο παρακαλῶν δῆλον εἰ τί πεποίησε, μεμφόμενος ὃτι τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως κακώς ἐτί τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰς ἐκ τῶν ὁνειράτων φροντίδας προστίθησαν.

64 (2) Ἐλεγε δὲ οὖν ὑμῖν κατὰ τοὺς ὑπονούς τριῶν κλημάτων πεφυκιας ἀμπελόν βότρυς εἰς ἐκάστου

* The same phrase κοσμώσετα καὶ σωφροσύνην is used of Joseph in Philo, De Jos. 9 § 40.
* 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.\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{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

\textsuperscript{a} Genesis xxxix, 21.

\textsuperscript{b} Genesis xi, 9.
JOSEPHUS

αποκρέμασθι μεγάλους ἡδη καὶ πρὸς τρύγητον ἰόραίους, καὶ τούτους αὐτὸς ἀποστάλλειν εἰς φιάλην ὑπέχοντος τοῦ βασιλέως διηθήματα τε τὸ γλεῦκος δοῦναι τῷ βασιλεῖ πιέων, κάκεινον δὲ καθαρίζω τίνι σμένως. τὸ μὲν οὖν ἐσωραμένον ἐδῆλον τοιαύτων οὖν, ἢξιοὺ δὲ εἰ τε μεμοίραται συνέσεως φράζεων αὐτῷ τήν πρόρρησιν τῆς ὁδεγίας. ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε παρεκάλει καὶ προσδοκῶν εἰς τριών ἡμέρας ἀπολυθήσεθαι τῶν δεσμῶν, τῷ βασιλέως ποθήσαντος αὐτῷ τῇν διακονίαν καὶ πάλιν εἰς ταύτην αὐτὸν ἐπιπανάξυντος· καρπὸν γὰρ ἐσθήμασεν ἐμπέλλων ἐπ ἀγαθῷ τὸν θεόν ἀνθρώποις παρασχεῖν, δός αὐτῷ τε ἐκείνῳ σπένδεται καὶ πιστῶν ἀνθρώποις καὶ φιλίαν ὄμηρεν, διαλύων μὲν ἔχθρας τὰ πάθη δὲ καὶ τὰς λύπας ἐξαιρεῖν τοῖς προσφερόμενοι αὐτῶν καὶ πρὸς ἡδονήν ὑποφέρων. "τούτου οὖν φῆς ἐκ τριῶν ἀποσταλέων βοτρών χερσὶ ταῖς σαῖς προσέσθαι τὸν βασιλέα· καλὴν τούτων ἵθι σοι τὴν ὁμοῦ γεγενημένην καὶ προμηνύουσαν ἀφείνῃ τῆς παρούσης ἀνάγκης ἐν τοσαύταις ἡμέραις, ἐξ δεων κλημάτων τὸν καρπὸν ἑτρύγησασ κατὰ τούς ὑπόνους. μὲν γὰρ τούτων πειραθεῖσι τὸ προκαταγχείλαντος σοι τὰ ἀγαθά, καὶ γενόμενος ἐν ἐξουσίᾳ μὴ περίβθης ἡμᾶς ἐν οἷς καταλέξεις πρὸς ἀ ἀθηλώκαμεν ἀπερχόμενοι· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐξαιμαρτόντες ἐν δεσμοῖς γεγοναμεν, ἀλλ' ἀρετῆς ἐνεκα καὶ σωφροσύνης τὰ τῶν κακούργων ὑπομένειν κατεκρίθησαν, οὐδὲ γε μετ' ὅλείς ἡδονῆς τῶν ταῦθ' ἡμᾶς ἐργασάμενον ὑβρίσθαι θέλησατε." τῷ μὲν οὖν οἰνοχῶν χαίρειν κατὰ τὸ εἰκός ἀκούσαντες τουαύτης τῆς τοῦ ὀνείρατος εξηγήσεως.
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. "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-

* Cf. the praise of wine in 1 Esdras iii. 18 ff.
瘠ῆρχε καὶ περιμένειν τῶν δεδηλωμένων τὴν τελευτήν.

70 (3) Δοῦλος δὲ τις ἐπὶ τῶν συτοποιῶν τεταγμένος τοῦ βασιλέως συνδεδεμένος τῷ οἰνοχόῳ, τοιαύτην ποιησάμενον τοῦ Ἰωσήφου περὶ τῆς ὁψεως ἐκείνῳ τῆς ἀπόφασιν, εὐελπὶς ἦν, καὶ γὰρ καυτὸς ὄναρ ἦν τεθεαμένος, ἥξισε τὸν Ἰώσηφον φράσαι, τί κάκειν ἔδηλον βούλεται τὰ διὰ τῆς παρελθούσης 71 μυκτὸς ὁμβέντα. ἦν δὲ τοιαῦτα: "τρία," φησὶ, "κακὰ φέρειν ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἐδοξα, δύο μὲν ἄρτων πλέα, τὸ δὲ τρίτον ὅφοι τε καὶ ποικίλων βρωμάτων οἷος βασιλεύσει σκευάζεται· καταπταμένους δὲ οἰνονοὺς ἀπαντὰ δαπανήσαι μηδένα λόγον 72 αὐτοῦ ποιομένους ἀποσοβοῦντος." καὶ ὁ μὲν ὁμιλέων τὴν πρόρρησιν ἔσεθαι τῇ τοῦ οἰνοχόου προσεδόκα· ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηφος συλλαβῶν τῶν λογισμῶν τὸ ὄναρ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰπὼν, ὡς ἐβούλετ' ἂν ἀγαθῶν ἐρμηνευτὴς αὐτῷ γεγονέναι καὶ οὐχ οἷον τὸ ὄναρ αὐτῷ δηλοῖ, λέγει δύο τὰς πάσας ἐπὶ τοῦ κακκῷ αὐτῶν ἔχειν ἡμέρας· τὰ γὰρ κακὰ τοῦτο 73 σημαίνειν· τῇ τρίτῃ δὲ αὐτῶν ἀνασταυρωθέντα βο- ῥάν ἔσεθαι πετευότα ποῦδ᾽ ἀμόνοις αὐτῷ δυνά- μενον. καὶ δὴ ταῦτα τέλος ὁμιλεῖν oἷον ὁ Ἰώσηφος ἐπεν ἀμφότερος ἔλαβε· τῇ γὰρ ἡμέρᾳ τῇ προ- ειρήμενη γενέθλιον τεθυκὼς ὁ βασιλεύς τὸν μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν συτοποιῶν ἀνεσταύρωσε, τὸν δὲ οἰνοχόου τῶν δεσμῶν ἀπολύσας ἐπὶ τῆς αὐτῆς ὑπηρεσίας κατέστησεν.

74 (4) Ἰωσήφῳ δὲ διετῇ χρόνων τοῖς δεσμοῖς

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

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

μὲν μὴ παραστήθω τοι τὴν φαστασίαν . . . ἑκὼ τε γὰρ, εἰ καὶ τις ἄλλος, εἰς κακῷ ἄγγελον.

b Or “impaled.” Gen. xl. 19 (“lift thy head from off thee and hang thee on a tree”) implies decapitation and subsequent impalement of the corpse; Josephus, omitting the former, appears to introduce the Roman penalty.
κακοπαθοῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ οἰνοχόου κατὰ μνήμην τῶν προειρημένων ὕφελοψεννον ὁ θεὸς ἀπέλυσε τὴς εἰρκτῆς τοιαύτην αὐτῷ τὴν ἀπαλ-75 λαγὴν μηχανησάμενος. Φαραώθης ὁ βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τὴν αὐτῇ ἐσπέραν ὅπεις ἐνυπνῶν θεασάμενος δῦν καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐκάτερας ἐξήγησαν ταύτης μὲν ἡμιμηντήσει, τῶν δὲ ἀνειράτων κατέσχεν. ἀγχό-μενος οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐωρεμένοις, καὶ γὰρ ἐδόκει σκυθρωπὰ ταῦτ’ αὐτῷ, συνεκαλεὶ μὲθ’ ἡμέραν Λαγυπτίων τοὺς λογιστάτους χρημάζων μαθεῖς τῶν 76 ἀνειράτων τὴν κρίσειν. ἀποροῦντων δὲ ἐκεῖνων ἐπὶ μᾶλλον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἑταράττετο. τῶν δὲ οἰνοχόν ὀρῶντα τοῦ Φαραώθου τὴν σύνχωσιν ὑπέρχεται μημή τοῦ Ἰωσήφου καὶ τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀνειράτων 77 συνέσεως, καὶ προσελθῶν ἐμήνυσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰωσήφου τὴν τῷ ὅψιν, ἢν αὐτὸς εἶδεν ἐν τῇ εἰρκτῇ, καὶ τὸ ἀποβάν ἐκεῖνον φράσαιτο, ὅτε τε σταυρω-θεῖν κατὰ τὴν αὐτῇ ἡμέραν ὃ ἐπὶ τῶν συντοποιῶν κάκεινον τοῦτο συμβαίνει κατ’ ἐξήγησιν ἀνειράτος 78 Ἰωσήφου προειρήμως. δεδέσθαι δὲ τούτων μὲν ὑπὸ Περεθροῦ τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν μαγείρων ὡς δοῦλων, λέγει δὲ αὐτὸν Ἐβραίων ἐν ὀλίγοις εἶναι γένους ἄμα καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς δόξης. ἄττων οὖν μεταπεμφάμενος καὶ μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀρτὶ κακοπραγίαν αὐτοῦ καταγνωρίας μαθήσῃ τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνειράτων 79 σοι δηλούμενα." κελεύσαντος οὖν τοῦ βασιλέως εἰς ὅψιν αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἰωσήφου παραγαγεῖν τὸν μὲν ἡκουσαν ἀγοντες οἱ κεκελευθησάντης κατὰ πρόσταγμα τοῦ βασιλέως.

80 (5) Ὁ δὲ τῆς δεξιᾶς αὐτοῦ λαβόμενος "ὁ νεανία," φησί, "σὺ γὰρ μοι νῦν ἀριστος 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 deliverance. 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 sages of the Egyptians, desiring to learn the interpretation of the dreams; and finding them baffled, the king was yet more disturbed. But into the mind of the butler, watching the monarch’s perplexity, there stole the memory of Joseph and his skill in dreams; he approached, spoke to him of Joseph, recounted the vision which he himself had seen in prison and the issue as foretold by him, and how on the same day the chief baker had been crucified and how his fate too had befallen him in accordance with Joseph’s prophetic interpretation of a dream. He added that the man had been imprisoned by Pentephres, the chief cook, as a slave, but that, according to his own account, he ranked, alike by birth and by his father’s fame, among the foremost of the Hebrews. “Send then for him,” he said, “nor spurn him for his present miserable state, and thou wilt learn the meaning of thy dreams.” So the king commanded to bring Joseph into his presence, and the appointed officers returned bringing him with them, after giving him their attentions in accordance with the orders of royalty.

(5) The king took him by the hand and said: Pharaoh’s dreams. Gen. xii. 15.

“Young man, forasmuch as thy excellence and ex-

* Amplification of Scripture.
σύνεσιν ἴκανώτατος ὑπὸ οἱκέτου τοῦμοι μεμαρτύρησε τῶν αὐτῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἦν καὶ τούτω μετέδωκας, ἄξιοσον καὶ ἄνευ φράσας ὅσα μοι κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνοὺς ὀνειράτων ὑφείς προδηλοῦσί· βούλομαι δέ σε μηδὲν ὑποστελλόμενον φόβῳ κολακεύσαι ψευδεῖ λόγῳ καὶ τῷ πρὸς ἡδονήν, ἀν τάλθες σκυθρω-

81 πότερον ἦ. ἔδοξα γάρ παρὰ ποταμὸν βαδίζων βόας ἵδειν εὑραπεῖς ἂμα καὶ μεγέθει διαφεροῦσας, ἐπτὰ τὸν ἁριμόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ νάματος χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ἔλος, ἄλλας δὲ ταύταις τὸν ἁριμόν παραπλησίας ἐκ τοῦ ἔλους ὑπαντήσαι λίαν καταχωμένας καὶ δεινὰς ὀραθήσαι, αἱ κατεσθίουσαι τὰς εὑραπεῖς καὶ μεγάλας οὐδὲν ὠφελοῦστο χαλεπῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ 82 λιμοῦ τετραχωμένας. μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν ὅψιν διεγερθείς ἐκ τοῦ ὑπνου καὶ τεταραγμένος καὶ τί ποτὲ εἰς τὸ φάντασμα παρὰ ἐμαυτῷ σκοπῶν καταφέρομαι πάλιν εἰς ὑπνον καὶ δεύτερον ὀναρ ὀρῶ πολὺ τοῦ προτέρου θαυμασιώτερον, ὦ με 83 καὶ μᾶλλον ἐκροθεῖ καὶ ταράττει. στάχνας ἐπτὰ ἐώρων ἀπὸ μᾶς ὀξὴς ἐκφύεται καρπιφροῦσας ἡδη καὶ κεκλιμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ καρπου καὶ τῆς πρὸς ἀμετον ῥωσ καὶ τούτως ἐτέρους ἐπτὰ στάχνας πληθοῦν λιθφροῦσας καὶ ἀσθενεῖς ὑπὸ ἀδροσίας, οἱ δαπανῶν καὶ κατεσθίουν τοὺς ὀραίους τραπέντες ἐκπληξίν μοι παρέσχον.”

84 (6) Ἰώσηπος δὲ ὑπολαβὼν, “ἐδειροσ μὲν οὕτως,” εἶπεν, “αἱ βασιλεῖς, καίπερ ἐν δυοὶ μορφαῖς ὑφεῖς μιᾶς καὶ τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποστιμαίνει τελευτὴν τῶν ἐσομένων. τὸ τε γὰρ τὰς βοὸς ἴδειν, ξᾶνον ἐπὶ ἀρῶτων πονεῖν γεγενημένου, ὑπὸ τῶν χειρῶν 85 κατεσθιομένας, καὶ οἱ στάχνες ὑπὸ τῶν οἰλαττῶν δαπανώμενοι λιμῶν Αἴγυπτω 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

\^\textsuperscript{1} ROE.
τοσάντα προκαταγγέλλουσιν ἐτη τοῖς ἵσοις πρό-
τερον εὐδαιμονησάσθη, ὡς τὴν τούτων εὐφορίαν τῶν ἑτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν μετὰ τοσοῦτον ἀριθμῶν ἵσων ἀφορίας ὑπαναλωθῆναι. γενήσεται δ’ ἡ
σπάνις τῶν ἀναγκαίων σφόδρα δυσκατόρθωτος.
86 σημεῖον δέ· αἷ γὰρ κατασχυμέναι βόες δαπανή-
σασαι τὰς κρέπτονας οὐκ ἰσχύσαν κορεσθῆναι· ὃ
μέντοι θεός οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ λυπέων τὰ μέλλοντα τοῖς
ἀνθρώποις προδέξιναι, ἀλλ’ ὅπως προηγουμένοις
κομψότερα συνέει ποιώνται τὰς πεῖρας τῶν
κατηγγελμένων. σὺ τούν ταμιευσάμενον τά-
γαθὰ τὰ κατὰ τὸν πρώτον χρόνον γεγονόμενα
ποιῆσεις ἀνεπαίσθητον Αἰγυπτίους τὴν ἐπελευσο-
μένην συμφοράν.”

87 (7) Ἐπαυμάσαυτος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν φρόνησιν
καὶ τὴν σοφίαν του Ἰωσήπου καὶ πυθμένου, τίνα
καὶ τρόπον ἄν προοιμομένημεν ἐν τοῖς τῆς εὐ-
ετείριας καιροῖς τὰ περὶ τῶν μετὰ ταύτην, ὡς ἂν
88 ἐλαφρότερα γένοιτο τὰ τῆς ἀφορίας, ὑπετίθετο καὶ
συνεβούλευε φειδώ [ποιεῖται] τῶν ἁγαθῶν καὶ
μὴ κατὰ περιουσίαν αὐτοῖς χρήσατας τοὺς Αἰγυπ-
τίους ἐπιτρέπειν, ἀλλ’ ὅσα ἄν κατὰ τρυφῆν ἀνα-
λώσωσιν ἐκ περιουσίων, ταῦτα τηρεῖν εἰς τὸν τῆς
ἐνδείας καιρόν, ἀποτίθεσθαι τε παρῆναι λαμβα-
νόντα τὸν σύνον παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τὰ διαρκῆ
89 μόνον εἰς διατροφήν χορηγοῦντα. Φαραώθες δ’
ἀμφότεροι θαυμάσας Ἰωσῆπον, τῆς τε κρίσεως
tοῦ ὁνειρατοὶ καὶ τῆς συμβουλίας, αὐτῷ τὴν
οἰκονομίαν παραδίδωσιν, ὡστε πράττειν ἃ καὶ
τῶ πλήθει τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῶ βασιλεῖ συμ-
φέροντα ὑπολαμβάνειν, τὸν ἕξευρόντα τὴν τοῦ πράγ-
ματος ὁδὸν καὶ προστάτην ἄριστον 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) Marvellous 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. Pharaoh, 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 λαβών γενήσεσθαι. ὅ δὲ, ταύτης αὐτῷ τῆς ἐξουσίας ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως δοθείσης σφραγίδι τῇ αὐτῷ καὶ πορφύραν ἐνδύσασθαι, διὰ τῆς γῆς ἀπάσης ἐλαίων ἐφ' ἁρματος ἐγε τὸν οὖν παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν τῶν ἀρκοῦντα πρὸς τε σπόρον καὶ διατροφὴν ἐκάστοις ἀπομετρῶν. μηδενὶ σημαίνων τὴν αἰτίαν, ψφ' ἐς ταύτα ἔπρατε.

91 (vi. 1) Τριακοστοῦ δ' ἔτους ἡδὴ τῆς ἡλικίας αὐτῷ διελήλυθει καὶ τιμῆς ἀπάσης ἀπέλαινε [παρὰ] τοῦ βασιλέως, καὶ προσηγόρευσεν αὐτὸν Ψόνθομ-φάνηχον ἀπειδῶν αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ παράδοξον τῆς συνέσεως. σημαίνει γὰρ τὸ ὄνομα κρυπτῶν εὐρετήν. γαμεὶ δὲ καὶ γάμου ἀξιολογώτατον ἀγετεῖ γὰρ καὶ Πεντεφροῦ βυγατέρα τῶν ἐν Ἡλιοπόλει Ῥείνων, συμπράξαντος αὐτῷ τοῦ βασιλέως, ἐτι 92 παρθένων Ἀσέννηθῳ ὁνόματι. ἐκ ταύτης δὲ καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται πρὸ τῆς ἀκαρπίας, Μανάσ-σης μὲν πρεσβύτερος, σημαίνει δ' ἐπίληθον, διὰ τὸ εὐδαιμονήσαντα λήθην εὐρασθεῖ τῶν ἀτυχημάτων, ὁ δὲ νεώτερος Ἔφραίμης, ἀποδίδουσ δὲ τούτῳ ση- μαίνει, διὰ τὸ ἀποδοθήναι αὐτὸν τῇ ἔλευθερίᾳ τῶν 

93 προγόνων. τῆς δ' Διογένου κατὰ τὴν Ἰωσήφου τῶν ὀνειρῶν ἐξήγησιν μακαριστῶς ἐτή ἐπὶ διαγραφώς, ὁ λημός ἠπτετο τῶν συνδόχῳ ἐτεῖ καὶ διὰ τὸ μὴ προηρθημένου ἐπιπεσεῖν τὸ κακὸν πονοῦμενον ἀναταῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πάντες ἐπὶ τάς

1 Ἐφράθη Ρ., Ἐφράθη Μ., Ἐφράθη Niese.
2 διαγραφῆς 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 ḫonthomphanēch(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 Asennēthis. 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.


The Biblical and correct interpretation.

Here Josephus departs from the Biblical derivation from root pr̄h ("fruitful") and apparently connects the name with the root pr̄, with final guttural (= in Heb. "let loose," in Aramaic "repay").
94 [τού] βασιλέως θύρας συνέφερεν. ὁ δὲ Ἰώσηπος ἐκάλει, κάκεινος τῶν συτων αὐτῶς ἀπεδίδοτο γεγενημένος σωτὴρ ὁμολογουμένως τοῦ πλῆθους, καὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν οὐ τοὺς ἐγκυροίς προτιθεὶς μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἕξοις ἀνείσθαι παρὴν πάντας ἀνθρώπως κατὰ συγγενειαν ἀξιοῦντος ἐπικουρίας συγχάνειν Ἰώσηπος παρὰ τῶν εὐδαμονία χρωμένων.

95 (2) Πέμπει δὲ καὶ Ἰάκωβος τῆς Χαναναίας δεινῶς ἐκτραχωμένης, πάσης γὰρ ἤφαιτο τῆς ἡπείρου τὸ δεινὸν, τοὺς υἱοὺς ἀπαντας εἰς τὴν Ἀγιφυτον ἀυπομενοὺς σιτῶν πεπομένους ἐφείσθαι τὴν ἀγορὰν καὶ ἕξοις· μόνον δὲ κατέσχε Βεναμείν ἐκ τῆς Ραχήλας αὐτῶ γεγονότα ὁμομήτροιον δὲ Ἰωσήπου. οἱ μὲν οὖν εἰς τὴν Ἀγιφυτον ἐλθόντες ἐνετύγχανον τῷ Ἰωσήπῳ χρήζοντος ἁγορᾶς· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἦν ὁ μὴ μετὰ γνώμης ἐπράττετο τῆς ἐκείνου· καὶ γὰρ τὸ θεραπεύσαι τὸν βασιλέα τὸτε χρήσιμον ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ὅτε καὶ τῆς Ἰωσήπου τῆς ἐπιμεληθεῖσαν. ὁ δὲ γνωρίσας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς οὐδὲν ἐνθυμουμένους περὶ αὐτῶν δίαι τῷ μειράκιοι μὲν αὐτὸς ἀπαλλάγηναι, εἰς τοῦτο δὲ προελθεῖν τῆς ἡλικίας, ὡς τῶν χαρακτήρων ἐνθαλαγμένων2 ἀγνώριστος αὐτὸς εἶναι, τῷ δὲ μεγέθει τοῦ ἀξιόματος οὐδέ εἰς ἐπίνοιαν ἔλθειν αὐτῶς δυνάμενος3 διεπείραξεν, ὡς ἔχοιεν γνώμης περὶ τῶν ὁλων. τὸν τε γὰρ σιτῶν αὐτῶς οὐκ ἀπεδίδοτο κατασκόποις τοῖς βασιλέως πραγμάτων ἔλεγεν ἤκειν καὶ πολλαχόθεν μὲν αὐτῶς συνεληλυθέναι, προφασίζεθαι δὲ συγγένειαν· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δυνατὸν ἀνδρὶ ἡμῶν τοιούτως παίδας καὶ τὰς μορφὰς αὐτῶς ἐπιφανεῖς ἐκτραφῆναι, δυσκόλου καὶ βασι- 99 λεύσων οἰσὶν [τῆς] τουαίτης παιδοτροφίας. ὑπὲρ
king’s gates. The king summoned Joseph, and he sold them corn, proving himself by common consent the saviour of the people. Nor did he open the market to the natives only: strangers also were permitted to buy, for Joseph held that all men, in virtue of their kinship, should receive succour from those in prosperity.

(2) And so, since Canaan was sorely wasted, the scourge having stricken the whole continent, Jacob too sent all his sons into Egypt to buy corn, having learnt that the market was open also to foreigners: he retained only Benjamin, his child by Rachel, born of the same mother as Joseph. The brethren, then, on reaching Egypt, waited upon Joseph desiring leave to buy; for nothing was done without his sanction, insomuch that to pay court to the king was profitable only to such as took heed to do homage likewise to Joseph. He recognized his brothers, but they had no thought of him, for he was but a lad when he parted from them and had reached an age when his features had so changed as to make him unrecognizable to them; moreover his exalted rank prevented any possibility of his even entering their minds. So he proceeded to test their feelings on affairs in general. Corn he would sell them none; declaring that it was to spy upon the king’s realm that they were come, that they had banded together from various quarters, and that their kinship was but a feint; for it was impossible for any commoner to have reared such sons with figures so distinguished, when even kings found it hard to raise the like. It

1 Lat. (ut): καὶ codd.  
2 ἡλεγμένως ROE.  
3 Niese: διαμετρεῖ codd.
δὲ τοῦ γνώσατα τὰ κατὰ τὸν πατέρα καὶ τὰ συμβεβηκότα αὐτῷ μετὰ τῆς ἱδίας ἀπολαγῆν ταῦτ᾽ ἐπρατε μαθεῖν τε βουλομένου καὶ τὰ περὶ Βενιαμείν τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐδείξει γάρ, μὴ κάκευν ὁμοίως οἷς εἰς αὐτὸν ἑτομήσαν εἶνεν ἀπεσκευασμένοι τοῦ γένους.

100 (3) Οὐ δὲ ἦσαν ἐν παραχῇ καὶ φόβῳ κάνινων τὸν μέγιστον αὐτοῖς ἐπηρητήσατα νομίζοντες καὶ μηδὲν περὶ τάδελφον κατὰ νοῦν λαμβάνοντές, καταστάντες τε πρὸς τὰς αἰτίας ἀπελογοῦντο Ἄρουρήλου προηγοροῦντος, ὡς ἦν προσβιτάτας αὐτῶν.

101 "ἡμεῖς," γὰρ εἶπεν, "οὐ καὶ ἀδικίαν δεῦρο ἡλθομεν οὐδὲ κακουργήσουντες τὰ βασιλέως πράγματα, σωθήναι δὲ ἥγητοντες1 καὶ καταφυγῆ τῶν ἐπεχόντων τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν κακῶν τὴν ὑμετέραν φιλανθρωπίας ὑπολαβοῦντες, οὓς οὐκὶ πολίτας μόνοις τοῖς αὐτῶν ἄλλα καὶ ξένους ἡκούσευς τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σιτοῦ προτεθεικέναι, πάντες τὸ σώζει

102 οὕτως δεομένοις παρέχεις διεγνώκοτας. ὅτι δὲ ἐσμὲν ἀδελφοὶ καὶ κοινῶν ἡμῶν ἁμα, φανερὸν μὲν καὶ τῆς μορφῆς τὸ οἰκεῖον καὶ μὴ πολύ παρηλλαγμένον ποιεῖ, παθὴ δὲ ἐστὶν ἡμῶν Ἰάκωβος ἀόρα Ἐβραῖος, ὃ γενέμεθα δώδεκα παιδές ἐκ γυναικῶν τεσσάρων, οὗ πάντων περὶντων ἦμεν

103 εὐδαίμονες, ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐνὸς τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἰωσῆπος τὰ πράγματα ἡμῶν ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον μετέβαλεν· δὲ τε γὰρ παθὴ μακρὸν ἐπ᾽ αὐτῷ πένθος ἢρται2 καὶ ἡμεῖς ὑπὸ τῆς ἑπὶ τῷ τεθνηκότι συμφορᾶς καὶ τῆς τοῦ πρεσβυτοῦ ταλαιπωρίας

104 κακοπαθοῦμεν. ἡκούσαν τε νῦν ἐπ᾽ ἀγορὰν σιτοῦ τὴν τῶν πατρὸς ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τὴν κατὰ τὸν ὀίκου πρόνοιαν Βενιαμείν τῷ νεωτᾶτῳ τῶν ἀδελφῶν

1 χρήστοτε MSPL.
2 Ernesti: ἢρται (ἡρται) cod. i
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.⁸ "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 ⁹ 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

⁸ Reuben is not mentioned here in Genesis.
⁹ Or perhaps, "the ill fortune that followed his (Joseph’s) death."
πεπιστευκότες δύνασαι δὲ πέμψαι εἰς τὸν ἡμετέρον οἶκον μαθεῖν, εἰ τι ἤσεύδες ἐστὶ τῶν λεγομένων."

105 (4) Καὶ ὤριψαι μὲν τοιούτους ἐπειράτο πείθειν τὸν Ἰώσηπον περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ ἁμεῖνος φρονήσαι, δὲ τὸν Ἰάκωβον ζῶντα μαθῶν καὶ τὸν ἀδέλφον οὐκ ἀπολωλότα τότε μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐφεξῆς αὐτοὺς ὡς ἐπὶ σχολής βασανίσαν ἐνέβαλε, τῇ δὲ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν προαγαγὼν αὐτούς, "ἐπεί," φησί, "διοσχυρίζεσθε μὴ τῇ κακοφικαῖς τῶν βασιλείων ἢκεν πραγμάτων εἶναι τέ ἀδέλφοι καὶ πατρός οὐ δέχετε, πείσαι τι ἂν με ταῦθ' οὕτως ἢκεν, εἰ καταλίποντε μὲν εἰς αὐτῶν ἑνα παρ' ἐμοὶ μὴ δὲν υἱῷτικὸν πεισόμενον, ἀποκομίσασθε δὲ τὸν οὕτως πρὸς τὸν πατέρα πάλιν ἔθετε πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν ἀδέλφον, ὃν καταλιπεῖν ἕκειν φατέ, μεθ' ἑαυτῶν ἁγοντες. τούτῳ 107 γάρ ἐσται πίστωμα τῆς ἀληθείας." οἱ δ' εὖ μείζονε κακοὶς ἤσαν ἐκλαίων τὲ καὶ συνεχῶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἀναλοφύρωντο τῆν Ἰώσηπον συμφοράν, ὡς δ' ἄν τὰ κατ' ἐκείνου βουλευθέντα τιμωρήσοντο ἀυτοὺς τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ περιπέσοντι. ὥριψαί δὲ πολὺς τῇ ἐπιπλήττων αὐτοῖς τῆς μετανοιας, ἐξ ὕσ τιοις οὐδὲν Ἰώσηπῳ γίνεται, φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς πάν ὅ τι καὶ πάθοιν κατ' ἐκδικίαν ἐκείνου δρώντος 108 αὐτὰ τῷ θεῷ καρτερός ἤξιον. ταῦτα δ' ἔλεγον πρὸς ἀλλήλους οὕς ἤγομενοι τὸν Ἰώσηπον γλούσσης τῆς αὐτῶν συνεναι. κατῆφει δὲ πάντας ἐχεὶ πρὸς τοὺς ὁρισθηλοῦ λόγους καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων μετάμελος, ὁπερ οὖν καὶ τῶν ταῦτα

2 ROE: ὃσπερ οὐκ αὐτῶν τελ.
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 and meaning uncertain. Other mss. read "... for the deeds, as if they had not themselves decreed those deeds."
ψηφισμένων, ἐφ' ὦς δίκαιον ἔκρινον τὸν θεοῦ κολαξίμενοι. Βλέπων δ' οὕτως ἁμηχανοῦντας [αὐτούς δ'] Ἰώσηπος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους εἰς δάκρυα προὐπήκτε καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς γενέσθαι καταφανῆς ὑπεχύρισε καὶ διαλεπῶν πάλιν ἦκε πρὸς αὐτούς. καὶ Συμεώνα κατασχῶν δημηρως ἡς ἐπανόδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν γενησόμενον ἐκεῖνος μεταλαβόντας τῆς ἁγορᾶς τοῦ σίτου προσέταξεν ἀπιέναι, κελεύσας τῷ ὑπηρέτῃ τάργύριον, δ' πρὸς τὴν ἀνὴν εἰς τὸν σίτου κεκομικότες, κρύφα τοῖς φορτίοις ἐνθέντο ἀπολύειν κάκεινον κομίζοντας. καὶ δ' μὲν τὰ ἑντεταλμέα ἐπραττεν.

111 (5) Οἱ δὲ Ἰακώβου παιὰς ἐλθόντες εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἀπήγγελλον τῷ πατρὶ τὰ κατὰ τὴν Ἀγιεπτὸν αὐτοῖς συμπεσόντα, καὶ ὅτι κατάσκοποι δόξειαν ἀφίκθαι τῷ βασιλέως καὶ λέγοντες ἀδελφοὶ τε εἶναι καὶ τὸν ἐνδέκατον οἶκον καταλιπείν παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπιστηθέειν, ὡς καταλιποίειν τε Συμεὼνα παρὰ τῷ στρατηγῷ μέχρι Βενιαμείς ὡς αὐτὸν ἀπωλῶν πίστις αὐτοῖς τῶν εἰρημένων παρ' αὐτῷ γένουτο· ἡξίουν τε τὸν πατέρα μεθὲν φοβηθέντα πέμπειν σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸν νεανίσκον. Ἰακώβω δ' οὐδὲν ἥρεσκε τῶν τοῖς ὑπεραγμένων, καὶ πρὸς τὴν Συμεώνας δὲ κατοχὴν λυπηρῶς φέροιν ἄνδρον ἠγείτο προστιθέναι καὶ τὸν Βενιαμίν.

113 καὶ δ' μὲν οὐδὲν Ὀρυμῆλόν δεομένου καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας ἀντιδόντος, ἣν εἰ τι πάθοι Βενιαμείς κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν ἀποκτεῖνειν αὐτοὺς ὁ πάππος, πείθεται τοῖς λόγοις. οὐ δ' ἤπορον ἐπὶ τοῖς κακοῖς καὶ μάλλον αὐτοὺς ἐτάραττε τάργυριον ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις τοῦ σίτου κατασκευαμένου εὑρέθειν. 114 τοῦ δὲ σίτου τοῦ κομισθέντος ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐπιληπτόν-
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 καὶ τοῦ λιμοῦ μᾶλλον ἀποτομένου βιαζομένης αὐτὸν τῆς ἀνάγκης ὁ Ἰακώβος ἔκπεμπειν ἐγένεσθε
115 τὸν Βεναιμέων μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν· οὐ γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς εἰς Ἀὐγουστον ἀπελθεῖν μὴ μετὰ τῶν ἐπαγγελμάτων ἀπερχομένους, καὶ τοῦ πᾶσιν ὑπὸν χείρονος καθ ἑκάστην ἡμέραν γινομένου καὶ τῶν νῦν δεομένων
116 οὐκ εἶχεν ὁ τι χρῆσαιτο τοῖς παροῦσι. Ἰούδα δὲ τολμηροῦ τάλλα τῆς φύσει ἀνδρὸς χρησιμένου πρὸς αὐτὸν παρρησία, ὡς οὐ προσήκε μὲν αὐτὸν περὶ τάξειν ἔδιενται οὐδὲ τὰ μὴ δεινὰ δι’ ὑποψίας λαμβάνειν, πρακτικάναι γὰρ οὐδὲν τῶν περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, ὡς μὴ παρέσται θεός, τοῦτο δὲ συμβῆσθαι πάντως καὶ παρ’ αὐτῷ μένοντι.
117 φανερὰν δ’ οὕτως αὐτῶν ἀπώλειαν ἡ καταδικάζειν μηδὲ τὴν ἐκ Φαραώθου τῆς τροφῆς [αὐτῶν] εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς ἀφαίρεσθαι ἀλόγως περὶ τοῦ παιδὸς δεδιότα, φροντίζειν δὲ καὶ τῆς Σιμώνινος σωτηρίας, μὴ φειδοί τῆς Βεναιμείς ἀποδημίας ἐκείνων ἀποληταί πιστεύσαι δὲ περὶ αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ παρανοοῦντος καὶ αὐτῷ, ὡς ἡ σῶν ἐπανάζοντος αὐτῷ τῶν νῦν ἡ συγκαταστρέψων τὸν 3 ἂμα
118 ἐκείνῳ τὸν βίον, πεισθεὶς Ἰακώβος παρεδίδει τῶν Βεναιμείν καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τοῦ σιτῶν διαπλάσιον τῶν τε παρὰ τοῖς Χαναναίοις γεννωμένων τὸ τῆς βαλάνου μύρον καὶ σταχτὴν τερέζων τε καὶ μελι δωρεάς Ἰωσήπων κομίζειν. πολλὰ δὲ ἦν παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν παιδῶν ἐξόειν δάκρυα
119 κακείνων αὐτῶν· ὦ μὲν γὰρ τοὺς νῦν εἰ κομιζεῖται σῶσιν ἐκ τῆς ἀποδημίας ἢφροντίζειν, οὔ δ’ εἰ τῶν

1 RO: ἐπαγγελμένων tell.
2 Niese: αὐτῶν codd.
3 ed. pr.: -στρέψων 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.\(^a\) Thus persuaded, Jacob delivered Benjamin to them, together with double the price of the corn and some of the products of Canaan—balsam,\(^b\) myrrh,\(^c\) terebinth,\(^d\) 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 ἐφρωμένων καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς λύπης κακωθέντα. ἤμερήσιον δὲ αὐτοῖς ἴμυσθη τὸ πένθος, καὶ οὐ μὲν πρεσβύτης κοπωθέν ὑπέμενεν, οἱ δὲ ἔχοντον εἰς Ἀγγυπτον μετὰ κρείττονος ἐλπίδος τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς παροῦσι λύπην ἴώμενοι.

120 (6) Ὡς δὲ ἤλθον εἰς τὴν Ἀγγυπτον κατάγονται μὲν παρὰ τὸν Ἰωσήφου, φόβος δὲ αὐτοῦς οὐχ οὖν τυχὼν διετάραττε, μὴ περὶ τῆς τοῦ αὐτοῦ τιμῆς ἐγκλήματα λάβωσιν ὡς αὐτοὶ τε κεκακουργηκότες, καὶ πρὸς τὸν ταμίαν τοῦ Ἰωσήφου πολλήν ἀπολογίαν ἐποιοῦντο κατ’ οἶκόν τε φάσκοντες ύπερεύν ἐν τοῖς σάκκοις τὸ ἀργύριον καὶ νῦν ἡκεῖν ἐπαν-

121 ἀγοντες αὐτῷ τοῦ δὲ μηδὲ οἱ τε λέγοντων εἰδέναι φήσαντος ἀνείθησαι τοῦ δέους. λύσας τε τῶν Συμμεώνα ἐτημέλεις συνεσόμενον τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς. ἐλθόντος δὲ ἐν τούτῳ καὶ Ἰωσήφου ἀπὸ τῆς θεραπείας τοῦ βασιλέως, τὰ τε δώρα παρῆγγελον αὐτῷ καὶ πυθομένων περὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλέγον ὅτι

122 καταλάβοιεν αὐτὸν ἐφρωμένου. οὐ δὲ μαθὼν περι-

όντα καὶ περὶ τοῦ Βεναμεί εἰ ὁδὸς ο ἰωτέρος ἀδελφὸς εἰ, καὶ γὰρ ἢν αὐτὸν ἐωρακός, ἀνέκρινε. τῶν δὲ φήσαντων αὐτὸν εἶναι θεον μὲν ἐπὶ πάσι 123 προστάτην εἶπεν, ὅπο δὲ τοῦ πάθους προαγόμενος εἰς ἀνάκρινα μεθύσατο μὴ βουλόμενος καταφανῆς εἶναι τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς, ἐπὶ δεινῶν τε αὐτοὺς παραλαμ-

βάνει καὶ κατακλώνται οὕτως ὡς καὶ παρὰ τῷ πατρὶ. πάντες δὲ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰωσήφος δεξιούμενος

1 λύσας τε … ἀδελφοῖς om. ROE.
2 παρῆγγελ RO.
3 + ὀλκήν τοῦ αὐτοῦ ROE.
health and in no wise stricken down by his sorrow on their behalf. A whole day was thus passed by them in mourning; then the old man was left broken-hearted behind, while they set forth for Egypt, healing their present grief with hopes of a better future.

(6) On reaching Egypt, they were conducted to Joseph’s presence. But they were tormented with grave fear that they would be accused in the matter of the corn-money as guilty of some fraud, and they made profuse apology to Joseph’s steward, assuring him that only on reaching home had they found the money in their sacks and that they were now come to bring it back. However, as he said that he had no idea what they meant, they were relieved from that alarm; moreover, he released Simeon and made him presentable 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, he exclaimed that God presided over all, 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

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

* Or, as in other ms., “he was his (humble) servant.”

* 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 αὐτῷ παρακειμένων τὸν Βενιαμέαν ἔτημα.

124 (7) Ἐπει δὲ μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον εἰς ὑπνὸν ἐτράποντο, κελεύει τὸν ταμίαν τόν τε ὑπὸν αὐτοῖς δοῦναι μεμετρημένον καὶ τὴν τιμήν πάλιν ἐγκρύβαι τοῖς σακκίοις, εἰς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμεὶο φορτίον καὶ σκύφουν ἀργυροῦν, ὃ πίνων ἔχαρε, βαλόντα κατὰ λυπὲν. ἔποει δὲ ταῦτα διάπεραν βουλόμενος τῶν ἀδελφῶν λαβεῖν, πότερον ποτε βοηθήσουσι τῷ Βενιαμεὶ κλοπῆς ἀγομένῳ καὶ δοκοῦντι κινδυνεύειν, ἢ καταλείποντες ἄφις οὐδέν αὐτοὶ κεκακουργοῦσιν κατὰ λυπὲν. ἔποει δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν πατέρα. ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ οἰκέτου τὰ ἐντεταλμένα μεθ’ ἡμέραν οὐδέν τούτων εἰδότες οἱ τοῦ Ἰακώβου παῖδες ἀπῆρεαν, ἀπειληφότες τὸν Συμεώνα καὶ διπλὴν χαρὰν καιροὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τούτῳ κατὶ τῷ Βενιαμεὶ ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρὶ, καθὼς ὑπέσχοντο. περιέλαμβανοι δὲ αὐτοὺς ἵππεῖς ἄγοντες τὸν οἰκέτην, δὲ ἐναπέθετο τῷ τοῦ Βενιαμεὶ φορτίῳ τὸν σκύφο. ταραχθέντας δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδοκίμου τῶν ἵππων ἐφόδου καὶ τῆς αἰείαν πυθομένους δὲ ὑπὸ ἐνδιδέσιατο σχεδόν καὶ τῆς κατασκευής ἀπεκάλουν, 128 οἱ μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν τιμῆς καὶ ἔξωσας τετυγχάς ἀνθρώπων παρὰ τοῦ δεσπότου, κακίστους ἀπεκάλουν. οἱ μικρὸ τοῦ τῆς ἔξωσας καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἔξωσας τοῦ Ἰωσήφου διὰ μνήμης λαβότες οἵκινησαν εἰς αὐτῶν ἄδικοι γενέσθαι, σκύφον δὲ, ὃς ψυχήν σωτερίας αὐτοῦ προτείνει, ἀραίμενοι φέροιεν

1 τῷ ταμίᾳ Ο.

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* Gen. xliii. 34, "But Benjamin’s mess was five times so much as any of theirs." The usual translation of Josephus, 220
cordially, honoured Benjamin with double portions of the dishes before him.²

(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

² with portions double those of his neighbours " would require παρασκεκεμένων (not παρακεκεμένων).

b So Philo, De Jos. 30 § 232 (quoted by Weill) πάντα δ’ ἦσαν ἀκότειρα καὶ ταύτα . . . πῶς ἤχουσι . . . εἴνολει πρὸς τὸν ὀρμήτρον ἄπελθον.

c So Philo, De Jos. 36 § 213 ἐν ψ ροτότεστι προφορεὶς ὑμῖν. The parallel in Gen. xlii. 5 has "whereby he indeed divineth."
κέρδους ἀδικου τήν τε πρὸς Ἰδώσηπον φιλίαν τῶν τε ἑαυτῶν εἰς φωραθείναι κινδυνόν ἐν δευτέρῳ

120 θέμενον· τιμωρίαν τε αὐτοῖς ὑφέθειν ἡπείλουν οὐ λαυθάνοντας τὸν θεὸν οὐδ' ἀποδράντας μετὰ τῆς κλοπῆς, εἰ καὶ τὸν διακονούμενον οἰκήτην διέλαβον. πιθανέσθαι τε νῦν, τί παρόντες εἴημεν, ὡς οὐκ εἰδότας· γνώσεσθαι μέντοι κολαξομένους αὐτίκα. καὶ ταύτα καὶ πέρα τούτων ὁ οἰκήτης εἰς αὐτοὺς λέγων ἐνόπλους. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας τῶν περὶ αὐτοὺς ἑχλεύαζον ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις καὶ τῆς κοφολογίας τοῦ οἰκήτην ἐθαύμαζον τολμῶντα αὐτίαν ἐπιφέρειν ἀνδράσιν, οἱ μηδὲ τὴν τοῦ σιτοῦ τιμήν ἐν τοῖς σακκίοις αὐτῶν εὑρεθείσαι κατέσχον, ἀλλ' ἐκόμισαν μηδενὸς εἰδότος τὸ πραξθὲν τοσοῦτον τοῦν ἀποδείχθη τοῦ γνῶμη κακουργῆσαι. τῆς μέντοι γε ἀρνήσεως ἀξιοπιστοτέραν ὑπολαβόντες τὴν ἔρευναν ἐκέλευσαν ταύτῃ χρήσαται, κἀν εὑρέθη τις ὑφηρημένος ἀπαντας κολαξεῖν· οὐδὲν γὰρ αὐτοῖς συνειδότες ἦγου παρρησίαν, ὡς ἐδόκοιον, ἀκίνδυνον. οἱ δὲ τὴν ἔρευναν μὲν ἡξίωσαν ποιήσασθαι, τὴν μέντοι τιμωρίαν ἐνὸς ἐφασκόν εἶναι τοῦ τῆς κλοπῆς εὑρεθέντος πεποιημένου. τὴν δὲ ζήτησιν ποιοῦμενοι καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκπερευθόντες κατὰ τὴν ἔρευναν ἐπὶ τὸν τελευταίον Βενιαμεῖν ἥκον, οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντες ότι εἰς τὸ ἐκείνου σακκίον τὸν σκύφον εἶνεν ἀποκεκρυφότες, ἀλλ' ἀκριβῆ τὴν ζήτησιν βουλόμενοι ποιεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, οἱ μὲν οὐν ἄλλοι τοῦ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἀπηλλαγμένοι δέος εἰν τῇ περὶ τὸν Βενιαμεῖν φροντίδι τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν, ἐδάρρουν δ' ὡς οὐδ' ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῆς κακουργίας εὑρεθησομένης, ἐκάκιζον τε τοὺς ἐπιδιώξαντας

1 αὐτοῦς 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

\* ROE with sing. verbs following (\(\text{\&\text{\iota}\text{i\omega\iota}, \text{\epsilon\phi\alpha\sigma\epsilon\nu}\))
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ός ἐμποδίσαντας αὐτοῖς τὴν ὅδον δυναμένοις ἦδη
134 προκεκοφέναι. ὢς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Βενιαμίν φορτίον
ἐρευνάντες λαμβάνουσι τὸν σκύφον εἰς οἰμωγάς
καὶ θρήνους εὐθὺς ἑτάτησαν καὶ τὰς στολὰς
ἐπικαταρρηκτὲς ἐκλαῖον τε τὸν ἄδελφον ἐπὶ τῇ
μελλούσῃ κολάσει τῆς κλοπῆς αὐτοῦς τε διαφευγο-
μένους1 τὸν πατέρα περὶ τῆς Βενιαμίν συντηρίας.
135 ἐπέτεινε δὲ τὸ δευτέρον αὐτοῖς καὶ τὸ δόξαντας ἦδη
diaφυγεῖν τα σκυθρώπα διαφθορηθῆναι, τῶν δὲ
περὶ τὸν ἄδελφον κακῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἐπ᾽
αὐτῷ λύπης ἐσομένους αὐτοὺς αὐτίους ἔλεγον
βιασαμένους ἁκοντα τὸν πατέρα συναποστείλαι.
136 (8) Οἱ μὲν οὖν ἑσπείς παραλαβόντες τὸν Βεν-
ιαμίν ἦγον πρὸς Ἰωσήφου καὶ τῶν ἄδελφῶν
ἐπομένων οἱ δὲ τῶν μὲν ιδίων ἐν φυλακῇ, τοὺς
δὲ ἐν πενθίμοις σχήμασι, "τι δή," φησίν, "ἀυτὸς
κάκιστοι, φρονήσαντες ἢ περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς φιλαν-
θρωπίας ἢ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς προνοίας τοιαύτα
πράττειν εἰς εὐεργέτην καὶ ξένου ἐτολμήσατε;"
137 τῶν δὲ παραδίδοντων αὐτοὺς εἰς κόλασιν ἐπὶ τῷ
σώζεσθαι Βενιαμίν καὶ πάλιν ἀναμμηνησκομένων
tῶν εἰς Ἰωσήφου τετολμημένων κάκεινον ἀπο-
καλούντων μακαριώτερον, εἰ μὲν τέθηκεν ὅτι τῶν
κατὰ τὸν βίον ἀπῆλθαντί σκυθρώπων, εἰ δὲ
περίεστιν ὅτι τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ αὐτῶν
ἐκδικίας τυχάνει, λεγόντων δὲ αὐτοὺς ἀλητήριοι
tοῦ πατρὸς, ὅτι τῇ λύπῃ ἢν ἐπὶ ἐκείνων μέχρι νῦν
ἔχει καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ Βενιαμίν προσθήσοντοι, πολὺς
ἡν κανταύθ1 ο Ῥουβήλος αὐτῶν καθαπτόμενος.
138 Ἰωσήφου δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἀπολύοντος, οὐδὲν γὰρ
αὐτῶν2 ἄδικεῖν, ἀρκεῖσθαι δὲ μόνη τῇ τοῦ παιδὸς

1 RO: διαφευγομένου τελ.
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 baulked by jealous fortune just when they seemed to be quit of their tragedies; and alike for their brother's misfortunes and for the grief which it was to bring to their father they confessed themselves responsible, having constrained their father against his will to send him with them.

(8) So the horsemen arrested Benjamin and led him off to Joseph, the brothers following. But Joseph, seeing Benjamin in custody and his comrades in mourners' guise,a 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, b roundly rebuked them. But Joseph acquitted them, saying that they were guiltless and that he would be content merely

a With clothes rent.  
b As before, § 107.
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τιμωρία λέγοντος, οὕτω γὰρ τοῦτον ἀπολύειν διὰ τούτων οὐδὲν ἐξαμαρτώντας σῶφρον ἔλεγεν οὕτω συγκολάξειν ἐκεῖνος τῷ τὴν κλοπὴν εἰργασμένῳ, βαδιοῦσι δὲ παρέξειν ἀσφάλειαν ἐπαγγελλομένου,

139 τούτων μὲν ἄλλως ἐκπληκτείς ἠλάβε καὶ πρὸς τὸ πάθος ἀφωνία, Ἰουδας δὲ ὃ καὶ τὸν πατέρα πείσας ἐκπέμψατο τὸ μειράκιον καὶ τῇλλα δραστήριοι ὄν ἀνήρ ὑπὲρ τῆς τάξεως σωτηρίας

140 ἐκρίνε παραβάλλεως, καὶ "δεινὰ μὲν," εἶπεν, "ὁ στρατηγεῖ, τετολμήκαμεν εἰς σὲ καὶ τιμωρίας ἁξία καὶ τοῦ κόλασιν ὑποσχεῖν ἀπαντᾶς ἡμᾶς δικαίως, εἰ καὶ τὸ ἄδικημα μὴ ἄλλου τινός, ἀλλ' ἐνὸς τοῦ νεωτάτου γέγονεν. ὅμως δὲ ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἡμῖν τὴν δι' αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἐλπίς ὑπολέειται παρὰ τῆς στῆς χρηστότητος ἐγγυωμένη τὴν τοῦ κυρίου διαφυγῆς. καὶ νῦν μὴ πρὸς τὸ ἠμέτερον ἄφορῶν μηδὲ τὸ κακούργημα σκοπῶν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὴν σαντοῦ φύσιν, καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν σύμβουλον ποιησάμενος ἀντὶ τῆς ὀργῆς, ἢν οἱ τάλλα μικροὶ πρὸς ἰσχύος λαμβάνουσιν ὡς ἐν τοῖς μεγάλοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τυχόντος αὐτῇ χρώμενοι, γενοῦ πρὸς αὐτὴν μεγαλόφρον καὶ μὴ νικηθῆς ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὅτε αἰτοῦσαν τοὺς οὐδ' αὐτοὺς ὡς ἰδίας ἐτεὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀντεποιομένους, ἀλλὰ

141 παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἀξιώτατα. καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ νῦν πρῶτον ἡμῶν αὐτὴν παρέξεις, ἀλλὰ [καὶ] τάχιον ἐλθοῦσιν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀγορὰν τοῦ σίτου καὶ τὴν εὐπορίαν τῆς τροφῆς ἐχαρίσω δοὺς ἀποκομίζεις καὶ τοῖς οἰκεῖοις ὅσα κυβευεύοντας αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ λιμοῦ

143 διαφθαρῆται περιέχεσθε. διαφέρει δ' οὖν ἡ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους ὑπ' ἐνδείας τῶν ἀναγκαίων, ἡ μὴ κολάσαι δόξαντας ἀμαρτείν καὶ περὶ τὴν

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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. Thercat 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
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ευεργεσίαν τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ λαμπρὰν γενομένην φθονηθέντας, ἢ δ’ αὐτὴ χάρις ἄλλω μέντοι τρόπῳ
144 διδομένης σῶσεις γὰρ οὐς εἰς τούτῳ καὶ ἐπερεῖς
καὶ ψυχᾶς, ἃς ὑπὸ λιμοῦ καμεῖν οὐκ ἔισας, τηρήσεις ταῖς σαυτοῦ δωρεαῖσι, ὡς θαυμαστὸν ἄμα καὶ
μέγα δοῦνα τῇ ψυχάς ἡμῖν καὶ παρασχεῖν δι’ ὑμῖν
145 αὐτῶν μενοῦσιν ἀπορομένους. οὐμαὶ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ,
αἰτίαν παρασκευάσαι βουλόμενοι εἰς ἔπειτησίν τοῦ
κατὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν περιόντος, ἡμᾶς εἰς τοῦτο περι-
στήσασι συμφορᾶς, ἕνα καὶ τῶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἀδικη-
μάτων συγκομίσκων φανῇ τοῖς ἐπτακόσιοι, ἀλλὰ
μὴ πρὸς μόνον τοὺς κατ’ ἄλλην πρόφασιν δεο-
146 μένουσι εἰπικούριας φιλανθρώπως δοκοῦσι. ὡς μέγα
μὲν καὶ τὸ ποιήσαι τινα εἰς καταστάντας εἰς
χρείας, ἠγαθομοιότερον δὲ σώσαι τοὺς ὑπὲρ τῶν
εἰς ἑαυτὸν τετολμημένων δίκην ὅφειλοντας· εἰ γὰρ
τὸ περὶ μικρῶν ξημαμάτων ἀφεῖναι τοὺς πλημ-
μελήσασας ἐπανον ἠγείρει τοῖς ὑπεριδοθεῖν, τὸ γε
περὶ τούτων ἀδρυγέτου, ὑπὲρ ὅν τὸ ζῆν ὑπεύθυνον
τῇ κολάσει γίνεται τῶν ἱδικηκότων, θεοῦ φύσει
147 προσετῆθη. καὶ ἔγινεν, εἰ μὴ πατὴρ ἡμῶν ἢ
πῶς ἐπὶ παῖδων ἀποβολῆ ταλαιπωρεῖ διὰ τῆς ἐπὶ
'Ἰωσήφω λύπης ἐπιδεδειγμένος, οὐκ ἂν τοῦ γε
καὶ ἡμᾶς ἔνεκα περὶ τῆς σωτηρίας λόγους ἐποιη-
σάμην, εἰ μὴ ὅσον τῷ σῷ χαριζόμενος ἦθει σῶζειν
ἀυτῶ καλῶς ἔχον, καὶ τούτους οὐ λυπησόμεθα
τεθηκότων οὐκ ἔχοντες παρεῖχομεν ἀν αὐτοὺς
148 πεισομένους ὁ τι καὶ βελθεσίας· νῦν δ’, οὐ γὰρ
αὐτοὺς ἔλεοῦντες, εἰ καὶ νέοι καὶ μήπω τῶν κατὰ
τὸν βίον ἀπολελαυκότες τεθηκήσομεθα, τὸ δὲ τοῦ

1 M Lat.: 4e rell. 2 Dindorf: τελευτῆτε codd. 3 cdd.: ἔχοντε 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 wouldst not suffer to succumb to hunger, thus achieving the end, alike wonderful and great, of both giving us our lives and affording the means of their continuance in this our distress. Nay, I believe that it was God's good pleasure to provide occasion for a display of virtue in a surpassing form that has brought us to this depth of misery, that so it might be seen that thou pardonest offenders even the injuries done to thyself, and it might not be thought that thy humanity is reserved only for those who on other grounds stand in need of succour. For great though it be to benefit the needy, yet more princely is it to save those who have incurred righteous penalty for crimes perpetrated upon oneself; for if the pardoning of transgressors for light offences redounds to the credit of the indulgent judge, to refrain from wrath in the 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 perchance to gratify thy natural and honourable instinct for clemency—and having none to mourn our loss we should have surrendered ourselves to suffer whatsoever penalty might seem good to thee. But now, it is from no pity for ourselves, young though we be and to die ere we have yet enjoyed what life has to
πατρὸς λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὸ γῆρας οὐκετίροντες τὸ ἐκεῖνον ταύτας σοι τὰς δεήσεις προσφέρομεν καὶ παραιτούμεθα ψυχᾶς τὰς αὐτῶν, ἂς σοι τὸ ἡμετέρων κακούργημα πρὸς τιμωρίαν παρέδωκεν. 149 δὲ οὕτω πονηρὸς αὐτὸς οὕτε τοιούτους ἐσομένους ἐγένετο, ἀλλὰ χρηστὸς ὁν καὶ πειραθήμαι τοιούτων οὐχὶ δίκαιος καὶ νῦν μὲν ἀποδημοῦντων ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν φροντίσαι κακοπαθεῖ, πυθόμενος δὲ ἀπολωλότας καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν οὐχ ὑπομενεῖ ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην πολὺ μᾶλλον τὸν βίον καταλείψει. 150 καὶ τὸ ἀδοξον αὐτὸν τῆς ἡμετέρας καταστροφῆς φθησεται: διαχρησάμενον καὶ κακὴν αὐτῷ ποιήσει τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν ἀπαλλαγήν, πρὶν εἰς ἄλλους φοιτήσας τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς σπεύσαντος αὐτὸν εἰς ἀναισθησίαν μεταγαγένων. γενόμενος οὖν ἐν τούτῳ τὸν λογισμόν, εἰ καὶ ἡ κακία σε παροξύνει νῦν ἡ ἡμετέρα, τὸ κατ’ αὐτῆς δίκαιον χάρισαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ δυνηθῆναι πλέον ὁ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον ἔλεος τῆς ἡμετέρας πονηρίας, καὶ γῆρας ἐν ἐρημίᾳ βιωσόμενον καὶ τεθηκόμενον ἡμῶν ἀπολομένων αἴθεσαι, τῷ πατέρῳ ὄνοματι ταύτην χαριζόμενος τὴν διωρεῖν. εὖ γὰρ τούτῳ καὶ τὸν σὲ φύσαντα τιμᾶς καὶ σαυτῷ δίδως, ἀπολαῦσαι μὲν ἡδὴ τῆς προσηγορίας, ἀπαθῆς δ’ ἐπ’ αὐτῇ φυλαχθεσάμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ πάντων πατρός, εἰς ὀν κατὰ κοινωνίαν καὶ αὐτῶς τοῦ ὄνομασ τοῦ ἐνεργεῖν δόξεις τοῦ ἡμετέρου πατρὸς οἰκτόν λαβῶν ἐφ’ οἷς πεισεται. 152 τῶν παιδῶν στερούμενοι. σοι οὖν, ἀ παρέσχεν ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς ταῦτ’ ἐχοντ’ ἐξουσίαν ἀφέλεσθαι, δοῦναι καὶ μηδὲν ἐκεῖνον διενεγκεῖν τῇ χάριτι τῆς γὰρ ἐπαμφότερον δυνάμεως τετυχηκότα καλῶν

1 Lat.: cataliexi, etc., codd.
give; it is from consideration for our father and compassion for his old age that we present this petition to thee and plead for our lives, which our misdeed has delivered into thine avenging hands. He is no knave, nor did he beget sons like to be knavish: no, he is an honest man, undeserving of such trials; at this moment in our absence he is tortured with anxiety for us, and if he learns of our ruin and the cause of it, he will endure no more: that news far more than all will speed his departure, the ignominy of our end will precipitate his own and make his exit from this world miserable, for ere our story reaches other ears he will have hastened to render himself insensible. Bear, then, these considerations in mind, and, however much our wrong-doing provokes thee now, graciously give up to our father that retribution which justice demands, and let pity for him outweigh our crime: respect the old age of one who must live and die in solitude in losing us, and grant this boon in the name of fatherhood. For in this name thou wilt alike be doing honour to thy sire and granting a favour to thyself, seeing that thou already rejoicest in that title and wilt be preserved in unimpaired possession of it by God, who is the Father of all; since, in virtue of that name that thou thyself sharest with Him, it will be deemed an act of piety towards Him to take pity on our father and the sufferings that he will endure if bereaved of his children. While, then, thou hast authority to take from us that which God has granted us, thy part rather is to give and in no whit to come behind Him in charity; for it beseems the possessor of such two-

* Lat. in hac ratione (= έν τούτῳ τοῦ λογίσαν).  
* codd.: ἀπολευκάνων codd.
JOSEPHUS

tαύτην ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ παρὰν καὶ ἀπολλύειν τῆς μὲν κατὰ τούτο ἔξωνυάς ὡς μηδ’ ὑπαρχόντις ἐπιλαβάνεσθαι, μόνον δ’ ἐπι-
tετράβαι τὸ σῶς ὑπολαμβάνειν, καὶ ὅσῳ τις πλείον τοῦτο παρέξει μᾶλλον αὐτῷ φαίνεσθαι
154 διδόντα. οὐ δὲ πάντας ἡμᾶς σώσεις ἀδελφῷ συγγνώμη ὑπὲρ ὧν ἡτύχηκεν οὐδὲ γὰρ ἡμῶν
βιώσμα τούτου κοιλαθέντος, οἷς γε πρὸς τὸν πατέρα μὴ ἔξεστιν ἀνασωθῆναι μόνοις, ἀλλ’ ἐνθά-
δε δεῖ κοινωνήσαι τούτῳ τῆς αὐτῆς καταστροφῆς
155 τοῦ βίου. καὶ δεησόμεθα σου, στρατηγέ, κατα-
κρίνατος τὸν ἀδελφόν ἡμῶν ἀποθανεῖν συγκολάσαι καὶ ἡμᾶς ὡς τοῦ ἀδικήματος κεκοινωνηκότας. οὐ
γὰρ ἡξιώσομεν ἡμεῖς ὡς ἐπὶ λύπῃ τεθνηκότος αὐτοῦ ἀνελεῖν, ἀλλ’ ὡς ὄμοιος αὐτῷ πονηρὸι
156 γεγονότες οὕτως ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ ὅτι μὲν καὶ νέος
ὡν ἡμαρτε καὶ μήπω τὸ φρονεῖν ἐρημεισμένος καὶ ὡς ἀνθρώπων τοῖς τοιούτοις συγγνώμην νέμειν,
σοι καταληπτὼν παύσαι περαιτέρω λέγεις, ἐν εἰ
μὲν κατακρίνεισας ἡμῶν, τὰ μὴ λειχθέντα δόξη
157 βεβλαφέναι πρὸς τὸ σκυθρωπότερον ἡμᾶς, εἰ δ’
ἀπολύσεις, κάκεινα τῇ σαυτοῦ χρηστότητι συνιῶν
ἀπεφησόσθαι νομισθήσῃ, οὐ σώσας μόνον ἡμᾶς ἀλλὰ
καὶ δ’ οὐ δικαίοτεροι μᾶλλον φαινούμεθα τυχεῖν
χαριζόμενος καὶ πλέον ἡμῶν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ τῆς
158 ἡμετέρας νοῆσας σωτηρίας. εἰτ’ οὖν κτείνειν
αὐτὸν θέλεις, ἐμὲ τιμωρήσαμεν ἄντι τούτο τῷ
πατρὶ τούτον ἀπόπεμψον, ἐπεὶ καὶ κατέχειν σοι
δοκεῖ δοῦλων, ἐγὼ πρὸς τὰς χρείας σοι ὑπηρετι-
κώτερος, ἀμείων ὡς ὄρας πρὸς ἐκάτερον τῶν
159 παθῶν ὑπάρχων.’ Ἰεώδας μὲν οὖν πάντα ὑπομένειν
ὑπὲρ τῆς ταξιλοφού σωτηρίας ἦδεως ἔχων βέπτει
232
fold power to display it in acts of generosity, and, though at liberty to destroy, to forget his rights in this regard as though they existed not, and to believe that he is only empowered to save, and that the more numerous the persons to whom he extends this favour the greater the distinction that he confers upon himself. But thou wilt be the saviour of us all in pardoning our brother his unfortunate error; for life to us would be intolerable were he punished, since we cannot return in safety to our father alone, but must stay here to share his fate. And we shall entreat thee, my lord, shouldest thou condemn our brother to death, to punish us along with him as accomplices in the crime; for we shall claim, not in grief for his death to make away with ourselves, but as equally guilty with him to die in like manner.

"That the culprit is a youth whose judgment is not yet firm, and that it is human in such cases to accord indulgence, I leave to thee and forbear to say more; in order that, shouldest thou condemn us, it may be my omissions which may appear to have brought this severer injury upon us, and, shouldest thou absolve, our acquittal may be attributed to thy gracious and enlightened grasp of those further arguments; for thou wilt not only have saved us, but have presented us with what will show us to have been even more deserving of success and taken more thought than ourselves for our salvation. If, then, thou wouldest slay him, punish me in his stead and send him back to his father, or, if it please thee to detain him as a slave, I am more serviceable for thy offices, being, as thou seest, better fitted for either fate."

Thereupon Judas, glad to endure anything to save his brother, flung himself at Joseph’s feet, striving
πρὸ τῶν Ἰωσήφου ποδῶν ἑαυτὸν, ἐὰν πώς ἐκμαλάξειε τὴν ὄργην αὐτοῦ καὶ καταπράτευεν ἀγωνιζόμενος, προσπεσον δὲ καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ πάντες δαικρύνοντες καὶ παραδιδόντες ἑαυτοὺς ὑπὲρ τῆς Βεναμίν ψυχῆς ἀπολουμένους.

160 (9) Ο δὲ Ἰωσήφος ἐλεγχόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους καὶ μηκέτες δυνάμενος τὴν τῆς ὄργης φέρειν ὑπόκρισιν κελεύει μὲν ἀπελθεῖν τοὺς παρόντας, ἑνα μόνοις αὐτῶν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ποιήσῃ φανερῶν, ἀναχωρησάντων δὲ ποιεῖ γνώριμον αὐτὸν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς καὶ φησι: "τῆς μὲν ἀρετῆς ὑμᾶς καὶ τῆς εὐνοίας τῆς περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἡμῶν ἔπαινοι καὶ κρείστονας ἡ προσεδόκων ἐκ τῶν περὶ ἐμὲ βεβουλευμένων εὐρίσκω, ταῦτα πάντα ποιήσας ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ὑμετέρας φιλαδελφίας· φύσει δὲ οὐδὲ περὶ ἐμὲ νομίζω πονηρῶς γεγονέναι, θεοῦ δὲ βοηθήσει τὴν τε ὑμῶν πραγματευόμενον τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν καὶ τὴν ἐς ὑστέρον, ἀν εὐμενής ἡμῶν παραμείνῃ. πατρός τε ὑμῶν σωτηρίαν ἐγνωκός οὐδὲ ἐλπισθείσων καὶ τοιούτους ὑμᾶς ὅραν περὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν οὐδὲ ὅν ἐστὶ ἐμὲ δοκεῖτε ἀμαρτεῖν ἐπὶ μηνυματοῖς, παύσομαι δὲ τῆς ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς μισοπονηρίας καὶ ὡς συναιτούσι τῶν τῷ θεῷ βεβουλευμένων εἰς τὰ παρόντα χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ.

162 ὑμᾶς τε βουλομαι καὶ αὐτοὺς λήθῃ ἐκείνων λαβόντας ἰδεῖσαι μᾶλλον, τῆς τότε ἄβουλίας εἰς τοιοῦτον ἐπελθοῦσης τέλος, ἡ δυσφορεῖς αἰσχυνομένους ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις. μὴ οὖν δοξή λυπεῖν ὑμᾶς τὸ κατ᾽ ἐμοῦ ψῆφον ἔνεγκεῖν πονηρῶν καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ αὐτή μετάνοια τῷ γε μὴ προχωρήσαι τὰ βεβουλευμένα. χαίροντες οὖν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐκ θεοῦ γεγενημένοις ἀπίτη ταῦτα δηλώσοντες τῷ πατρί,
by any means to mollify and appease his wrath; and all the brethren fell down before him, weeping and offering themselves as victims to save the life of Benjamin.

(9) Joseph, now betrayed by his emotion and unable longer to maintain that simulation of wrath, bade those present retire, in order to reveal himself to his brethren alone. Then, the rest having withdrawn, he made himself known to his brethren and said: "I commend you for your virtue and that affection for our brother and find you better men than I had expected from your plots against me; for all this that I have done was to test your brotherly love. Nor yet, I think, was it through your own nature that ye did me ill, but by the will of God, working out that happiness that we now enjoy and that shall be ours hereafter, if He continue to be gracious to us. Having, then, learnt beyond all hope that my father lives, and seeing you thus devoted to our brother, I remember no more those sins against me of which ye think yourselves guilty; I shall cease to bear you malice for them as the culprits; and as assistants in bringing God's purposes to the present issue I tender you my thanks. And for your part, I would have you too forget the past and rejoice that that old imprudence has resulted in such an end, rather than be afflicted with shame for your faults. Let it not appear, then, that ye are grieved by a wicked sentence passed upon me and by remorse thereat, seeing that your designs did not succeed. Go, therefore, rejoicing at what God has wrought, to tell these things to our father, lest haply

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1 SP: τε rell.
μὴ καὶ ταῖς υπὲρ ὑμῶν φροντίσων ἀναλαβεῖς ζημιώσῃ μου τὸ κάλλιστον τῆς εὐθαμονίας, πρὶν εἰς ὅψιν ἔλθειν τὴν ἐμὴν καὶ μεταλαβεῖν τῶν 165 παρόντων ἀποθανόν. αὐτὸν δὲ τούτον καὶ γυναῖκας ὑμετέρας καὶ [τὰ] τέκνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν συγγένειαν ὑμῶν ἀναλαβόντες ἐνθάδε μετοικίζεσθε. οὐδὲ γὰρ ἀποδήμους εἶναι δεῖ τῶν ἁγαθῶν τῶν ἑμετέρων τοὺς ἐμοὶ φιλτάτους ἄλλως τε καὶ τῷ λιμῷ 166 λοιπὴν ἔτι πενταετίαν περιμενοῦντος.” ταῦτ' εἰπὼν Ἰώσηπος περιβάλλει τοὺς ἁδελφούς· οἱ δ' ἐν δάκρυσιν ἦσαν καὶ λύπη τῶν ἔπ' αὐτῷ βεβουλευμένων τιμωρίας τ' οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἀπολιπεῖν εἴδοκε τεῦγγυμον τάδελφον, καὶ τότε μὲν ἦσαν 167 ἐν εὐχάριστα βασιλεῖς δ' ἀκούσας ἤκοντας πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον τοὺς ἁδελφοὺς ἦσθη τε μεγάλως καὶ ὡς ἐπ' οἰκείω διατεθεῖς ἁγαθῶ παρεῖχεν αὐτοῖς ἀμάξας σιτοῦ πλήρεις καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ ἀργυρον ἀποκομίζειν τῷ πατρί. λαβόντες δὲ πλείω παρὰ τάδελφον τά μὲν τῷ πατρὶ φέρειν τά δὲ αὐτοὶ δωρεάς ἐχειν ἐκαστὸς ἴδιας, πλειόνων ἡξιωμένου Βενιαμίνον παρ' αὐτούς, ἀπῆσαν. 168 (vii. 1) Ὄς δ' ἀφικομένων τῶν παιδῶν Ἰάκωβος τὰ περὶ τὸν Ἰώσηπον ἐμαθεῖν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον εἰς τὸν θάνατον διαπεφυγὼς ἐφ' ὧν πενθῶν δεήγεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵνα μετὰ λαμπρὰς εὐθαμονίας βασιλεῖ συνδιέτων τὴν Ἀγιασμὸν καὶ τὴν ἀπασαν σχεδὸν 169 ἐγκεκεχειρισμένος αὐτῆς ἐπιμέλειαν, ἀπίστων μὲν οὖν ἐδόκει τῶν ἡγεμόνων λογιζόμενος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν μεγαλυτρίαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν, εἰ καὶ τῷ μεταξὺ χρόνῳ διελιπεν, ἀρμήτω δ' εὐθὺς πρὸς τὸν Ἰώσηπον.
he be consumed with brooding over you and rob me of the best of my felicity, by dying ere he come into my sight and partake of our present bliss. Do ye bring him, him and your wives and children and all your kinsfolk, and migrate hither; for those whom I cherish most must not be exiled from the prosperity that is ours, above all when the famine has still five years to continue." Having spoken thus Joseph embraced his brethren. But they were plunged in tears and grief for those designs upon him and found no lack of chastisement in this forbearance of their brother. They then resorted to festivity. But the king, hearing that Joseph's brethren were come to him, was highly delighted, and, moved as though some fortune had befallen himself, offered them wagons laden with corn, and gold and silver, to carry to their father. Then, after receiving further presents from their brother, some to take to their father, others for each to keep as his own, Benjamin being favoured with more than the rest, they went on their way.

(vii. 1) Now when on the arrival of his sons Jacob learnt the story of Joseph, how that he had not only escaped that death which he had mourned so long, but was living in splendid fortune, sharing with the king the government of Egypt and having well-nigh the whole charge of it in his hands, he could deem none of these reports incredible, 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.

* Josephus omits, or deliberately contradicts, the mention of his first incredulity: "his heart fainted, for he believed them not," Gen. xlv. 26.
JOSEPHUS

170 (2) Ὅσε δὲ κατέσχεν ἐπὶ τὸ Ὄρκιον φρέαρ, θύεις αὐτόθι τῷ θεῷ καὶ φοβούμενος διὰ τὴν εἰδαμονίαν τὴν ἐν Ἀγαύπτῳ τῶν παιδῶν ἐμφιλοχωρησάντων τῇ οἰκήσει τῇ ἐν αὐτῇ, μὴ σύκετὲ εἰς τὴν Χαηαμαίαν οἱ ἔγγονοι μετελθόντες κατά σχόσων αὐτὴν, ὡσ ὁ θεὸς ἦν ύπεσχημένος, ἅμα τε μὴ δίχα θεοῦ βουλήσεως γενομένης τῆς εἰς Ἀγαύπτον ἀφόδου διαφθαρῆ τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ, πρὸς δὲ τούτως δεδιώκωσ, μὴ προεξέλθῃ τοῦ βίου πρὶν εἰς ὁμὴν Ἰωσήφου παραγενέσθαι, καταφέρεται στρέβων ἐν ἑαυτῷ τούτῳ τὸν λογισμὸν εἰς ὑπὸν. 171 εἶπεν, ἑαυτῷ καὶ διὸς ὅνομασθαὶ καλέσας πυθανομένῳ τὸς ἐστιν, ἀλλ’ οὐ δίκαιον, ἔστεν, ὡς Ἰακώβως θεὸν ἀγνοεῖσθαι τὸν δεῖ παραστάτην καὶ βοηθὸν προγόνοις τε τοῖς σοῖς καὶ μετ’ αὐτῶν σοὶ γενόμενον. στερουμένω τε γὰρ σοι τῆς ἀρχῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ταύτην ἐγὼ παρέσχε, καὶ κατ’ ἐμὴν εὐνοιαν εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν μόνος σταλέις γάμοις τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἑτυχεῖς καὶ παῖδων ἑπαγόμενος πλήθος καὶ χρημάτων ἐνώστησας. 174 παρέμεινε τε σοι γενεὰ πάσα προνοίᾳ τῇ ἐμῆ, καὶ δν ἀπολωλέατας τῶν υἱῶν ἐδόκεις Ἰωσήφου [τούτων] εἰς ἀπόλαυσιν μεζόνοις ἀγαθῶν ἦγαγον καὶ τῆς Ἀγαύπτου κύριον, ὡς ἄλλως διαφέρειν τοῦ βα-
175 σιλέως, ἐποίησα. ἦκω τε νῦν ὅδον τε ταύτης ἡγεμόνοις καὶ βίου σου τελευτήν ἐν ταῖς Ἰωσήφου χερσὶ γεννομένην προδήλων καὶ μα-
κρὸν αἰῶνα τῶν σων ἑγγόνων ἐν ἡγεμονίᾳ καὶ δόξῃ καταγγέλλων καταστήσεως τε αὐτοῦς εἰς τὴν γην ἢν ἑπέσχημαι.”

1 ἐφόδου ROL (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.
JOSEPHUS

176 (4) Τούτω θαρρήσας τῷ ὑνεώτατι προδυμότερον εἶς τὴν Αἴγυπτον σὺν τοῖς υἱοῖς καὶ παισίν τοῖς τούτων ἀπηλλάττεστο. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ πάντες ἐβδομήκοντα. τὰ μὲν οὖν ὅνοματα δηλώσαι τούτων οὐκ ἐδοκίμαζον καὶ μάλιστα διὰ τὴν δυσκολίαν ἑαυτῶν ἡμαῖς οὐκ ὑπολαμβάνον ήμας ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἀλλ’ Αἴγυπτίους εἶναι, ἀναγκαίον ἡγησάμην μην ηὔσημαι τῶν ὅνομάτων. Ἰακώβου μὲν οὖν παῖδες ἦσαν δώδεκα: τούτων Ἰάκωβου ἦν προαύσητο τοὺς οὓς ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐκ τούτων γεγονότας δηλώσομεν. 178 Ῥουβηνίου μὲν ἦσαν παῖδες τέσσαρες, Ἀνώγης Φαλωὺς Ἐσσαράων Χάρμισος, Συμμεώνος δὲ ἔξι, Ἰσομήλιος Ἰάμεων Ποῦθοδος Ἰαχίνως Σῶρως Σαράμ, τρεῖς δὲ Λευ οἱ γεγονόται, Ἡλιόμης Κάλας Μαράφος. Ἰουδαδινς δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν τρεῖς, Σάλας Φάρεσος Ἐξελευ, νικον δὲ δυο γεγονόται διὰ Φαρέου, Ἐσράων καὶ Ἀμούρος. Ἰσαχάρου δὲ τέσσαρες, Θουπας Φρούρας Ιωβος Σαμάρων. 179 τρεῖς δὲ Ζαβουλών ἦγεν υἱοῖς, Σάραβαν Ἡλενα Ἰάννελων, τούτο μὲν τὸ ἐκ Δελας γένος καὶ αὐτὴ συνανεῖ καὶ θυγάτηρ αὐτῆς Δελαν, τρεῖς οὖτοι καὶ τριάκοντα. Ῥαχὴλας δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν δύο τούτων Ιωσήφων μὲν γεγόνεσαν υἱοὶ Μανασσῆς καὶ Ἐφραίμης. Βενιαμεὶ δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ δέκα,

1 + πίντε καὶ RO (after lxx).

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*a* So the Hebrew text of Genesis: lxx, including further descendants born in Egypt, raises the total to 75.
*c* So lxx (some mss.): Heb. Pālū.
*d* Bibl. Hezron (Ἄσρων).
*e* Carmi.
*f* Jemuel.
(4) Encouraged by this dream, Jacob with greater ardour departed for Egypt along with his sons and his sons' children: there were in all seventy 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), Saar(os), Saur(as) ; Levi had three sons, Golgom(os), Kaath(os), Marain(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, Bel(os).
Βόλος Βάκχαρις Ἀσαβήλος Γῆλας Νεεμάνης Ἰησοῦς Ἀρους Νομφίθης Ὀσπαίς Ἀραβὸς. ¹ οὗτοι τεσσάρες καὶ δέκα πρὸς τοὺς πρῶτους κατελεγμένοι εἰς ἑπτά καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γίνονται τὸν ἀριθμὸν. καὶ τὸ μὲν γυνήν, τὸν τῆς Ἰακώβου τοῦ Ἰακώβου, ἐκ Βάλλας δὲ αὐτῷ γίνονται τῆς Ραχῆλας θεραπαινίδος Δάνως καὶ Νεφελίς, ὁ τεσσάρες εἰςποντο παίδες, Ὑελίμος Γούνος Σάρης τε καὶ Σέλλιμος, Δάνω δὲ μονογενὲς ἦν παιδίον.

182 Οὕτως, τούτων προσγενομένων τοῖς προειρημένοις πεντήκοντα καὶ τεσσάρων πληροῦσιν ἀριθμὸν. Γάνθης δὲ καὶ Ἀσηρός ἐκ Ζελφᾶς μὲν ἠσν, ἥν Δειάς δὲ αὐτῇ θεραπαινίς, παῖδας δὲ ἐπήγαγον Γάνθης μὲν ἑπτά, Ζοφωνίαν Οὐγιν Σεώνιν Ζάβρωνα.

183 Εἰρήνη τῇ Ἐρωδίῃ Αρέθη. Ἀσηρός δὲ ἦν θυγατὴρ καὶ ἄρσενας ἀριθμὸν ἐξ, ὃς ὀνόματι Ἰώμην Ἰσούσιος Ἰεοῦθης Βάρης Αβαρός τε καὶ Μελχίμπος. τούτων ἐκκαθεδεκα ὄντων καὶ προστυμενῶν τοὺς πεντήκοντα τεσσάρων ὁ προειρημένος ἀριθμός πληροῦται μὴ συγκαταλεγέντος αὐτοῖς Ἰακώβου.

184 (5) Μαθάων δὲ Ἰωσήφος παραγινόμενος τὸν πατέρα, καὶ γάρ προλαβὼν Ἰουδᾶς ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐδήλωσεν αὐτῷ τὴν ἀφιεν, ἀπαντησόμενος ἐξείσι καὶ καθ' Ἡρωών πολὺν αὐτῷ συνεβαλεν. ὁ δὲ

¹ Σέροδοι codd. ² RO: παραγενόμενον rell.

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¹ Becher (Ῥεχῶρ with variants). ² Ashbel.
² Gera; Josephus follows the Hebrew in reckoning him and the five following persons as sons (not, as in lxx, grandsons) of Benjamin.
Baccharis, Asabel(os), Gélas, Neeman(os), Iês, Gen. xvi. Arôs, Nomphthes, Oppais, Arod(os).

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), Gounis, Sares, and Sellim(os); Dan had but one infant, Ousis.

These, added to the foregoing, make up a total of fifty-four. Gad and Asês were sons of Zelpha, the handmaid of Leah: Gad brought with him seven sons, Zophônias, Ougis, Soumis, Zabron, Irênês, Erôidès, Arieles; Asêr had one daughter and six sons, whose names were Jômnes, Isousi(os), Êioubes, Bares, Abar(os), and Melchiël(os).

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, Jacob in Egypt, for his brother Judas had gone on before to announce his coming; and he went out to meet him and joined him at Heroopolis. Jacob from joy, so unlooked-for

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3 Hushim (Ἄρδμω). Ziphlon (Ζάφων).
4 Haggi (Αγγελεύ). Shuni (Σωνί).
5 Ezbon (Εζών). Eri, Arodi, Areli.
6 Named Sera in Genesis. Imnah (Ἰμνά).
7 Ishvah. Ishvi (Ἰσβάλ). Beriah (Βαρεία).
8 Heber (Χαβάρ): he and the next are in Genesis grandsons of Aser.
9 So LXX: Hebr. Malchiel.

* 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. 1. 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.
υπὸ τῆς χαρᾶς ἀπροσδοκητοῦ τε καὶ μεγάλης γενομένης μικροῦ δεῖν ἐξέλθειν, ἀλλ' ἀνεξωπύρησεν αὐτὸν Ἰακώβου σοῦ αὐτὸς μὲν κράτησα δυνηθεὶς ὡς μὴ ταύτῳ παθεῖν ὑψ' ἡδονής, οὐ μέντοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον τῷ πατρὶ γενόμενος ἦττων τοῦ πάθους. ἔπευτα τὸν μὲν ἡρέμα κελεύσας ὀδεύειν αὐτὸς δὲ παραλαβὼν πέντε τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἤπειγετο πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα φράσων αὐτῷ παραγενόμενον μετὰ τοῦ γένους τοῦ Ἰακώβου. ὑ δὲ τοῦτο χαίρων ἢκουσε καὶ τὸν Ἰακώβου ἐκτελεύθην αὐτῷ λέγειν τοὺς βίου τερπόμενους διατελοῦν, ὡς αὐτοῖς τούτον ἐπιτρέψετε διάγειν. ὁ δὲ ποιμένας αὐτοὺς ἀγαθῶς ἐλεγε καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἢ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσ- ανέχειν, τοῦ τε μὴ διαζευγμένος ἀλλ' ἐν ταὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας ἐπιμελεῖσθαι τοῦ πατρός προνοούμενος τοῦ τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις εἶναι προσφελεῖς μηδέν πράττοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ἐκείνων. Αἰγυπτίοις γὰρ ἀπειρημένον ἦν περὶ νομᾶς ἀνα- στρέφεσθαι.

187 (δ') Τοῦ δ' Ἰακώβου παραγενόμενον πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα καὶ ἀσπαζομένου τε καὶ κατευχομένου περὶ τῆς βασιλείας αὐτῶν ὁ Φαραώθης ἐπυνθάνετο, 188 πόσον ἡ δ' ἀβεβικός εἰς χρόνον. τοῦ δ' ἐκατόν ἐτη καὶ τριάκοντα γεγονέται φήσαντος ἐθαμάσε τοῦ μήκους τῆς ζωῆς τοῦ Ἰακώβου. εἰπόντος δ' ὡς ἦττων τῶν προγόνων εἰς ἀβεβικός ἦτη συν- εχόμενον αὐτῶν ξῆν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐν Ἱλίου πόλει εἰς ἐκείνη γὰρ καὶ οἱ ποιμένες αὐτοῦ τὰς νομᾶς εἶχον.

* After Gen. xlvi. 34 "for every shepherd is an abomination unto the Egyptians.” “While there is evidence that 244
and so great, was like to die, but Joseph revived him; he too was not master enough of himself to resist the same emotion of delight, but was not, like his father, overcome by it. Then, bidding his father journey gently on, he with five of his brethren sped to the king to tell him of Jacob’s arrival with his family. The king rejoiced at the news and bade Joseph tell him what kind of life it was their pleasure to pursue, so that he might permit them to follow the same. Joseph replied that they were good shepherds and devoted themselves to no other calling save that, being anxious both that they should not be separated but, living together, should look after their father, and also that they should ingratiate themselves with the Egyptians by not following any of their pursuits, for the Egyptians were forbidden to occupy themselves with pasturage.\(^a\)

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

\(^a\) Or " realm."

\(^b\) 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.

\(^c\) This addition of Josephus appears, as it stands, a little inconsistent with the last words of the previous paragraph.
189 (7) Ὁ δὲ λυμός τοῖς Ἀλγυπτίοις ἐπετείνετο καὶ τὸ δεινὸν ἀπορώτερον ἐτὶ καὶ μᾶλλον αὐτῶς ἐγένετο μῆτε τοῦ ποταμοῦ [τὴν γῆν] ἐπάρδοντος, οὐ γὰρ ἦξαν, μῆτε ὄντος τοῦ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν τῇ μηδεμίᾳ αὐτῶν ὑπ' ἀγνοίας, πεποιημένων. καὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφου τῶν σῶν ἐπὶ χρήμασιν αὐτῶς διδόντος, ὡς ταύτη αὐτῶς ἐπέλειπε, τῶν βοσκημάτων ἑωνούντο τῶν σῶν καὶ τῶν ἀνδραπόδων· οἷς δὲ καὶ γῆς τῆς ἤν μοῖρα ταύτης παρεγώρουν ἐπὶ τιμῇ τροφῆς. οὕτως τῇ βασιλείᾳ πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιουσίας κυρίου γεγενημένου, μετακισθῆσαι ἄλλος ἄλλαχος; ὅπως βεβαιά γένηται τῷ βασιλείᾳ τῆς χώρας τούτων ἡ κυρία, πλὴν τῶν ἱερεῶν τούτων γὰρ ἔμενεν ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. ἔδοξοι δὲ αὐτῶν οὗ τὰ σώματα μόνον τὸ δεινὸν ἄλλα καὶ τὰς διανοίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς ἀσχήμονα τῆς τροφῆς εὐπορίαν αὐτῶς κατηγάγαζε. ἠσφαλίσατο δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβάντος καὶ ταύτης τούς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως ἐκφερούσης, ὁ Ἰωσήφος εἰς ἕκαστην παραγενώμενος πόλιν καὶ συλλέγων ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ πλῆθος τῆς τῆς γῆς αὐτῶς, ἡν ἐκείνων παραχωροῦσιν βασιλείς ἤχεω ἦδοντο καὶ καρποῦσαν μόνος, εἰς ἄπαν ἐχαρίζετο καὶ κτῆμα ἴδιον ἠγουμένως φιλεργεῖν παρεκάλει τὴν πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν τῷ βασιλείᾳ τελοῦντας ὑπὲρ τῆς χώρας, ἦν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς οὖσαν αὐτοῦ. τοὺς δὲ παρ' ἐπίδαιρας κυρίους τῆς γῆς καθισταμένους χαρὰ τε ἐλάμβανε καὶ ὑφόσταντο τὰ προστάγματα. καὶ τούτων τῷ τρόπῳ τὸ τε ἄξωμα παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλγυπτίοις αὐτοῦ μεῖζον

1 So Lat., 2 δὲ codd., 3 ταύτης E. Zon., 4 ἄλλαχοτε 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

a This remark, as Reland observed, ignores the fact that Egypt is practically a rainless country.

b Based on Thuc. ii. 61 ἐκεῖ οὐράνιο γάρ πέρι πόλεως το εἰδωλίθ αὐτῶν κτλ. (Pericles on the plague of Athens); a favourite phrase of Josephus or his assistant; cf. iii. 56, xix. 42.
ΙΔισθησον ἀπεργάζεται ἐπέλυσε τε τῆν εὐνοιὰν τῶν βασιλέων παρ’ αὐτῶν, ὅ τε τοῦ τελεύτη τῆς πέμπτην τῶν καρπῶν νόμος ἔμεινε καὶ μέχρι τῶν ύστερον βασιλέων.

194 (viii. 1) Ἰάκωβος δὲ ἐπτακαίδεκατον ἔτος ἐν Ἀγάπτεω διατρίβας καὶ νόσῳ χρησάμενος παρόντων αὐτῶν τῶν νεῶν ἀπέθανεν, ἐπευμανεῖτο τοῖς μὲν κτήσεω ἀγαθῶν καὶ προειπών αὐτοῖς κατὰ προφητείαν, πῶς μέλλει τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενεᾶς αὐτῶν ἐκαστος κατοικεῖν τὴν Χαναάναν, ὡς δὲ καὶ πολ- λοίς ύστερον χρόνοις ἐγένετο, Ἰωσήφου δ’ ἐγκώ- μοιν διεξελθὼν, ἵνα μὴ μητροκακήσει τοῖς ἀδελ- φοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτον πλέον χρηστὸς εἰς αὐτοὺς ἐγένετο δωρησάμενος αὐτοὺς ἀγαθοῖς, οἵς οὐδὲ εὐεργετάς τινὲς ἡμεῖς πάντως, προσέταξε τοῖς ἴδιοις παισίν, ἵνα τοὺς Ἰωσήφου παιδας Ἐφραίμην καὶ Μανασσῆν εἰς τὸν αὐτῶν ἀρχιμον προσώπως δι- αμορφοῦμεν μετ’ αὐτῶν τὴν Χαναάναν, καλεῖ δ’ ὑστερον ἐροῦμεν. ἦξος μεν τοι καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Νεβρῆν τυχάνεις τελευτᾶ δὲ βιοὺς ἐτη τά πάν- τα τρίων δέοιτα πεντήκοντα καὶ ἐκατόν, μηδενος μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἀπολειφθέως ἐπ’ εὐεργετὰς τοῦ θεοῦ, τυχὼν δὲ ἀμοιβής ἢς δίκαιον ἢ τοὺς οὔτως ἀγαθοῖς γεγονότας. Ἰωσήφος δὲ συγγρησάμενος αὐτῶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς νεκρῶν εἰς 197 Νεβρῆνα κομίσας ἐκεῖ θάπτει πολυτελῶς. τῶν δ’ ἀδελφῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτούς συνυποτρέφειν, δέος γὰρ αὐτῶν εἴχε μη τεθυκότως αὐτοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς τιμωρήσας τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν ἔπιβουλής, οὔκετ’ ἐντὸς καὶ χαρίζοιτο τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς μετρό- τητα, πείθει μηδὲν ὑφοράσθαι μεθ’ ἐξειν αὐτῶν δ’ ὑποψίας, ἀγαθῶν δὲ μεθ’ αὐτοῦ κτήσεω πολλήν 248
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

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Death and burial of Jacob.  
Ib. 38, xlviii. 1, xlix. 1.  
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1 + ἐκκ codd.  
2 Lat.: rever codd.

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ἐξαρίστατο καὶ πάση περὶ αὐτοῦς σπουδῆ ἡ χρώ-
μενος οὐκ ἀπέλιπε.

198 (2) Τελευτᾷ δὲ καὶ οὗτος ἐτη βιώσας ἐκατὸν
καὶ δέκα θαυμάσιος τὴν ἀρετὴν γενόμενος καὶ
λογισμῷ πάντα διοικῶν καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν ταμιεύ-
μενος, δὴ καὶ τῆς τουαύτης εἰδαμονίας αἰτίων
ἀυτῷ παρὰ τοῖς Ἀλγυπτίοις ἄλλαχοθεν ἤκοντι καὶ
μετὰ τουαύτης κακοπραγίας, μεθ’ ἓς προειρήκαμεν,
199 ὑπήρχε, τελευτῶσι δ’ αὐτὸν καὶ οἱ ἀδελφοὶ
ξέσαντες εἰδαμόνως ἐπὶ τῆς Ἀλγύπτου, καὶ
τούτων μὲν τὰ σώματα κομίσαντες μετὰ χρόνον
οἱ ἀπόγονοι [καὶ οἱ παῖδες] ἔβαψαν ἐν Νεβρῶιν,
200 τὰ δὲ Ἰωσήφου ὀστα ὑστερον, ὅτε μετανέστησαν
ἐκ τῆς Ἀλγύπτου οἱ Ἐβραῖοι, εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν
ἐκάμισαν οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ Ἰωσήφος ἐξώρκισε.
τούτων οὖν ἐκαστὸς ὡς ἔσχε καὶ τίς πόνοις ἐκρά-
τησαν τῆς Χαναναίας σημαντῶ προδιηγησάμενος
τὴν αἰτίαν δι’ ἓν τὴν Ἀλγύπτον ἐξέλισσαν.

201 (ix. 1) Ἀλγυπτίοις τρυφεροῖς καὶ ἰδιόμουσι πρὸς
πόνους οὖσι καὶ τῶν τε ἄλλων ήδονῶν ἦσσοι καὶ
δὴ καὶ τῆς κατὰ φιλοκέρδειαν συνέβησεν ἐν ἔνα
τούς Ἐβραίους διατεθήκει κατὰ φθόνον τῆς εὐ-
202 δαιμονίας. ὡς ὁ Ἰσραηλιτῶν γένος
ἀκμάζον καὶ δι’ ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν
eὐφυὴν πλήθει χρημάτων ἡθη λαμπροῦσι, καθ’
αὐτῶν αὐξεῖσθαι τοῦτον ὑπελάμβανον, ὅπε ἓν
[εὖ] ὑπὸ Ἰωσήφου τετυχηκότες διὰ χρόνου μῆκος
λήθην λαβόντες καὶ τής 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 descendants [and their sons] to Hebron and buried there. 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,

μετεληθυῖας δεινῶς ἐνόβριζον τε τοῖς Ἰσραήλιταῖς
203 καὶ ταλαιπωρίας αὐτῶις ποικίλας ἐπενόουν. τὸν
tε γὰρ ποταμὸν εἰς διώρυγας αὐτῶις πολλὰς προσ-
έταξαν διατεμείς τείχῃ τε οἰκοδομῆσαι ταῖς πόλεις
καὶ χώματα, ὅπως ἄν εἴργοι τὸν ποταμὸν μὴ
λιμνάξειν [ἐξ] ἐκείνων] ἐπεκβαίνοντα, πυραμίδας
τε ἀνακοδομοῦντες ἐξετρύχουν ἡμῶν τὸ γένος, ώς
τέχνας τε παντοῖας ἀναδιδάσκεσθαι καὶ τοῖς πόνοις
204 γενέσθαι συνῆθεις. καὶ τετρακοσίων μὲν ἐτῶν
χρόνων διήμησαν ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις· ἀντεφιλοικόν
γὰρ οἱ μὲν Ἀλγύπτιοι τοῖς πόνοις ἐξαπολέσατο τοὺς
Ἰσραήλιτας θέλοντες, οἱ δὲ ἄεὶ κρείττοις φαίνεσθαι
tῶν ἐπταγμάτων.

205 (2) Ἔν τούτοις δ’ οὖν τῶν αὐτῶν τοῖς πράγμασιν
ἀστίᾳ τοῦ μᾶλλον σπουδάσαι περὶ τὸν ἀφανισμὸν
tοῦ γένους ἡμῶν τοῖς Ἀλγύπτιοι προσεγένετο
τουσίτης τῶν ἱερογραμματέων τις, καὶ γὰρ εἰς
dείνοι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων τὴν ἀλήθειαν εἰπέν,
ἀγγέλλει τῷ βασιλεῖ τεχθῆσθαι τινα κατ’
ἐκεῖνον τὸν καρόν τοῖς Ἰσραήλιταῖς, ὅς ταπεινώσει
μὲν τὴν Ἀλγύπτων ἄγειμον, αὐξησεὶ δὲ τοὺς
Ἰσραήλιτας τραφεῖς ἁρετῇ τε πάντας ὑπερβαλεῖ
206 καὶ δόξαν ἀείμνηστον κτῆσεται. δείκας δ’ οἱ
βασιλεῖς κατὰ γνώμην τὴν ἐκεῖνον κελεύει πάν
τὸ γεννηθέν ἄρσεν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν εἰς τὸν
ποταμὸν ρίπτοντας διαφθέρειν, παραφυλάσσεσιν
tε τὰς ὁδὸν τῶν Ἐβραίων γυναικῶν καὶ τοὺς
τοκετοὺς αὐτῶν παρατηρεῖν τὰς Ἀλγύπτων μαίας.

— 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 in-
consistent with other statements of Josephus. In Ex. xii. 40,
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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 cast into the river, and that the labours of Hebrew women with child should be observed and watch kept for their delivery by the Egyptian midwives:

where the sojourn in Egypt is reckoned as 430 years, Josephus, following the rxx, 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.
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207 ὑπὸ γὰρ τούτων αὐτὰς ἐκέλευε μαυσολεῖα, αἱ δὲ συγγένειαι ἐμελλοῦν μὴ παραβῆσθαι τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως βουλήσω· τοὺς μέντοι καταφρονήσαντας τοῦ προστάγματος καὶ σώζειν θάβρα τολμήσαντας τὸ τεχθὲν αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρεσθαι σὺν τῇ γενεᾶ προσ-
208 ἐταξεῖν. δεινὸν οὖν τοῖς ὑπομένουσι τὸ πάθος, οὐ καθὸ παῖδων ἀπεστεροῦτο καὶ γονεῖς ὄντες αὐτοὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπώλειαν ὑπούργουν τῶν γεννω-
μένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ ἐπώνυμα τῆς τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐπιλείψεως, φθειρομένων μὲν τῶν τικτομένων, αὐτῶν δὲ διαλυθησομένων, χαλεπὴν αὐτοῖς καὶ
209 δυσπαραμύθητον ἔποιεί τὴν συμφοράν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἦσαν ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κακῷ κρατήσεις δὲ ἀν
οὐδεὶς τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης οὐδὲ μιρίας τέχνας ἐπὶ τούτῳ μηχανησάμενος· ὁ τε γὰρ πάις, ὃν
προεῖπεν ὁ θεογράμματεύς, τρέφεται λαθῶν τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως φυλακὴν καὶ ἀληθῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐξ
αὐτοῦ γενησομένους τοῖς προειπων εὐρέθη. γνώτει
δὲ οὕτως.
210 (3) Ἀμάραμης τῶν ἐδ γεγονότων παρὰ τοῖς
Ἐβραίοις, ὡς δεδώσ ὑπὲρ τοῦ παυτοῦ ἔθνους, μὴ
σπάνει τῆς ἐπιτραφησομένης νεότητος ἐπιλείψη,
καὶ χαλεπῶς ἐφ’ αὐτῶν φέρων, ἐκεῖνο γὰρ αὐτῷ τὸ
211 γύναιον, ἐν ἀμηχάνοις ἢ, καὶ πρὸς ἐκείναν τοῦ
θεοῦ τρέπεται παρακαλῶν οἶκτον ἤδη τινὰ λαβέων
αὐτῶν ἀνθρώπων μηδὲν τῆς εἰς αὐτῶν θρησκείας
παραβεβηκότων δοῦναι τ’ ἀπαλλαγὴν αὐτοῖς ὧν
παρ’ ἐκείνων ἐκακοπάθουν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ τῆς ἐπ’
212 ἀπωλεία τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν ἐλπίδος. ὁ δὲ θεὸς
ἐλεήσας αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἱκεσίαν 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

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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).
εἰς τὸν αὐτὸν μὲν μόνον ἐκ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας ἐκ τὴς Χαναναίας παραγενόμενον εὐδαιμονήσαι τὰ τῇ Ἀλλα καὶ τῇ γυναικὸς αὐτῷ πρὸς γυνήν ἀκάρπως ἤχοντος πρότερον, ἑπεὶ κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀγαθὴς πρὸς τοῦτο γενομένης, τεκνῶσαι παιδὶς καὶ καταλιπεῖν μὲν Ἰσραήλ καὶ τοῖς εἰς αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἀράβων γυρώσαρ, τοῖς δὲ ἐκ Κατούρας τῇ Τρῳγλοδῦν, Ἰσάκῳ δὲ τῇ Χαναναίᾳ. "ὁσα τε πολεμῶν κατὰ τὴν ἐμὴν", φησί, "συμμαχίαν ἡνδραγάθησε καὶ ἁσεβείς εἶναι δόξατε μή διὰ μνήμης ἤχοντες. Ἰάκωβον δὲ καὶ τοὺς σὺν ὅμοφυλοις γνώριμου εἰναι συμβέβηκεν ἐπὶ τε μεγέθει τῆς εὐδαιμονίας μεθ᾽ ἐκ ἐβλώσῃ καὶ παῖσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ κατέλιπεν, οὐ μετὰ ἐβδομήκορτα τῶν πάντων ἐς Αἰγυπτίων ἀφικομένου υπὲρ ἐξήκουντα που μυριάδες ήθη γεγόνατε. γνώριμοι δὲ τοῦ κοινῆς συμφέροντος ὦμων ἵστο προνοοῦμεν καὶ τῆς σῆς εὐκλείας· ὁ παῖς γὰρ οὕτως, οὗ τὴν γένεσιν Αἰγυπτίων δεδιότες κατέκριναν ἀπολλύειν τὰ ἐκ Ἰσραηλίτων τυκτόμενα, σῶς ἕσται, καὶ λίγοτερον μὲν τούς ἐπ᾽ ὀλέθρῳ παρα- φυλάσσοντας, τραφεῖς δὲ παραδόξως τὸ μὲν Ἐφραιῶν γένος· τῆς παρ᾽ Αἰγυπτίως ἀνάγκης ἀπολύειν, μνήμης δὲ ἐφ᾽ ὅσον μενεῖ χρόνον τὰ

1 edd.: άξεστε καὶ codd.
2 μυριάδες Ε.
sleep,\(^{a}\) exorted 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 Troglydytis,\(^{b}\) to Isaac Canaan. "Aye," He said, "and all that prowess that he displayed in war under my auspices,\(^{c}\) 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.\(^{d}\) 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-

\(^a\) Amram’s dream, an amplification of the Biblical narrative, is mentioned in the oldest Rabbinic commentary on Exodus, known as Mechilta (Weil).

\(^b\) i. 233 f.

\(^c\) In the rescue of Lot.

\(^d\) The traditional exaggerated figure of the adult males who left Egypt (Ex. xii. 37, Numb. xi. 21).
σύμπαντα τευχέται παρ' ἀνθρώποις οὐχ Ἑβραίοις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀλλοφύλοις, ἐμοῦ τούτῳ χαριζομένῳ σοι τε καὶ τοῖς ἐκ σοῦ γενησομένοις. ἐσταὶ δ' αὐτῷ καὶ ὁ ἄδελφός του ὄντως, ὡστε τὴν ἐμὴν ἐξευθείαν ἀντίν τε καὶ τοὺς ἐγγόνους αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου."  

217 (4) Ταῦτα τῆς ὄψεως αὐτοῦ δηλωσάσης περιεγερθεὶς ὁ Ἀμαράμης ἔδηλου τῇ Ἰωχαβίλῃ, γυνῇ δ' ἦν αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ δεός ἔτι μείζον διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὀνείρου πρόρρηιν αυτοῖς συνιστατο. οὐ γὰρ ὡς περὶ παιδός μόνον εὐλαβεῖς ἦσαν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὡς επὶ μεγέθει τοσαύτης εὐδαμονίας ἐσομένου. τοῖς μέντοι προκατηγγελμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ πίστιν ὁ τοκετὸς τῆς γυναικὸς παρεῖχε λαθοῦσης τοὺς φύλακας διὰ τὴν τῶν ἀδίκων ἐπειδείκειαν καὶ τῷ μὴ βιαλάς αὐτῇ προσπεειν τάς ἄλγηδόνας, καὶ τρεῖς μὲν μῆνας παρ' αὐτοῖς τρέφουσι λανθάνοντες.  

218 ἔπειτα δὲ δεῖσας Ἀμαράμης, μὴ καταφωρος γένηται καὶ πεσὼν ὑπὸ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ὀργῆν αὐτός τε ἀπόληται μετὰ τοῦ παιδίου καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐπαγγελίαν ἀφανίσειειν, ἐγὼ μάλλον ἐπὶ τούτῳ ποιήσασθαι τὴν τοῦ παιδὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ πρόνοιαν η τῷ λήσεσθαι πεπιστευκώς, τοῦτο δ' ἦν ἄδηλον, ἐναποκυνδυνεῦσιν οὐ τῷ παιδί μόνον τὰ χρυσάνθετα τρεφομένα ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτῷ· τῶν δὲ θεοῦ ἡκεῖτο πάσαν ἐκπορευέας ἀσφάλειαν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν φευδές γενέσθαι τῶν εἰρημένων. ταῦτα κρίναντες μηχανῶνται πλέγμα βιβλίων, ἐμφερὲς τῇ κατα σκέψει κοιτίδι, μεγέθους αὐτὸ ποιήσαντες αὐτότακτον εἰς τὸ μετ' εὐρυχωρίας ἐναποκεῖσθαι το  

1 περιχαρῆς ἔγερθει ῬΟ.  

2 ἐπολεῖται codil.

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bered, so long as the universe shall endure, not by Hebrews alone but even by alien nations; that favour do I bestow upon thee and upon thy posterity. Furthermore, he shall have a brother so blessed as to hold my priesthood, he and his descendants, throughout all ages."

(4) These things revealed to him in vision, Amaram on awaking disclosed to Jochebel(e), 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;

a Bibl. Jochebed (LXX Ἰωκειή) Ex. vi. 20: the final consonant in the form above comes from confusion of the Greek letters Δ and Λ and is perhaps attributable to later scribes.

b Amplification, with Rabbinic parallel (Weill).
221 βρέφος, ἐπείτα χρίσαντες ἀσφάλτῳ, τῷ γὰρ ἔδατι τὴν διὰ τῶν πλεγμάτων ἀποφράττειν εἰσόδον ἢ ἀσφάλτος πέρυκεν, ἐντιθέασι τὸ παιδίον καὶ κατὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ βαλόντες ἐξασθὲν ἐπὶ τῷ θεῷ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὁ ποταμὸς παραλαβὼν ἐφέρε, Μαριάμη ἔδε τοῦ παιδὸς ἀδελφῆς κελευσθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς μητρὸς ἀντιπαρεξήμη φερό-μενον ὅποι χωρήσει ὁμομένη τῷ πλέγμα. ἐνθα καὶ διέδειξεν ὁ θεὸς μηδὲν μὲν τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην σύνεσιν, πάν τι ὁ τι καὶ βουλήσει πράττειν αὐτοῦ τέλους ἀγαθοῦ τυγχάνον, καὶ διαμαρτάνοντας μὲν τοὺς ὑπέρ οἰκείας ἀσφαλείας ἄλλων κατακρίνοντας ὀλέθρων καὶ πολλῆς περὶ τούτως χρησαμένους
223 σπουδῆς, σωζομένους δ᾿ ἐκ παραδόξου καὶ σχεδὸν ἐκ μέσου τῶν κακῶν εὐρικομένους τὴν εὐπραγίαν τοὺς κυνικεύοντας τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ. τοιοῦτον δὲ τι καὶ περὶ τὸν παίδα τούτον γενόμενον ἐμφανίζει τὴν ἱσχύν τοῦ θεοῦ.

224 (5) Θάρμουθς ἢν θυγάτηρ τοῦ βασιλείως. αὐτὴ παίζοντα παρὰ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ φέρο-μενον ὑπὸ τοῦ ρέματος θεραμάθει τὸ πλέγμα κολυμβητὰς ἐπιπέμπει κελεύσασα τὴν κοιτίδα πρὸς αὐτὴν ἔκκομίσαι. παραγενομένων δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τούτων σταλέντων μετὰ τῆς κοιτίδος ἱδούα τὸ παιδίον ὑπερηγάτησε μεγέθους τε ἐνέκα καὶ 225 κάλλους· τοσαύτη γὰρ ὁ θεὸς περὶ Μωυσῆν ἐχρή-σατο σπουδῆς, ὡς ὑπὸ αὐτῶν τῶν ψυφισμάτων διὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γένεσιν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους ἀπώλειαν ποιῆσαι τροφῆς καὶ

1 aūtēs (ipse) Lat.
2 Bekker: τούτου (toútou) codd.

* Miriam (LXX Μαρία) Ex. xv. 20.
then, having daubed it with bitumen, that substance serving to prevent the water from penetrating through the wicker-work, they placed the young child within and, launching it on the river, committed his salvation to God. The river received its charge and bore it on, while Mariam(e), a 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 καὶ Φαρίς (alias Isis). Artapanus (2nd cent. B.C., ap. Eus. Praep. Ev. ix. 27) calls her Merris; the Talmud, after I Chron. iv. 18, Bithiah.

c Ex. ii. 5 “her handmaid” (LXX τῇ ἡμ θῆς).
ἐπιμελείας ἀξιωθήναι. κελεύει τε γινώσκων ἡ Θέρ
226 μουσις ἀχθηναι παρέξων θηλὴν τῷ παιδίῳ. μὴ
προσεμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν θηλὴν ἀλλ’ ἀποστρα-
φέντος καὶ τοῦτ’ ἐπὶ πολλῶν πιστεύοντος γυναικῶν,
ἡ Μαρίαμη παρατυχάνουσα τοὺς γυνομένους σω̣χ
ἄστε ἐκ παρασκευῆς δοκεῖν ἀλλὰ κατὰ θεωρίαν,
"μάτην," εἰπεν, "οὐ βασιλίσσα, ταῦτα ἐπὶ
τροφῇ τοῦ παιδός μετακαλῆ τὰς γυναῖκας, αἱ
μηδὲν πρὸς αὐτὸ συγγενὲς ἔχουσιν. εἴ μὲντοι
τινὰ τῶν Ἐβραίων γυναίκων ἀχθήναι πιστεύειας,
227 τάχα ἄν προσότο θηλὴν ὀμοφύλου." δόξασαν δὲ
λέγειν εἰς κελεύει τοῦτ’ αὐτὴν ἐκπορίσαι καὶ τῶν
γαλουχοῦσιν τινὰ μεταβεῖν.3 ἡ δὲ τοιαύτης ἐξ-
ουσίας λαβομένη παρηκ ἄγουσα τὴν μητέρα μηδὲν
γινοσκομενὴν. καὶ τὸ παιδίον ἀσμενίσαν πως
προσφέρεται τῇ θηλῇ, καὶ δεηθέντως τε τῆς βασι-
λίδος πιστεύεται τὴν τροφὴν τοῦ παιδίου πρὸς τὸ
πάν.4
228 (6) Κατ’ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην τῶν συμ-
βεβηκότων ἔθετο εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ἐμπεσόντες· τὸ
γὰρ ὕδωρ μὲν Ἀιγύπτιοι καλοῦσαν, ἐσῆς δὲ τοὺς5
σωθέντας· συνβίβασεν οὖν εἰς ἀμφιτέρων τὴν προ-
229 ἡγορίαν αὐτῶν ταύτην τίθενται. καὶ ἤν ὀμολογο-
μένως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ πρόρρησιν φρονήματος
τε μεγάλει καὶ πόνων καταφρονήσει τῆς Ἐβραίων
ἀριστος. Ἀβραὰμος γὰρ αὐτῷ πατὴρ ἐβδομος:
'Αμαράμου γὰρ αὐτὸς ἦν παῖς τοῦ Καλάου,
Καλάου δὲ πατήρ Λεωνὶς  ὁ τοῦ Ἰακὼβου, ὃς

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1 RO: μετελείας rell.
2 Niese suspects a lacuna.
3 Lat., Eustath.: + εἰ οὖν σοι codd.
4 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 ῶδυ and those who are saved esēs; 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 draw him out of the water," Heb. mashah, "draw out") for one professedly Egyptian. The first half of his interpretation recurs in Ap. 1. 286, and in Philo, De vit. Mosis. i. 4, § 17 πο τὸ γὰρ ὁσαφ ῶδυ ἔσω εὐμάζουσιν Αἰγύπτιους. But "the Coptic etymology, ῶδυ 'water' and ἐσῆ 'rescued,'" "which for a time obtained general currency," is now in turn abandoned (Enc. Bibl. art. Moses).
ΖΩΤΟΚΟΣ, 'ΑΒΡΑΜΟΥ ΔΕ ΟΥΤΟΣ ΗΝ.

230 ΣΩΝΕΙΟΙ ΔΕ ΟΥ ΚΑΤΑ ΤΗΝ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΝ ΕΦΟΥΣ ΑΥΤΩ ΤΟΥ ΔΕ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΤΡΟΥ ΠΟΛΥ ΚΡΕΙΣΤΩΝ, ΚΑΙ ΠΡΕΣΒΙΤΗΡΩΝ ΔΙΕΔΕΙΣΚΕΝ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΤΗΝ ΠΕΡΙΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΕΝ ΤΑΙΣ ΠΑΙΔΙΑΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΜΕΙΖΟΝΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΥΠ' ΑΝΔΡΟΣ ΓΕΝΝΗΜΕΝΩΝ ΕΠΙ-

231 ΑΓΓΕΛΙΩΝ ΕΙΧΕ ΤΑ ΤΟΤΕ ΠΡΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΑ. ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΕΤΕΙ ΜΕΝ ΑΥΤΩ ΓΕΝΝΗΜΕΝΗ ΘΑΥΜΑΣΤΩΝ Ο ΘΕΟΣ ΤΟ ΤΗΣ ΗΛΙΚΙΑΣ ΔΕΞΙΟΤΕΡΑΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΗΜΑ, ΠΡΟΣ ΔΕ ΚΑΛΛΟΣ ΟΙΔΕΙΣ ΑΦΙΛΟΤΙΜΟΣ ΗΝ ΟΥΤΩΣ, ΟΣ ΜΑΝΟΣΗΝ ΘΕΑΣΑΜΕΝΟΣ ΜΗ ΕΚΠΛΑΓΗΝ ΤΗΣ ΕΥΜΟΡΦΙΑΣ, ΠΟΛΛΟΙΣ ΤΕ ΣΥΝΕΒΑΙΝΕ ΚΑΙ ΤΘ' ΟΔΩΝ ΦΕΡΟΜΕΝΩΝ ΣΥΝΤΥΓΧΑΝΟΥΝ ΕΠΙΣΤΡΕΦΕ-

232 ΑΝ ΜΕΝ ΥΠ' ΤΗΣ ΟΦΕΛΟΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΙΔΟΣ, ΑΦΙΕΝΑΙ ΔΕ ΤΑ ΣΠΟΥΔΑΖΟΜΕΝΑ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΘΕΩΡΙΑ ΠΡΟΣΕΥΧΟΛΕΙΝ ΑΥΤΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΓΑΡ Η ΧΑΡΙΣ Η ΠΑΙΔΙΚΗ ΠΟΛΛΗ ΚΑΙ ΑΚΡΑΤΟΣ ΠΕΡΙ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΟΙΣΑ ΚΑΤΕΙΧΕ ΤΟΥΣ ΘΡΩΝΤΑΣ.

(7) 'ΟΡΝΤΑ Δ' ΑΥΤΩΝ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΩΝ Η ΘΕΡΜΟΥΘΙΣ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΠΟΥΕΙΤΑΙ ΓΟΝΗΣ ΓΝΗΣΙΑΣ ΟΥ ΜΕΜΟΙΡΑΜΕΝΗ, ΚΑΙ ΠΟΤΕ ΚΟΜΙΣΑΣΑ ΤΟΝ ΜΑΝΟΣΗΝ ΠΡΟΣ ΤΟΝ ΠΑΤΕΡΑ ΕΠΕΔΕΙΚΝΕ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟΝ ΚΑΙ ΟΣ ΦΡΟΝΤΙΣΕΙΣ ΔΙΑΔΟΧΗΣ, ΕΙ ΚΑΙ ΒΟΥΛΗΣΕΙ ΘΕΟΥ ΜΗ ΤΥΧΟΙ ΠΑΙΔΟΣ ΓΝΗΣΙΟΥ, ΠΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΃ ΕΛΕΓΕΝ, ΑΝΑΔΡΕΦΑΜΕΝΗ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΜΟΡΦΗ ΤΕ ΘΕΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΦΡΟΝΗ-

233 ΜΑΤΙ ΓΕΝΝΑΙΩΝ, ΘΑΥΜΑΣΙΩΝ ΔΕ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΠΑΡΑ ΤΗΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΟΤΑΜΙΟΥ ΛΑΒΟΤΑ ΔΑΡΜΟΣ 'ΗΜΑΥΤΗΣ ΜΕΝ ΓΗΝΕΑΜΗΝ ΠΑΙΔΑ ΠΟΥΕΙΣΑΘΑΙ, ΤΗΣ ΔΕ ΣΟΤΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣ ΑΔΙΑΔΟΧΟΥ." ΤΑΤΑ ΛΕΓΟΥΣΑ ΤΑΙΣ ΤΟΥ ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΧΕΡΙΝ

1 Read perhaps κάρ.
2 + τε codd.

* 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).

1 Or " age"; cf. and contrast Lk. ii. 52.
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, ἵνα δοκῇ τῷ θεῷ (Acts vii. 20), is the only Biblical allusion to the child's beauty, attested by Rabbinical tradition. Cf. the Midrash on Ex. ii. 10 (ed. Wünsche), "Pharaoh's daughter... let him no more leave the king's palace; because he was beautiful all wished to see him, and whoever saw him could not turn away from him."

Ex. ii. 10; the rest of this section and the chapter following it are amplification of the Scripture narrative.
Εντίθησι το βρέφος, ο δε λαβών καὶ προστερμισάμενος κατὰ φιλοφρόνησιν χάριν τῆς θυγατρός ἐπιτίθησιν αὐτῷ τὸ διάδημα καταφέρει δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς εἰς τὴν γῆν περιελόμενος αὐτὸ κατὰ 234 νηπίοτητα δήθεν ἐπεβαινε τε αὐτῷ τοῖς ποσί. καὶ τούτῳ ἔδοξεν οἰανὸν ἐπὶ τῇ βασιλείᾳ φέρειν. θεσάμενος δ' ὁ ἱερογράμματευς ὁ καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ προειπῶν ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἁρχῆς ἐσομενὴν ὁμμησεν ἀποκτέναι, καὶ δεινὸν 235 ἀνακραγῶν, "οὗτος," εἶπε, "βασιλεῦ, ὁ παῖς ἕκεινος, ὃν κτείναν ήμιν ἐδῆλωσεν ὁ θεὸς ἀφόβους εἶναι, μαρτυρεὶ τῇ προσαγορεύσει <διὰ>1 τοῦ γεγονότος ἐπιβεβηκὼς ἡγεμονία τῇ σῇ καὶ πατῶν τὸ διάδημα. τοῦτον οὖν ἄνελῶν Αἰγυπτίων μὲν τὸ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δέος ἄνες, 'Εβραίοις δὲ τὴν ἐλπίδα τοῦ 236 δι' αὐτῶν βάρσους ἄφελον." φθάνει δ' αὐτὸν ἡ Θέρμουθες ἐξαρπάσασα, καὶ πρὸς τὸν φόνον ὁκνηρὸς ἢν ὁ βασιλεὺς, τοιούτοι δι' αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ παρασκευάσατο, ὃ πρόνοια τῆς Μωυσέως σωτηρίας ἦν. ἐτρέφετο οὖν πολλῆς ἐπιμελείας τυχάνων, καὶ τοῖς μὲν 'Εβραίοις ἐπ' αὐτῶν παρῆν ἐλπίς2 περὶ 237 τῶν ἄλων, δὲ ὑποψίας δ' εἶχον Αἰγυπτίων τὴν ἀνατροφὴν αὐτοῦ μηδενὸς δ' ὄντος φανεροῦ, δὲ δὲν καὶ ἀπέκτεινεν αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς [μηδὲν ὄντα]3 ἡ συγγενοῦς4 διὰ τῆς εἰσποιήσεως ἡ τῶν ἄλων τινός, ὃ πλέον ὑπὲρ ὀφελείας τῆς Αἰγυπτίων ἐκ

1 ins. Ernesti.
2 ROE: οὐδὲν εἶχαί rell.
3 RO: δ rell.
4 μηδὲν ὄτα O: the words have perhaps come in from the previous line.
5 μηδὲν . . συγγενοῦς] v.l. ἢ μηδὲν ὄτα 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 under foot. Kill him then and at one stroke relieve the Egyptians of their fear of him and deprive the Hebrews of the courageous hopes that he inspires." But Thermuthis was too quick for him and snatched the child away; the king too delayed to slay him, from a hesitation induced by God, whose providence watched over Moses' life. He was accordingly educated with the utmost care, the Hebrews resting the highest hopes upon him for their future, while the Egyptians viewed his upbringing with misgiving. However, since even if the king slew him, there was no one else in sight, whether relative by adoption or any other, in whom they could put more confidence to act in the interest

* 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, Tanhuma quoted by Weill, agrees with Josephus, except that the child seizes the crown from the king's head.
τοῦ προειδόντα τὰ μέλλοντα θαρρεῖν παρῆν, ἀπειχοῦτο τῆς ἀναρέσεως αὐτοῦ.

238 (X. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν [οὖν] τῷ προειρημένῳ τρόπῳ γεννηθείς τε καὶ τραφείς καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς ἥλικιαν φανερὰν τοῖς Ἀλεππίοις τὴν ἀρετὴν ἐποίησε καὶ τὸ ἐπὶ ταπεινώσει μὲν τῇ ἐκείνῳ, ἔπι αὐξήσει δὲ τῶν Ἔβραιων γεγονέναι τοιαύτης ἀφορμῆς λαβό-239 μενος; Ἀλεππίοις, πρόσοικοι δὲ εἰσὶ τοῖς Ἀλεππίοις, ἐμβαλόντες εἰς χώραν αὐτῶν ἐφέρον καὶ ἦγον τὰ τῶν Ἀλεππίων. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ ὀργῆς στρατεύσωσιν ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς ἀμυνοῦμενοι τῆς καταφρονήσεως, καὶ τῇ μάχῃ κρατηθέντες οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔπεσον οἱ δὲ αἰσχρῶς εἰς τὴν οἰκείαν διεσώθησαν φυγόντες.

240 ἑπτακοσιούθεναν δὲ διάκοντες Ἀλεππίοις καὶ, μαλακίας ὑπολαβόντες τὸ μὴ κρατεῖν ἀπάσης τῆς Ἀλεππίου, τῆς χώρας ἐπὶ πλεῖον ἢπτοντο καὶ γευσάμενοι τῶν ἄγαθῶν οὐκέτ’, αὐτῶν ἀπείχοντο-rowser δὲ τὰ γευτιάνα μέρη πρῶτον αὐτοῖς ἐπερχομένων οὐκ ἐτόλμουν ἀντιστρατεύεσθαι, προοίμησαν ἄρι Μέμφεως καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οὐδεμίας τῶν 241 πόλεως ἀνταχεῖν δυνατείς. τῷ δὲ κακῷ πιέ-ζομενοι πρὸς χρησμοῦ Ἀλεππίωι καὶ μαντεῖας τρέπονται, συμβουλεύοντος δ’ αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ συμμάχῳ χρῆσασθαι τῷ Ἔβραιῳ κελεύει ὁ βασι-λεὺς τὴν βυγατέρα παρασχεῖν τῶν Μωυσῆν οτρα-242 τηγὸν αὐτῷ γεννησομενον. ἡ δὲ ὅρκους ποιήσα-

¹ Lat.: ἀμυνοῦμεν codd.

* Text corrupt and meaning obscure. I take it to mean that there was no other heir apparent. With the reading δὲ ὁ (for δὲ ὁ) and other changes found in the "inferior" type of ms., 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, 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. 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," etc.

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. a.c., ap. Eus. Praep. Ev. ix. 27, 432 d); the narrative of Josephus is more detailed and cannot be derived directly from Artapanus.
μένω, ὄστε μηθὲν διαθείναι κακόν, παραδίδωσιν ἀντὶ μεγάλης μὲν εὐεργεσίας κρίσουσα τὴν συμμαχίαν, κακίζουσα δὲ τοὺς ἱερέας, εἰ κτείναι προαιρετικές αὐτῶν ὡς πολέμου οὐκ ἤδοιντο τῶν χρημάτων αὐτοῦ τῆς ἐπικουρίας.

243 (2) Ἔμοιος δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς Θερμούθιδος παρακληθεῖσα καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἱδέως προσδέχεται τὸ ἔργον· ἔχαιρον δ’ οἱ ἑρωγράμματεῖς ἀμφοτέρων τῶν ἔθνων, Δικαστείων μὲν ὡς τοὺς τε πολέμους τῇ ἐκείνου κρατήσοντες ἁρετὴ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν [ἐν] 1 ταὐτῶ δόλῳ κατεργασάμενοι, οἱ δὲ τῶν Ἐβραίων ὡς φυγεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐσομένου τοὺς Ἀγυπτίους διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς στρατηγεύειν. ὃ δὲ φθάσας πρὶν ἢ καὶ πιθεύσας τοὺς πολέμους τὴν ἐφοδον αὐτοῦ τὸν στρατὸν ἀκαλαβόν ἤγεν, οὐ διὰ τοῦ ποταμοῦ ποιησάμενος τὴν ἐλασίαν ἄλλα διὰ γῆς. ἔνθα τῆς αὐτοῦ συνεσεws χαμαμάστῃ ἐπιδείξων 244 ἐποιήσατο τῆς γὰρ γῆς οὐδεὶς χαλεπῆς ὁδευθήναι, διὰ πλῆθος ἐρπετῶν, παμφορυχτικὰ γὰρ ἔστι τούτων, ὡς καὶ τὰ παρὰ ἄλλους οὐκ ὄντα μόνη τρέφειν δυνάμει τε καὶ κακία καὶ τῷ τῆς ὀφείως ἀσυνήθει διαφέροντα, τιμά δ’ αὐτῶν ἔστι καὶ πεπεινά ὡς λαυθανόντα μὲν ἀπὸ γῆς κακογείοι καὶ μὴ προϊόμενος ἀδίκειον ὑπερπετὴ γενόμενα, νοεὶ πρὸς ἀσφαλείαν καὶ ἀβλαβὴ πορείαν τοῦ στρατεύματος 245 ἐποίησατο τῆς γὰρ γῆς οὐδεὶς χαλεπῆς ὁδευθήναι. πλῆθος ἐρπετῶν, παμφορυχτικὰ γὰρ ἔστιν ἐφερή κιβωτοῖς ἐκ βιβλίου 2 κατασκεύασας καὶ πληρώσας ῥημάτων ἐκόμιζε. πολεμιώτατον δ’ ἐστὶν ὄφει τούτῳ τοῦ τῆς φεύγουσι τε γὰρ ἐπερχομένας καὶ ἀφιστάμενοι καθάπερ ὑπ’ ἐλάφων ἀρπαζόμενοι κατά-

1 RO: om. rell.
2 βιβλίου 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 thereupon, to surprise the enemy before they had even learnt of his approach, mustered and marched off his army, taking the route not by way of the river but through the interior. There he gave a wonderful proof of his sagacity. For the route is rendered difficult for a march by reason of a multitude of serpents, which the region produces in abundant varieties, insomuch that there are some found nowhere else and bred here alone, remarkable for their power, their malignity, and their strange aspect; and among them are some which are actually winged, so that they can attack one from their hiding-place in the ground or inflict unforeseen injury by rising into the air. Moses, then, to provide security and an innocuous passage for his troops, devised a marvellous stratagem: he had baskets, resembling chests, 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

a Called Chenephres by Artapanus.  b Or "arks."
JOSEPHUS

πίνονται: χειροθέτεις δ' εἰσίν αἱ ἱθεὶς καὶ πρὸς μόνον

247 τὸ τῶν ὄφεων γένος ἀγριοι. καὶ περὶ μὲν τούτων

παρήμη νῦν γράφειν οὐκ ἀγνοοῦντων τῶν Ἑλ-

λήνων τῆς ἱβιδός τὸ ἱδός. ὡς οὖν εἰς τὴν γῆν

ἐνέβαλε τὴν θηριοτρόφον, ταῦτας ἀπεμάχετο τὴν

tῶν ἔρπτων φύσις ἐπαφεῖς αὐτοῖς καὶ προ-

πολεμούσας χρώμενοι, τούτων οὖν ὁδεύσας τὸν

248 τρόπον οὐδὲ προμαθοῦσι παρῆν τοῖς Ἀλθίσοις, καὶ

συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς κρατεῖ τῇ μάχῃ καὶ τῶν ἔλπιδων,

ἄς εἴχον ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀλγυπτίους, ἀφαιρεῖται τάς τε

πόλεις αὐτῶν ἐπήγει καταστρεφόμενος, καὶ φόνος

πολύς τῶν Ἀλθίσων ἐπράττετο. καὶ τῆς διὰ

Μαυσοῦν εὐπραγιάς γευσάμενον τὸ τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων

στράτευμα πονεῖν οὐκ ἔκαμμεν, ὡς περὶ ἀνδρα-

ποδισμοῦ καὶ παντελοῦς ἀναστάσεως τῶν κινδύνων

249 εἶναι τοῖς Ἀλθίσοις καὶ τέλος συνελαβέντες εἰς

Σαβὰν πόλιν βασιλείου οὗσαν τῆς Ἀλθισίας, ἦν

ὡστερον Καμβύσης Μερότην ἐπωνύμασεν ἀδελφῆς

ἐνίας τοῦτο καλουμένης, ἐπολιορκοῦτο. ἦν δὲ

dυσπολιόρκητον σφόδρα τὸ χωρίον τοῦ τοῦ Νεήλου

περιέχοντος αὐτῆς καὶ κυκλουμένου ποταμῶν τοῦ

Ἤλλων Ἀστάπου καὶ Ἀσταβόρα δύσμαχον τοῖς

250 πεφρωμένοις διαβαίνειν τὸ βέβιο πολιούντων· ἕ

γάρ πόλεις ἐντὸς οὐδα ὡς ἱδρος οἰκεῖται τεῖχους

tε αὐτὴν καρτεροῦ περιγεμμένου καὶ πρὸς μὲν

* I was tempted to read ὑπ' ἐλαφροτέρων "by their nimbler adversaries": but no emendation is needed. Bochart, Hierozoicon, i. 885 f. (1675), quotes an array of classical allusions to serpent-eating stags, who, according to one scholiast, derived their very name ἔλαφος from the habit: εἶναι δὲ παρὰ τὸ ἐλευθ. τὰς ἄρεις, ἐλαφιός τῆς ἔρι! See Mair’s Oppian (L.C.L.), ad Cyn. ii. 283, Hal. ii. 289.

* 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 ἱβίν ἐν αὐτῇ καλερώσας διὰ τὸ παύσα τὰ βλάπτεσα ἡμᾶς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἄναμενος).

* 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; Taouze is the name given to it in Smith's Dict. of Greek and Roman Geography.
τοὺς πολεμίους πρόβλημα τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἔχουσα χῶματα τε μεγάλα μεταξὺ τοῦ τείχους, ὡστε ἀνεπίκλυστον εἶναι βιαστέρων ὑπὸ πληθώρας φερομένων, ἄπερ καὶ τοῖς περαιωσαμένοις τοὺς ποταμοὺς ἀπορον ἐποίει τῆς πόλεως τῆν ἀλωσιν. 251 ἐφεροντι τοὔνων ἄχιδώς τῷ Μωσείν τῆν τοῦ στρατεύματος ἀργίαν, εἰς χεῖρας γὰρ ωκ ἐπόλομον ἀπαντῶν 252 οἱ πολέμιοι, συνέτυχε τι τουοῦτον. Θάρρης θυγάτηρ ἦν τοῦ Αλθίόπου βασιλέως. αὐτὴ τὸν Μωσῆν πλησίον τοῖς τείχεσι προσάγοντα τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ μαχόμενον γεναιῶς ἀποσκοποῦσα καὶ τῆς ἐπινοίας τῶν ἐγχειρήσεως θαυμάζουσα, καὶ τοῖς τε Αἰγυπτίοις αὐτοῖς ἀπεγνωκόσιν ἢδη τὴν ἑλευθερίαν τῆς εὐπρεπίας ὑπολαμβάνουσα καὶ τοῖς Αἰθίοις αὐχεών ἐπὶ τοῖς καταρθωμένοις τοῦ περὶ τῶν ἐσχάτων κυθίνου, εἰς ἔρωτα δεινῶν ἀλισθεὶν αὐτοῦ καὶ περιόντως τοῦ πάθους πέμπει πρὸς αὐτὸν τῶν ὀικετῶν τοὺς πιστοτάτους δια- 253 λεγομένη περὶ γάμου. προσδεξαμένου δὲ τὸν λόγον ἐπὶ τῷ παραδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν καὶ ποιησαμένου πίστεις ἐνόρκους ἡ μὴν ἀξίζουσα γυναῖκα καὶ κρατήσατα τῆς πόλεως μὴ παραβῆσθαι τὰς συνθήκας, φθάνει τῷ ἐργὸν τοὺς λόγους. καὶ μετὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν Αλθίοπων εὐχαριστεῖσας τῷ θεῷ συνετέλει τῶν γάμων Μωσῆς καὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπήγαγεν εἰς τὴν ἐαυτῶν.

254 (ΧΙ. 1) ὁ δ' εἶ δὲ ὁν ἐσώζοντο ὑπὸ Μωσείου μίσος ἐκ τούτων πρὸς αὐτῶν ἀνελάμβανο τινὲς μετέδωκεν καὶ μετατείμονον ἀπετέθη αὐτῶν καὶ τῷ βουλευτῶν ἡξίους, ὑπονοοῦντες μὲν μὴ διὰ τὴν εὐπρεπίαν νεωτερίσειεν κατὰ τὴν Ἀἰγυπτίων, διδάσκοντες δὲ 255 τὸν βασιλέα περὶ τῆς σφαγῆς. ὁ δὲ καὶ καθ'
it has the rivers, besides great dikes within the ramparts to protect it from inundation when the force of the swollen streams is unusually violent; and it is these which made the capture of the town so difficult even to those who had crossed the rivers. Moses, then, was chafing at the inaction of his army, for the enemy would not venture upon an engagement, when he met with the following adventure. Tharbis, the daughter of the king of the Ethiopians, watching Moses bringing his troops close beneath the ramparts and fighting valiantly, marvelled at the ingenuity of his 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.

(xi. 1) But the Egyptians, thus saved by Moses, conceived from their very deliverance a hatred for him and thought good to pursue with greater ardour their plots upon his life, suspecting that he would take advantage of his success to revolutionize Egypt, and suggesting to the king that he should be put to death. He on his own part was harbouring thoughts

1 ROE: πλημφίλις: rel.
autôn men eixe tìn tôn prágmatos épínoiai upó te phýnou tís Mwyséos stratēgías kai upó déous tæpeinwseos, épexichveis ò upó tôn ierográmmata én Ôos te ë̂n éghierei tì Mwyséos anáiresei. 256 phásas de tìn épiboulhín katanamathémína lathón ᾑpexei, kai tôn òdavn phulattoménon poléita diâ tìs érhmou tôn drasmên kai òthen ën upónoina mú lábein tôn ò χρóroûs,1 àpporós te ò ánthropás 257 ápphllasteto tì karthería katafroion, eis te pólin Mwdiánhn ánfiokémonos pròs môn tì 'Ewthra ãthalásse keiménei épwnumon δ2 ënòs tôn 'Aibrámóv genoménon ek Katouráns uívwn, kathoeis êti tìnos fréatos ek tôn kópou kai tìs tálaioupríasis ërêmie meșembrías òðús òu pórrw tìs póleos. éntaûth autòv synbhl kai prázis êk diaîtēs tôn autôthi syôsthsa tìn áretìn autòu kai pròs tò kreiûton àfornhí parasschousa.

258 (2) Tòn gar xwríwn duvúdrwv ònntwn prókataełambanov oi poiménes tà fréata, òpous mú òprou exeánalowménou tò òdatos upó tôn allón òpanizoi potouth tà threúmatà. paragínontova òn òpó tà fréas éntà parádenoi ðèlphai, ‘Ragouûlou thugatères ieréwv kai polhís ëxioménou tímhs parà tois 259 épíxwrióis, aì tòn tòv patròs poimínn epimelousmenai, diá tò taúthn upourgíana eiówn kai xwrikèn épíxwrio parà tois Trwylodûtais, phásaia to aútarkhes ek tôn fréatos ánêspasan òðwv 2

1 và ðèv . . ò χρóroûs 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: ðèv = ðèeîde ðèv.

c Ex. ii. 15, “the land of Midian” (lxx Mwðávm). Ptolemy and Arabic geographers mention a place Ìshána, Madyan, 276
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 Sina is correct, the context requires a place on the west of the gulf.

4 Gen. xxv. 2.
5 So lxx (Ex. ii. 18), Heb. Reuel, alias Jethro.
6 "Cave-dwellers" inhabiting the region on either shore of the Red Sea (A. l. 239, ii. 213).
τούς ποιμνίοις εἰς δέξαμενάς, αἱ πρὸς ἐκδοχὴν τοῦ 260 ύδατος ἐγεγόνεισαν. ἐπιστάντων δὲ ποιμένων ταῖς παρθένοις, ὡστ' αὐτοὶ τοῦ ύδατος κρατεῖν, Μωυσῆς δεινὸν ἠγησάμενος εἶναι περιδεῖν ἀδικοῦμενας τὰς κόρας καὶ τὴν βίαν τὴν τῶν ἁνδρῶν εἶδος κρέιττονα γενέσθαι τοῦ τῶν παρθένων δικαίων, τοὺς μὲν ἐξῆς πλεονεκτέων ἐθέλοντας, 261 ταῖς δὲ παρέσχε τὴν πρέπουσαν ὑποθέσειαν. αἱ δ' εὐεργετηθεῖσαι παρῆσαν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τὴν τῇ υβρίν τῶν ποιμένων αὐτῶ διηγούμενα καὶ τὴν ἐπικουρίαν τοῦ κένου, παρεκάλουν τε μὴ ματαίων αὐτῶ γενέσθαι τὴν εὐποιῶν μηδ' ἀμοιβῆς ὑστεροῦσαν. δ' ὅτα τε παίδας ἀπεδέξατο τής περὶ τῶν εὐεργετηκότα σπουδῆς καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν εἰς ὅψιν ἔκελευν ἄγεων αὐτῶ τευξὸμενον χάριτος δικαίως.

262 ὅτε δ' ἦκεν, τὴν τε τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτῶ ἀπεσήμανε μαρτυρίαν ἐπὶ τῇ βοήθεια καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν θαυμάζων οὐκ εἰς ἀναισθήτους εὐεργεσίαν καταθέσθαι τὴν ἐπικουρίαν ἔλεγεν, ἄλλῳ ἵκανος ἐκτίσαι χάριν καὶ τῷ μεγέθει τῆς ἀμοιβῆς ὑπερ- 263 βαλεῖν τὸ μέτρον τῆς εὐποιῶς. ποιεῖται δ' αὐτῶν νῦν καὶ μίαν τῶν θυγατέρων πρὸς γάμους δίδωσι τῶν τε θρεμμάτων, ἐν τούτους γὰρ ἡ πᾶσα κτῆσις τὸ παλαιόν ἤν τοῖς βαρβάροις, ἀποδείκνυσιν ἐπιμελητὴν καὶ δεσπότην.

264 (xii. 1) Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτων τυχῶν τῶν παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεθεγλαίου, τοῦτο γὰρ ἤν ἐπίκλημα τῷ Ῥαγουήλῳ, διήγεν εὐτόθι ποιμαίνων τὰ βοσκήματα. χρόνῳ δ' ὑστερον νέμων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναῖν

1 ROE: δόξων rell.
2 RM: Ἰεθηγλαίου O: Getheglech La i.e. Ἰεθέρου (Ἰεθέρου) rell.
well sufficient water for their flocks into troughs constructed to receive it. But when shepherds appearing set upon the young women, in order to appropriate the water for themselves, Moses, deeming it monstrous to overlook this injury to the girls and to suffer these men’s violence to triumph over the maidens’ rights, beat off the arrogant intruders, and afforded the others opportune aid. And they, after this beneficent act, went to their father, and, recounting the shepherds’ insolence and the succour which the stranger had lent them, besought him not to let such charity go for nought or unrewarded. The father commended his children for their zeal for their benefactor and bade them bring Moses to his presence to receive the gratitude that was his due. On his arrival, he told him of his daughters’ testimony to the help which he had rendered, and, expressing admiration for his gallantry, added that he had not bestowed this service upon those who had no sense of gratitude, but on persons well able to requite a favour, indeed to outdo by the amplitude of the reward the measure of the benefit. He therewith adopted him as his son, gave him one of his daughters in marriage, and appointed him keeper and master of his flocks, for in those consisted of yore all the wealth of the barbarian races.

(xii. 1) So Moses, having received these benefits from Ictheglaeus—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

* So the mss. followed by Niese; but the form may be a mere conglomerate of the names Ἰδόρος and Παγονόρας.
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265 καλούμενον ὅρος ἀγε τὰ ποιμνα: τούτο δ’ ἐστὶν υψηλότατον τῶν ταύτης ὅρων καὶ πρὸς νοµὰς ἀριστού, ἀγαθής φυσιμένης πόας καὶ διὰ τὸ δόξαν ἔχειν ενδιατρίβειν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν οὐ κατα
νεμισθείσης πρότερον, οὐ τολμώντων ἐμβατεύειν εἰς αὐτὸ τῶν ποιμένων· ἐνθα δὴ καὶ τέρας αὐτῷ
266 συντυγχάνει θαυμάσιον. πῦρ γὰρ θάμνου βάτων νεμόμενον τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν χλόην τὸ τε ἅνθος αὐτῷ
παρήλθεν ἁβλαβῆς καὶ τῶν ἐγκάρπων κλάδων οὐδὲν ἠφάνει καὶ ταῦτα τῆς φλογὸς πολλῆς καὶ
267 ὁξυτάτης υπαρχοῦσης. ὁ δὲ καὶ αὐτὴν μὲν ἔδεισε τὴν ὄψιν παράδοξον γενομένην, κατεπλάγη δ’ ἐτι
μᾶλλον φωνὴν τοῦ πυρὸς ἄφεντος καὶ ὅνομαστὶ καλέσαντος αὐτὸν καὶ ποιησάμενον λόγους, οἷς
tὸ τε θάρσος αὐτοῦ τολμήσαντος παρελθεῖν εἰς χωρίον, εἰς ὁ μὴ δὲς ἀνθρώπων πρότερον ἄφικτο
dιὰ τὸ εἶναι θεῖον, ἐσημαίνει καὶ συνεβούλευε τῆς
φλογὸς1 πορρωτάτω χωρείν καὶ ἀρκεῖσθαι μὲν οἷς
eὔρακεν ἄγαθον ὄντα καὶ μεγάλων ἀνθρῶν ἐγγονον,
268 πολυπραγμονεῖν δὲ μὴν τούτως περισσότερον
προηγόρευεν τε τὴν ἐσομένην αὐτῷ δόξαν καὶ
tιμήν παρ’ ἀνθρώπων τοῦ θεοῦ συμπαρόντος, καὶ
θαρροῦντα ἐκελέσθην εἰς τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ἀπίστων στρα
tηγὸν καὶ ἡγεμόνα τῆς Ἑβραίων πληθύον ἐσο
μενον καὶ τῆς ὑβρεως τῆς ἐκεί τούς συγγενεῖς
269 ἀπαλλάξοντα τε καὶ γὰρ γην οἰκήσουσιν, θεοῦ,
tαύτην εἰδαίμονα, ἵνα Ἀβραὰμ ἄκησεν ὁ ὑμέτερος πρόγονος καὶ τῶν πάντων ἀπολαύσωσιν ἄγαθῶν,
eἰς ταῦτα σοῦ καὶ τῆς σῆς συνέσεως αὐ
tοῖς ἤγουμένης." ἐξαγαγόντα μέντοι τους Ἑβραί
ους ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων θυσίας ἐκέλευε χαριστηρίους

1 + ὅτι 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
αφίκομενον εἰς εἰκεῖνον ἐκτελέσαι τὸν τόπον. τοσάυτα μὲν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς θεοκλυθεῖται.

270 (2) Ἔμεικαν δὲ ἐκπεπληγμένοις οἷς γὰρ εἰδοκαὶ πολὺ μᾶλλον οἷς ὡς ήκουσε, “δυνάμει μὲν ἄπιστεῖν,” ἔφη, “τῇ σῇ, δέσποτα, ἦν αὐτὸς τε θρησκεύω καὶ προγόνοις οἴδας φανερὰν γενομένην, μανωδέστερον ἡ κατὰ τὴν ἐμαυτοῦ φρονήσιν ἡγούμαι. πλὴν ἀπορῶ, πῶς ἁν ἰδιώτης ἄνηρ καὶ μηθεμιᾶς ἵσχυς εὑπορῶν η δύοισι λόγοις τοὺς οἰκείους ἀφέντας ἦν ἁρτὶ κατοικοῦσι γῆν ἐπεσαθi μοι πρὸς ἦν αὐτὸς ἡγούμαι, ἀν ἢν ἐκεῖνοι πειθόσι, πῶς ἁν ἀριστήμιν Ἑραξάλθην ἐπιτρέψατι τὴν ἐξοδον τούτων, ὧν τοῖς πόνοις καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τὴν οἰκείαν αὐξομονήν εἰδαμονίαν.”

272 (3) ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτῶν περὶ πάντων συνεβούλευεν θαρρεῖν ὑποσχομένους αὐτῶς παρέσθεσαι καὶ ὡς μὲν ἃν δὴ λόγων, πειθῶ παρέξεως, οὐ δὲ ἄρξα ἔργων, ἵναν χορηγήσειν, ἐκέλευε τῇ ἐμαυτικῆς ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἀφέντα πιστῶν ὑποσχεῖται λαμβάνειν. καὶ ποιήσαστος δράκων ἔρπε καὶ συνειλομένος σπειρηδὸν ὡς διώκουσιν ἐπὶ ἀμύνῃ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἡ κατεύθεσιν εἰτα πάλιν βάκτρον ἤν. μετὰ τοῦτο δὲ καθέναι τὴν δεξίαν εἰς τὸν κόλπον προσέταξεν ὑπακούσας δὲ λευκῆν καὶ τιτανίων τὴν χρῶν ὁμολόγῳ προεκάμψενεν εἰτ’ εἰς τὸ σύνθεις κατέστη. κελευ- σθεὶς δὲ καὶ τοῦ πλησίου ὑδατος λαβὼν ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν ἡ κατανόηται ὡς σύνθεις καὶ διά τῆς ὑμοῦ πιστεύουσαν ἐπὶ τοῦτο ταῖς παρά πάσι χρησάθων, ὡς τε πεμφθεὶς ὑπ’ ἡμῶν πάντα κατὰ τὰς ἡμᾶς

* Ex. iv. 6, “leprous, as (white as) snow.”

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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
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ἐντολὰς ποιεῖς. κελεύω δὲ μηδὲν ἐτι μελλόσαντα σπείδεων εἰς τὴν Ἀγιοπτων καὶ νυκτὸς καὶ ἡμέρας ἐπειγόμενον καὶ μὴ τρίβοντα τὸν χρόνον πλεῖον ποιεῖν τοῦτον Ἐβραίοις ἐν δουλείᾳ κακοπαθοῦσιν.

275 (1) Μωυσῆς δ’ οὖκ ἔχων ἀπιστεῖν οἷς ἐπηγγέλλετο τὸ θείον θεατὴς γε τουσών βεβαιωμάτων καὶ ἀκροατῆς γενόμενος, εὐδικοὶ καὶ πειραθῆναι ταύτης τῆς δυνάμεως ἐν Ἀγιοπτων δεοθείας ήμυθόλει μηδὲ ὀνόματος αὐτῶ γνώσιν τοῦ ἱδίου φθονήσαι, φωνῆς δ’ αὐτῶ μετεσχηκότε καὶ ὀφεις ἕτε καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν εἴπειν, ἢν θώνες ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν παρείναι τοῖς ἱεροῖς παρακαλῆ. 276 καὶ ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ σημαίνει τὴν αὐτοῦ προσηγορίαν οὗ πρότερον εἰς ἀνθρώπους παρελθοῦσαν, περὶ ἢς οὖ μοι θεμιτὸν εἴπειν. Μωυσῆς μέντοι τὰ σημεία ταῦτα οὐ τὸτε μόνον, διὰ παντὸς δὲ ὅπως δερθήησθησαν ἐξ ἢν ἀπάντων πλεῖον περὶ τῆς ἀληθείας τῷ πυρὶ νέμων καὶ τὸν θεὸν εἰμενην παραστάτηι ἐξεἰν πιστεύων τοὺς τῆς ὁικείους σωσεῖν ἠλπίζε καὶ τοὺς Ἀγιοπτίους κακοῖς περιβαλεῖν.

277 (xiii. 1) Καὶ πυθόμενος τῶν τῶν Ἀγιοπτίων τεθνάναι βασιλέα Φαραώθην, ἐφ’ οὗπερ αὐτὸς ἐφυγε, δεῖται Ὁραύσαλον συγκωρήσαι κατὰ ὁϕεὶ- λειαν αὐτῶ τῶν συγγενῶν εἰς Ἀγιοπτων ἐλθεῖν, καὶ παραδοξῶν τὴν Ἐπικόραν ἕν γεγαμηκεῖ, τοῦ Ὁραύσαλον θυγατέρα, καὶ τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς παίδας

1 δοθέως SPLA. 2 ME1 ἱερεῖος rell. 3 σώζεως codd.

* The ineffable tetragrammaton, vix. the four consonants JHVH, which only the high priest was permitted to pronounce. To safeguard and hallow the Name, the surrogate 284
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.⑨ 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 Pharaohs 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

⑨ Adonai (lxx Kĕρεν) was employed, and JHVH in Hebrew 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.

⑩ Bibl. Zipporah (lxx Ζηπφάρα).
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Γῆραν καὶ Ἐλεάζαρον ἀφῆσεν εἰς τὴν Ἀιγυπτίαν· 278 τῶν δ’ ὄνομάτων τούτων Γῆραν μὲν σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑβραίων διάλεκτον, ὅτι εἰς ἔξοχον γῆν, Ἐλεάζαρος δὲ συμμάχω τῷ πατρῷ τοῦ χρησά- 279 μενον αὐτῶν Ἀιγυπτίους διαφημεῖν. γενομένω δ’ αὐτῷ πλήσιον τῶν ὄρων ὁ ἄδελφος ὁ Ἀαρών ὑπήτησε τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, πρὸς ὅν ἀπο- σημαίνει τὰ ἐν τῷ ὄρει συντυχόντα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τὰς ἐντολὰς. προίκου δ’ αὐτοῖς ὑπηντίαξεν Ἑβραίων οἱ ἀξιολογοῦσατοι τὴν παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ 280 μεμαθηκότες, οἷς Μωυσῆς τὰ σημεῖα διηγούμενος ἔπει πιθανόν οὐκ ἦν παρέσχειν αὐτῶν τὴν ὁμιλίαν. οἱ δ’ ὅπερ ἐκπλήξεως τῶν παρὰ δοξὴν αὐτοῖς ὄρω- μένων ἀνεθάρσουν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὅλων ἄνω εὐθείας, ὡς θεοῦ προνοοῦμενόν τῆς ἀσφαλείας αὐτῶν.

281 (2) Ἐπεὶ δὲ καταπευθεῖς ἐξεν ἦδῃ τοὺς Ἑβραίοις [ὁ] Μωυσῆς καὶ οἶς ἐν κελεύσῃ τούτῳ ἀκολουθήσειν ὁμολογοῦντας καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἔρωτας, παραγνύεται πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τὴν ἰχνευρίαν 282 νεώτερα παρειληφότα, καὶ ὅσα τε ὠφελήσεις Ἀιγυπτίοις ὑπὸ Λιβύων καταφρονοῦμενος καὶ διαρπαζομένης αὐτῶν τῆς χώρας ἐδήλου, στρατηγίας καὶ πόνοις χρησάμενος ὡς περὶ οἰκείων, ὅτι δὲ κινδυνεύσειν ἐπὶ τούτου ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἀμοιβὰς οὐ 283 δικαίως κομιζόμενος ἀνεδίδασκεν, τὰ τε κατὰ τὸ

1 v.l. ἢ ἢ, ἢ ἢ τε: should perhaps be transposed before στρατηγία with Lat. “et quæ militia.”

2 Bibl. Gershom (Γερσήμ).  
3 Josephus takes over this etymology from Ex. ii. 22 (xviii. 3), “For he said, I have been a sojourner (Heb. גֵּר) in a strange land.” The Biblical writer interpreted the name 286
and Eleazar, he hastened thither. Of these two names, the one, Γέρσος, means in the Hebrew tongue that he had come to "a foreign land"; the other, Eleazar, that it was with the assistance of the God of his fathers that he had escaped from the Egyptians. On approaching the frontier he was met, at God's bidding, by his brother Aaron, to whom he revealed what had befallen him on the mount and the commandments of God. And they, as they proceeded on their way, were met by the most distinguished of the Hebrews, who hadlearnt of his coming: 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 γέρ σχῶμ, "a sojourner there"; according to a sounder etymology (from the verb γαραστά) it would mean "expulsion" (Driver).

* Biblical Eliezer (so LXX), from El (God) and εξερ (help): Ex. xviii. 4, "For (he said) the God of my father was my help and delivered me from the sword of Pharaoh."

* In Ex. iv. 29 the elders of Israel are called together by Moses and Aaron.
Σιναίον ὁ ὅρος αὐτῷ συντυχόντα καὶ τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ φωνάς καὶ τὰ πρὸς πίστιν ὃν οὕτως αὐτῷ προστάξειν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ διεχθέντα σημεία καὶ ἔκαστον ἔξετῆτο, παρεκάλει τε μὴ ἀπιστοῦντα τούτων ἐμποδῶν ἐστασθαί τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ.

284 (3) Χλευάσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως Μωυσῆς ἐργῷ παρεῖχεν αὐτῷ βλέπειν τὰ σημεία τὰ κατὰ τὸ Σιναίον ὁ ὅρος γενόμενα· ὁ δ’ ἀγανακτήσας πουρανίων μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπεκαλεὶ καὶ πρὸτερον φυγόντα τὴν παρα Αἰγυπτίων δουλείαν καὶ νῦν ἐς ἀπάτης αὐτῶν τὴν ἀφίξειν πεποιημένον καὶ τερατουργίας καὶ μαγείας καταπλήξεις ἐπικεχειρήκατα. καὶ ταῦτ’ ἀμα λέγων κηλεύει τοὺς ἱερεῖς τὰς αὐτὰς ὀψεῖς αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ὅραμα, ὡς Αἰγυπτίων σοφῶν ὅτων καὶ περὶ τὴν τούτων ἐπιστήμην, καὶ οὗτ’ ὁ μόνος αὐτῶς ἐμπερὸς ὃν εἰς θεόν δύναται τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ παράδοξον ἀναφέρων πιθανόν ὡς παρ’ ἀναιδεύτων ὑπάρχειν. καὶ μεθεμένων ἐκείνων τὰς βακτηρίας δράκοντες ἔσαι. Μωυσῆς δ’ οὐ καταπλαγεῖς, “οὔτ’ αὑτὸς μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ὁ βασιλεὺς, τῆς Αἰγυπτίων σοφίας καταφρονῶ, τοσοῦτοί μέντοι κρείττονα τὰ ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πραττόμενα τῆς τούτων μαγείας καὶ τέχνης φήμη, ὅσον μὴ τὰ θεῖα τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων διαφέρει. δειξὼ δὲ οὐ κατὰ γοητείαν καὶ πλάνην τῆς ἀληθοῦς δόξης τάμα, κατὰ δὲ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καὶ δύναμιν φαινόμενα.” καὶ ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν μεθύσας ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς τῆς βακτηρίας κηλεύσας αὐτὴν εἰς ὅφειν μεταβαλεῖν· ἡ δ’ ἐπείθετο καὶ τὰς τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βακτηρίας, αἱ δράκοντες ἔδοκον.

1 καταπλήξεις codd. 2 ὥτ’ παρ’ ἀνεπέρ 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\* 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.\* 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-

\* 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.
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περιμόνακα κατῆσθιε μέχρι πάσας ἀνήλωσεν· εἵτ' εἰς τὸ αὐτῆς σχῆμα μεταπεσοῦσαν κομίζεται Μωυσῆς.

288 (2) Ὅ δὲ βασιλεὺς οὐδὲν τούτω μᾶλλον πραχθέντι καταπλήττεται, προσαργισθεὶς δὲ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ προχωρήσειν εἰπών ἐκ τῆς κατ' Ἀγγυπτίων σοφίας καὶ δεινότητος κελεῦει τὸν ἐπὶ τῶν Ἑβραίων τεταγμένου μηδεμίαν αὐτοῖς ἀνέσων παρέχειν τοῦ πονεῖν, ἀλλὰ πλείον τῶν πρότερον κακοῖς αὐτοῖς καταναγκάζειν. οὐ δὲ ἄχυρον αὐτοῖς παρέχων εἰς τὴν πλινθείαν πρότερον οὐκέτερον παρέδεχεν, ἀλλ' ἡμέρας μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἔργοις ταλαιπωρεῖν ἐποίει, νυκτός δὲ συνάγει τὸ ἄχυρον. καὶ τοῦ δεινοῦ διπλασίονος ἄντος αὐτοῖς ἐν αἰτίας Μωυσῆ ἑχον, ὡς τῶν ἔργων αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ταλαιπωρίας δι'

290 ἐκείνου χαλεπωτέρας γεγενημένης· ὦ δ' οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλείου ἀπειλὰς ἔκαμεν οὔτε πρὸς τὰς τῶν Ἑβραίων μέμβρεις ἐνεδίδου, τὴν τε ψυχὴν παραστησάμενος πρὸς ἐκάτερον ἐπὶ τῷ πονεῖν καὶ τοῖς οἴκελοις ἐκπορίζειν τὴν εὐθυρραίαν ὑπῆρχε.

291 καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα ἔπειθεν αὐτὸν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπὶ τὸ Ἑβραῖον ὄρος ἐκεῖ θύσιν ταῖς θεοῖς, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτὸν κεκελευ- κέναι, καὶ μηδὲν ἀντιπράττειν οἷς ἐκεῖνοι θεολατοῦσι, τὴν δ' εὐμενεῖαν αὐτοῦ περὶ παντὸς ποιοῦμενον συγχωρεῖν αὐτοῖς τὴν ἔξοδον, μὴ καὶ λάθη τούτων οἰκουρίας γενόμενος αὐτὸν αἰτιάσασθαι πάσχων ὡς παθεῖν εἰκὸς τῶν ἀντιπράττοντα θεοῦ προστάγμασι.

292 τοῖς γὰρ χόλον ἐπ' αὐτοῖς κωνήσας θεοίν ἐξ ἀπάντων φύσεως τὰ δεινὰ καὶ οὔτε γή τούτως οὔτε ἀθροί φίλος οὔτε γοναὶ τέκνων κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλ' ἐχθρὰ πάντα καὶ πολέμια. πειραθήσεσθαι
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 dumbounded by this performance, but only indignant thereat, and, telling Moses that it would profit him nothing to practise his cunning and craft upon the Egyptians, he ordered the overseer of the Hebrews to grant them no relaxation from their labours, but to subject them to hardships yet more oppressive than before. Accordingly that officer, who had heretofore provided them with straw for their brick-making, provided it no more, but constrained them in the daytime to toil at their tasks and at night to collect the straw. Their affliction being thus doubled, they held Moses to account for this increased severity of their labours and pains. But he, neither wavering before the king's threats, nor yielding to the recriminations of the Hebrews, steeled his soul against both and devoted all his efforts to procuring his people's liberty. So he went to the king and urged him to let the Hebrews go to Mount Sinai to sacrifice there to God, for so He had commanded, and in no wise to oppose His will, but to esteem His gracious favour above all else and permit them exit; lest haply, in hindering them, he should unwittingly have but himself to blame for suffering such a fate as was like to befall him who opposed the commands of God; for to them that rouse the divine ire dread calamities arise from all around them; to them neither earth nor air is friendly, to them no progeny is born after nature's laws, but all things are hostile and at enmity; and
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te toûtow Aîguptíous ëfasse metà kai toû tôv 'Ebráioûn laôn àpelleîn ek tôs xóras autôn akòntow ekéinon.

203 (xìv. 1) Toû dê basileów ëkphaulízontos toûs Mwvseôs lógon kai ùmpdeîn èpistropheîn ête poïoumênou pâthê deînâ toûs Aîguptíous kat-
elámbean, òm ëkastôn èkthésemai diá te tô mî protèron tis ñumíánta tôte [toûs] Aîguptíous eis peîran ëlthei kai diá tô boûlethô Maiwseôn ùmíden òn èporeîn autôn èpeneúmeôn èpideîzai, kai õti ñumfèrei toûs ùnthropóns mouhosì phyllàteosai tauta poièin, ëf' ouj ùs mî ñyssarosthêsêi tô theôn ùmîd' eis òrhoûn trapeîn ñûmneîtaí tôs ñáikiais autôn. õ ñaro poiamaôs autôn ñumatâthîs theô
kelleusantos èrrhê pîneosai mî dunamei, kai ñygê thêrân ùdáton ouj èxhouin oujì thûn xrôan múnon ùn toûtôs, ìlla kai toûs peîrwmênous 205 álphimata kai pikrân ðóunhn prosegferen. ùn dê toûtôs méû Aîguptíous, 'Ebráioûs dê glikús kai ùpîmos kai ùmíden toû Kate fûson parhllagmênous.
pròs ouj tô parádoçon ñyssarosthôs õ basileus kai deixas perì tôw Aîguptíwv suñexwrei toûs 'Ebráioûs àpiénaì kai toû kàkou ñyssarosthîs pâlon thûn gnavmhn metêbalen ouj èpiterôn thûn áphodon autôs.

206 (2) 'O theôs dê áynwmonovûntos kai metà thûn áppallaghû thûs sýmforas oukètî sôfroneîn ëthê-
lonontos álîn toûs Aîguptíous èpiferei plêghû-
batrâxon plîbhos àpeîrou thûn yhûn autôn èp-
ehôsketo, meostîs dê toûtow kai õ poiamaô ùn,

1 õ: ñyssarosthêsí tell.  2 ROE: ëpiterpên tell.  3 ñûmneîtaí 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,

* He omits one, the fifth.
διαμμένους τὸ ποτὸν τῷ τῶν ζώων ἱχώριον
κεκακωμένον λαμβάνειν ἐναποθηκαντών καὶ συν-
διαφθειρομένων τῷ ὑδατι, ἡ τε χώρα μεσθῇ
κακῆς ἢν ἔλιος γεννωμένων τε καὶ ἀποθηκαντών,
tὰς τε κατ’ οἶκον αὐτῶν διαίτας ἡφαίστου ἐν
βρωτοῖς εὐρισκόμενοι καὶ ποτός καὶ ταῖς εὐναίς
αὐτῶν ἐπιπολάζοντες, ὀσμῇ τε χαλεπῇ ἢν καὶ
dυσώδης ἀποθηκαντῶν τῶν βατράχων καὶ ζῶν-
tῶν καὶ διεφθαρμένων. ὑπὸ δὲ τούτων τῶν κα-
kῶν ἐλαιομένων τῶν Ἀγυπτίων τῶν Μωσήν
ἐκέλευσεν ὁ βασιλεὺς οἰκεθαί τοὺς Ἰσραήλ
λαβόντα, καὶ παραχρῆμα τοῦτ' εἰπόντος ἡφαίστο
τῶν βατράχων τὸ πλήθος καὶ ἡ τε γη καὶ ὁ
ποταμὸς εἰς τὴν ἱδίαν φύσιν κατέστησαν. Φαραώ-
θης δὲ ἁμα τοῦ τε πάθους ἀπῆλλακτο [ἡ γῆ]1 καὶ
τῆς αὐτής ἐπελέλυσε καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραήλους κατέλειψε,
καὶ ὅσπερ πλείων παθημάτων φύσεως βουλό-
μενος μαθεῖν οὐκέτι ἱπτεῖ τοὺς περὶ τοῦ Μωσήν
ἐξεῖναι, φοβοῦ μάλλον ἡ φρονήσει ταύτην αὐτοῖς
ἐπιτρέπειν.

300 (3) Πάλιν οὖν άλλου κακοῦ προσβολή μετήξε τὸ
θεῖον αὐτοῦ τὴν ἀπάτην φθειρῶν γὰρ τοὺς Ἀγυπ-
tίους ἐξήνθησεν ἀπερὸν τοῦ πλῆθος ἐνδοθεν ἀνα-
dιδομένων, ὡφ' ὃν κακοῖς απώλλυτο μήτε
λουτροῖς μήτε χρίσει φαρμάκων διαφθείραι τὸ
301 γένος αὐτῶν δυνάμενον. καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο τὸ δεινὸν
ὁ τῶν Ἀγυπτίων βασιλεὺς παραχθείς καὶ δεῖγας
ὁμοῖο τὸν ὀλεθρον τοῦ λαοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰσχυνὴν δὲ
τῆς ἀπωλείας λογισάμενος εῖς ἡμίσουσι ὑπὸ φαιλό-

1 Probably a gloss.

* Or "scraped (the soil)." cf. iii. 10 διαμμένοις τὴν γῆν. The word is drawn from Thuc. iv. 26, "the soldiers were in
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 unguents availing them to destroy these vermin. Confounded by this scourge, dreading the destruction of his people, and withal reflecting on the ignominy of such an end, the king of Egypt was forced to listen to reason, though, in his depravity, still only in half the habit of scraping away the shingle and drinking any water which they could get" (Jowett): the detail is taken over from the Biblical account of the first plague, Ex. vii. 24, "And all the Egyptians digged round about the river for water to drink."

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

LXX reads ἀσκίφες ("gnats," rather than "fleas").
302 τητος ἡναγκάζετο σωφρονεῖν τοῖς μὲν γὰρ Ἑβραίοις αὐτοῖς ἐδίδον τὴν ἄφοδον, καὶ πρὸς τούτο λωφήσαντος τέκνα καὶ γυναῖκας ὁμηρὰ τῆς ὑποστροφῆς αὐτῶν καταλυτῶν αὐτοὺς ἥξιόν. προσεξαγριάνει δὲ τὸν θεὸν νομίσας ἀπατήσεων αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ὥσπερ Μωυσέως ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐκείνου τιμωροῦντος τὴν Ἀγιοττον ὑπὲρ τῶν Ἑβραίων. 303 θηρίων γὰρ παινοῦν καὶ πολυτρόπων, ὅπως ὅμως οὐδεὶς ἀπρότυπῇ πρότερον, τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐγέμισεν, ὡσπερ ὅπου αὐτοὶ τοῦ ἀπόλλυμον καὶ ἡ γῆ τῆς ἐπιμελείας τῆς παρὰ τῶν γεωργῶν ἀπεστείῳ, εἰ δὲ τι καὶ διέφυγε τὴν ὑπ’ ἐκείνους ἀπώλειαν, νόσιμο τοῦτο καὶ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑπομενόντων ἐδαπανᾶτο. 304 (4) Τοῦ δὲ Φαραώθου μηδ’ οὕτως εἶκοντος τοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ βουλήμασιν, ἀλλὰ τὰς μὲν γυναίκας συναπαίρει τοὺς ἀνδράσιν ἄξιούντος καταλείπεσθαι δὲ τοὺς παῖδας, οὐκ ἡπόρει τὸ θείον τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ ποικίλως κακοῖς καὶ μείζονι τῶν προενδεδημηκότων μετερχόμενον βασανίσαι ἀλλὰ γὰρ δεινῶς αὐτοῖς ἐξηλκοῦτο τὰ σώματα τῶν ἐντὸς διαφθειρομένων, καὶ τὸ πολὺ τῶν Ἀγιοπτίων 305 οὕτως ἀπόλλυτο. μηδ’ ὅπο ταύτης δὲ τῆς πληγῆς σωφρονιζομένου τοῦ βασιλέως χάλαζα, μήτε πρότερον τοῦ κατ’ Ἀγιοττον ἀέρος τούτῳ πεποιηθότος μηδ’ ὅμοια τῇ παρ’ ἀλλ’ ἄλλος ὁρὰ χειμώνος κατιστοφι, μείζων δὲ τῆς παρὰ τοῖς τὰ βόρεια καὶ τὴν ἀρκτον

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

† These "beasts of every sort and kind" are the equivalent of the fourth plague in the Biblical narrative, the "swarms of flies" (ixx the "dog-fly," κυνόμων) 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 chastisements yet mightier than those prevalent heretofore; for now their bodies were smitten with horrible ulcers and their intestines wasted away, and the greater part of the Egyptians perished thus. But when even this plague failed to sober the king, hail, till then unknown to the climate of Egypt, nor yet like that which in other countries falls in winter, but hail larger than that known to the dwellers in northern, polar

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.

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

* Detail not in Scripture; in Ex. x. 10 f. wives and children are to remain.
νεμομένους, ἔαρος ἀκμᾶξοντος κατενεχθεῖσα τοὺς 306 καρποὺς αὐτῶν κατέκλασεν. Ἐπειτα φύλον ἀκρίδων ἐπινέμεται τὴν ὑπὸ τῆς χαλάξης μὴ καταβλαβεῖσαν σποράν, ὡστε πρὸς τὰκριβῆς πάσας τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς τῶν καρπῶν ἐλπίδας διολέσαι.

307 (5) Ὅρκης μὲν οὖν τὸν δίχα πονηρίας ἀνώτητον καὶ τὰ προειρημένα τῶν κακῶν εἰς σύνεσιν καὶ τοῦ συμβέροντος τὴν ἐπίνουαν ἀφελήσαι, Φαραώθης δὲ οὐ τοσοῦτον ὑπὸ ἀφροσύνης ὅσον ὑπὸ κακίας ὁμοίως αἰσθόμενος τῆς αἰτίας ἀντεφαλούκει τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐκὼν προδότης ἐγένετο, καὶ κελεύει μὲν τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τε γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων ἀπάγειν τοὺς Ἑβραίους, τὴν δὲ λείαι αὐτῶις καταλιπεῖν ἐφθαρμάνης αὐτῶις τῆς οἰκείας. 308 τοῦ δὲ Μωυσέος οὐχὶ δίκαια φήσαντος αὐτῶν ἀξίων, δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς τῷ θεῷ τὰς θυσίας ἐκ τῆς λείαι ἑπενεγκεῖν, καὶ τριβομένου διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ χρόνου σκότος βαθὺ καὶ φέγγους ἀμοιρον περιπέφαίρει τοῖς Ἀιγυπτίοις, ὡς οὐ τάς τε ἄθεαι ἀποκλειομένους καὶ τὰς ἀναπνοὰς ἐμφατομένους ὑπὸ παχύτητος οἰκτρῶς τε ἀποθνῄσκεις συνέβαινε καὶ δεδήναι μὴ καταποθῶσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ 309 νέφους. εἶτα τοῦτο διασκεδασθέντος μετὰ τρέις ἡμέρας καὶ τοσαύτας νύκτας, ὃς οὐ μετενείπε πρὸς τὴν ἔξοδον τῶν Ἐβραίων ὁ Φαραώθης, προσελθὼν ὁ Μωυσῆς φησιν ἂν χρή πάντες ἀπειθεῖς τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμῃ; κελεύει γὰρ οὖτος ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἐβραίους, καὶ οὐκ ἔστων ἐτέρως ἀπαλλαγῆναι τῶν 310 κακῶν ὑμῶν τῇ τάυτῃ πονηράται.” ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς ὀργιοσθεὶς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις ἤπειρεσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν

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  
Pharaohthes, 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 a  
he ordered Moses to take off the Hebrews, women b  
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 dark-  
ness, 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 Pharaohthes  
was still impotent 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 λια, constantly used of cattle.

2 Lat., ed. pr.: + γαρ codd.
κεφαλήν ἀποτεμεῖν, εἰ πάλιν περὶ τούτων ἐνοχλῶν αὐτῷ προσέλθω Μωυσῆς δὲ αὐτὸς οὐκέτι ποιήσει γεγονός περὶ τούτων λόγους ἔφησεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ἐκεῖνον σὺν καὶ τοῖς πρώτοις τῶν Ἑλλήνων παρακαλέσεις τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπελθέντα. καὶ ο μὲν ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

311 (6) ὁ δὲ θεὸς δηλώσας ἐτι μὲν πληγὴν τούς Ἑλλήνων καταναγκάσει ἀπολύσαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευος. Μωυσῆς παραγγέλλει τῷ λαῷ θυσίαν ἐτοίμην ἔχειν, παρασκευασάμενος τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ Ἑβραίου μηνός εἰς τὴν τεσσαρακότατην, ὅσον παρὰ μὲν Ἑλλήνων Φαρμουθι καλεῖται, Νισαίαν δὲ παρ’ Ἑβραίους, Μακεδόνες δ’ αὐτῶν Ἑβραίων προσαγορεύσων, ἀπάγει τοὺς Ἑβραίους πάντα ἐπικομιζόμενους. καὶ ο μὲν ἐτοίμους ἔχων ἢδη τοὺς Ἑβραίους πρὸς τὴν ἐξοδον καὶ διατάξεις εἰς φατρίας ἐν ταύτῃ συνείχεν, ἐνυπότης δὲ τῆς τεσσαρακότατης πάντας πρὸς ἀφοδον ἔχοντες ἔθυνεν καὶ τῷ αἵματι τὰς οἰκίας Ἰησοῦν υποστῶν κόμαις ἀναλαθόντες, καὶ δειπνήσαιτε τὰ λοιπὰ τῶν κρεῶν ἐκαυσαν ὡς ἐξελευ-

312 σόμενοι. δὴν νῦν ἔτι κατὰ τὸ ἔθος οὕτως θύσεμεν τὴν ἐορτὴν πάσχα καλοῦντες, σημαίνει δ’ ὑπερβάσια, διότι κατ’ ἐκεῖνην τὴν ἡμέραν ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶν ὑπερβαίνει Ἑλλήνων ἐναπέσκηψε τὴν νόσον. ἦ γὰρ φθορὰ τῶν πρωτοτόκων κατ’ ἐκεῖνην ἔπεσε τὴν νύκτα τοῖς Ἑλλήνως, ὡς συνελθόντας πολλοὺς

1 ἐκέλευο RO.
2 τρισακάδεκατη ME.

* Not tribes; the Attic ϕηρία was a subdivision of the φυλή, and the use of the word in B.J. vi. 423 (cf. A. iii. 248) with reference to contemporary Passover practice shows that little companies of between ten and twenty persons are intended.

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

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

b ἐπισταυρών τὴν νόσον (“launched the plague upon”) after Thuc. ii. 47 (of the plague of Athens).
JOSEPHUS

tῶν περὶ τὸ βασιλείου διαιτωμένων τῷ Φαραώθῃ 314 συμβουλεύειν ἀπολύειν τοὺς Ἑβραῖους. καὶ Μωυ-
σῆν καλέσας ἐκείνος ἀπείναι προσέταξεν, εἰ τῆς
χώρας ἐξελθοῦν παύσεσθαι τὴν Ἀλγυπτὸν κακο-
παθοῦσαν ὑπολαβῶν, διόροις τε τοὺς Ἑβραῖους
ἐτίμων, οἷς μὲν ὑπὲρ τοῦ τάχιον ἐξελθεῖν, οἷς δὲ
καὶ κατὰ γειτνικῆ πρὸς αὐτοὺς συνήθειαν.

315 (xv. 1) Καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐξήσαν κλαίοντων καὶ μετα-
νοοῦντων ὅτι χρήσαιντο χαλεπῶς αὐτοῖς τῶν
Ἀλγυπτίων, τὴν δὲ πορείαν ἐποιοῦντο κατὰ Λητοῦς
πόλιν ἔρημον οὖσαν ἐν τοῖς τότε· Βαβυλῶν γὰρ
ὕστερον ἐκεῖ κτίζεται Καμμύσου καταστρεφομένου
τὴν Ἀλγυπτὸν. συντόμως δὲ ποιούμενοι τὴν ἄφοδον
εἰς Βεελσέφὼντα χωρίον τριταιον παραγίνονται
316 τῆς Ἔρυμδας θαλάσσης. μηθενὸς δὲ τῶν ἀπὸ τῆς
γῆς εὐποροῦντες διὰ τὴν ἔρημιν πεφυραμένοι
τοῖς ἀλεύροις καὶ πεπηγόσι μόνον ὑπὸ βραχείας
θερμότητος τοῖς ἀπ’ αὐτῶν ἄρτοις διετρέφοντο,
καὶ τούτοις ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας ἐχρήσαντο· πρὸς
πλείονα γὰρ οὐκ ἐξήρκεσε χρόνον αὐτοῖς ὅσα ἐκ
τῆς Ἀλγυπτοῦ ἐπεφέροντο, καὶ τάστα τὴν τροφῆν
ταμειμομένους καὶ πρὸς ἀνάγκην ἄλλα μὴ πρὸς
317 κόρον αὐτῆς χρωμένοις· οἴδαν εἰς μνήμην τῆς τότε

1 παύσασθαι codd.

* In the year 525 B.C. Strabo (xvii. 807) mentions the Egyptian Babylon as a strong fortress, in or near “the Letopolite nome,” founded by certain Babylonian emigrants and in his day the camp of one of the three Roman legions in Egypt. Modern explorers have identified the two places 302
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 The exodus, Ex. xii. 35 f. honoured the Hebrews with gifts, some to speed their departure, others from neighbourly feelings towards old acquaintances.

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

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.
ἐνδείας ἑορτὴν ἀγομέν ἐφʼ ἡμέρας ὅκτω τῆς τῶν ἄξιωμας λεγομένην. τὸ μὲν οὖν πᾶν πλήθος τῶν μετανοιαμένων γυναικῶν ἄμα καὶ τέκνων σκο- πούσων οὐκ εὐαρίστητον ἦν, οὐ δὲ στρατεύσιμον ἔχοντες τῆς ἡλικίας περὶ ἔξηκτα μυριάδες ἦσαν.

318 (2) Κατέλησον δὲ τὴν Ἀγιοτοπίαν μηνὶ Ξανθικῷ πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ κατὰ σελήνην μετὰ ἐπὶ τριάκοντα καὶ τετρακόσια ἡ τῶν πρόγονον ἡμῶν Ἀβραάμον εἰς τὴν Χαναάναν ἠθεῖν, τῆς δὲ Ἰακώβου μετα- αναστάσεως εἰς τὴν Ἀγιοτοπίαν γενομένης διακοσίοις πρὸς τοῖς δεκαπεντε ἐναντιῶν ύστερον. Μωυσῆς δὲ ἐγενότευ μέν ἔτος ὕποκοσσαν ἡδή, οὐ δὲ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀαρών τρισὶ πλείονοι ἐπεκομί- ζοντο δὲ καὶ τὰ τοῦ Ἰωσήφου ὁστά, ταῦτ' ἐκείνου τοῖς ύστεροι αὐτοῦ κελεύσαντος.

320 (3) Ἀγιοτοπίας δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐξελθοῦσι μετανόησαν καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως δεινῶς φέροντο ὡς κατὰ γοητείαν τὴν Μωυσέος τούτων γεγονότων ἐπ' αὐτοῦς ἐγνώκεσαν ἀπιέναι. καὶ λάβοντες ὀπλα καὶ παρασκευὴν ἐδίωκον ὡς ἐπανάγοντες αὐτούς εἰ καταλάβοιεν καὶ γὰρ οὐκέτ' αὐτοὺς ἐνέχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ τὴν γὰρ ἔξοδον αὐτοὺς γε- 

321 γονόν ἐπὶ κρατήσει γελαίως αὐτῶν ὑπέλαβον ἄνοπλον τε ὀρτον καὶ ύπὸ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας κεκο-
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 ὑ χρυσόσκειαν ἐπέσπευδον τὴν διώξιν, καίτοι χαλεπῆς οὐσίας ὀδευθήσαν τῆς γῆς οὐ στρατοπέδους μόνον

322 ἀλλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑνα. Ἔμνως δὲ ταύτῃ τοις Ἐβραίοις ἀπήγαγεν, ἵν' εἰ μετανοήσαντες οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι διόκειν ἔθελοιεν τιμωρίαν τῆς ποινής καὶ παραβάσεως τῶν ἁμαλογημένων ὑπόχοιεν, καὶ διὰ Παλαιστίνου, <οὐ̄ς> ἰ δυσμενῶς ἔχοντας κατὰ παλαιάν ἀπέχθειαν οὕτων ὀπωσοῦ ἐβουλευτὀ λανθάνειν ἀπερχόμενος οἱ μοροί γὰρ ἐστὶ τῇ τῶν

323 Αἰγυπτίων χώρας· καὶ διὰ τούτο τῷ μὲν ἄγουσαν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην οὐκ ἀνήγαγεν τὸν λαὸν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου πολλὴν ἀνόσια ὁδὸν καὶ κακοπαθήσας ἠθέλησεν ἐμβαλεῖν εἰς τὴν Χαναάν· ἔτει τε καὶ διὰ τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ θεοῦ κελέουσαντος ἅγειν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὸ Σωμαίαν ὀρός ἐκεῖ ποιήσαντας

324 τὰς θυσίας. καταλαβόντες δὲ τοὺς Ἐβραίος οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι εἰς μάχην παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ συνελαύνουσιν αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ πολυκερίας εἰς ὁλίγου χωρίου ἐξακοσία γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἁρματα ἐπετοὺς σὺν ἢπείδη πεντακισμυρίους καὶ ὀπλών μυρίων ἔσταν εἰκοσι. τὰς δὲ ὀδοὺς ἀπεφάγησαν, αἰς φεύξασθαι τοὺς Ἐβραίους ὑπελάμβανον, μεταξὺ κρημνῶν αὐτοὺς ἀπροσβάτων καὶ τῆς θαλάττης 325 ἀπολαμβάνοντες· τελευτᾷ γὰρ εἰς αὐτὴν ὄρος ὑπὸ τραχύτητος ὁδῶν ἄπορον καὶ φυγῆς ἀπολαμβανό-

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

* Ex. “For God said, Lest peradventure the people repent when they see war, and they return to Egypt.”

* 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. That was why 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. Barring all routes by which they expected the Hebrews to attempt escape, 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 and prohibitive for retreat.

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

* The 600 chariots are Biblical, the other figures imaginary.

* The retreat from Syracuse is in mind: τὰς τε ἀδελφὰς τὰς κατὰ τὴν χώραν, ἣ ἐκδόται ἤν τοὺς Ἀθηναίους ἵναι, διεφθάρμησαν Thuc. vii. 74.

* Or perhaps "whose rugged tracks made it impracticable."
μενον. τοιγαροῦν ἐν τῇ εἰσβολῇ τῇ πρὸς βάλλαταν τοῦ δροῦς τοῦ 'Εβραίους ἀπέφερσεν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ κατὰ στόμα τούτο ἰδρυσάμενοι, ὅπως τὴν εἰς τὸ πεδίον ἔξοδον ὅσον αὐτοῖς ἀφηρμήνευν.

328 (4) Μήτ' οὖν ὑπομένειν πολιορκουμένων τρόπῳ διὰ τὴν ἐνδεια τῶν ἐπιτηδείων δυνάμειν μὴν φυγῆς εὐπορίαν ὅρῶντες, ὅπλων τε σπανίζοντες εἰ καὶ μάχεσθαι δόξειν αὐτοῖς, ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πάντως ἀπολεῖσθαι καθειστήκεσαν, εἰ μὴ παραδόσουσιν εαυτοὺς τοῖς Ἀγγευτίοις ἐθελουσίως.

327 καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν ἦταν τῶν πάντων ἐπιλεγομένων τῶν ἐκ θεοῦ πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς σημείων γεγονότων, ὡς καὶ τὸν προφήτην παρορμώντα καὶ τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐσπαγχελλόμενον ὑπὸ ἀπιστίας λίθους ἐθελῆσαι βαλεῖν παραδίδοναι τε ὑφὲς τοῖς Ἀγγευτίοις διεγνωκόναι. πένθος τε ἦν καὶ ὀδυρμοὶ γυναικῶν καὶ παιδῶν πρὸς ὀφθαλμῶν ἐχόντων τὸν ὄλεθρον, βρέσι καὶ βαλάττῃ περικεκλεισμένων καὶ πολεμίων καὶ φυγῆν οὐδαμῶθεν ἐκ τούτων ἐπιπονγυτών.

328 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ πάλιν ἀγριαίωντος πρὸς αὐτὸν τοῦ πλήθους οὔτ' αὐτῶς ἐνέκαμεν τῇ περὶ αὐτούς προνοία καὶ τῷ θεῷ κατεφρόνει, τὰ τέκνα πρὸς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ προεῖπε παρεσχηκότος καὶ μηδὲ τότε αὐτοῖς ἐάσοντα ὑπὸ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενομένως ἣ δούλευσιν ἢ ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ ὅτα ἐν μέσοις "οὐδὲ ἀνθρώποις," εἰπε, "καλῶς τὰ παρόντα πεπολυτευμένοις πρὸς ὑμᾶς δίκαιον ἦν ἀπιστεῖν ὡς οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσομένοις πρὸς τὰς μέλλοντα, τῆς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ νῦν ἀπογυνώσκειν ὑμᾶς

1 ROE: προσβολή Μ: συμβολή tell.
2 Niese: ἀπολέσθαι codd.
3 Niese: ήμαι codd.
Accordingly, occupying the pass where the mountain abuts upon the sea, they blocked the passage of the Hebrews, pitching their camp at its mouth, to prevent their escape to the plain.¹

(4) Thus, unable, for lack of supplies, to hold out in the manner of the beleaguered, seeing no opportunity for flight, and destitute of arms even should they decide to give battle, the Hebrews were left with no prospect but that of utter destruction, failing deliberate surrender to the Egyptians. And now they turned to accusing Moses, forgetful of all those miracles wrought by God in token of their liberation, insomuch that the words of the prophet, who cheered them and promised them salvation, were met with incredulity and they wished to stone him and resolved to give themselves up to the Egyptians. Then there were the wailings and lamentations of women and children, with death before their eyes, hemmed in by mountains, sea, and enemy, and seeing nowhere from these any imaginable escape.

(5) But Moses, for all that enrageent 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

¹ Or "table-land."
331 προνοίασ μανίας ἔργον ἂν εἴη, παρ' ὦ πάνθ', ὑμῶν ἀπήντηκεν ὁσα δὶ' ἐμοῦ πρὸς σωτηρίαν καὶ τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῆς δουλείας οὐδὲ προσδοκῶσιν ὑπέσχετο. μᾶλλον δὲ ἔχρηθ' ἀπόρους, ὡς δοκεῖτε, γεγενημένους βοηθοῦν ἐλπίζειν τὸν θεόν, οὐ καὶ τῷ νῦν εἰς ταῦτην ὑμᾶς περικεκλείσθαι

332 τὴν δυσχωρίαν ἔργον, ἢ' εἴ τις ἀμηχανών οὐθ' οὐτ' αὐτοὶ νομίζετε σωτηρίαν ἔξειν οὐθ' οἱ πολέμωτε, ἐκ τούτων ῥυσάμενος τὴν τε ἱσχὺν ἐπιδείξηται τὴν έαυτοῦ καὶ τὴν περὶ ὑμᾶς πρόνοιαν. οὐ γὰρ ἐπὶ μικρὸς τὸ θείον τὴν έαυτοῦ συμμαχίαν οἷς ἀν εὐνοεῖ ἢ δίδωσιν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' οἷς άνθρωπίνην ἐπίθεια μὴ βλέποι πρὸς τὸ κρείττον παροῦσαν.

333 οἶδεν τοιούτω βοηθῶς πεπιστευκότες, ὡς δύναμις καὶ τὰ μικρὰ ποιήσαι μεγάλα καὶ τῶν τηλικοῦτων ἀσθένειαν καταβολήσασθαι, μὴ καταπέλπηχθε τὴν Ἀλγυπτίων παρασκευήν, μηδ' ὦ τῇ ἀλάσσαι καὶ κατόπιν ὑμῶν ὅρθ' φυγῆς οἴδον οὐ παρέγοντα διὰ τοῦτ' ἀπογνώσκετε τὴν σωτηρίαν γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν καὶ ταῦτ' ὑμῖν πεδία τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος καὶ γῆ τὸ πέλαγος.

334 (xvi. 1) Τοσαῦτα εἶπον ἢγεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἀλάσσαι τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων ὁρόντων· ἐν ὦσει γὰρ ἠσαν καὶ τῷ πόνῳ τεταλαιωρημένοι τῆς διώξεως εἰς τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὴν μάχην ὑπερβαλεῖσθαι καλώς ἔχειν ὑπελάμβανον. ἔπειδη δὲ πρὸς τῷ αἰγαλαίῳ Μωυσῆς ἐγενόει, λαβὼν τὴν βακτηρίαν τὸν θεοῦ ἰκέτευε καὶ σύμμαχον καὶ βοηθοῦν ἐκάλει λέγων·

335 "οὖν αὐτὸς μὲν ἄγνοεις, ὥστε φυγεῖν ἡμῖν ἐκ τῶν παρόντων οὖσα κατὰ βρόμην οὔτε κατ' ἐπινοιάν ἐστιν ἀνθρωπίνην, ἀλλ' εἰ δὴ τὶ πάντως σωτηρίου στρατῷ τῷ κατὰ τὴν σὴν βουλήσεσιν ἀφέντε τὴν
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

\[ \text{ROE: } \delta \nu \delta \nu \delta \nu \text{ rell.} \quad \text{3 + } \text{Bekker.} \]
336 Ἀργυρτόν, σὸν ἐστὶν ἐκπορίζειν. ἦμεῖς τε ἄλλην ἀπεγνωκότες ἐκπίθα καὶ μηχανήν εἰς τὴν ἀπὸ σοῦ μόνον καταφέργουμεν, καὶ εἰ τι παρὰ τῆς σῆς ἐλθοὺ προνοίας ἐξαρπάζαι τῆς Ἀργυρτείων ἀργής ἦμᾶς δυνάμενον ἀφοράμεν. ἀφίκοιτο δὲ τούτῳ ταχέως τὴν σὴν ἐμφανίσαν ἦμᾶς δύναμιν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑπὸ ἀνελπιστίας καταπετασκότα πρὸς τὸ χείρον ἀναστῆσαι εἰς εὐθυμίαν καὶ τὸ περὶ τῆς 337 σωτηρίας θάρσος. ἐν οὐκ ἀλλοτρίοις δ' ἐσμὲν τοῖς ἀπόροις, ἀλλὰ σῇ μὲν ἡ θάλασσα, σὸν δὲ τὸ περικλεῖον ἡμᾶς ὅρος, ὡς ἀνοιγῆται μὲν τοῦτο σοῦ κελεύσαντος, ἤπειρωθήναι δὲ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος, εἶναι δὲ ἦμᾶς ἀποδράναι καὶ δὲ ἀέρος δοξᾶν ἰσχύν τῇ σῇ τούτων ἦμᾶς σώζεσθαι τὸν τρόπον." 338 (2) Τοσαῦτα ἐπιθειάσας τύπτει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ τὴν θάλασσαν. ἦ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς πληγῆς ἀνεκόπτη καὶ εἰς αὐτὴν ὑποχωρήσασα γυμνὴν ἄφησε τὴν 339 γῆν ὅποι Ἑβραίως εἶναι καὶ φυγῆν. Μουσῆς δὲ ὅρων τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὸ πέλαγος ἐκκεχωρηκός αὐτοῖς τῆς ἑδίας ἦπείρου πρῶτος ἐνεβαίνειν αὐτῇ καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευεν ἐπεσαίως διὰ της ὅσον ποιομένοις τὴν πορείαν καὶ τῷ κυνεύον τῶν παρὸντων πολεμίων ἡδομένους καὶ χάριν ἔχοντας διὰ τὴν παράλογον οὕτως ἐξ αὐτοῦ σωτηρίαν ἀναφανεῖσαν. 340 (3) Τῶν δ' οὐκέτ' ὀκνοῦτων, ἀλλ' ἵππες ὑπετειχαί συμπαράντων αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ, μαίνεσθαι μὲν αὐτοὺς τὸ πρῶτον Ἀργυρτείων ἔδοξον ὡς ἐπὶ πρόδηλον ὀλεθρόν ὀρμωμένον, ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐώρων ἀβλαβεῖς ἐπὶ τὸ πολὺ προκεκοφότας καὶ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς ἐμπόδιον μηδὲ δυσχερὲς ἀπαντήσαν, διότι ἄρμισκεν αὐτοῖς ὡς κακεῖνος ἤρεμησοντος τοῦ
provide it. For our part, despairing of other hope or resource, we fling ourselves upon thy protection alone, and expectantly, if aught be forthcoming from thy providence of might to snatch us from the wrath of the Egyptians, we look to thee. May it come quickly, this aid that shall manifest to us thy power; raise the hearts of this people, whom hopelessness has sunk into the depths of woe, to serenity and confidence of salvation. Nor are these straits in which we find ourselves without thy domain; nay, thine is the sea, thine the mountain that encompasseth us: this then can open at thy command, or the deep become dry land, or we might e'en find escape through the air, should it please thine almighty power that after this manner we should be saved."

(2) After this solemn appeal to God, he smote the sea with his staff. And at that stroke it recoiled and, retreating into itself, left bare the soil, affording passage and flight for the Hebrews. Moses, beholding this clear manifestation of God and the sea withdrawn from its own bed to give them place, set the first foot upon it and bade the Hebrews follow him and pursue their way by this God-sent road, rejoicing at the peril awaiting their advancing foes and rendering thanks to God for the salvation thus miraculously brought by Him to light.

(3) They, without more ado, sped forth with zest, assured of God's attendant presence; whereupon the Egyptians at first deemed them mad, thus rushing to a certain death, but when they saw them far advanced unscathed, unchecked by obstacle or discomfiture, they made speed to pursue them, imagining that the sea would remain motionless for them also, and with
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πελάγους, καὶ προτάξαντες τὴν ἑπτὸν κατέβαινον. 341 Ἔβραιοι δὲ καθοπλιξομένους καὶ τῶν χρόνων ἐς τούτο τρίβοντας ἐφθασαν ἐπὶ τὴν ἀντιπέραν γῆν ἀπαθεῖς ἐκφυγόντες, ὅθεν καὶ θαρσαλεωτέρους συνέβαινε πρὸς τὴν διώξιν ὡς οὐδὲν οὐδὲ αὐτῶν πεισομένων εἶναι. Ἀλγύπτιοι δ’ ἐλάνθανον ὅδιαν ὅδον Ἔβραιος γεγενημένην, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ κοινὴν ἀπεμβαίνοντες καὶ μέχρι σωτηρίας τῶν κεκυν- νευκότων πεποιημένην, ἀλλ’ οὐχὶ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ἀπολείᾳ τῇ τούτων ὠρμημένοις χρῆσθαι θέλουσιν. 343 ὡς οὖν ὁ τῶν Ἀλγύπτίων στρατός ἀπας ἐντὸς ἦν, ἐπισχέται πάλιν ἡ θάλασσα καὶ περικαταλαμβάνει ῥόῳδης ὑπὸ πνευμάτων κατιοθέν τοὺς Ἀλγυ- πτίους, ὁμβροὶ τ’ ἀπ’, οὐρανοῦ κατέβαινον καὶ βρονταὶ σκληραὶ προσεξαπτομένης ἀστραπῆς καὶ κεραυνοὶ δὲ κατηρήθησαν. ὅλως δ’ οὐδὲν ἦν τῶν ἐπὶ ἀπολείᾳ κατὰ μήνιν θεοῦ συμπιπτόντων ἀνθρώπων, ὃ μὴ τότε συνῆλθε· καὶ γὰρ νῦς αὐτῶν ζωφῶθης καὶ σκότεινη κατέλαβε. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλουτο πάντες, ὡς μηδ’ ἄγγελον τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ὑπολειμμένοις ὑποστερέσθαι.

344 (4) Τοὺς δ’ Ἔβραιοὺς οὐδὲ κατασχεῖν ἦν ἐπὶ τῇ χαρᾷ τῆς παραδόξου σωτηρίας καὶ τῇ τῶν πολεμίων ἀπολείᾳ, βεβαιῶς νομίζουτας ἡλευ- θερότως τῶν ἀναγκαζόντων δουλεύειν διεθαρ- μένων καὶ τὸν θεόν οὕτως ἐναργῶς ἔχοντας βοή- 348 θοῦτα. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτοὶ τε τῶν κύδωνον οὕτως ἐκφυγόντες καὶ προσέτε τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐπιδόντες κεκολασμένους, ὡς οὐκ ἄλλοι τινὲς μνημονεύονται

1 εἰς Ῥ.
the cavalry leading they proceeded to descend. But the Hebrews, while their enemies were arming and wasting time over that, had outstripped them and emerged unharmed on the opposite shore; this, however, but stimulated the ardour of the Egyptians for the pursuit, in the belief that they too would suffer nothing. Little dreamed they that it was a road reserved for the Hebrews, no public highway, whereon they were setting foot, a road created solely for the salvation of those in jeopardy, not for the use of them that were bent upon their destruction. When, therefore, the entire army of the Egyptians was once within it, back poured the sea, enveloping and with swelling wind-swept billows descending upon the Egyptians: rain fell in torrents from heaven, crashing thunder accompanied the flash of lightning, aye and thunderbolts were hurled.* In short, there was not one of those destructive forces which in token of God's wrath combine to smite mankind that failed to assemble then; for withal a night of gloom and darkness overwhelmed them. Thus perished they to a man, without a single one remaining to return with tidings of the disaster to those whom they had left at home.

(4) As for the Hebrews, they could scarce contain themselves for joy at this miraculous deliverance and the destruction of their foes, believing themselves assuredly at liberty, now that the tyrants that would have enslaved them had perished and that God had so manifestly befriended them. After having themselves thus escaped from peril and furthermore beheld their enemies punished in such wise as within

* For these added details cf. Ps. lxxxvii. 16-20 (* The waters saw thee," etc., quoted by Weill).
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tῶν πρόσθεν ἀνθρώπων, ἐν ὑμνοῖς ἦσαν καὶ παι-
διαῖς ὁλη τὴν νύκτα, καὶ Μωυσῆς φῶς ἐν τὸν
θεον ἐγκαύμιον τε καὶ τῆς εἰμινειας εὐχαριστίαν
περιέχουσαν ἐν ἐξαμέτρῳ τόνω συντιθέουν.

347 (5) Ἑγὼ μὲν οὖν ὡς εὐδοκῶ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βι-
βλίοις οὕτως ἐκαστὸν τοῦτων παραδείγματα· θαυ-
μάσῃ δὲ μηδεὶς τοῦ λόγου τὸ παράδοξον,
eἰ ἄρχαίοις ἀνθρώποις καὶ πονηρίας ἀπελεῖς
εὐρέθη σωτηρίας ὁδὸς καὶ διὰ θαλάσσης εἰτε κατὰ
348 βούλησιν θεοῦ εἰτε κατὰ ταυτόματον, ὅποτε καὶ
τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἀλέξανδρον τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Μακε-
δονίας χθῆς καὶ πρῶην γεγονόσων ὑπεχώρησεν τὸ
Παμφύλιον πέλαγος καὶ ὁδὸν ἄλλην οὐκ ἔχουσι
παρέσχε τὴν δι’ αὐτοῦ, καταλύσας τὴν Περσῶν
ἡγεμονίαν τοῦ θεοῦ θελήσαντος, καὶ τοῦτο πάντες
ὁμολογοῦσιν οἱ τὰς Ἀλέξανδρον πράξεις συγ-
γραφάμενοι. περὶ μὲν οὖν τοῦτων ὡς ἐκάστῳ
δοκεῖ διαλαμβανέτων.

349 (6) Τῇ δ’ ὑστεραίᾳ τὰ ὅπλα τῶν Ἀγνωπτῶν
προσενέχθησα τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν Ἐβραίων ὑπὸ
τοῦ ροκο καὶ τῆς βίας τοῦ πνεύματος ἐπ’ ἐκεῖνο
ἐκδιδούσης 1 ο Μωυσῆς καὶ τοῦτο εἰκάσας τῇ τοῦ

1 ME: εἰσαδιδούση tell.

* A classical metre, to which there is no known analogy in Hebrew poetry; cf. Ant. iv. 303, where another τοὺς ἐξαμέτροις is attributed to Moses.

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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 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

b The story is told by Arrian i. 26 (αύτος δ' παρα τὴν δόλασαν διὰ τοῦ αἵματος ἦγε τοὺς ἄμφοι αὐτῶν. ἕτερ εἰς ταύτῃ ἡ δοῦσ εἰκ ἔλλην, ἐπὶ μή τῶν ἀνέμων πρόετον . . . τούτῳ δ' εἰ ύπόν σκληρῶν βορειῶν ἔπεμψατο τὸν ἄμφο τοῦ θεοῦ, ὥσ πάντως τε καὶ αἱ ἄμφοι αὐτῶν ἔξεγοντο, εὐμαι καὶ ταχείως τῷ πάρεδος παρέσχων), by Strabo xiv. 666 f. (who says that Alexander trusted mainly to luck and that the troops were immersed μεχρὶ ὀμφαλὸς) and by others. The scene was near Phaselis, on the confines of Lycia and Pamphylia.

c For this formula see i. 108 note.
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θεοῦ προνοίας γεγονέναι, ὡς μηδὲ ὅπλων ὄσιν ἀποροῖ, συναγαγὼν καὶ τούτοις σκεπάσας τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἠγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σωσίων ὄρος θύσων εκεῖ τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὰ σώστρα τῆς πληθύνος ἀποδώσων, καθὼς αὐτῷ καὶ προείρητο.

* For these added details, perhaps derived from Demetrius, see § 331 note.
should not be wanting, collected them and, having accoutred the Hebrews therein, 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.  

§ 269.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Γ

(Ι. 1) Παραδόξον δὲ τῆς σωτηρίας τοῖς Ἑβραῖοις οὐτως γενομένης δεινῶς ἐλύσει πάλιν αὐτοὺς ἀγομένους ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναϊὸν ὄρος ἡ χώρα τελέως οὔσα ἔρημος καὶ τῶν τε πρὸς τροφὴν αὐτοῖς ἀποροσ, σπανίζουσα δὲ καὶ ὑδατος εἰς τὸ ἔσχατον, καὶ μὴ μόνον ἀνθρώποις τε παρασχεῖν ἐνδείξε, ἀλλὰ καὶ μηδὲ ἄλλο τι τῶν ζωῶν ἱκανὴ βόσκειν ψαφαρά γὰρ ἔστι καὶ νότερον εἰς αὐτῆς οὐδὲν ὅ τι καὶ φύσει καρπὸν δύνατο. τοιαύτῃ δὲ οὕσαν τὴν χώραν ἐξ ἀνάγκης ὑδευν ἐτέραν 2 ἀπελθεῖν οὐκ ἔχοντες. ἐπεφέροντο δ᾿ ἐκ τῆς προωφαίρησεν ὕδωρ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κεκελευκότος, καὶ τοῦτον δαπανηθέντος ἐκ φρεάτων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ὑδρείαν ἐπισόνως διὰ σκληρότητα τῆς γῆς, καὶ τὸ εὐρισκόμενον δὲ πικρὸν ἄλλο οὐ 3 πότιμον ἦν, καὶ τοῦτο δὲ σπάνου. ἀφικνοῦται δὲ τοῦτον ὀδύνοντες τὸν τρόπον περὶ δείλην ὁφίαν εἰς Μάρ τόπον οὐτως διὰ τὴν τοῦ ὑδατος κακίαν όνομάσαντες· μὰρ γὰρ ἡ πικρία λέγεται, καὶ αὐτὸθε πεταλωπορμένοι τῷ τε συνεχεί τῆς ὁδοπορίας καὶ τῇ τῆς τροφῆς ἀπορία, καὶ γάρ τὸτε αὐτοὺς τελείως ἐπιλελοίπει, κατάγονται· 4 φρέαρ γὰρ ἦν, διὸ καὶ μᾶλλον ἔμειναν, οὐδὲ αὐτὸ μὲν ἐξαρκεῖν δυνάμενον τοσοῦτον στρατῷ, βραχεῖαν 320
BOOK III

(i. 1) The Hebrews, thus miraculously saved, were again in sore distress when led onward to Mount Sinai. The country was absolute desert, devoid of anything for their sustenance, while the scarcity of water was extreme; not only could the soil furnish nothing for man but it was even incapable of supporting any species of beast, being in fact sandy and without a particle of moisture propitious to vegetation. Such was the country which they were constrained to travel, no other route being open to them. They had brought with them some water from the district already traversed, by order of their chief, and when this was exhausted 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 Ῥηβδι transliterated as by Josephus, πικρᾶς: Heb. Ἱπάρ = "bitter" or "bitterness."

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μέντοι παρέχον αὐτοῖς εὐθυμίαν ἐν ἐκείνοις εὗρεθέν τοῖς χωρίοις· καὶ γὰρ ἦκουν παρὰ τῶν ἔξερευνών τῶν μηδὲν ἐμπροσθεν βαδιζοῦσιν εἶναι. πικρὸν δὲ ἐκείνο τὸ υδώρ καὶ ἄποτον ἦν, οὐκ ἀνθρώποις μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς ὑποξυγίοις ἀφόρητον.

6 (2) Ἐρων δ' ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀθύμως διακειμένους καὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὸ ἀνακτικεῖτο, οὐ γὰρ καθαρὸς ἦν στρατός ὡστε τῷ βιαζομένῳ τῆς ἀνάγκης ἀντιτάξαι τὸ ἀνδρέαν, ἀλλὰ διέφθειρε τὸ καὶ ἐκείνους γενναίον παιδιώμα τε καὶ γυναικῶν ὄχλος ἀσθενείστερος τῆς ἐκ λόγων ὅν· διδασκαλίας, ἐν χαλεπωτέροις ἦν τὴν συμφορὰν τήν ἁπάντων ὑδαίν αὐτῶν ποιούμενος· καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ ἐπ' ἄλλοι τινα συνέτρεγον ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτούς, ἀντιβαλοῦντες γύναια μὲν ὑπὲρ νηπίων οί δ' ἄνδρες ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων μὴ περιορᾶν, ἀλλ' ἐκπορίζειν αὐτοῖς ἀφορμὴν των σωτηρίας. ἐκετεύειν οὖν τρέπεται τὸν θεοῦ μεταβάλειν τὸ υδώρ ἐκ τῆς παρούσης κακίας καὶ πότιμον αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. καὶ κατανεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν χάριν λαβών ἀποτομάδος τό ἄκρον ἐν ποσίν ἐφρημένης διαμεῖται μέσην καὶ κατὰ [τὸ] μήκος τὴν τομήν ποιησάμενος, ἔπειτα μεθείς εἰς τὸ φρέαρ ἔπειθε τοὺς Ἐβραίους τὸν θεόν ἐπήκουν αὐτοῦ τῶν εὐχῶν γεγονέναι καὶ ὑπεσχῆσαι τὸ υδώρ αὐτοῖς παρέξειν οἶον ἐπιθυμοῦν, ἀν πρὸς τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ κελευόμενα μὴ ὀκνηρῶς ἀλλὰ προθύμως ὑποργύωσιν ἐφομένων δ' αὐτῶν, τί καὶ ποιούντων ἄν μεταβάλοι τὸ υδώρ

1 Lat. (infantum): παιδες codd.
2 ins. Niese.
3 τομάδος R.O.
of slight encouragement to them when found in those regions; for they had heard from their scouts that none was to be had by proceeding further. That water, however, proved bitter, and not only could the men not drink it, but even the beasts of burden found it intolerable.

(2) Moses, seeing their despondency and the indisputable gravity of the case—for this was no sound army, capable of meeting the stress of necessity with manly fortitude, but one whose nobler instincts were vitiated by a rabble of women and children, too feeble to respond to oral admonition—Moses, I say, was in yet more serious straits, in that he made the sufferings of all his own. For it was to no other than to him that they all flocked, imploring him, wives for their infants, husbands for their wives, not to neglect them, but to procure them some means of salvation. He therefore betook himself to prayer, entreating God to change that present evil property of the water and to render it drinkable. And, God having consented to grant that favour, he picked up the end of a stick that lay at his feet, cleft it in twain, lengthwise, 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

* 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.
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ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον, κελεύει τοὺς ἐν ἀκμῇ περιστάντας εξαντλεῖν λέγων τὸ ὑπολειπόμενον ἑσεθαὶ πότιμον αὐτοῖς προεκκενωθέντος τοῦ πλείστου. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπόνους, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πληγῶν γεγυμνασμένον καὶ κεκαθαρισμένον ἔδη πότιμον ἦν.
9 (3) "Ἀραντες δὲ ἐκείθεν εἰς Ἡλίων ἀφικνοῦνται πόρρωθεν μὲν ἀγαθὴν ὀραθήναι, καὶ γὰρ φοινικό- φυτος ἦν, πλησιάζουσα ὅπηλέγχετο πονηρά· καὶ γὰρ οἱ φοινίκες ὀντες οὐ πλείον ἐβδομήκοντα δυσαυξεῖσ' τε ἦσαν καὶ χαμαλζληθοὶ δι' υδάτος ἀπορίαν ψαφαροῦ τοῦ παντὸς οἰνοῦ χαρίου· οὐτε γὰρ ἐκ τῶν πηγῶν, διὰδεκα οὐσῶν τὸν ἀριθμὸν, νοτερὸν τι καὶ πρὸς ἄρδευσιν αὐτοῖς διεπίδα φρύσιμον, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυναμένων ἐκβλύσαι μηδ' ἀνασχεῖν ικμάδες ἦσαν ολόγα, καὶ διαμωμένους τὴν ψάμμου οἴδεν ἀπήρτα, κἂν εἰ τι δὲ σταύξον ἔλαβον εἰς χεῖρας, ἄχρηστον ἦρευκον ὑπὸ τοῦ 10 χολεροῦ εἶναι· καρπὸν τε φέρειν ἦν ἀσθενή τὰ δένδρα διὰ σπάνυ τῆς ἐς υδάτος εἰς τοῦτο ἄφορο- μῆς καὶ παρακλήσεως. εἶχον οὖν ἐν αἰτία τὸν στρατηγὸν καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ τὴν ταλαιπωρίαν καὶ τὴν πείραν τῶν κακῶν δι' αὐτοῦ πᾶσχεν λέγοντες· τρικαστὴν γὰρ ἐκείνην ὑδεύοντες ἤμεραν ὡσα μὲν ἐπεφέροντο πάντ' ἦσαν ἀναλυσότες, μηδενε δὲ περιτυγχάνοντες δυσελπίδες ἦσαν περὶ 11 τῶν ὀλων. πρὸς δὲ τῷ παρόντι κακῷ τὴν διά-

1 v.l. πλησιάζουσιν.
2 καὶ πρὸς ἄρδα] προσερεθοῦν RO.
3 conj. after Dindorf (διεπίδα) ; δι' ὑδάτα codd.

a A rationalistic explanation of the miracle : cf. B.J. iv. 8. 3 (quoted by Weill).
b Bibl. Elim, ixxx Αἰλέμ.
c After Thuc. iv. 26 (Pylus) : cf. Ant. ii. 296.

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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.\textsuperscript{a}

(3) Departing thence, they reached \textit{Elis},\textsuperscript{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\textsuperscript{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,\textsuperscript{d} the provisions which they had brought with them were all exhausted,\textsuperscript{e} and, lighting upon nothing whatever, they were in utter despair. With minds obsessed with their present woes, precluding

\textsuperscript{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).

\textsuperscript{b} So the Palestinian Targum on Ex. xvi. 2: "On that day the bread which they had brought out of Egypt was finished" (Weill).
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νοιαν οὕτε καί ἐν μνήμῃ εἶναι τῶν ὑπηργομένων αὐτοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ καί τῆς Μωυσεός ἀρετῆς καὶ συνέσεως καλυόμενοι, δι’ ὅργής τῶν στρατηγῶν ἐξαν καὶ βάλλειν αὐτὸν ὀρμήκεσαν ὅσα αἰτιώτατον τῆς ἐν ποιι συμφορᾶς.

13 (4) Ὁ δ’ οὕτως ἀνθρεπομένου τοῦ πλήθους καί πικρώς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν κεκυμνένου, τῷ θεῷ θαρρῶν καὶ τῷ συνειδότει τῆς περὶ τοὺς ὀμοφύλους προ- νοιῶς, πάρεισθι εἰς μέσους καὶ καταβούντων καὶ κατὰ χείρας ἐτι τοὺς λίθους ἐχόντων, ὀραθήναι τε κεχαρισμένος ἃν καὶ πλῆθες ὁμιλεῖν πιθα- 

14 νώτατος, καταπαύειν ἦρξατο τῆς ὀργῆς, μὴ τῶν παρόντων αὐτοὺς δυσκόλων μεμημένους λήθην ἔχειν τοὺς ἐμπροσθεν ἐπεργεσίαν παρακαλῶν, μηδ’ ὅτι πῦρ πονοῦ τῆς διανοίας ἐκβάλλειν τὰς τοῦ θεοῦ χάριτας καί δωρεὰς, ὃν μεγάλων καὶ ἐκ παραδόξου ἐτυχον γενομένων, προσδοκῶν δὲ καὶ 

15 τῆς παρούσης ἀπαλλαγῆ1 ἀμηχανίας ἐκ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ κηδεμονίας, ὅν εἰκός δοκιμάζοντα τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν πῶς τε καρπερίας ἔχουσι καὶ μνήμης τῶν προϋπηργομένων, εἶ μὴ πρὸς ἑκεῖνα γίγνοντο διὰ τὰ ἐν ποιὶ κακά, γυμνάζειν αὐτοὺς τοῖς ἄρτι 

16 χάλεσιν. ἐλέγχεσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἀγαθοῖς οὕτε περὶ τὴν ὑπομονὴν οὕτε περὶ τὴν μνήμην τῶν εὐ γεγονότων, οὕτως μὲν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἑκείνου γνώμης καθ’ ἐκκλεοδησαὶ τὴν Διδυμοῦ καταφρονοῦντας, οὕτως δὲ πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν ὑπηρέ- 


tην αὐτοῦ διατεθέντας, καὶ ταῦτα μηδὲν αὐτοὺς διαφυσάμενον περὶ ὧν εἶποι τε καὶ πράττειν κατ’

1 ἀπαλλαγὴν edd.: ἀπαλλαγήθαι codd.

* 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.

(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).
17 ἐντολήν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσειε. κατηρίζομει τε πάντα, πῶς τε φθαρεῖν Αἰγύπτιοι κατέχειν αὐτούς παρὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην βιαζόμενοι, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ὁ αὐτὸς ποταμὸς ἐκεῖνος μὲν αἶμα ἢν καὶ ἄποτος
18 αὐτοῖς δὲ πότιμος καὶ γλυκός, πῶς τε διὰ τῆς βαλάσσης ἀναφυγούσης αὐτοῖς πορρωτάτω καιρῷ ὅδοις ἀπελθόντες αὐτῇ ταύτῃ σωθεῖσαν μὲν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ ἐχθροὺς ἐπίδουν ἀπολωλότας, ὅτι τε σπανίζοντας ὅπλων εἰς εὐπορίαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοῦτον καταστήσειε, τὰ τε ἄλλα ὅσα πρὸς αὐτῷ τῷ διαφθαρῆσθαι δόξαντας γεγονέναι καὶ σώσειεν
19 ὁ θεὸς ἐκ παραλόγου καὶ ὡς δύναμις αὐτῶν μὴ ἀπογυμνάσκειν δὲ μηδὲ νῦν αὐτοῦ τὴν πρόνοιαν, ἀλλὰ ἀργύτως περιμένειν λογιζομένους μὲν τὴν ἐπικουρίαν μηδὲ βραδεῖαν γίνεσθαι, εἰ μὴ παραστῆκα καὶ εἰ μὴ πρῶν τινος πειρατήν δυσκόλου πάρεστιν, ἡγουμένους δὲ οὐ κατὰ ὅλης ὀλυμπίαν μέλλειν τὸν θεὸν, ἀλλὰ ἐπὶ πείρα τῆς ἀνδρείας αὐτῶν
20 καὶ τῆς περὶ τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἡδονῆς, ἓνα μάθοι ποτερὸν ποτε καὶ τροφῆς ἀπορίαν καὶ σπάνιν ὑδατὸς ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐστ’ ἐνεγκείν γενναίοι, ἢ δουλεύειν μᾶλλον ἀγαπάτε καθάπερ τὰ βοσκήματα τοῖς κρατοῦσι καὶ τὸν πρὸς τὰς ἐκεῖνος ὑπερεσίας
21 ἀρχόντως πρεσβοὺς δὲ δεδείναι δ’ εἰπὼν οὐχ οὕτως ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ σωτηρίας, πείσεθαι γὰρ οὐδὲν κακὸν ἀδίκως ἀποθανόν, ἀλλὰ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, μὴ δὴ φύμπερ αὐτὸν βάλλουσι λίθων τοῦ θεοῦ κατακρίνες
22 νομισθῶσιν, (5) ἐπράνειν αὐτοὺς καὶ τῆς μὲν τοῦ βάλλειν ὀρμῆς ἐπέσχει καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ὅπερ ἐμελλον δρᾶν ἔτρεψε. παθεῖν δ’ οὐκ ἀλόγως αὐτοὺς

1 ML: αὐτῆς tell.
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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διὰ τὴν ἀνάγκην τοῦτο νομίσας ἔγνω δείν ἐφ' ἐκείνων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ παράκλησιν ἔλθεῖν, καὶ ἀναβὰς ἐπὶ τῶν σκοπῆς ἤτει πόρον τινὰ τῷ λαῷ 23 καὶ τῆς ἐνδείας ἀπαλλαγῆν. ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ εἶναι τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ συγχωρόσκειν δὲ τοῖς νῦν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀνάγκης ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις, φύσει δυσαρέστου καὶ φιλαιτίου τοῦ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐν οἷς ἀν ἄτυχη γένους ὄντος. ὁ θεὸς δὲ προνοήσεωι εἰς ἐπαγγέλλεται καὶ παρέξει 24 ἀφορμὴν ἂν ποθοῦσιν. Μωσεὺς δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ταῦτ' ἄκουσας καταβάλλει πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος· οἱ δ' ὁσ' ἐφόρων καὶ ταῖς ἐπαγγελλαῖς ταῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γεγονότα μετέβαλεν ἐκ τῆς κατηθείας πρὸς τὸ ἑαυτὸτερον, καὶ στὰς ἐκεῖνος ἐν μέσοις ἤκειν ἐλεγε χέρων αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν [περὶ] τῶν 25 ἐνεπτηκότων ἀπόρων ἀπαλλαγῆν. καὶ μετ' ὅλων ὑπόκουσαν πλῆθος, τρέφει δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ὄρνεον ὡς οὐδὲν ἔτερον ὁ Ἀράβιος κόλπος, ἐφίππηται τὴν μεταξὺ βάλλονταν ὑπερελθοῦν καὶ ὑπὸ κόπου τε ἄμα τῆς πτήσεως καὶ πρόσγαιρον μᾶλλον τῶν ἀλλών ὁν καταφέρεται εἰς τοὺς ἔβραιους· οἱ δὲ συλλαμβάνοντες ὡς τροφῆν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην μεχανημένον τὴν ἐνδείαν ἱώντως, καὶ Μωσεὺς ἐπ' εὐχάς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ ταχείαν καὶ παρὰ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ποιημένον τὴν ἑπικούριαν. 26 (6) Εἴδως δὲ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀφορμὴν τῆς τροφῆς καὶ δευτέραν αὐτοῖς κατέσπευσαν ὁ θεὸς· ἀνέχοντος γὰρ τοῦ Μωσεύος τὰς χεῖρας ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς ὑπὸ καθημέληθη, καὶ περιπηγομένης ταῖς

* Josephus, more suo, 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

\[ \text{Ex. xvi.} \]

\[ \text{Num.} 13 \]

\[ \text{The manna.} \]

\[ \text{Is.} 13 \]

\[ \text{Or, possibly, "even beyond (even prompter than) His promise."} \]

\[ \text{Midrashic addition to the Biblical narrative.} \]
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χερσὶ Μωσέης ὑπονοήσας καὶ ταύτην εἰς τροφὴν ἥκειν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενέται τε καὶ ἱσθεῖς, 27 τοῦ πλῆθους ἄγνοοντος καὶ νομίζοντος νίφεσθαι καὶ τῆς ὕδας εἶναι τοῦ ἔτους\(^1\) τὸ γενόμενον, ἀνεδίδασκεν οὐ κατὰ τὴν ἐκεῖνην ὑπόλογην ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι τὴν δρόσον, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ σωτηρίας τῇ αὐτῶν καὶ διατροφῇ, καὶ γενόμενος\(^2\) τούτῳ αὐτοῖς 28 παρείχε πιστεύειν. οἱ δὲ μιμούμενοι τὸν στρατηγὸν ήδοντο τῷ βρώματι· μέλατε γὰρ ἦν τὴν γλυκύτητα καὶ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἐμφέρεσ, ὁμοιον δὲ τῇ τῶν ἄραμάτων βδέλλῃ, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῷ κοράννου σπέρματι· καὶ περὶ συλλογὴν λίαν αὐτοῦ 29 ἐσπουδάκεσαν. παρηγγέλλετο δ' ἐξ οὗν πᾶσιν ἀσσαρῶνα, τοῦτο δ' ἐστὶ μέτρον, εἰς ἑκάστην ἡμέραν συλλέγειν ὡς οὐκ ἐπιλείφοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ βρώματος, ἵνα μὴ τοῖς ἀδινάτοις ἀπορον ἢ τὸ λαμβάνειν δε' ἀλκήν τῶν δυνατωτέρων πλεονεκτεῖν τούτων περὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. οἱ μὲν τοι πλέον τοῦ προστεταγμένου μέτρου συναγαγόντες οὐδὲν περισσότερον ἔχον τοῦ κακοπαθῆσαι, ἀσσαρῶνας γὰρ οὐδὲν πλέον εὕρισκον, τοῦ δ' ὑπολειφθέντος εἰς τὴν ἐπιουσίαν δύνασιν οὐδ' ὡς ἤτοι ἡ διεθημένη ὑπὸ τε σκολλήτω ἐν κικρίας· οὕτω βιοῦν ἢ τὸ 31 βρώμα καὶ παράδοξον. ἀμείναι δὲ τοῖς ταύτην νεμομένοις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἀλλών ἀπορίαν, ἐτὶ δὲ

\(^1\) ME\(1\) ἐτοῦ rell.

\(^2\) γενόμενος ROE (perhaps rightly).

\(^a\) 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 *assarōn*\(^b\) (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 *assarōn*; while anything left over for the morrow was of no service whatever, being polluted by worms and bitterness, so divine and miraculous was this food. It is a mainstay to dwellers in these parts against their dearth of other

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\(^a\) In Exodus an *omer* (LXX ἕγωρ). Josephus substitutes for this, here and elsewhere, the word *assarōn*, a Hellenized form of the Hebrew ʾissarōn, meaning "a tenth part" sc. of an *ephah*, in other words an *omer* (Ex. xvi. 36).
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καὶ νῦν ὃτι πᾶς ἔκατον ὁ τόπος, καθὼς καὶ τότε Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον τὸ θεῖον κατέπεμψε τὴν
32 διατροφήν. καὶ οἱ μὲν δὲ Ἐβραίοι τὸ βρῶμα τούτο μάνα· τὸ γὰρ μάν ἐπεράτησε κατὰ τὴν ἁμαρτείαν
dιάλεκτον τί τοῦτ’ ἦστιν ἀνακρίνουσα. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἥμαρτον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀπ’ οὐρανοῦ καταπεμφθέισιν
αὐτοῖς διετέλειν, τῇ δὲ τροφῇ ταύτῃ τεσσαρά-
κοντα ἔτεοι ἐχμήσαντο ἐφ’ ὅσον χρόνον ἦσαν ἐν
τῇ ἐρήμῳ.
33 (7) Ως δ’ ἐκείθεν ἀραντες εἰς Ῥαφίδεων ἦκον,
tαλαιπωρηθέντες ὑπὸ δίφος εἰς ἐσχατον, ἐν τε
tαῖς πρότερον ἡμέραις πίθαξεν ὁλίγαις ἀντιγχά-
νοντες καὶ τότε παντάπασιν ἀνδρον εὐρύντες τὴν
γῆν, ἐν κακοῖς ἔσαν καὶ πάλιν δὲ ὀργῆς τὸν
34 Μωυσῆν ἐποιοῦντο. ὃ δ’ τὴν ὅρμην τοῦ πλῆθους
πρὸς μικρὸν ἐκκλίνας ἐπὶ λατᾶς τρέπεται τοῦ θεοῦ,
παρακαλῶν ὡς τροφὴν ἐδωκεν ἀπορουμένοις οὕτως
καὶ ποτὸν παραχεῖν, διαφθειρομένης καὶ τῆς ἐπὶ
35 τροφῆς χάριτος ποτοῦ μὴ παρόντος. ὧ δ’ οὐκ εἰς
μακρὰν τὴν δωρεὰν ἄνεβάλλετο, τῷ δὲ Μωυσεῖ
παρέξεων ὑπογνωμένης πηγῆν καὶ πλῆθος ὦδατος
δὲν οὐ προσδοκήσειν, καὶ κελεύει τῷ βάκτρῳ
πληξίαν τὴν πέταν, ἢν εὔρων αὐτῶθι παρα-

* I hesitate to depart from the rendering of all previous translators from Hudson, "Quinct vero eo veredebantur alio non egeabant victu" to M. Weill, "Il remplaçait pour ceux qui en mangeaient tous les autres aliments absents"; the latter traces here an allusion to the widespread Rabbinical tradition, found already in the Book of Wisdom (xvi. 20 f.), that the manna assumed the taste that was most pleasant to the eater. But (1) ἐπι καλαίνα in Josephus usually means "inhabit" (A. v. 262 etc.), or occasionally "graze" (of cattle), but never "eat" (of men); (2) the fem. ταῦτην cannot refer to the neuter word for food, βρῶμα, whereas the ellipse of γὰρ is
provisions, and to this very day all that region is watered by a rain like to that which then, as a favour to Moses, the Deity sent down for men’s sustenance. The Hebrews call this food manna; for the word man is an interrogative in our language, asking the question “What is this?” 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 Raphidin, 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 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),” Encycl. Bibl. s.v.

* Heb. man, lxx μῦδ or μάννα.

* The same popular etymology appears in the Heb. and LXX.

* Bibl. Rephidim, lxx (like Jos.) ‘Ραφίδεις.
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κειμένην, παρ’ αὐτής λαμβάνειν τὴν εὐπορίαν ὅν δέονται· φροντίζειν γὰρ καὶ τοῦ μὴ σων πόνων μηδ’ ἐργασία τὸ ποτὸν αὐτοῖς φανῆναι. καὶ Μωυσῆς ταῦτα λαξὸν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν λαὸν περιμένοντα καὶ εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφοράντα· καὶ γὰρ ἣδη καθεώρων αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς σκοπῆς ὀρμῶ-μενον. ὥς δ’ ἦκεν, ἀπολύειν αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῦτα τῆς ἀνάγκης τῶν θεῶν ἐλεγε καὶ κεχαρίσθαι σωτηρίαν οὐδ’ ἐλπισθείσαι ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ποταμὸν 37 αὐτοῖς ῥυθείση σαι λέγων. τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὴν ἀκοὴν καταπλαγέντων, εἰ ὦ τοῦ καὶ τῆς ὀδοιπορίας. τεταλαιωμένους ἀνάγκη γένοιτο κόπτειν τὴν πέτραν, ὁ Μωυσῆς πλήττει τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ χανοῦσης ξέξεβλυσεν ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ δι- 38 αὐγέστατον. οἱ δὲ τῷ παράδεξον τοῦ γεγονότος κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὅψιν αὐτοῖς ἦδη τὸ δύσος ἐληγε, καὶ πίνουσιν ἤδυ καὶ γλυκὰ τὸ νάμα καὶ οἶνον ἀν εἰ θεοῦ τὸ δῶρον δόντος ἐφαίνετο-τὸν τε οὐν Μωυσῆν ἐθαύμαζον οὐτοὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ τετιμημένον, καὶ θυσίας ἤμείβοντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόνοιαν. δὴ λοι ὁ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ ἀνακειμένη γραφή τῶν θεῶν προειπεν Μωυσεῖ οὕτως ἐκ τῆς πέτρας ἀναδοθήσεθαι ὕδωρ.

39 (ii. 1) Τοῦ δὲ [τῶν] Ἐβραίων ὀνόματος ἦδη πολλοῦ κατὰ πάντας διαβουμένον καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν λόγου φοιτῶντος ἐν φόβῳ συνεβαίνειν οὐ μικρῷ τοῦ ἐπιχωρίους εἶναι, καὶ προβεβαίμενοι

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1 MSP: φροντίζει τολ. 

2 χαρίσασθαι RO.

* Cf. other allusions to “writings deposited in the temple” in Α. iv. 303 (the song of Moses), v. 61 (Joshua’s staying 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 ἄλληλους παρεκάλουν ἀμώνεις καὶ πειρᾶσθαι

40 τοὺς ἄνδρας διαφθείρειν. ἐπεγγαγον δὲ [οὶ] πρὸς
tοῦτο ἐνάγοντες οἱ τῇ τὴν Γροῦλτικῆς καὶ τῇ
Πέτραν κατοικοῦντες, οἱ καλοῦνται μὲν Ἀμαλκη-
tαι, μαχιμώτατοι δὲ τῶν ἑκείσε ἔθνων ὑπήρχον-
ἀν πέμποντες οἱ βασιλεῖς ἄλληλους τε καὶ τοὺς
περιοίκους ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἑβραίους πόλεμον παρ-
εκάλουν, στρατὸν ἀλλότριον καὶ τῆς Ἀλκατίνων
ἀποδότα δουλείας ἐφεδρείως αὐτοῖς λέγοντες,

41 ὅν οὐ καλῶς ἔχει περιορᾶν, ἅλλα πρὸν ἢ λαβεῖν
ἰσχὺν καὶ παρελθεῖν εἰς εὐπορίαν καὶ αὐτὸν τῆς
πρὸς ἡμᾶς κατάρχαις μάχης χαράσσαντας τῷ μηδὲν
αὐτοῖς παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀπαντῶν καταλύειν ἀσφαλεῖς καὶ
σώφρον, δύκην αὐτοὺς καὶ περί τῆς ἔρημου` καὶ
τῶν ἐν αὐτῷ πραξθέντων ἀπαιτοῦντας, ἀλλ` ὅσον
ὅταν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἡμῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀγάθοις ἐπιβάλωσι

42 τὰς χείρας. οἱ δὲ ἀρχομένην δυνάμειν ἐχθρῶν πει-
ρώμενοι καταλύειν ἁγαθοὶ συνείναι μᾶλλον ἢ οἱ προ-
kόβασαν μελζῶ καλύτερος γενόσθαι` οἱ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ
περισσοῦ δοκοῦσι νεμεσῶν, οἱ δ` οὐδεμίαν αὐτοῖς
ἀφορμὴν καθ` αὐτῶν ἐώςι γενόσθαι. τοιαύτα τοῖς
tε πλησιοχώροις καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους προσβεβομένοι
χωρεῖν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐγνώκεσαν εἰς μάχην.

43 (2) Μενυεὶ δ` οὐδὲν προσδοκόντω πολέμου
ἀποριαν καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνεποιεῖ τὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων,
καὶ παρόντων ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἡδῆ καὶ κυδυνεύουσι
dὲν ἐθορύβει χαλεπῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος
ἐν ἀπορία μὲν ὃν ἀπάντας, μελλὼν δὲ πολέμειν

1 Text doubtful: Reinach's conj. ἐφόσον does not satisfactorily account for αὐτῇ.

* Mentioned, in conjunction with Amalek, in A. ii. 6

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they exhorted each other to repel and endeavour to destroy these upstarts. The instigators of this movement were those inhabitants of Gobolitis 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.

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πρὸς ἀνθρώπους τοῖς πάσιν καλῶς ἐξηρτυμένους.\textsuperscript{1}
44 παραμυθίας οὖν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἤρχετο καὶ θαρρεύων
παρεκάλει τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ ψήφῳ πεπιστευκότας, ύφ᾽ ἡς εἰς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἦμένου κατανικήσειν τοὺς
45 περὶ αὐτῆς εἰς μάχην αὐτοῖς καθισταμένους, ὑπο-
λαμβάνει δὲ τὸ μὲν αὐτῶν εἶναι στράτευμα πολὺ
cαὶ πάντων ἀπροσδεύσῃς, ὁπλῶν χρημάτων τροφῆς
tῶν ἄλλων, ὅπως παρόντων ἐκ πεποιθήσεως πολε-
μούσιν ἀνθρωποῖς, κρίνοντας ἐν τῇ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ
συμμαχίᾳ ταῦτα αὐτοῖς παρείναι, τὸ δὲ τῶν ἐναν-
τίων ἀλγον ἀνοπλῶν ἀσθενές, οἶνου καὶ μη ὑπὸ
tοιούτους, οὗ τούτως σύνοιδεν οὐσίως, νικᾶσθαι
46 βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ. εἰδέναι δ᾽ οἶος οὕτως ἐπί-
kουρος ἐκ πολλῶν πεπειραμένους καὶ δεινοτέρων
tοῦ πολέμου· τούτου μὲν γὰρ εἶναι πρὸς ἄνθρω-
pouς, ἀ δ᾽ ἢν αὐτοῖς πρὸς λιμὸν καὶ δίδος ἄπορα
καὶ πρὸς ὀρθὰ καὶ θάλασσαν ὀδὸν οὐκ ἐχούσι
φυγῆς, ταυτάρατοι διὰ τὴν εὐμένειαν τὴν παρὰ
tοῦ θεοῦ νεκρήσθαι. νῦν δὲ γίνεσθαι παρεκάλει
προθυμοτάτους, ὡς τῆς ἀπάντων εὐπορίας αὐτοῖς
ἐν τῷ κρατήσαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν κειμένης.
47 (3) Καὶ Μωυσῆς μὲν τοιούτοις παρεθάρανε τὸ
πλῆθος λόγωι, συγκαλὼν καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ καὶ ἑκάστους
καὶ τῶν ἐν τῇ καὶ ἑκάστους ταῖς ἑκάστους τοὺς
μὲν νεωτέρους παρεκάλει πειθεῖσθαι τοῖς
48 καὶ τῶν κύνδυνον τὰς ψυχὰς ἦμενοι
cαὶ πρὸς τὸ διενόμον ἐτοίμως ἔχοντες ἐπὶ ἀπο-
αλλαγήσεις ποτὲ τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν
ἐκέλευον ἀγεννοῦν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους ἥθη
καὶ μῆ μελλεῖν, ὡς τῆς ἀναβολής ἐμποδιζοῦσις
\textsuperscript{1} Niese: ἐξηρτυμένου RO: ἐξηρυσμένου (-ημένου) tell.
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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 nought—arms, money, provisions, all those things on the possession of which men rely in going to war—deeming that in having God as their ally they possessed them all; while that of their adversaries should appear as puny, unarmed, weak, such a force that by men so mean, as He knew them to be, God would not will to be defeated. They knew what a protector they had in Him from many experiences even more awful than war; for war was waged against men, but those hopeless straits with which they had contended were hunger and thirst, mountains and sea when they had no means of flight, and yet these through the gracious mercy of God had by them been overcome. So now he bade them show the keenest ardour, since affluence in everything would be their reward in defeating their foes.

(3) With such words did Moses embolden the multitude, and, calling up the heads of the tribes and the other officers singly and all together, he exhorted the juniors to obey their elders and these to hearken to their general. And they, with hearts elated at the peril, were ready to face the horror of it, hoping ere long to be quit of their miseries, and they urged Moses to lead them instantly and without procrastination against the enemy, since delay might damp

\[\text{He puts Joshua in command. Ex. xvii. 9.}\]
49 τῆν προθυμίαν αὐτῶν. ὁ δὲ τῆς πληθύσου ἀποκράνας πᾶν τὸ μάχημα Ἰησοῦν ἐφίστησαν αὐτῷ, Ἡσηκοῦ μὲν ὕδων φυλῆς τῆς Ἑβραίτων, ἀνδρεύτατον δὲ καὶ πόνοις ὑποστήναι γενναίον καὶ νοησαί τε καὶ εἰπεῖν ἰκανωτάτου καὶ ἤρισκευόντα τὸν θεὸν ἐκπρεπῶς καὶ Μωυσῆν διδάσκαλον τῆς πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐσεβείας πεποιημένον τιμώμενον τε παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. δηλαδή δὲ τοῦ ὕδωρ ἐταξεί τῶν ὀπλιῶν ἐπὶ φυλακῆ παιδών καὶ γυναικῶν τοῖς παιστοῖς ποιεσίας καὶ νύκτα μὲν πᾶσαν ἐν παρασκευαῖς ὑσαι τῶν τε ὀπλών καὶ τοὺς πεποιηκός ἦν ἀναλαμβάνοντες καὶ τοὺς στρατηγοὺς προσεχόντες, ὃς ὀρμήσοντες ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ὅποτε κελεύσειν αὐτοῦς Μωυσῆς. διηγήσεται δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀναδιδάσκων τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἵνα τρόπον ἐκτάξει τὸ στρατόπεδον. ἤργοτες δὲ ὑποφάεις τῆς ἡμέρας αὐθεῖς τὸν τοῦ Ἰησοῦν παρεκάλει μηδὲν χεῖρονα φανεῖται κατὰ τὸ ἐργὸ τῆς ὕσης περὶ αὐτὸν ἐσπίδως δόξαν τε διὰ τῆς παροῦσας κτήσεως στρατηγίας παρὰ τοῖς αρχικοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις, τῶν τοῦ Ἑβραίων τοὺς ἀξιολογιστῶν ἴδια παρεκάλει καὶ σύμπαν ἡδη τὸ πλῆθος ὁπλίων συμμένον παράρμα, καὶ ὁ μὲν ὦτως παραστησάμενος τὸν στρατὸ τοῖς τῶν ἔργων παρασκευὴ ἀνεχώρει πρὸς τὸ ὄρος θεῶ τε καὶ Ἰησοῦν παραδίδοις τὸ στράτευμα. 53 (4) Ὑποσέμυγον δὲ ὀτι πολέμου κάν χειρῶν ἥν ἡ μάχη προθυμία τε καὶ διακελευσμῷ τα πρὸς

1 RO : γενναίον tell.
2 πρὸς παιστοῖς ML, whence πρόσπαιστος Dindorf.
3 δὲ RO.
their ardour. Moses then, having selected from the crowd all of military efficiency, put at their head Joshua,\(^a\) son of Nauekos,\(^b\) of the tribe of Ephraim,\(^c\) 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 victory of the Hebrews: the spells. Ex. xvii. 11.

\(^a\) Greek "Jesus."
\(^b\) The Hellenized form of Naue, the LXX equivalent for the Hebrew "Nun."
\(^c\) Derived from Numb. xiii. 8.
ἸΟΣΕΦΟΣ

αλλήλους χρωμένων μέχρι μὲν... 1 οὖν Μωυσῆς αὖθις 2 ἀνίσχει τὰς χεῖρας, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμαλκητῶς κατεπόνουν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι. τὸν οὖν πόνον τῆς ἀνάτασεως τῶν χειρῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς οὐχ ὑπομένων, ὡσάκις γὰρ 3 αὐτὰς καθεὶς τοσαυτάκις ἐλαττοῦσθαι τοὺς 54 οἰκείους αὐτοῦ συνέβαινε, κελεύει τὸν τε ἀδελφὸν Ῥαρὼν καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς Μαριάμμης τὸν ἄλλον Ὀζρον δύομα στάντας ἐκατέρωθεν αὐτοῦ διακρατεῖν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ μὴ ἐπιτρέπειν κάμνειν βοηθοῦντας. 4 καὶ τούτου γενομένου κατὰ κράτος ἐνίκων τοὺς Ἀμαλκητῶς οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, καὶ πάντας αὐν ἀπολύσειν, εἰ μὴ νυκτὸς ἐπιγενομένης ἀπ- 55 ἐσχοντο τοῦ κτείνειν. νῦν πρὸς καλλιστήρια καὶ καιρωστά- την 5 ἑτερὰ διὸ οἱ πρόγονοι καὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐπιστρατευόντων ἐκράτησαν καὶ τούς περιοίκους ἐφοβήσαν, μεγάλων τε καὶ λαμπρῶν ἐκ τοῦ πολεμίου ἐπέτυχον ἀγαθῶν ἐλόντες τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν πολεμίων, πλουτούσας μεγάλους δημοσίας καὶ κατ’ ἕδιαν ἔσχον οὐδὲ τῆς ἀναγκαίας 6 τροφῆς

56 πρὸς τοὺς εὐποροῦντες. ὑπῆρξε δ’ αὐτοῖς οὗτ εἰς τὸ παρόν μόνον ἄλλα καὶ εἰς τὸν ἀὖθις αἰῶνα τῶν ἀγαθῶν αὐτίκα καταρθωθεῖσα ἢ προειρημένη μάχη 7 οὐ γὰρ τὰ σώματα μόνον τῶν ἐπιστρατευόντων ἐδούλωσαν ἄλλα καὶ τὰ φρονίματα, καὶ τοῖς περιοίκοις ἀπαντήσασα μετὰ τὴν ἔκειναν ἦτταν ἐγένοντο φοβεροί, αὐτοὶ τε πλουτοῦσας μεγάλον δύναμιν προσ- 57 ἐλαβον: πολὺς γὰρ ὁ ἀργυρός τε καὶ χρυσὸς ἐγκατελήφθη 8 ἐν τῷ στρατόπεδῳ καὶ σκεύη χαλκα, 2 ἐν λακνα (Niese).
3 Niese: ἄρι ῬΟ, γὰρ ἄρι rell.
4 ἐν λακνα (Niese).

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shouts of encouragement. 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, 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

\[a\] With this description of the battle a new hand appears, that of the “Thucydidean” assistant (see Introduction): καὶ χερσιν ἡμὼν ἡ μάχη comes from Thuc. iv. 43, προθυμία καὶ διακελεοσιμάχων from iv. 11 (with vii. 71).

\[b\] Bilb. Hur, 1xx ἤπ. Scripture mentions no relationship between him and Moses: Rabbinical tradition represents him as not the husband, but the son, of Miriam (see Weil’s note).

\[1\] εὐκαταλείφθη most MS.
οίς ἔχρωντο περὶ τὴν διαίτην, πολὺ δὲ ἐπισήμων πλῆθος ἐκατέρων ὅσα τε ὕψαντα καὶ κόσμοι περὶ τὰς ὀπλίσεις ἢ τὴν ἄλλη θεραπεία καὶ κατασκευὴ ἑκείνων λεία τε παντοῖα κτημάτων καὶ ὅσα φιλεῖ
58 στρατοπέδους ἐξωδευκόσιοι ἐπεσθαί. φρονήματος τε ὑπεπλήσθησαν ἐπ᾽ ἀνδρεία Ἑβραίων καὶ πολλὴ μεταποίησις ἦν ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς, πρὸς τε τῷ πονεῖν ἦσαν ἀεὶ τοῦτο πάντα λεπτά νομίζοντες εἶναι. καὶ ταύτης μὲν τῆς μάχης τοῦτο τὸ πέρας.
59 (5) Τῇ δὲ υστεραίᾳ Μωυσῆς νεκροὺς τε ἐσκύλευε τῶν πολεμίων καὶ τὰς παντεχνίας τῶν φυγόντων συνέλεγεν ἀριστεύσι τε τιμᾶς ἐδίδον καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν Ἰησούν ἐνεκωμίαζε μαρτυροῦμενον ἐφ᾽ οίς ἔπραξεν ὑπὸ παινός τοῦ στρατοῦ. ἀπέθανεν δὲ Ἑβραίων μὲν οὕδεσ, τῶν δὲ πολεμίων ὅσους
60 οὐδ᾽ ἀριθμῷ γινώναι δυνατὸν ἦν. θύσαι δὲ χαρίστηρια βιωμὸν ἔδρευται, τικαιον ὀνομάζας τὸν θεὸ, προεφήτευε τε παναλεθρία τοὺς Ἀμαλκήτας ἀπολογομένους καὶ μηδένα αὐτῶν ὑπολειφθησόμενον εἰς αὐτὸς διὰ τὸ Ἑβραίως ἐπιστρατεύσασθαι καὶ ταύτα ἐν ἐρήμῳ τε γῇ καὶ ταλαιπωροῦμενος, τὸν
61 τε στρατὸν εὐχνίαις ἀνελάβανε. καὶ ταύτην μὲν τῆς μάχης πρώτην μαχεσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς καταλυμήσαντας αὐτῶν μετὰ τῆς ἐξ Ἀγάπτου γενομένην ἔξοδον οὕτως ἐπολέμησαν ἐπειδὲ δὲ τῇ τῶν ἑπικίλων ἐφρήμην ἔγαγον, ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀνα-

* All this description of the spoil is unscriptural, but, as M. Welli 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.

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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. He then regaled the troops with festivity.

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

\[\text{Celebration of the victory, and arrival at Mount Sinai.}

Ex. xvii. 15.

Exvii. 14.

\[\text{Ex. iv. 304 (with Deut. xxv. 17 ff. "Remember what Amalek did").}\]
παῦσας ἐπ᾿ ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τοὺς Ἑβραίους μετὰ 62 τὴν μάχην προῆγε συντεταγμένους· πολὺ δ᾿ ἦν ἡ ὅδη τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν αὐτοῖς· καὶ προῖαν κατ᾿ ὀλέγου ἐν τριμήνῳ μετὰ τὴν ἔξι Ἀγγέλου κίνησιν παρῆν ἐπί τὸ Σιναΐν ὅρος, ἐν ψά τα τε περὶ τὸν θάμνον αὐτῷ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ φαντάσματα συντυχεῖν προειρήκαμεν.

63 (iii) Καὶ Ῥαγουήλος ὁ πενθερὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ πυνθανόμενος εὐπραξίαν ἀσμένως ἀπήντα, τὸν τε Μωυσῆν καὶ τὴν Σαπφοῦραν δεχόμενος καὶ τοὺς παῖδας αὐτῶν. ἦδεται δὲ Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ πενθεροῦ ἀφίξει καὶ θύσας εὐωχεῖ τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ θάμνου πλησίον, ὅς διαπεφεύγε οὗ πυρὸς τὴν 64 φλόγαν· καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος κατὰ συγγενεῖας1 ὡς ἔκαστο τῆς εὐωχίας μετελάμβανον, Ἀαρὼν δὲ σὺν τοῖς παροῦσι Ῥαγουήλον προσλαβόμενος ὑμνοῦσα τῇ ἔδων εἰς τὸν θεόν ὡς τῆς σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αἰτιον καὶ ποριστὴν 65 γεγενημένον, καὶ τὸν στρατηγὸν εὐφήμουν ὡς κατὰ ἁρετὴν ἐκείνου πάντων αὐτοῖς κατὰ νοῦν ἀπηντηκότων. καὶ Ῥαγουήλος πολλὰ μὲν ἐγκώμια τοῦ πλῆθους ἐπὶ τῇ πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν εὐχαριστία διεξῆς, ἐθαύμαζε δὲ καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν τῆς ἐπὶ σωτηρία τῶν φίλων ἀνδραγαθίας.

66 (iv. 1) Τῇ δ᾿ ὑστεραίᾳ θεασάμενος ὁ Ῥαγουήλος

1 συγγενεῖαν Ῥ.Ο.

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*a* Josephus transposes the Biblical order of events, placing the arrival at Sinai (Ex. xix. 1) before the visit of Jethro (Ex. xviii). But as the Bible itself represents this visit as made when Moses “was encamped at the mount of God” (Ex. xviii. 5), it is highly probable that Josephus has only reverted to what was the original arrangement of the narrative (Driver’s Exodus, Camb. Bible).

*b* A. ii. 964 ff.
Hebrews for a few days after the battle, led them forward in ordered ranks; a considerable body of them was by now armed. Advancing by short stages, Ex. xix. 1. 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 Sapphona 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  

* Bibl. Jethro, alias Re'uel (lxx 'Παγωνίλλα), 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.
τον Μωυσήν ἐν ὀχλω πραγμάτων ὄντα· διέλυε γὰρ 
tὰς δίκας τοῖς δεομένοις, πάντων ἐπ’ αὐτὸν βα-
dιζόντων καὶ μόνως ἃν τοῦ δικαίου τυχεῖν ἠγού-
τα μένων, εἰ διαίτητις αὐτοῖς οὗτος γένοιτο· καὶ γὰρ 
τοῖς ἡττωμένοις κούφων ἔδοκει τὸ λείπεισθαι, κατὰ 
dικαιοσύνην οὐ κατὰ πλεονεξίαν αὐτὸ πάσχειν 
νομίζουσι· τότε μὲν ἦσυχαίν ἤγε μὴ βουλόμενος 
ἐμποδίζειν τοῖς ἀρετὴς χρήσθαι τοῦ στρατηγοῦ 
θέλουσι, πανσάμενον δὲ τοῦ θρόβου παραλαβών 
ὁς καὶ συμμονωθεῖς ἀνεδίδασκεν α’ δεὶ ποιεῖν. καὶ 
συνεβούλευε τῆς μὲν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἠττοσι ταλαιπωρίας 
ἐτέρους ἔκοπτειν, περὶ δὲ τῶν μειώσων καὶ τῆς 
σωτηρίας τοῦ πλῆθους ἔχειν τὴν πρόνοιαν αὐτῶν· 
δικάσαι μὲν γὰρ ἅγαθοὺς καὶ ἄλλους Ἑβραίων 
ἐυρέθηναι, φροντίζει δὲ τοσούτων μυριάδων σω-
τηρίας οὐκ ἄλλον τινα δύνασθαι μὴ Μωυσῆν γε-
νόμενον. "αἰσθανόμενος οὖν τῆς ἀρετῆς," φησί, 
"σαυτοῦ καὶ οἰς γέγονες ἐπὶ τῶν λαῶν 
ὑπουργῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν, τὴν μὲν τῶν ἐγκλημάτων 
διαταγὰς ἐπιτρέφειν αὐτοῖς ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἐπ᾽ ἄλλον, 
οὐ δὲ πρὸς μόνη τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπεία κατέχων 
σεαυτὸν διατελεῖ ζητῶν οἷς ᾧ τὸ πλῆθος ἀπ-
ἀλλαξειας τῆς τῶν ἀπορίας. ὑποθήκαις δὲ ταῖς 
ἐμαῖς περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων χρησάμενος τὸν στρα-
τὸν ἐξετάσεις ἀκριβῶς καὶ κατὰ μυρίους τούτων 
κεκριμένους ἀρχοντας ἀποδείξεις, εἴτε κατὰ χειλῶν, 
διαιρήσεις δὲ μετ’ αὐτοὺς εἰς πεντακοσίους, καὶ 
πάλιν εἰς ἐκατόν, εἰτ’ εἰς πεντήκοντα. ἀρχοντας 
τε ἐπὶ τούτοις τάξεις, οἱ κατὰ τριάκοντα μερι-
σθέντας διακοσμήσουσι καὶ κατὰ εἴκοσι καὶ κατὰ
immersed in the turmoil of affairs. For he used to decide the disputes of those who sought his aid, and all came to him, thinking that only so would they obtain justice, if they had him for their arbitrator; even the unsuccessful made light of failure, convinced that it was justice and not cupidity that determined their fate. At the moment Raguel held his peace, loth to hinder any who would avail themselves of the talents of their chief; but, once quit of the tumult, he took him aside and, closeted with him, instructed him what he ought to do. He advised him to depute to others the tedium of the petty cases and to reserve his own oversight to the more important and to the welfare of the community; for other capable Hebrews could be found to sit in judgement, but to watch over the welfare of such myriads was a task which no other could perform save a Moses.

"Conscious, then, of thine own merits," said he, "and what a part thou hast to play in the salvation of the people by ministering to God, suffer them to commit to others the arbitration of disputes; and do thou devote thyself solely and continuously to attendance upon God, searching by what means thou mayest deliver the people from their present straits. Follow but my advice on mundane matters, and thou wilt review thy army diligently and divide it into groups of ten thousand men, over whom thou wilt appoint selected chiefs, then into thousands; next thou wilt proceed to divide these into groups of five hundred, and these again into hundreds and fifties. [Thou wilt moreover appoint officers over these to marshal them in sections of thirty, of twenty,

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*a In Ex. xviii. 21 the division is into groups of 1000, 100, 50, and 10."
δέκα συναρμομοιμένους, ἦσεν δὲ τις ἐπὶ τούτος εἰς τὴν προσηγορίαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τῶν ἀρχομένων ἀριθμοῦ λαμβάνων, δοκιμασθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς εἶναι ἁγαθοὶ καὶ δίκαιοι, οἴ περὶ τῶν διαφόρων ¹ αὐτῶς κρινοῦσι καὶ ἦ τι μεῖξον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν αξιώματι τὴν περὶ τούτου διάγνωσιν ἐπανοίσουσιν ἂν δὲ κακείνους διαφύγῃ τὸ περὶ τού πράγματος δύσκολον, ἐπὶ δὲ τούτο ἀνάπημφους, ἔσται γὰρ οὕτως ἀμφότερα καὶ τῶν δικαίων Ἐβραίων τεῦξονται καὶ σὺ τῷ θεῷ προσδερεύων εὐμενόστερον ἂν ποιήσῃς αὐτὸν τῷ στρατῷ." ¹

73 (2) Ταῦτα Ἐφαγούηλος παρανεύσαντος Μωυσῆς ἁσμένως προσήκατο τὴν συμβουλίαν καὶ ποιεῖ κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τὴν ἐκείνου, τοῦ τρόπου τὴν ἐπίνοιαν οὐκ ἀποκρυφάμενος οὐδὲ σφετερίσαμενος αὐτὴν, ἄλλα ποιήσας φανερὸν τὸν ἐξευρηκότα τῷ πλήθει. καὶ τοῖς βιβλίοις δὲ Ἐφαγούηλος ἔγραψεν ὡς εὐρηκότα τὴν διάταξιν τὴν προειρημένην, καὶ λόγος ἠρνών ἤγονόμενος τάληθη μαρτυρεῖν τοῖς ἄξιοις, εἰ καὶ δόξαν ἐμελέτη φέρειν ἐπιγραφόμενον τὰ ὑπὸ ἄλλων εὐρηκόν, ὡστε τὴν Μωυσέως ἁρετὴν κάκτοι καταμαθεῖν. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν ταύτης εὐκαίρως ἐν ἄλλους τῆς γραφῆς δηλώσομεν.

75 (v. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ συγκαλέσας τὴν πληθύνναν αὐτοῦ μὲν εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἀπέρχεσθαι τὸ Σωτῆρν ἔλεγεν ὡς συνεσόμενος τῷ θεῷ καὶ τῇ λαβῇ παρ' αὐτοῦ χρῆσιμον ἐπανήχεσθαι ὑπὸ αὐτοῦ, ἐκείνους δὲ

¹ ML: διαφόρων tell.
² καὶ τῷ λαῷ . . χρήσιμον SP.

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¹ 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.\footnote{\textit{a}} 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.\footnote{\textit{b}}

(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 \footnote{\textit{b}}; but of that we shall have abundant occasion to speak in other parts of this work.

(v. 1) Moses now, having convened 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,\footnote{\textit{c}} 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.

\footnote{\textit{b}} Rabbinical tradition pays a similar tribute to Moses (\textit{Sifré} quoted by Weill). \textit{Cf.} a similar commendation on his integrity in recording, without appropriating, the prophecies of Balaam, \textit{A. iv.} 157 f.

\footnote{\textit{c}} Or, with the other reading, "some oracle."
ἐκέλευσεν πλησίον μετασκηνώσαι τῷ ὀρεί τῆς ἦς γειτνίας τοῦ θεοῦ προτετιθήτανας. ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀνήςει πρὸς τὸ Σισάνιον, ὑψηλότατον τῶν ἐν ἐκείνου τοῖς χωρίοις ὄρων τυχάνων καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑπερβολῆς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῶν κρημνῶν τὸ ἀπότομον ἀνθρώποις οὐ μόνον οὐκ ἀναβατών ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἐραθὴναι δίχα πόνου τῆς ὑφεως δυνάμενον, ἄλλως τε διὰ τὸ λόγον εἶναι περὶ τοῦ τῶν θεῶν ἐν 77 αὐτῷ διατρίβειν φοβερῶν καὶ ἀπρόσιτων. Ἐβραῖοι δὲ κατὰ τὰς Μωσείου ἐντολὰς μετασκηνέων καὶ τὰς ὑπορείας τοῦ ὄρους κατελαμβάνοντο, ἦρμένοι ταῖς διανοίασι ὡς μετὰ τῆς ἐπαγγελίας τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ἦς προύτευεν αὐτῶς, ἐπανήμενος 78 Μωσείου παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ. ἐστάλησεν δὲ τῶν στρατηγῶν περιέμενοι ἀγνεύοντες τὴν τε ἀλλην ἀγνείαν καὶ ἀπὸ συννοιάς τῆς γυναικῶν ἠμέρας τρεῖς, καθὼς ἐκεῖνος αὐτῶς προέπε, καὶ παρακαλοῦντες τὸν θεόν εὑμενή συμβάλλοντα Μωσείῳ δοῦναι δωρεάν, ὥσ' ἦς εὐ βιώσονται. ταῖς τ' οὖν διαίταις ἐχρῶντον πολυτελεστέραις καὶ τῷ κόσμῳ γυναιξίν ὅμιοι καὶ τέκνων ἐκπρεπῶς ἡ σκηνητο.
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

* In Exodus Moses descends from the mount to give instructions for this "sanctification" of the people.
JOSEPHUS

παροῦσιν τοῦ θεοῦ οἷς Μωυσῆς ὤδε 

81 παρατυχόντος. καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν οὓς βούλεται 

φρονεῖτω ἐκαστὸς τῶν ἐντευγαμένων, ἐμοὶ δὲ 

ἀνάγκη ταύτα ἱστορεῖν καθάπερ ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς 

βίβλους ἀναγέγραπται. τοὺς γε μὴ ¹ Ἐβραίους τὰ 

tε ὀργώμενα καὶ ὁ ταῖς ἀκοαῖς προσβάλλων ὕφος 

82 δεινῶς ἐτάραττεν, ἁπάσῃς τε γὰρ ᾧσαν αὐτῶν, καὶ 

ὁ περὶ τοῦ ὄρους διαπεφυγκὼς λόγος ᾧς εἰς 

αὐτὸ τοῦτο φοιτῶντος τοῦ θεοῦ σφάδρα τὴν διά-

νοίαν αὐτῶν ἐξέπληττε. κατεύχον δ' αὐτῶν πρὸς 

ταῖς σκηναῖς ἁχθόμενοι καὶ τὸν τε Μωυσῆν ἀπ-

ολωλέναι νομίζοντες ὡς ὁργῇ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ περὶ 

αὐτῶν ὁμοια προσδοκῶντες.

83 (3) Οὕτως δ' αὐτῶν διακεκριμένων ἐπιφαίνεται 

Μωυσῆς γαθρὸς· τε καὶ μέγα φρονών. ὁθεῖς τε 

οὗν αὐτὸς ἀπαλάζειν τοῦ δεόντων αὐτοῦς καὶ περὶ 

τῶν μελλόντων κρέατον ἐπετίθετο τὰς ἐλπίδας, 

αἰθρός τε καὶ καθαρός ὁ ἀγρά τῶν πρὸ ὀλίγου 

84 παθῶν ήν Μωυσέως παραγεγονότος. ἐπὶ τούτου 

οὗν συγκαλεὶ τὸ πλήθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν ἀκουσόμε-

νον ὃν ὁ θεὸς εἶποι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ συναθροισθέν-

των στὰς ἐπὶ ὕψιλον τυμος, ὃθεν ἔμελλον πάντες 

ἀκούσεσθαι, "ὁ μὲν θεὸς," ἐπεν, "ὁ Ἐβραῖοι, 

καθάπερ καὶ προτέρου εὐμενῆς προσεδέξατο με 

καὶ βίον τε ὡμῖν εὐδαιμονία καὶ πολιτείας κόσμον 

ὑπαγορεύσας πάρεστι καὶ αὐτὸς εἰς τὸ στρατό-

85 πεδον. πρὸς γοῦν αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἔργων, ἢ δ' 

ἐκεῖνον ἢμῖν ἢδη πέπρακται, μὴ καταφρονήσῃ 

tῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἐμὲ τὸν λέγοντα ἀφορμότε 

μηδ' ὅτε γλῶττα [ταύτα] ἀνθρωπίνη πρὸς ὑμᾶς 

λέγει, τὴν δ' ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν κατανοῆσαις ἐπι-

¹ ἑκατερ RO. ² γε μὴν Ε: τε (γε, δὲ) tell.
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 Móses 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

* Cf. A. i. 108 note.  
* No parallel in Scripture.
γνώστεσθε καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ νευοκότος καὶ ἐπὶ 
συμμετέρων τῷ ἥμετέρῳ πρὸς ἐμὲ μὴ φθονήσαντος
86 εἰπεῖν. οὐ γὰρ Μωσῆς ὁ Ἀμαράμου καὶ Ἡσαβάδης
νῦν, ἀλλὰ ὁ τῶν Νείλων ἀναγκάζεται ἡματομένον 
ὕπερ ὑμῶν ῥυθμᾶν καὶ ποικίλους 
διαμάζει κακοῖς τὸ τῶν Ἀλυστίων φρόνημα, ὁ 
διὰ 
βαλάσσῃς ὅπως ὑμῖν ἐρωτεύεται, ὁ καὶ 
τρόφημεν 
ἐξ 
σύραντος μηχανησάμενος ἐλθεῖν ἀπορουμένος, ὁ
87 ποτὸν ἐκ πέτρας ἀναβλύσας σπανίζουσιν, δὴ ὁ 
Ἀδάμος τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς τε καρπῶν καὶ βαλάσσης 
μεταλαμβάνει, δὴ ὁ Ὅησως ἐκ τῆς ἐπομήνεις 
διέσυρε, δὴ ὁ Ἁβραμος ὁ ἥμετερος πρόγονος ἐξ 
ἀλητοῦ τῆς Χαναναίων κατέσυρε γῆν, δὴ ὁ 
Ἰσακος 
γηραίοις ἐκεῖθεν γνωσθήτω, δὴ ὁ Ἰάκωβος δώδεκα 
παρὰ ἀρετῶν ἐκοιμήθη ἐκεῖθεν, δὴ ὁ Ἰωάννης ἔδεισον-
τευσε τῆς Ἀλυστίων δυνάμεως, οὕτως ὑμῖν τοὺ-
τον χαρίζεται τοὺς λόγους δὴ ἐρμηνεύεις ἐμοὶ.
88 σεβάσμοι δ' ὑμῖν γενέσθωσαν καὶ παῖδων περι-
μαχητότεροι καὶ γυναικῶν εὐδαιμονά γὰρ διάδετε 
βίον τούτους ἐπόμενους καὶ γῆς ἀπολαύσατες καρπί-
μου καὶ βαλάσσης ἀχειμάστου καὶ τεκνῶν γονῆς κατὰ 
φύσιν τικτομένων καὶ πολεμίως ἐσεσθε 
φοβηροὶ τῷ θεῷ γὰρ εἰς ὅφιν ἔλθων ἀκροαθῆ 
ἀφθάρτου φωνῆς ἐγενόμην οὕτως ἐκεῖνον τοῦ 
γενόμεν ἡμῶν καὶ τῆς τοῦτο πέλεις διαμονῆς." 
89 (4) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν προάγει τὸν λαὸν γυναιξίν 
ὁμοῦ καὶ τεκνῶν, ὡς ἀκούσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ δια-
λεγομένου πρὸς αὐτοὺς περὶ τῶν πρακτέων, ἦν 
μὴ βλαβεῖσα τῶν λεγομένων ἡ ἄρετή ὑπὸ ἀνθρω-
πίνης γλώττης ἀσθενῶς εἰς γνῶσιν αὐτοῖς παρα-
90 διδομένη. πάντες τε ἦκουσιν ὅμοιον ὑπόθεν παρα-
γενομένης εἰς ἀπαντας, ὡς διαφυγεῖν μὴδένα τῶν
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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 Jochabat, 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 unvexed 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

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1 Ἰωχαβέλης SPL (Lat. Iochobel).
2 Bekker: Ἰω κατ᾽ eodd.
3 παραγενασίης E.
δέκα λόγων ούς Μωυσῆς ἐν ταῖς δύο πλαξὶ γεγραμμένους κατέλυεν· οὔς οὐ θεμιτῶν ἥμιν ἱμαῖν λέγειν ψαντῷς πρὸς λέξιν, τὰς δὲ δυνάμεις αὐτῶν δηλώσωμεν.

91 (5) Διδάσκει μὲν οὖν ἡμᾶς ὁ πρῶτος λόγος, ὅτι θεὸς ἔστιν εἰς καὶ τούτων δὲ σέβεσθαι μόνον· ὁ δὲ δεότερος κελεύει μηδενὸς εἰκόνα ζῆνο ποιήσαντας προσκυνεῖν· ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἐπὶ μηδενί φαύλῳ τὸν θεόν ὀμώνια· ὁ δὲ τέταρτος παρατηρεῖν τὰς ἐβδομάδας ἀναπαυμένους ἀπὸ παυτὸς ἔργον· ὁ δὲ πέμπτος γονεῖς τιμᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἐκτὸς ἀπέχεσθαι φόνου· ὁ δὲ ἐβδομος μὴ μοιχεύειν· ὁ δὲ ὄγδοος μὴ κλοπὴν δρᾶν· ὁ δὲ ἐνατος μὴ πεινομαρτυρεῖν· ὁ δὲ δέκατος μηδενὸς ἀλλοτρίου ἐπιθυμιάν λαμβάνειν.

93 (6) Καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος [ὡς] ἀκροασάμενον αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ ὧν Μωυσῆς διελέξθη χαῖρον ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοῦ συλλόγου διελύθη, ταῖς δ’ ἐφεξῆς φοιτώντες ἐπὶ τὴν σκηνὴν ἦξίουν αὐτὸν καὶ νόμοις αὐτοῖς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κομίζειν. ὁ δὲ τούτως τε τίθεται καὶ περὶ τῶν ολῶν ὅν ἀν πραξθεῖν τρόπον ἐν τοῖς αὕτος ἀπεστήμηειες κρόνοις, ἦν μνησθῆσοι κατὰ καρδίαν οἰκεῖον. τοὺς δὲ πλεύσας τῶν νόμων εἰς ἑτέραν ἀνατίθεμαι γραφῆν, ἰδίαν περὶ αὐτῶν ποιησόμενος ἀφήγησον.

95 (7) Οὕτω δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ἐχόντων ὁ Μωυσῆς πάλιν εἰς τὸ Σιναϊών ὅρος ἀνήκει προειρήματος

1 τῶν δέκα conj. Niese: καὶ codd. (probably through mis-reading of τῶν ι.).
2 RO: ἐξῆς rell.

* Rabbinical literature is said to furnish no parallel for this scruple (Weill).
* 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

Lord thy God. . . .") is treated as part of the first commandment; cf. our Prayer-book version.

* This seems to correspond to Ex. xx. 19, "And they said unto Moses, Speak thou with us and we will hear: but let not God speak with us, lest we die." The verb "bring (them laws)" is thus emphatic.

* Cf. A. 1, 25 note.
τοῖς Ἕβραιοις, βλεπόντων δὲ αὐτῶν ἐποιεῖτο τὴν ἀνοδον. καὶ χρόνου τριβομένου, τεσσαράκοντα γὰρ ἡμέρας διήγαγεν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, δέος εἴχε τοὺς Ἕβραιοὺς, μὴ τι Μωσοῦς πάθοι, καὶ τῶν συντυχόντων δεινῶν οὐκ ἔστιν δὲ οὕτως ἐλύπησεν αὐτούς, ὡς τὸ ἐνομίζειν Μωσοῦν ἀπολολέναι. ἢ γὰρ τοῖς ἄνθρωποις ἔρις, τῶν μὲν ἀπολολέναι λεγόντων θηρίοις περιπέσοντα, καὶ μάλιστα ὅσοι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπεχθαύων ἦσαν διακείμενοι ταῦτῃ τὴν ψέφον ἔφερον, 97 τῶν δὲ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀνακεχυρικέναι τοὺς δὲ σώφρονας καὶ μηδέτερον τῶν λεγομένων εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβάνουτας ἤδιαν, καὶ τὸ θηρίοις περιπέσοντα ἀποθανεῖν ἄνθρωπων ἡγομένους καὶ τὸ ύπο τοῦ θεοῦ πρὸς αὐτὸν μεταστέναι διὰ τὴν προσ- οδον ἄρετὴν εἰκὸς νομίζοντας, πράως ἔχειν οὕτος 98 ὁ λογισμὸς ἐποίησε. προστάτων δὲ ἠρματεχθαι καὶ κηδεμόνως ὑπολαμβάνουτες, οἵον τυχεῖν οὐκ ἀν ἀλλού δύναντο, σφόδρα λυποῦμεν ἀπετέλεοι καὶ οὕτε πενθεὶν1 αὐτοὺς εἰα τὸ προσδοκάν τι χρηστὸν περὶ τάνδρος οὕτε μὴ λυπεῖσθαι καὶ κατηφεῖν ἡδύνατο. τὸ δὲ στρατόπεδον οὐκ ἡθάρρουν μετ- ἀγείν Μωσοῦν αὐτοὺς ἐκεῖ παραμένειν προειρη- κότος.

90 (3) Ἡ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραν διελθοῦντων καὶ τοσοῦτον νεκτῶν παρὴν οὐδενὸς σείει τῶν τοῖς ἄνθρω̨ποις νευμονίμην γεγειμένων. χαράς δὲ ἐνέπλησε τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπιφανεῖς, καὶ

1 cf. A. iv. 326.
2 Or (with the mss.) “suspect (any harm).”
3 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.
τὴν τού θεοῦ πρόνοιαν ἂν εἰχὲ περὶ αὐτῶν ἀπεδή- λου, τὸν τε τρόπον καθ' ὅν εὐδαιμονίσουσιν πολι- 
τευμένοι λέγων αὐτῶ κατὰ ταῦτα ὑποθέσαι τὰς ἡμέρας, καὶ σκηνὴν ὅτι βουλεῖται γενέσθαι αὐτῷ, 
εἰς ἂν κάτεισι πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγωγόμενος, "ὡς καὶ 
μεταβαίνοντες ἀλλαχοῦ ταῦτην ἐπαγώμεθα καὶ 
μηκέτι δεώμεθα τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σωαῖον ἀνόδου, ἀλλ' 
αὐτὸς ἐπιφοιτῶν τῇ σκηνῇ παρατυχάνῃ ταῖς ἡμετέραις εὐχαίς. γενήσεται δὲ ἡ σκηνὴ μέτρων 
τε καὶ κατασκευή οἷς αὐτὸς ὑπεδείξε καὶ ἑκάτε 
ἀκούων ἑχόντων πρὸς τὸ ἔργον." ταῦτ' εἰπὼν 
δύο πλάκας αὐτοῖς ἐπιδείκνυσιν ἐγγεγραμμένους 
ἔχοντες τοὺς δέκα λόγους, ἐν ἑκατέρα πέντε. 
καὶ χειρ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ γραφῇ τοῦ θεοῦ.

102 (vi. 1) Οἱ δὲ χαίροντες οἷς τε ἔωρων καὶ οἷς 
ἡκοῦν τοῦ στρατηγοῦ τῆς κατὰ δύναμιν αὐτῶν 
σπουδῆς οὐκ ἀπελείποντο, ἀλλ' εἰσέφερον ἄργυρὸν 
τε καὶ χρυσὸν καὶ χαλκόν, ἔυλα τε τῆς καλλιστῆς 
ὑλῆς καὶ μιθέων ὑπὸ τῆς σήμειος παθεῖν δυνάμενα, 
ἀλγείους τε τρίχας καὶ δορὰς προβατῶν τὰς μὲν 
ἀκαίεινον βεβαμμένας τὰς δὲ φοίνικαί δὲ πορ- 
φύρας ἀνθίζοι, ἐτεραὶ δὲ λευκῶν παρεῖχον τὴν χρυσ- 
103 ἐριά τε τοῖς προσερχομένοις ἀνθέσθαι μεμολυμένα 
καὶ λίνον βύσσουν λίθοι τε τούτοις ἐνδεδεμένους, 
οὐς χρυσίων καθεργούντες ἀνθρώποι κόσμῳ χρω- 
ταῖ πολυτελεῖ, θυμιαμάτων 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 taber-
nacle, 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 a;
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, b goats' hair and sheepskins, some dyed
blue, others crimson, c 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 orna-
ments 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. š̄̂mēltīm); Josephus
follows the interpretation of the LXX (ἐλας ἀσβεστος).

c In Exodus "scarlet."
ἐκ γὰρ τοιαύτης ὀλίγης κατεσκεύασε τὴν σκηνήν. 

ἡ δὲ οὐδὲν μεταφερομένου καὶ συμπεριουμένου πλήθος διεφέρε. τούτων οὖν κατὰ σπουδὴν συγκομισθέντων, ἐκάστου καὶ παρὰ δύναμιν φιλοτιμησάμενον, ἀρχιτέκτονας τοῖς ἐργοις ἔφιστη ἂν κατ' ἐντολὴν τοῦ θεοῦ οὗς καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ἄν ἐπελέξατο 

τῆς ἐξουσίας ἐπ’ αὐτῶ γενομένης. τα δὲ οὐκ οὕτως αὐτῶν, καὶ γὰρ έν ταῖς ἑραίσι βιβλίοις ἀναγέγραμμαι, ταύτ’ ἔν, Ἡσαύρης [μὲν] Οὐρί παῖς τῆς Ἰουδαία φυλῆς υἱόνος ἡ δὲ Μαρίαμμης τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ, Ἡλίβαζος, τοῦ Δανίδος φυλῆς. 

τὸ δὲ πλῆθος οὗτως ὑπὸ προθυμίας τοῖς ἐγχειρομένοις ἐπηλθὲν, ὡστε Μωυσῆς ἀνέηρξεν αὐτοὺς ὑποκηρυξάμενος ἀρκεῖν τοὺς ἄντας τούτο γὰρ οἱ δημιουργοὶ προερήκεσαν ἐξώρουν οὗν ἐπὶ τῆς τῆς 

σκηνῆς κατασκευὴν, καὶ Μωυσῆς αὐτοὺς ἔκαστα περὶ τῶν μέτρων κατὰ τὴν ὑποθήκην τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ μεγέθους ὅσα τε ἔπει σκείη ἄγων αὐτὴν ἀνεδίδασκε θεός τὰς θυσίας ὑπηρετήσυντα. ἐφιλοτιμοῦντο δὲ καὶ γυναικεῖς περὶ τε στολὰς ἕρατικάς καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα ὅσων ἔχοισε τὸ ἔργον κόσμου τοῦ καὶ λειτουργίας ἔνεκα τοῦ θεοῦ. 

(2) Πάντων δὲ ἐν ἑτοίμῳ γεγενημένῳ χρυσίου τε [καὶ ἄργυρων] καὶ χαλκοῦ καὶ τῶν υφαντῶν, προειπὼν ἐροτή τοῦ Μωυσῆς καὶ θυσίας κατὰ τὴν ἐκάστου δύναμιν ἱστη τὴν σκηνήν, πρώτον μὲν αἴθριον διαμετρησάμενος τὸ μὲν εὕρος πεντήκοντα 

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1 Bernard: ut, codd. 
2 ins. Lat.: om. codd.

* Bibl. Bezalel. 
* mss. erroneously "son." Exodus mentions his grandfather Hur, and Hur according to Josephus was the husband of Miriam (§ 54). 
* Bibl. Oholiab (1xx "Eliáβ), son of Ahsamach.
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 (τῶν δυστραχῶν): the old Latin version of Josephus conforms to the Hebrew, “ea quae data fuissent.”
109 πηχών ἐκατὸν δὲ τὸ μήκος. κάμακας δὲ ἔστησε χαλκέας πενταπήκεις τὸ ύψος καθ᾽ ἐκατέραν πλευράν εἶκοσι τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων, δέκα δὲ τῶν ἐν πλάτει κειμένων τῆς κατόπιν, κρίκοι δὲ τῶν καμάκων ἐκάστη προσήπασαν... κιονόκρανα μὲν ἀργύρεα, βάσεις δὲ χρυσαὶ σαυρωτήρων ἐμφερεῖς,

110 χαλκαὶ δὲ ἦσαν, ἀπὶ τῆς γῆς ἐρηρεισμέναι. εξήπτευτο δὲ τῶν κρίκων καλώδια τῆς ἀρχῆς ἦλων χαλκέων πηχωτῶν τὸ μέγεθος ἐκδεδεμένα, οἷς καθ᾽ ἐκάστην κάμακα παρέντες κατὰ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἀκάντου ὑπὸ βλας ἀνέμων τῆς σκηνῆς ἐμελλον παρέξειν. συνόνδων δὲ ἐκ βύσσου ποικιλωτάτη διὰ πασῶν ἐπῆει, ἀπὸ τοῦ κιονόκρανον κατιόνοσα μέχρι τῆς βάσεως πολλῆς κεχυμένη, περιφράττουσα ἀπαν ἐν κύκλῳ τὸ χωρίον, ὅς μηδὲν δοκεῖν τείχους

111 διαφέρειν. καὶ οὕτως μὲν εἶχον αἱ τρεῖς πλευραὶ τοῦ περιβόλου τῆς δὲ τετάρτης πλευρᾶς, πεντῆκοντα γὰρ οὐσα πήχεων η ἐτέρα μέτωπον τοῦ παντὸς ἦν, εἶκοσι μὲν πήχεως ἀνεφέγγεσαν κατὰ πύλας, ἐν αἷς ἀνὰ δύο κάμακες εἰσοθήκεσαν κατὰ

112 μέρης πυλώνων. ὅλαις δὲ αὐταῖς ἀργυροῖς ἡν ἐπικεχαλκευμένοι πάρεξ τῶν βάσεων χαλκαὶ γὰρ ἦσαν. ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τρεῖς κάμακες ἦσαν ἐστώσαι, αἱ τοῖσι πυλούχοις ἐμβεβήκεσαν ἐρηρεισμέναι, καὶ κατ’ αὐτῶν δὲ βύσσουν υφὸς

113 συνόνοις ἦν περιγεμένοιν. τὸ δὲ κατὰ τὰς πύλας, μήκος μὲν ὑπὸ πήχεων εἶκοσι τρεῖς δὲ βάθος, ὑφὸς ἦν πορφύρας φοίνικος σὺν ὀκλυμβής καὶ βύσσου πεποιμένοιν πολλῶν αὐτῷ συναισθούσων καὶ

1 (?) χρυσοῖς (cf. Hdt. vii. 41).
2 μαλακωτάτη MSP Lat. 3 ἐπικεχαλκευμένοι codd.
4 Niese: μήκους μὲν δστος... βάθος codd.
length a hundred. Then he erected shafts of bronze fifty cubits high, twenty on each of the two longer sides, and ten broadwise on the rearward side, rings being attached to every shaft. Their capitals were of silver, their sockets, gilded and resembling the spikes 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

* Or, with emended text, "resembling the gilded spikes."

b The Biblical "fine twisted 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."
ποικίλων, ὅποσα μὴ ζῶν ἔξετυποντο μορφάς. 114 ἐντὸς δὲ τῶν πυλῶν περιπραγμάτωρν ήν χαλκεον ὁμοιαν αὐτῷ καὶ τὴν κρηπίδα παρεχόμενον, ἐξ οὗ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι τὰς χειρας ἀποπλύνεις καὶ τῶν ποδῶν καταχεῖς παρῆς. καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦ αἰθρίου περίβολος τούτων τὸν τρόπον ἢν διακέκοσμημένος.

115 (3) Τὴν δὲ σκηνὴν ἐστίσαν αὐτῷ κατὰ μέσον τετραμμένην πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολάς, ἡν πρώτων ὁ ἡμιος ἐπ’ αὐτὴν ἀνών αἵρῃ τὰς ἀκτίνας. καὶ τὸ μὲν μῆκος αὐτῆς ἐπὶ πῆχεος ἑγήγερτο τριάκοντα τὸ δὲ εὔρος ἐπὶ δέκα δισεκατόργει, καὶ ὁ μὲν ἔτερος τῶν τοίχων νότιος ἦν, ὁ δὲ ἔτερος κατὰ βορέαν ἐτετραπτό, κατόπιν δὲ αὐτῆς ἡ δύσις κατελείπετο.

116 ἀνίστασθαι δ’ αὐτὴν ἐχρὴν ἐφ’ ὅσον προβαίνοι τὸ εὔρος. κλίνεις δ’ ἢσαν ξύλων πεποιημένοι κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκατέραν ἐίκοσι, τετράγωνοι μὲν τὸ σχῆμα εἰργασμένοι, εἰς δὲ πλατός διεστῶτες πῆχεος τε καὶ ἡμίονες, τὸ δὲ βάθος δακτύλων.

117 τεσσάρων. λεπίδες δ’ αὐτοῖς ἦσαν ἐπικεχαλκευμέναι πανταχόθεν χρυσαὶ διὰ τῶν ἐνδοθεν καὶ τῶν ἐκτός μερῶν. δύο δ’ αὐτῶν ἑκάστως προσῆκαν στροφίγγες ἐλαινόμενοι κατὰ δύο βάσεως· αὐταὶ δ’ ἀργυραὶ μὲν ἦσαν, πυλῖς δ’ ἐκατέρα τούτων.

118 προσῆκη δεχομένη τὴν στροφίγγα. τοῦ δὲ κατὰ δύσιν τοίχου κλίνεις μὲν ἐξ ἦσαν, συνήρεσαν δ’ ἀλλήλους ἀκριβῶς ἀπαντες, ὥστε μεμκοτών τῶν ἁρμῶν ὡς ἦν δοκεῖν εἶναι τοίχον αὐτῶν τὴν συνεδρίαν, χρύσεοιν τὰ τε ἐνδοθεν καὶ τὰ ἐκτός.

119 ἀνηλόγει γὰρ ὁ τῶν κλίσεων ἀριθμὸς· εἴκοσι γὰρ

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*a* Added detail, not in the Bible: cf. § 126.

*b* Or "in the eastern portion" (not directly in the centro).

*c* Jos. *edict*: Bibl. ἤσανθι, ἐκκ στόλου, R.V. "boards,"
many and divers designs, but with nothing representing the forms of animals. Within the gates Ex. xxx. 18. stood a layer 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).

4 Thickness not stated in Scripture.

5 These sockets or bases may be regarded "as square plinths . . . forming a continuous foundation wall round the dwelling" (Kennedy).

6 i.e. proportionate to the length of the sides. The Greek text is defective at this point.
HORTENSIUS

χαν καὶ παρεῖχε πλάτος τρίτον σπιθαμῆς ἕκαστος αὐτῶν, ὡστε συμπληροῦσθαι τους τριάκοντα πήχεις ὑπ’ αὐτῶν· κατά δὲ τὸν ὀπίσθεν τοῖχον, ἐννέα γὰρ πήχεις οἱ ἐξ κιόνων παρέχονται συνελθόντες, δι’ ἐτέρους ποιοῦνται κίονας ἕκαστος τετραμμένος, οὐσὶ ἐγγυνώσω ἔθεσαν ἐπ’ ἑστη όσοι τοῖς μείζονις ἡκτημένους. ἕκαστος δὲ τῶν κιόνων κρίκους εἶχε χρυσάκεις κατὰ τὸ ἐξω μέτωπον προσφυγιώμενοι ὡσπερ κῆπας τίσιν ἐμπεπλεγμένους κατὰ στίχον πρὸς ἀλλήλους τετραμμένους τὴν περιφέρειαν, καὶ δι’ αὐτῶν ἐπίχρυσοι σκυτάλις ἔλανυσκέται πέντε πήχεων ἐκάστη τὸ μέγεθος σύνδεσμος ἦσαν τῶν κιόνων, ἐμβασιούσης κατὰ κεφαλὴν σκυτάλις ἐκάστης τῇ ἑτέρᾳ τεχνητῷ στρόφευσιν κοχλίου τρόπον δεδημιουργημένου, κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπίσθεν τοῖχον μία φάλαιξιν διὰ πάντων ἤμελα τῶν κιόνων, εἰς ἡν ἐνεβαινὸν πλάναι αἰ τελευταία τῶν σκυτάλιων ἐξ ἐκατέρου τοῖχου τῶν ἐπιμηκεστέρων καὶ κρατεύοντα συνεβαινεν αὐταῖς γωνίας τῷ θηλεὶ τοῦ ἀρρενοῦ συνελθόντος. τοῦτο μέντοι πρὸς τὸ μῆχρ’ ὑπὸ ἁνέμων κραδαίνεσθαι μὴν ἀληθεῖς τὴν σκηνὴν συνεχέν, ἀλλ’ ἀκίνητον αὐτὴν ἐν ἑρεμίᾳ πολλῇ διαφυλάξειν ἔμελλεν.

121 (4) Ἐντὸς δὲ διελῶν τὸ μῆχος αὐτῆς εἰς τρία μέρη μετὰ δέκα πήχεως ἡμισσομένους ἐκ τοῦ μυχοῦ

1 mensuram unius et dimidii cubiti, altitudo Lat.: lacuna in Greek text.
2 medio cubito Lat.: read perhaps ἐκ πήχεως <β’> τετραμμένου; cf. Plato, Symp. 191 δ τετραμμένος ἐξ ἕνου δύο.
3 Text as emended by Bernard after Lat.: κρίκου ... χρόσεων ... προσφυγῆς ... ἐπιπλεγμένος ... τετραμμένοι codd.

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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.
τέσσαρας ἵστησι κίονας, ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἰργασμένοις καὶ βάσεωι όμοιας ἐπικεκμένους, διαλείποντας ἄλληλων κατ’ ὅλον. τὸ δ’ ἐνδότερωθεν αὐτῶν ἄδυτον ἦν, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν ἡ σκηνὴ 123 τοῖς ἱερεύον ἀνείτο. τὴν μὲντοι διαμετρησιν τὴν τουαύτην τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ μέμησιν τῆς τῶν ὅλων φύσεως συνέβαινεν εἶναι: τὸ μὲν γὰρ τρίτων αὐτῆς μέρος τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων, ὁ τοῖς ἱερεύω ἦν ἀβατόν, ὥς οὐρανὸς ἀνείτο τῷ θεῷ, οἱ δ’ εἰκοσι πῆχεῖς, ὤσπερ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα βάσιμος ἀνθρώπως, οὕτως τοῖς ἱερεύσι μόνοις ἐπετέραπτο. 124 κατὰ μέτωπον δέ, ἔς οὐ τὴν εἰσόδου ἦσαν πεποιημένοι, κίονες ἔστασαν χρύσεως χαλκείας βάσεως εφετεύτες τὸν ἄριθμον πέντε. κατεπετανύσαν δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν ὑφεσι βύσσου καὶ πορφύρας ύπανθευ καὶ φοίνικος βαφῆς συγκεκραμένης. 125 καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἦν πῆχεων δέκα πανταχόθεν, ὁ κατεπετάνυσαν τοὺς κίονας, οἱ διαμοιοῦσας τῶν νεῶν τὸ ἄδυτον ἐνδον αὐτῶν ἀπελάμβανον καὶ τοῦτο ἦν τὸ πολὺν αὐτὸ μηδεὶς κάτοπτον. καὶ ὁ μὲν πᾶς ναὸς ἁγιόν ἐκαλεῖτο, τὸ δ’ ἀβατόν τὸ ἐντὸς τῶν τεσσάρων κιόνων τὸ ἁγίον τὸ ἁγιόν. 126 ὠραῖον δὲ τὸ φάρσος ἀνθεύει παντοίος, ὃσα γέγον ἀνέρχεται, διαπεποικίμενοι τοὺς τὰ ἄλλας ἄπασιν ἐνυφασμένον, ὃσα κάσιμον οἰσεύν ἔμελλε, πλὴν

1 ἐνδότερον P: ἐνδότερον RO.
2 Niese: συγκεκραμένοις (-μένοι RO) codd.
3 + ἐκ RO: + ἐκ SPL.

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* The “inmost part,” i.e. the east wall.
* Cf. §§ 180 ff., where this idea is expanded.
* Or (as in Exodus) “scarlet.” Part was pure byssus or fine linen (undyed): other parts were dyed.
* Greek “Holy of Holy”: the plural is used in Exodus (Heb. and lxx).
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

* 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.
127 ζώων μορφῆς. ἔτερον δὲ τούτῳ καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ υφη καὶ τῷ χρόσι καταπλήσιον τούς ἐπὶ ταῖς εἰσόδοις πέντε κλώνας περιβαλλέ, κατὰ γεωνιὰν ἐκάστου κλόνος κρίκου κατέχοντος αὐτό, ἀπὸ κορυφῆς ἄχρι ἡμίσους τοῦ κλίνος. τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν εἰσόδος ἀνείτο τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ὑποδυομένοις. ὑπὲρ δὲ τούτου λίνεον ἦν ἱσομεγέθες φάρσος ἐφελκόμενον ἀπὸ κάλων ἐπὶ θάτερα, τῶν κρίκων τῷ τε ὑφει καὶ τῷ κάλῳ διακονοῦσιν πρὸς τε τὸ ἐκπετάνυσθαι καὶ συνελκόμενον ἱσταθθαι κατὰ γεωνιὰν, ἐμποδών οὐκ ἱσομεγένον πρὸς τὸ κατοπτεύεσθαι καὶ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς ἑπιστήμοις ἡμέραις. 

129 κατὰ δὲ τὰς λοιπὰς καὶ μάλιστ᾿ ὅταν ἴ νυφετώδης προπετανύμενον στεγανὸν ἐποίει τὸ ἐκ τῶν βαμμάτων υφὸς· ὅθεν δὴ παρέμεινε τὸ ἔθος καὶ τὸν ναὸν οἰκοδομησαμένων ἡμῶν, ὅστε τὴν σωδόνα τοιούτουτροπον περικείσθαι ταῖς εἰσόδοις. δέκα¹ δὲ ἄλλα φάρση πηχῶν τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὁκτὼ καὶ εἰκοσι, χρυσείους ἔχοντα γυγλύμους ἐπὶ συναφῆ θηλείας τε καὶ ἄρρενος συνειλεκτὸ, ὡς εν εἶναι δοκεῖν, εἰσα ὑπερτεινόμενα τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ τε ἐφύπερθεν ἐσκίζε καὶ τῶν τοιχῶν τοὺς κατὰ πλευρὰν καὶ κατόπιν ἐστῶτας ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς 

131 ὅσον πῆχων ἀνέχοντα. ἦσε δὲ τῷ πλάτει καὶ ἄλλαι σωδόνες, μὴ πλείους τὸν ἀριθμὸν τὸ δὲ μῆκος ὑπερβάλλον, τριακοντάπερχεις γὰρ ἱσαν, ὑφασμέναι δὲ ἐκ τριχῶν ὀμοίως κατὰ λεπτουργίαν ταῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔρλων πεποιημέναι² ἐτέταντο μέχρι

¹ RO: δέκα τριά.
² Lat.: πεποιημέναι codd.

* Being the “work of the embroiderer” (Ex. xxvi. 36), 376
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 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\(^d\) hangings, of equal breadth with the last, but one more in number and of more considerable length, measuring thirty cubits; woven of hair,\(^e\) but with the same fine craftsmanship as those of wool, these

\(^a\) 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).

\(^b\) Ex. xxvi. 3 speaks of two sets of five curtains each.

\(^c\) Bibl. "of goats' hair."
τῆς γῆς κεχυμέναι καὶ κατὰ θύρας διετώματι παραπλησιον καὶ παστάδι παρεῖχον, τοῦ ἐνδε-132 κατού φάρσου εἰς τοῦτο παρειπημένου. ἄλλα δὲ ὑπάρων τούτων ἐκ διθέμινων κατεσκευασμέναι ὑπερήσσαν σκέπη καὶ βούθεια ταῖς υφανταῖς ἐν τε τοῖς καύμασι καὶ ὅποτε τούς εἰς γεγενήμαν. πολλῇ δὲ ἐκπλήξεις ἐλάμβανε τοὺς πόρρωθεν θεω-μένους· τὴν γὰρ χρόαν τοῖς κατὰ τὸν θυραν συμ-βαίνουσιν οὐδὲν ἐδόκουν διαφέρεων· αἰ δέ ἐκ τῆς 133 τριχοῦ καὶ τῶν διθεμίων πεποιημέναι κατήσαν ὄμοιοι τῷ περὶ τᾶς πύλας υφασμαὶ τὸ τε καύμα καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δμβρῶν υβριν ἀπομαχόμεναι, καὶ ἡ μὲν σκηνή τοῦτον πήγνυται τῶν τρόπων. 134 (5) Γίνεται δὲ καὶ κυβωτὸς τῷ θεῷ ξύλων ἑσχύρων τὴν φύσιν καὶ σῆμα παθεῖν οὐ δυναμένου· ἡ δ’ ἐρωμένη μὲν καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλώτ-135 ταν, η δὲ κατασκευὴ τοιαύτης τις ἦν· μῆκος μὲν ἦν αὐτῇ πέντε σπημαμών, τὸ δ’ εὕρος καὶ τὸ βάθος τριῶν σπημαμών εἰς ἐκάτερον χρυσῷ δὲ τά τ’ ἐντὸς καὶ τὰ ἐξωθέν περιελήθασα ἡ πᾶσα, ὡς ἀποκεκρυφθαι τὴν ξύλωσιν, στρόφιζε τε πρὸς θεοῦ εἰς ἐποικίαν προσθημένων εἰς ὁμαστάτος, δ’ πανταχόθεν ἐσον ἦν κατ’ οὐδέτερον μέρος 136 ἑξοχάται τὴν ἐναρμοστάν παλαιανὲς οὐδεμισίων. καὶ καθ’ ἐκάτερον δὲ τοῖχον τῶν ἐπιμηκοντέρων κρίκων προσῆσαν ἁράσεις δύο τοῦ ποιοῦς διήκοντες ξύλου, καὶ δ’ αὐτῶν ἐνετοὶ ὀκταλίδες ἐπι-χρυσοὺς καθ’ ἐκάτερον τοίχον, ὡς ἄν ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ὅποτε δεῖσεις ἄνευ γυναικούμενη δύ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς ξεύγους ἐκομίζετο, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο.

1 ins. Dindorf. 2 παραστάτη RO. 3 περιελήθασα LE. 4 Niese: προσῆσαν (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. Yet others, formed of skins, surmounted these, serving as shelter and protection for the textiles against both the scorching heat and occasional rain. Profound amazement struck all who beheld these from afar, their colours seeming so exactly to resemble those that meet the eye in the heavens. The coverings of hair and of skins descended likewise over the veil at the doorway, to defend it from the heat and from the havoc of beating rain. In such manner was the tabernacle constructed.

(5) Furthermore there was made for God an ark of stout timber of a nature that could not rot; the ark is called erôn 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 enceased in gold, so as to conceal the woodwork, and it had a cover united to it by golden pivots 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

* 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).
* Heb. erôn.
* Or "hinges"; a detail peculiar to Josephus.
JOSEPHUS

137 τῷ δὲ ἐπιθέματι αὐτῆς ἦσαν προστυποι δύο, Χερουβείς₁ μὲν αὐτοὺς Ἑβραῖοι καλοῦσιν, ζῶα δὲ ἐστὶ πετεινὰ μορφῆν  δ’ οὐδεν τῶν ὑπ’ ἀνθρώ-πων ἐωραμένων παραπλήσια, Μουσιῆς δὲ φησιν τῷ θρόνῳ τοῦ θεοῦ προστυπεῖς ἐνακένει. ταύτη τάς δύο πλάκας, ἐν αἷς τούς δέκα λόγους συγ-γεγράφθαι συμβεβήκει, ἀνὰ πέντε μὲν εἰς ἑκα-τέραν ἀνὰ δύο δὲ καὶ ἡμῖν κατὰ μέτωπον, ἐγκατέθετο. καὶ ταύτην ἁμὲν ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατατίθησιν.

139 (6) ἔν δὲ τῷ ναῷ τράπεζαν ἱδρύεται Δελ-φικαῖς παραπλησιάν, τὸ μῆκος μὲν δύο πηχῶν, τὸ δὲ πλάτος ἔνος πήχεως καὶ σπιδαμῶν τριῶν τὸ ύψος. ἦσαν δὲ αὐτῆς πόδες τὰ μὲν ἐξ ἡμίσους ἐως τῶν κάτω τελεώς ἐξητισμένοι, οἷς Δωριές προστιθέασι ταῖς κλίναις ἐμφερεῖς, τὸ δὲ πρὸς αὐτὴν ἀνατεῖνων τετράγωνοι τῇ ἐργασίᾳ. κοι-λαίνεται δὲ καθ’ ἐκαστον πλευρῶν κοιλαίνουσάν πως κατὰ παλαιστὴν τὸ ἔδαφος, ἐλικὸς περι-θεούσης τὸ τε ἄνω καὶ τὸ κάτω μέρος τοῦ σώ-ματος, καθ’ ἐκαστον δὲ τῶν ποδῶν καὶ ταύτη ἑληλικὸς κρίκος οὗκ ἀπωθεῖ τοῦ ἐπιθέματος, δι’ ὧν ἦσαν στελεοὶ χρύσεοι ἕξισον τάνερθεν ὄντες,

1 χερουβὶ M ROE Lat.  ² ins. Niese.

* 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 διωσθενά. 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."

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by the priests. To the cover were affixed two figures, Ex. xxv. 18. "cherubs" as the Hebrews call them—winged creatures these, but in form unlike to any that man’s eyes have seen, and Moses says that he saw them sculptured upon the throne of God.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 d 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, e 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

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`Table of showbread.
10, xxxv. 23; xxxviii. 10.
Cf. ib. xxv. 24 f.

"Three spans" = Bibl. "a cubit and a half"; the cubit (18 in.) being equivalent to two spans.

d Details not in Scripture.

* Literally "it is hollowed out on each side, hollowing out the surface for about a palm" (four finger-breadths). This appears to mean that the edges 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.

f ευλ. ταύτης, like the sides of the ark (§ 136).

* 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 ἐκστρατεύον).
141 οὐκ ἔσαίρετοι· κοίλον γὰρ ἐίχεν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς τὸ κατὰ τοὺς κρίκους κοινωθέντας1 οὐδὲ γὰρ εἰσὶ δειγμακτές, ἀλλὰ πρὸν συνελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἀπειρον εἰς περιοίδας τὴν ἀρχὴν τελευτώντες, ὥν ἦ μὲν εἰς τὸ προανέχον εἰμβαίνει τῆς τραπέζης, ἡ δὲ εἰς τὸν πόδα· καὶ τούτων κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐκομίζετο.

142 ἐπὶ ταύτης, ἐπίθετο γὰρ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τετραμμένη πρὸς ἁρκτόν οὐ πόρρῳ τοῦ μιχου, διετίθεσαν ἁρτοὺς τε δωδεκά αξίμους κατὰ ἕξεπεπαλλήλους [κεκιμένους] καθαροῦ πάνω τοῦ ἀλεύρου ἐκ δύο ἀσσαράμων,2 ὁ μέτρον Ἑβραίων ἐπτὰ κοτύλας.

143 Ἀπετικάς ἔχει, ὑπὲρ δὲ τῶν ἁρτῶν ἐπίθετο φίλαι δύο χρύσεις λιβάνου πλήρεις, μετὰ δὲ ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ πάλιν ἄλλοι ἐκομίζοντο [ἀρτοῖς] ἐν τῷ καλομενῷ ὄψ’ ἡμῶν σαββάτῳ τὴν γὰρ ἐβδομην ἡμέρας σάββατα καλοῦμεν· τὴν δ’ αἰτίαν εἰς ὑπ’ ταύτα ἐπενοηθήσαν ἐν ἔτερους ἐφούμεν.

144 (7) Κατὰ πρόσωπον δὲ τῆς τραπέζης τῷ πρὸς μεσαμβρίαν τετραμμένῳ τοίχῳ πλησίον ἔσταται λυχνία ἐκ χρυσοῦ κεκωμεμένη διάκενος σταθμὸν ἐχοῦσα μιᾶς ἐκατον’ Ἑβραίων μὲν καλοῦσι κίγ-χαρες, εἰς δὲ τὴν Ἑλληνικὴν μεταβαλλόμενον 145 γλῶτταν σημαίνει τάλαντον, πεποιηται δὲ σφαιρία καὶ κρίνα σιν ῥούσκοις καὶ κρατηρίδιοις, ἐβδομηκοντα δ’ ἦν τὰ πάντα, εἰς ὁν ἀπὸ μιᾶς βάσεως

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1 κοινωθέν Bernard.  
2 ἀσσαράμ codd.

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* i.e. the outer court or Holy Place (as opposed to the Holy of Holies).
6 Greek “recess.”
8 For άσσαράν =" tenth part " (of an ephah)=omer see iii. 29 note; it is the word used in Lev. loc. cit., " two tenth parts (of an ephah) shall be in one cake."
For the portion of the leg where the rings were attached was hollowed out to receive them; nor were the rings themselves continuous, but before completing the circle terminated in pins, of which one was inserted into the projecting edge of the table and the other into the leg. By these staves it was carried on the march. On this table, which was placed in the temple on the northern side not far from the sanctuary, they set out twelve loaves of unleavened bread, in two opposite rows of six, made of perfectly pure flour of the amount of two assarōns, that being a Hebrew measure equivalent to seven Attic cotylae. Above these loaves were set two cups 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.

(7) Facing the table, near the south wall, stood a candelabrum of cast gold, hollow, and of the weight of a hundred minae; this (weight) the Hebrews call kinchares, 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

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There is an apparent error of about one half in this estimate. In terms of pints, an assarōn or omer = c. 6½ pints (arts. on Weights and Measures in Hastings B.D. and Encyc. Bibl.) ; an Attic cotyla = nearly ½ pint, 7 cotylae = c. 3½ pints.

The representation on the Arch of Titus shows two cups resting on the table.

In the projected work on "Customs and Causes" (1, 25).

Heb. kikkur, Ex. xxv. 39 (LXX ῥάλαρτος). The Greek talent = 60 minas, not 100, as is here implied.

"Knops" in the English version of Exodus.
συνετέθη πρὸς οὐφός, ποιήσαντός αυτὴν συγκειμένην εἰς μοίρας εἰς ὅςας τοὺς πλανήτας καὶ τὸν ἥλιον κατανέμουσαν. ἀπαρτίζεται δὲ εἰς ἑπτὰ κεφαλὰς καταλλήλας ἐν στίχῳ διακειμένας. λύχνοι δ’ ἐπιφέρονται αὐταῖς ἑπτὰ κατὰ μίαν, τῶν πλανήτων τὸν ἀριθμὸν μεμιμημένον, ὁρῶσι δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀνατολήν καὶ τὴν μεσημβρίαν λοξῶς αὐτῆς κειμένης.

147 (8) Μεταξὺ δ’ αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἑνδοὺ, ὡς προείποι, θυμιατήριον ξύλων μὲν, εἰς οὗ καὶ τὰ πρῶτα ἢν σκεύη μὴ σημόμενα, στερεὰ δὲ περιελήφατ’ αὐτῶν λεπίς, πηχυαῖον μὲν κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκάστην τὸ πλάτος ὕψος δὲ διπλάσιον.

148 ἐπὶ τὸ ἐσχάρα χρυσεία ὑπερανεστώσα ἔχουσα κατὰ γωνίαν ἐκάστην στέφανον καὶ τοῦτον δ’ ἐκπεριοδεύοντα χρύσεον, ἣ καὶ κρῖκοι καὶ σκυταλίδες προσῆσαν; αἷς κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἐφέρετο. ἤδρωτο δὲ καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς βωσὸς χάλκεος, ὑπόξυλος καὶ αὐτὸς, ἐκάστην πλευρὰν πέντε πήχεσιν ἐκμετρημένος, τὸ δὲ ὕψος τρίτης, ὁμοίως τῷ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένος, χαλκείας λεπίς ἐξεσκευμένος, δυστῶν τὴν ἐσχάραν ἐμφερής ἐξεδέχετο γὰρ ἡ γῆ τὸ ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας πῦρ καταφερόμενον τῆς βάσεως διὰ παντὸς σῦν ὑποκειμένης. ἀντικρὺ δ’ ἐτίθεντο τοῦ ἡρωσεόν ταῦτα ὁμολόγια τε καὶ φίλαις σὺν θυσίασις καὶ

1 σημόμενον Bernard.
2 προσήσαν codd.
3 τοῦ χρυσ., τοῦ βωμὸς Ε: om. Lat.

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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 384.
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.\(^a\) It terminated in seven branches \(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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 \(^d\); 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 \(^e\) 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" (i.e. "rim" or "moulding") "round about" it.

\(^*\) So (ἀρχαίον) the xxx; but the Hebrew mikbar is generally taken to be a "grating" (so A.V.) rising vertically from the ground as a support for the "ledge round the altar," on which the priests presumably stood. Josephus strangely ignores the sacrosanct "horns" of this altar.
κρατήρουν ἥσαν ὁσα τε ἄλλα [σκεύη] πρὸς τὰς ἱερουργίας πεποίητο χρύσεα πάντα ὑπῆρχε, καὶ η μὲν σκηνὴ τοιαύτη τε ἢν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη.

151 (vii. 1) Γίνονται δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῖς στολαὶ πᾶσι τε τοῖς ἄλλοις, οὐς χαναλίας καλοῦσι, καὶ δὴ καὶ τῷ ἄρχιερεί, ὥς ἀναραβάκτη προσαγορεύες σημαίνει δὲ ἀρχιερεία. τὴν μὲν οὖν τῶν ἄλλων στολὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι συμβέβηκεν. ὅταν δὲ προσίη ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ ἱερεὺς ἡγεμόνις ἢν ὁ νόμος ἄγνεαν προσαγορεύει, πρῶτον μὲν περιτίθεται τὸν μαχανάσην λεγόμενον βούλεται δὲ τούτῳ συνακτήρα μὲν δηλοῦν, διάξωμα δὲ ἔστι περὶ τὰ αἴδων ῥαπτὸν ἐκ βύσσου κλωστῆς εἰργασμένον ἐμβαλόντων εἰς αὐτῷ τῶν ποδῶν ὁσπερ εἰς ἀναξύριδας, ἀποτέμενε δὲ ὑπὲρ ἢμου καὶ τελευτήσαν ἄχρι τῆς λαγόνος περὶ αὐτὴν ἀποσφίγγεται.

153 (2) Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτω λίνεων ἐνδυμα διπλῆς φορεῖ

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* The list of vessels differs from that in the parallel passage in Ex. xxvii. 3, but the xxx has one item (the φάλαξ, "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

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whatsoever other objects were made for the sacred services were all of gold.\(^a\) 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,\(^b\) and in particular for the high-priest, whom they entitle anarabaches,\(^c\) signifying "high-priest." Now the vestments of the priests in general were as follows.\(^d\) 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 mackanases.\(^e\) 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

Josephus has the support of the Old Latin version of the LXX ("aurea" for χαλκαὶ) and the text may therefore stand.

\(^a\) Hellenized form of the Aramaic καλανα, "priests" (Hebr. kohanim).

\(^b\) Hellenization of Aramaic καλανα ραββα, "high priest," with omission (or transposition) of the initial k.

\(^c\) 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 Nieze indicates a lacuna preceding it. But there are indications that Josephus, as distinct from his assistants, was not familiar with the word τακτην, "as follows," and used τακτειν instead; a parallel occurs later in this book (iii. 273 end).

\(^e\) Heb. mikkanei (dual); Josephus, by his translation συγκαταθο ("binder"), clearly derives the word from the verb κανα ("gather," "collect").
σωθόνος βυσσίνης, χεθομενή μὲν καλεῖται, λίθεων δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει: χέθον γάρ τὸ λίθον ἡμεῖς καλοῦμεν. ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο τὸ ἐνύμα ποδήρης χυτῶν περιγεγραμμένος τῷ σώματι καὶ τὰς χειρὲς
154 διὰ περὶ τοὺς βραχίονας κατεσφυγμένος, ὥν ἐπιζωον- 


ται κατὰ στῆθος ἀλλιγον τῆς μασχάλης ὑπεράνω τῆς ἑβηρίδα δοκεῖ ὁφεως· ἄνθη δ' εἰς αὐτὴν ἐν- 


υφασμένη φοίνικι καὶ πορφύρα μετὰ ὑακύνθου καὶ 


βύσσου πεποικιλμένα, στήματος δ' ἔστι μόνη βύσ- 


155 σος. καὶ λαβοῦσα τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς ἑλέσθισας κατὰ 


στέρον καὶ περιελθοῦσα πάλιν δεῖται, καὶ κέχυται 


μὲν πολλῆ μέχρι καὶ τῶν σφυρῶν ἔως ὡς ὅμηδεν 


ὁ ἰερεύς ἐνεργεῖ, πρὸς γὰρ εἰσπρέπειαν ὁπτὸς ἔχει 


τοῖς ὀρῶσι καλῶς, ὅταν δὲ σπουδάζων περὶ τὰς 


θυσίας δὴ καὶ διακονεῖ, ὅπως μὴ κυνουμένης ἐμποδίζηται πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, ἀναβαλόμενος ἔπι 


150 τοῦ λαιῶν ὅμου φέρει. Μανουῆς μὲν ὅτι ἀβανήθη 


αὐτὴν ἐκάλεσεν, ἡμεῖς δὲ παρὰ Βαβυλωνίων 


μεμαθηκότες ἐμῖαν αὐτὴν καλοῦμεν· ὁπτὸς γὰρ 


προσαγορεύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς. ὁπτὸς ὁ χιτῶν κολ- 


ποῦται μὲν ὁδομᾶθεν, λαγαρὸν δὲ παρέχων τὸν 


βροχώτηρα τοῦ αὐχένος ἀρπεσόσι έκ τῆς ὄρως


3· ed. pr.: φοίνικα codd.  


2 ἀβανή RO.


8 M. Weill adduces Yoma 71 b for the tradition that "in 


the texture of the priestly vestments each thread was doubled 


several times."


9 Heb. ketōneth (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 χιτων used below.


c The sash is wound twice round the body (§ 155), at the
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III. 153–156.

texture of fine byssus; it is called chethomenè, 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 the sash, to a little above the armpits of 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 abanéth, 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.

a This is perhaps to be connected with the "chequer work" of Scripture (tashbèz, "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. b Or "scarlet."

c According to the Talmud it was 32 cubits (48 feet) long!
d Heb. 'abanèth (Ex. xxviii. 39).
e The Aramaic equivalent used in the Targum, and said to be of Persian origin.

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καὶ τῶν κατὰ στέρνου καὶ μετάφρενον ἡρτημέναις ἀναδείται ὑπὲρ ἐκατέραν κατακλεῖδα· μασσαβαζάνης καλεῖται.

157 (3) Ἡπέρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς φορεῖ πῖλον ἀκωνον οὐ δικνούμενον εἰς πᾶσαν αὐτὴν ἄλλη ἔπι ὀλίγων ὑπερβεβηκότα μέσης· καλεῖται μὲν μασναεφῆς, τῇ δὲ κατασκευῇ τουοῦτός ἐστιν ὡς στεφάνη δοκεῖν ἐξ ὑφάσματος λυνόν ταυνία πεποιημένη παχεῖα· καὶ γὰρ ἐπιπτυσσόμενον ῥάπτεται πολλάκις.

158 ἔσευται σωσῶν ἀνωθεν αὐτῶν ἐκπεριέχεται διήκουσα μέχρι μετώπων, τὴν τε ῥαβήν τῆς ταυνίας καὶ τὸ ἀπ’ αὐτῆς ἀπρεπὲς καλύπτουσα καὶ ὅλων δὲ τῷ κρανίῳ γυνομένη ἐπιπεδοῦν· ἡμοῦσαι δὲ ἀκραβῶς, ὡς ἄν μὴ περιφρενὴ πονοῦντο περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν· καὶ ὅποια μὲν ἐστιν ἡ τῶν πολλῶν ἑρέων στολὴ δεδηλώκαμεν.

159 (4) Ὁ δὲ ἀρχιερεὺς κοσμεῖται μὲν καὶ ταύτη παραλιπών οὐδὲν τῶν προειρημένων, ἐπενδυόμενος δὲ ἐξ ὕακινθου πεποιημένον χιτῶνα, ποδήρης δὲ ἐστὶ καὶ οὗς, μετὰ καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν γλώσσαν, ζώνη περισφάγγεται βάμμασαν οἱ ἡ πρότερον ἤπθει διαπεποικιλμένη χρυσοῦ συν- ύφασμένοι· κατὰ πέζαν δ’ αὐτῷ προσφεραμένοι θύσαις ῥόων τρόπον ἐκ βαφῆς μεμιμημένοι ἅπ- ήρτηντο καὶ κόσμωνες χρύσεοι κατὰ πολλὴν ἐπι-

ο ῥ ΡΟ.

* Heb. misbé'oth = “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.”

* Heb. mispré'seth (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 misbé’oth (Ex. xxviii. 40)
border at the breast and at the back is supported on each shoulder. It is called massabazanes.\(^a\)

(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 massaephikes,\(^b\) 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\(^d\) material. This too reaches to the feet, and is called in our tongue meir\(^e\); 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 πῖλος, "in shape resembling a half-egg" (Driver in loc.). Josephus, in speaking of a πῖλος δέκων 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.

\(^a\) Cf. B.J. v. 231-6.
\(^b\) Or "violet."
\(^d\) Heb. ms'\(\bar{l}\).
JOSEPHUS

τήδευσιν τῆς εὐπρεπείας, ὥστε μέσον ἀπολαμβάνεσθαι δυνῶν τε κωδώνων ὑδάτων, καὶ ροῦν
161 κωδώνων. ἐστί δὲ ὁ χιτῶν οὗτος οὐκ ἐκ δυνῶν περιτμημάτων, ὥστε βάπτισθα ἐπὶ τῶν ὄμων εἶναι καὶ τῶν παρὰ πλευρᾶν, φάρσος δὲ ἐν ἐπήμηκες ψαμμενὸν σχιστὸν ἔχει βροχωτῆρα (οὐ)1 πλάγιον, ἀλλὰ κατά μήκος ἐφρωγότα πρὸς τε τὸ στέρνον καὶ μέσον τὸ μετάφρενον πέζα δὲ αὐτῷ προσέρραται ὑπὲρ τοῦ μῆ διελέγχεσθαι τῆς τομῆς τῆς δυσπρέπειαν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ θεῖες διείργονται σχιστὸς ἐστιν.

162 (5) Ἐπὶ δὲ τούτων τρίτων ἐνδύεται τὸν λεγόμενον μὲν ἐφώδην, Ἐλληνικῆ δὲ ἐπωμίδι προσευκότα· γίνεται γὰρ τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον. Ὀφανθεὶς ἐπὶ βάθος πηχυαῖον ἐκ τῆς χρωμάτων παντοῖων καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεποικιλημένος ἀπερίπτυκτον τοῦ στέρνου τὸ μέσον καταλημμένη, χειρὶσθ' ἀπὸ τῇ ἁσκημένος καὶ τῷ παντὶ σχήματι χιτῶν εἶναι 163 πεποιημένος. τῷ δὲ διακένω τοῦ ἐνδύματος σύνεισι περίτμημα σπαθωμένη τὸ μέγεθος χρυσῶς τε καὶ τοῖς αὐτὸῖς τῷ ἐφώδῃ βάμμασι διενθαρσμένοις ἐσσην 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 l. ἵνα δὲ ὁ χιτῶν ἄραφος, ἐκ τῶν ἄνωθεν ἄφαιτος δὲ δέλτο; 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, to be stitched at the shoulders and at the sides: it is one long woven cloth, with a slit for the neck, parted not crosswise but lengthwise from the breast to a point in the middle of the back. 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 epómis, 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, and in general presents the appearance of a tunic. But into the gap in this vestment is inserted a piece of the dimensions of a span, variegated with gold and with the same colours as the ephod; it is called essēn, a word signifying in Greek speech

4 ἐπόμις is the lxx version of the Heb. ephod. The epómis 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 epómis, shoulder-straps, on which were sardonyxes.

5 Sleeves are not mentioned in Scripture or (according to M. Weill) in tradition.

6 It was "foursquare," of equal length and breadth (Ex. xxviii. 16).

7 Heb. ḫōshēn, 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 ἑσσίς is attributed also to the unknown "Hebrew" (ὁ Ἑβραῖος) in ms. of the lxx (Ex. xxviii. 22).
164 'Ελληνων γλώτταν λόγον': πληροὶ δὲ ἀκριβῶς τοῦ ἐφόδου ὑπὲρ υφαίστοτες κατὰ στῆθος ἐξελιπον, ἔνοικαὶ δ' ὑπὸ κρικῶν χρυσέων αὐτῷ τε κατὰ γεωνὶαν ἐκάστην κακέλιν τῶν ἰσων προσκεκοιμημένων, ράμματος ὕακινθον παραληθέντος εἰς τὴν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατάδεικνυ τοῖς κρίκοις. πρὸς δὲ τὸ μῆ καλαρὸν εἶναι τὸ ἐν μέσῳ τῶν κρικῶν καταλιμπανόμενον ραφῆν αὐτοῦ νήμασιν ὕακινθίνους ἐπενόησαν. πορτοῦν δὲ τὴν ἐπωμίδα σαρδόνυχες δύο κατὰ τῶν ὁμῶν, ἐκάτερον τέλος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπιθέον χρύσεον ἔχοντες, πρὸς τὸ ταῖς περινίσθεν ἐπιτήδειον εἶναι. ἐγγέγραται δὲ τούτως τῶν Ἰακώβου παιδῶν τα ὀνόματα γράμμασιν ἐπιχωρίους γλώσσῃ τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ κατὰ ἐξ τῶν λίθων ἐκατέρω, οἱ πρεσβύτεροι δ' εἰσὶ κατὰ ὁμῶν τὸν δεξιὸν. ἐπίασι δὲ καὶ τὸν ἐσοσίης λίθου δώδεκα μεγέθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντες, οὐ κτιτῶν ἀνθρώπων κόσμος διὰ τιμῆς ὑπερβολῆν ὄντες. 167 οὕτωι μέντοι κατὰ στίχον τρεῖς ἐπὶ τεσσάρων διακελμένοι γραμμῶν ἐνῆκινται τῷ ύφει, χρυσός δ' αὐτοῦ εἰκονίζεται τὰς ἐλικας ἐντυβεῖς τῷ ύφει πρὸς τὸ μῆ διαρρέειν οὕτως πεποιημένοι. καὶ ἡ μὲν πρώτη τριάς ἐστὶ σαρδόνυχες τόπαξος σμαραγδός, ἡ δευτέρα δὲ ἄνθρακα παρέχεται καὶ ἱασπίν καὶ σάπφειρον, τῆς δὲ τρίτης λίγυροι μὲν

1 λόγον

* λόγον is the εἰκοσις version, from which Josephus again borrows: Philo similarly uses λόγοι (De vita Mos. ii. 13, 154 M.). Josephus attributes the oracular properties of the æsæn to the precious stones on its surface (iii. 215 ff.), not to the Urim and Thummim beneath; on these last mysterious objects he is silent.
logion ("oracle"). 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 epómis 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 essēn 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.

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5 I give the general sense: the exact meaning of προσκεκλημένων is doubtful.

6 Heb. 'šlôm, E.V. "onyx" (margin "beryl"), LXX σμέραγος ("emerald").

7 i.e. "enclosed in filigree settings (or "rosettes," E.V. "ouches") of gold" (Driver).

8 Ex. xxviii. 10 says merely "according to their birth" (i.e. "according to their ages").

9 "Sardius" in Exodus (LXX and E.V.), as also in the parallel passage in B.B. v. 234.

10 Or "amber"; the Heb. word in Exodus perhaps means "cairngorm."
JOSEPHUS

ἀρχεὶ εἰτα ἁμέθυσος ἁχάτῃς δὲ τρίτος, ἔνατος ὡν τοῖς πάσι, τεταρτόν δὲ στέχου χρυσόλιθος μὲν πρόκειται μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν ὄνυξ εἰτα βήρυλλος 160 τελευταῖος οὕτος: γράμματα δὲ ἐπετέμητο πάσι τῶν Ἰακώβου υἱῶν, οὐς καὶ φιλάρχους νομίζομεν, ἐκάστου τῶν λίθων ὑψάμει τετμημένου κατὰ τάξιν ἢν ἐκάστου αὐτῶν γενέσθαι συμβέβηκε. 170 τῶν οὖν κρίκων ἀσθενῶν οὖν καθ᾽ αὐτοὺς ἐν- εγκεῖν τὸ βάρος τῶν λίθων ἐτέρους δύο κρίκους μείζονας τῇ πέζῃ τοῦ ἑσσήνου, ἦπερ ἄνηκεν πρὸς τὸν τράχηλον, ἐμβεβηκότας τῷ ύφάσματι ποιοῦσι, δεξομένους ἀλύσεις εἰργασμένας, αἱ συνήσαν1 κατ᾽ άκρον τῶν ὁμοίων σειραῖς ἐκ χρυσοῦ πεπλεγμέναις συνάπτουσαί, ὃν τὸ άκρον ἀνεστραμμένον ἐν- ἐβαίνεν κρίκῳ προέχουσαι τῆς νυκτιᾶς πέζης τοῦ 171 ἐφώδου· καὶ τούτῳ ἣν ἀσφάλεια τῷ ἑσσήνη πρὸς τὸ μῆ περιπτεῖν. ξώνῃ δὲ τῷ ἑσσήνη προσ- ἔργασθε βάμμασιν αἷς προειπον μετὰ χρυσοῦ προσ- φερῆς, ἡ περιοδεύσασα διέται πάλιν ἐπὶ τῇ βάφῃ καὶ κατακρεμώναι· τοὺς δὲ θυσάνους χρυσεῖς σύριγγες καθ᾽ ἐκατέραν άκραν ἐκλαβοῦσαι πάντας ἐμπεριέχουσαι [ἂνται].

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 essēn 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 essēn against any slip. The essēn 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>
<th>Exodus</th>
<th>Josephus, B.J.</th>
<th>Josephus, Ant.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Row 3</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>

\[a\] i.e. at the point where the essēn was stitched to the ephod.

\[b\] This detail, among others, is peculiar to Josephus.
JOSEPHUS

172 (6). Πίλοσ ὦ μὲν ὁ καὶ πρότερον αὐτῷ παραπλησίως εἰργασμένος τοῖς πάσων λεευδοῦν, ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δὲ συνεργασμένοις ἔτεροι ἐξ θακίθου πεποικιλμένοις, περιέρχεται δὲ στέφανος χρύσεος ἐπὶ τριστείχιαν κεγαλκεμένον. θάλλει δὲ ὕπ᾽ αὐτῷ καλὺς χρύσεος τῇ σακχάρῳ βοτάνῃ παρ᾽ ἡμῖν λειχομένη ἀπομεμημένον, ὡσ δὲ κύμαν Ἔλληνων οἱ περὶ τομᾶς ᤥαξαν ἐμπείρως ἔχοντες πρὸςαγορεύοντον. 173 εἰ δὲ τις ὁ θεοσάμενος τὴν βοτάνην ἀμαθίᾳ τούτου ἄγονει τὴν φύσιν αὐτῆς ἢ τὴν κλήσιν ἐπιστάμενος οὐκ ἴδων δ᾽ ἀν γνωρίσει, τοῖς οὖν 174 δὴ ἔχονσι σημαντῶν τὸν τρόπον βοτάνη μέν ἐστιν ὑπὲρ τρεῖς σπουδαμάς πολλάκις αὐξανομένη τῷ ὑφος, τὴν δὲ ἱδαν ἐμφερὴς βουνιάδι, ταύτῃ γὰρ οὐκ ἀν ἀμαρτοῦ τις εἰκάζων αὐτῆν, τὰ δὲ φύλλα τοὺς εὐξόμων· ἐκ μέντοι τῶν κλάδων ἀνήσι

1 πίλοσ RO. 2 ed. pr.: ὑπ᾽ codd. 3 δὲ ins. Lat., ed. pr.: om. codd. 4 v.l. μὴ, ὡ μὴ.

* This paragraph on the head-dress is, apart from the allusion to the plate of gold at the close, peculiar to Josephus; the Scriptural description is confined to a few verses, Ex. xxviii. 36-39 (with the parallel passage xxxix. 30 f.). Very curious is the botanical lore displayed, no less than seven plants being named. A simpler and rather different description appears in B.J. v. 235. See the full discussion in Encycl. Bibl. s.v. "Mitre."

* Or perhaps "that already (described)."

* Or "violet."

* 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."

* Aramaic shakruna (connected with Heb. šakkar = "be intoxicated"). See Löw, Aramäische Pflanzennamen, Leipzig, 1881, p. 381 (quoted by Weill).
(6) For head-dress a the high-priest had first b a cap made in the same fashion as that of all the priests; 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

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f *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."
JOSEPHUS

κάλυκα προσεχῇ τῷ κλωνί, περιέεις δ’ αὐτῆς ἐλυτρον, ὃπερ ἀποκρίνεται καθ’ αὐτοῖ πρὸς τὸν καρπὸν μεταβάλειν ἠγγύεις. οὐ δὲ κάλυξ μεγέθους ἐστὶ σκυταλίδου τοῦ μικροῦ δακτύλου, κρατήρι δ’ ἐμφερῆς τῇ περιγραφῆς. σημανῦ δὲ καὶ τοῦτο

175 τοῖς οὖ μεμαθηκόσι ποιητῖς τοῦ τῷ πυθμένι τῆν ἐτέραν τομὴν ἔχει φυόμενον ἀπὸ ρίζης περιφερῆς. εἶτα συνιῶν κατ’ ὀλίγον ὑποκολαυωνύσης εὑρεπῶς τῆς ὑποχωρῆσεως ἀνευρύνεται πάλιν ἡρέμα κατὰ χέιλος.

176 ὅμοιας ὀμφαλῷ ῥοίᾳς τετμημένος. ἐπίθεμα δ’ αὐτῷ ἡμισφαίριον προσπέφυκεν ἀκριβῶς ὡς: ἠπλοὶ τοι τῆς ῥοίᾳ παραπλησίως βλαστάνει, ἀκανθώδεις καὶ εἰς ὀξὺ παντελῶς ἀπολυγούοσα τὸ ἀκρον. φυλάττει δ’ ἄδυτο τῷ ἐπιθέματι τὸν καρπὸν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ κάλυκος, δύτα βοτάνης σπέρματι τῆς σιδηρίτιδος ὀμοιών, ἀφίς καὶ ἄνθος τῷ τῆς μῆκωνς πλαταγωνίῳ.

177 δεινάμονων δοκεῖν ἐμφερέως εἶναι. ἐκ τούτου μὲν στέφανος ἐκκεχάλκευται δος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱνοῦ πρὸς ἐκάτερον τῶν κροτάφων. το δὲ μέτωπον ἦ μὲν ἐφιλής οὐκ ἐπεισὶ, λεγέσθω γὰρ οὕτως ὁ κάλυξ, τελαμῷ δ’ ἐστὶ χρύσεως, δε ἱεροῖς γράφμασι τοῦ

1 ins. Nieße.

* Or "projecting top."
* (?) Verbena.
* The mss. have "on."
* 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...
JOSEPHUS

θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐπιτετμημένος ἐστὶ. καὶ
tοιοῦτος μὲν ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως κόσμος ἐστὶ.

179 (7) Θαυμάσεις δ᾿ ἂν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων τὴν
πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἀπεχθεῖαν, ἢν ὡς ἐκφαυλιζότων ἡμῶν
tὸ θεῖον ὅπερ αὐτὸι σέβειν προήρημαί διατετελε
cασιν ἐσχηκότες. εἰ γάρ τις τῆς σκηνῆς κατα
νοθείες τὴν πῆξιν καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἵδοι τὴν στολὴν
tᾶ τε σκεῦς, οἷς περὶ τὴν ἱερουργίαν χρώμεθα,
tὸν τε νομοθέτην εὐρήσει θείον ἄνδρα καὶ μα
tαίως ἡμᾶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων τὰς βλασφημίας
ἀκοίνωσαι· ἔκαστα γάρ τούτων εἰς ἀπομίμησιν
καὶ διατίμωσιν τῶν ὀλων, εἰ τις ἄφθονος ἔθελοι
καὶ μετὰ συνέσεως σκοπεῖν, εὐρήσει γεγονότα.

181 τὴν τε γὰρ σκηνήν τριάκοντα πηχῶν οὖσαν νείμας
eἰς τρία καὶ δύο μέρη πάσιν ἀνείς τοῖς ἱερεύσιν
ὁσπερ βέβηλον τίνα καὶ κοινὸν τόπον, τὴν γῆν
καὶ τὴν βάλασσαν ἀποσημαίνει· καὶ γὰρ ταῦτα
πάσιν ἐστὶν ἐπίβατα· τὴν δὲ τρίτην μοῦραν μόνην
περιέγραφε τῷ θεῷ διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄνεπι
182 βατόν εἶναι ἀνθρώπους. ἔπι τε τῇ τραπέζῃ τοὺς
dώδεκα θείς ἀρτοὺς ἀποσημαίνει τὸν ἐναυτὸν εἰς
tοσοῦτος μηνᾶς διηρρημένων· τὴν δὲ λυχνίαν εἰς
ἐβδομήκοντα μορίων ποιήσας συγκειμένην τὰς τῶν

1 τυχείς RO.

* The tetragrammaton γινή (Anglice 'Jehovah'): so
B.J. v. 235 (note) and Aristeas § 98, rather than as in
Exodus "Holy (or "Holiness") to γινή."
characters the name of God.\textsuperscript{a} 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.\textsuperscript{b} 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,\textsuperscript{c} he

\textsuperscript{a} Josephus has already touched on this allegorical interpretation above (§ 123 πληρης τῆς τῶν διω τῆς φύσεως) and in his earlier work (B.J. v. 212 f. εἰκόνα τῶν διων). 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.

\textsuperscript{b} § 145. But the component portions enumerated in Ex. xxv. 33 ff. seem to amount to 69 only (see Encycl. Bibl. i. 645 n. 3).
JOSEPHUS

πλανητῶν δεκαμορίας ἢ νῦξατο, καὶ λύχνους ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς ἐπτα τῶν πλανητῶν τὴν φοράν τοσοῦτοι

183 γάρ εἰσιν τῶν ἀριθμῶν. τά τε φάρση ἐκ τεσσάρων ὑφανθέντα τὴν τῶν στοιχείων φύσιν δηλοῦ. ἢ τε γάρ βύσσος τὴν γῆν ἀποσημαίνεις έουσκε διὰ τὸ εἴς αὐτῆς ἀνείσθαι τὸ λίνον, ἢ τε πορφύρα τὴν θάλασσαν τῷ πεφαυμένῳ τῶν ἄθικων τῷ ἄιματι, τὸν δὲ ἀέρα πολεμάτι δηλοῦν ὁ ὕακυνθος, καὶ ὁ

184 φοῖνιξ δ’ ἂν εἴη τεκμήριον τοῦ πυρός. ἀπο-

σημαίνει δὲ καὶ ὁ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως χυτῶν τὴν γῆν λίνεος ὁ, ὁ δὲ ὕακυνθος τῶν πόλων, ἀστραπάτης μὲν κατὰ τῶν ροϊκοὺς ἀπεικοσμενὸς βρονταῖς δὲ κατὰ τὸν τῶν κωδώνων ψόφον. καὶ τὴν ἔφαπτ-

δα τοῦ παντὸς τὴν φύσιν ἐκ τεσσάρων δοξηθῶν γενέωθαι τῷ θεῷ, χρυσῶ συνυφασμένην κατ’

185 ἐπάνων οἷαν τῆς προσούνης ἀπασχ. αὐγῆς. καὶ

τὸν ἑσσήμα μέσον ὅτα τῆς ἐφαπτίδος ἐν τρώγῳ γῆς ἔταξε· καὶ γάρ αὑτή τὸν μεσαίτατον τόπον ἐχει· ζώνη τε περιοδεύον τῶν ἀκουινών ἀπο-

σημαίνει· καὶ γὰρ οὐτος ἐμπεριείλθη δύ τα πάντα. ἡλιοῦ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἡλιοῦ καὶ τὴν ζελήνην τῶν σαρ-

2 ex Lat. Bernardi: δωδεκαμορία (δώδεκα μολυσ) codd.
2 δοξή. γεν. RO: γενέωθαι δειχθῶσαι rell.

The reading of the old Latin version, decamoriae, must on arithmetical grounds (70 = 7 x 10) be preferred to the text of the Greek ms's. indicating a twelve-fold division. Δεκαμορία is a synonym for δεκάρια, 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, Masiliii Astronomicum lib. iv. p. vili. 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 tapistrys 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 essēs, 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 δεκαμερία = δεκαστήρ to an anonymous treatise printed in Wachsmuth's Lydus, De ostentis, ed. 2 p. 174, lines 8 and 10.

b viz. Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Venus, Mercury, with Sun and Moon; cf. Philo, De vita Mos. ii. 9 (102) τὴν λυχνίαν δι' ἐν οἰκουσίᾳ τὰ τῶν φωσφόρων κυρίες ἀστέρων. In B.J. vii. 149 the seven lamps "indicate the honour paid to that number (or perhaps "to the week," τῶν ἕξιον) by the Jews."

c Or "scarlet=κόκκος, the word used in Exodus (i.xx) and in the parallel passage in B.J. v. 213.

d Ephaptis, another term for what has previously been called the ephod or ἐπώμις (§ 162).

* Or "sash."


dονύχων ἐκάτερος, οἷς ἐνεπόρπησε τοῦ ἀρχιερέα. 188 τήν τε δωδεκάδα τῶν λίθων εἶτε τοὺς μὴν τις θέλοι νοεῖν, εἶτε τὸν οὖτως ἀριθμὸν τῶν ἀστέρων, ὃν ξωδιακὸν κύκλον "Ελληνες καλοῦσι, τῆς κατ’ ἐκείνον γνώμης οὐκ ἂν ἀμάρτοι καὶ ὁ πῖλος δὲ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριώθην ὑσκάληνος πε- 
187 ποιημένος, οὐ γὰρ ἂν ᾠλὼς ὑπεραντίθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ θεοῦ τῇ στέφανῃ ἡγαλαίμενον καὶ ταύτῃ χρυσά, 1 διὰ τὴν αὐγήν, ὡς ἐμιστα χαίρει τὸ θεῖον, καὶ ταῦται μὲν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτοι μοι δεδη- 
λώσων πολλάκις τε καὶ ἐν πολλοῖς τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου παρεξόντων ἡμῶν διελθείν τῶν πραγ- 

mάτων.

188 (viii. 1) Ὡς δὲ τὸ προειρημένον πέρας εἴχε, τῶν ἀναδιαμέτρων μῆκος καθιερωμένων ἐπιστάς ὁ θεὸς Μανουεί τὴν ιεροσύνην Ἀαρών τάδελπῳ προε- 

tέταξε δοῦναι ὡς ἀπάντων δὲ ἀρετὴν τῆς τιμῆς δικαιοτέρω τυχείν. καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν 

tὸ πλῆθος τὴν τε ἀρετὴν αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν εὐνοίαν 

dιεξῆγε καὶ τοὺς κυβύνους οὓς ὑπομείνειεν ὑπὲρ 
189 αὐτῶν. μαρτυροῦντων δὲ ἐφ’ ἀπασον αὐτῶ καὶ 

tὸ περὶ αὐτῶν πρόθυμον ἐνδεικνυμένων, “ἀνδρεῖς,” 

eἶπεν, “Ἰσραήληται, τὸ μὲν ἔργον ἠδὸν τέλος ἔχει 

οἷον αὐτῶ τε τῇ θεῷ ἡδίκον ὡς καὶ δυνατὸν ἡμῖν, 

ἐπεὶ δὲ δει τοῦτο τῇ σκηνῇ καταδέχεσθαι, δεὶ 

πρῶτον ἡμῶν τοῖς ἑρατευσομένων καὶ ὑπηρετη- 

ςωτὸς ταῖς θυσίαις καὶ ταῖς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχαῖς.

1 χρυσά SP. 2 ἡμῶν ROSP: om. Lat.

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1 Σ. 165. So Clement of Alexandria, Strom. v. 668 P. οι δὲ ἀνθρακεῖς διὰ τὸν Κρόνον καὶ τὴν Ξελέραν; Philo mentions 

this explanation but prefers another, De vita Mos. ii. 12 (192). 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.

\[\text{Ex. xxviii. 1; Lev. viii. 1.}\]

\[\text{Cf. § 184; and Milton, Par. Lost iii. 3 “since God is light, And never but in unapproached light Dwelt from eternity.”} \]
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190 καὶ ἔγγρατε ταύτης ἐμοὶ τῆς σκέψεως ἐπιτραπεῖον ἐμαυτὸν ἃν τῆς τιμῆς ἄξιον ἔκρινα, διὰ τὸ φύσει πάντας εἶναι φιλαῦτος καὶ ὅτι πολλὰ ἐμαυτῷ καμάλτι περὶ σωτηρίας τῆς ὑμετέρας σώματος· νῦν δ' αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς Αὐρωπά νῦν τῆς τιμῆς [ταύτης] ἄξιον ἔκρινε καὶ τούτον ἤρθη τι ἱερά,
191 τὸν δικαιότερον ἡμῶν μᾶλλον εἰδώς, ὥσ' αὐτὸς ἐνδύσεται στολῇ τῷ θεῷ καθωσιωμένῃ καὶ βωμῶν ἐπιμέλειαν ἔχει καὶ πρόνοιαν ἱερείων καὶ
tὰς ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν εὐχὰς ποιήσεται πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἡδέως ἀκουσόμενον, ὅτι τε κηδεῖται γένος τοῦ ἡμετέρου καὶ παρ' ἄνδρος ὧν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο
gυμνομένας προσδέχεται ταύτας." Ἐβραῖοι δὲ ἡρε- skontο τοὺς λεγομένους καὶ συνήνων τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονίᾳ· ἴνα γὰρ Ἀρωπά διὰ τὸ γένος καὶ
tὴν προφητείαν καὶ τὴν ἄρετην τάξιν πρὸς [τὴν] τιμήν ἀπαίτων ἄξιολογότερος. ἦσαν δ' αὐτῷ καὶ παῖδες κατ' ἐκείνῳ τῶν χρόνων τέσσαρες Νάβαδος Ἀβίος Ἐλεαζαρὸς Ἰδάμαρος.

193 (2) "Ὅσα δὲ τῶν πρὸς τὴν τῆς σκηνῆς κατα-
skeuēn παρεσκευασμένων ἢν περιττά, ταύτ' ἐκ-
leivosen eis fárōs skēpaspētria tῆs te skēnῆs
αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς λυχνίας καὶ τοῦ θυμιατηρίου καὶ
tῶν ἄλλων σκευῶν ἀναλώσας, ὁπως κατὰ τὴν
δοιπορίαν ταύτα μὴ' ἐξ ὑποῦ μηδὲν μή' ἐκ
194 κοινορτοῦ ἔλαινται. τὸ τε πλῆθος ἄθροισας

1 om. RO. 2 ex Lat.; ἡμῶν codd. 3 ins. MSL (Lat.); om. rell.

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a So the Jewish Midrash on Lev. viii. 1 (quoted by Weill).
b Or "the more deserving of us (twain)"; or possibly "knowing better than ourselves who is the more worthy to don" etc.
For my part, had the weighing of this matter been entrusted to me, I should have adjudged myself worthy of the dignity, 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. b So it is he who will don the vestments consecrated to God, have charge of the altars, attend to the sacrifices, and offer the prayers on our behalf to God, who will gladly hear them, both from the care that He has for our race, and because, coming from a man of His own choosing, He cannot but accept them." The Hebrews were pleased with this speech and acquiesced in the divine election; for Aaron, by reason of his birth, his prophetical gift, and his brother’s virtues, was more highly qualified than all for the dignity. He had at that time four sons: Nabad,c Abihu, Eleazar, and Ithamar.

(2) As for the surplus 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

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a So, with transposition of consonants in a few LXX MSS., as opposed to the ordinary form "Nadab" (Ex. xxviii. 1).

b This sentence finds no parallel in Scripture. Well suggests that "surplus" comes from Josephus having read the obscure word serād, rendered "finely wrought (garments)" in Ex. xxxxi. 10 etc., as sarād "remaining over"; but the context of Exodus has nothing about protective coverings.
πάλιν εἰσφορὰν αὐτῷ προσέταξεν εἰσφέρειν σίκλου
τὸ ἄμμου καὶ ἐκαστὸν, ὡς δὲ σίκλος νόμισμα
'Εβραίων ὃν 'Αντικός δέχεται δραχμάς τέσσαρας.
οἵ δὲ ἐτοιμοὶ ὑπήκουν οὓς ἐκέλευσε Μωυσῆς καὶ
tὸ πλῆθος τῶν εἰσφερόντων ἦν ἐξήκοντα μυριάδες
καὶ πεντακισχίλιοι καὶ πεντακόσιοι καὶ πεντῆ-
κοντα. ἔφερον δὲ τὸ ἄργυρον τῶν ἐλευθέρων οἵ
ἀπὸ εἰκοσὶ ἐτῶν ἀχρὶ πεντῆκοντα γεγονότες. τὸ
dὲ συγκομισθὲν εἰς τὰς περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν χρέιας
ἀναλύοτο.

(3) Ἡγνιζε δὲ καὶ τὴν σκηνήν καὶ τοὺς ἱερεάς
τρόπῳ τουτῷ ποιοῦμενος αὐτῶν τὴν κάθαρσιν.
σμύρνης ἐπιλέκτου σίκλου πεντακισχίλιος καὶ ἱρεως
ἰσος, κυναμώμων δὲ καὶ καλάμων, ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ
τούτῳ εἰς θυμιάματος, ἥμισυν τῶν πρῶτον
ὅλην κεκομένα δεῦες ἐκέλευσεν, ἑλαίον τε
ἑλαίου εἰς, μέτρου δὲ ἐστὶν τούτῳ ἐπιχώριον δύο
χόας Ἀντικός δεχόμενον, ἀναμίζοντας καὶ καθ-
εφήσωντας σκευάζει τέχνη μυρεφῶν χρύσα εὐ-

ωδέστατον. καπείτα τούτῳ λαβὼν αὐτοὺς τε τοὺς
ἱερεάς καὶ πάσαν τὴν σκηνὴν χρῶν κεκάθαρκε,
tὰ τε θυμιᾶμενα, πολλὰ δὲ ἐστὶν ταῦτα καὶ ποικίλα,
κατὰ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐπὶ τοῦ χρυσοῦ θυμιατηρίου
μεγάλης πάντων τιμῆς ὡς τε συνεφέρετο, ἃν παρα-
λείψω τὴν φύσιν ἐκδηγηθεῖσα, μὴ δὲ ὄχλου

γένηται τοὺς ἑντυγχάνουσι. διὸ δὲ τής ήμέρας
πρὸ τε ἀνασχεῖν τὸν ἴμιον καὶ πρὸς δυσμάς
θυμιῶν ἔχρην ἑλαίον τε ἀγνίσσων φυλάσσειν εἰς
τοὺς λύχνους, ἃν τοὺς μὲν τρεῖς ἐπὶ τῇ ἱερᾷ

* 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 expended 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 equivalent to two Attic choes) was to be mixed therewith and the whole concocted and boiled down by the perfumer's art into an ointment of sweetest fragrance. Then, taking this, he anointed both the priests themselves and all the tabernacle, thus purifying all. Also the perfumes, of which there were many of divers kinds, were all assembled in the tabernacle on the golden altar of incense, being of exceeding value; their nature I forbear to describe from fear of wearying my readers. But twice each day, before sunrise and at sunset, it was requisite to burn incense and to sanctify oil in reservation for the lamps, three of the temple up to its destruction in A.D. 70, when the tax was confiscated by the Romans (B.J. vii. 218).

Reinach disputes this computation; but at least it accords with the use of σιδήραχειαν 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 xxx "603,550" (Ex. xxxviii. 26).

The Greek names for these perfumes are those used in i.xx.
λυγνία φέγγεων ἔδει τῷ θεῷ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν, τοὺς δὲ λοιποὺς περὶ τὴν ἐσπέραν ἀποτυντας.

200 (4) ἆπαντων δὲ θητὴ πέρας ἐλληφότων ἔδοξαν ἀριστοί τῶν δημιουργῶν Βεσέβηλος καὶ Ἐλιάβος, τῶν γὰρ ἐξευρημένων τοὺς πρωτέρους αὐτοῖς προεθυμίθησαν ἁμείνονα προσεξεργάσασθαι, λαβεῖν τε ἐπίνοιαν ὧν πρότερον ἤγνωσαν τὴν κατασκευὴν ἰκανότατον τούτων μεντο Βεσέβηλον συνεβη

201 κριθήναι τὸν κράτιστον, ὁ δὲ πᾶς χρόνος εἰς τὸ ἔργον δεῖλθη μηνῶν ἐπτὰ καὶ μετὰ τούτῳ ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Ἀγγυπτον ἐξέλησαν ἐναυτὸς ἀυτὸς πρῶτος ἐτελεῖσθαι. ἀρχομένου δὲ τοῦ δευτέρου ἐτους, μὴν Ἑαυτικῷ κατὰ Μακεδόνας Νισᾶν δὲ κατὰ Ἐβραίους, νομηματικῇ τὴν σκηνήν ἀφιερωθεὶ καὶ πάνθ' ὥσα περὶ αὐτὴν σκεύη μοι δεδήλωται.

202 (5) Ἐπεδειξε δὲ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν ἰσαβέτα τῷ ἔργῳ τῶν Ἐβραίων καὶ μὴ μάτην αὐτοὺς πονησάντας ὑπερηφανίᾳ τῆς χρήσεως, ἀλλ' ἐπεζευγώθη καὶ κατεσκήνωσεν ἐν τῷ ναῷ τούτῳ. τὴν δὲ παρ-

203 ουσίαν οὕτως ἐποίησεν: ὦ μὲν οὐρανὸς καθάρος ἦν, ὕπερ δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μόνην ἤχλυσεν οὕτε βαθεὶς πάνω νέβει καὶ πυκνῷ περιλαμβάνον αὐτήν, ὡστ' εἶναι δοξᾷ χειμέριον, οὕτε μὴν λεπτῶν οὕτως, ὅστε τὴν ὄμων ἴσχυσαι τι δὲ αὐτοῦ κατανοήσαι· ἤδεια δὲ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δρόσος ἔρρει καὶ θεοῦ δηλούσα παρουσίαν τοῖς τούτῳ καὶ βουλομένως καὶ πε-

πιστευκόσι.

1 Βεσέβηλος RM; sic in precip Bessèbes M; cf. § 105.

* 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

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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 Beselel 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 Beselel 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 (Sifrei, p. 16 a, quoted by Weill).

\(^a\) Reckoning not in Scripture.

\(^b\) Text doubtful.

\(^c\) Not in Scripture.
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204 (6) Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς τέκτονας οἷας εἰκός ἦν
dωρεάς τοὺς τοιαύτα ἐργασαμένους τιμήσας ἔθνεν
ev tῷ τῆς σκηνῆς αἰθρίῳ κατὰ προστάγην τοῦ
θεοῦ ταύρου καὶ κριῶν καὶ ἐριφόν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάων,
205 καὶ δὴ, λέγειν γὰρ ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσίων μέλλων τὰ
πρασόμενα περὶ τὰς ιερομοίας ἐν ἐκείνως δηλώ-
σων περὶ τά ὀν όλοκαυτεῖν κελεύει καὶ ἀν μετα-
λαμβάνει τῆς βρώσεως ἐφίς εἴδος ὁ νόμος, κακὸ
tοῦ αἵματος τῶν τεθυμένων τήν τε στολήν τοῦ
'Αραβὼ-
νος καὶ αὐτοῦ σὸν τοὺς παισίν ἐρρανεῖν ἄφαινες
πηγαίους τε ὀδασὶ καὶ μύρῳ, ἓν τοῦ θεοῦ γί-
206 γνωστο. ἐπὶ μὲν οὖν ἡμέρας ἐπτὰ τούτον τὸν
τρόπον αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τὰς στολὰς ἐθεράπευε τὴν
τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ περὶ αὐτῆς σκεύη ἐλαφῶ τι
προβυμομένω,1 καθὼς εἶπον, καὶ τῷ αἵματι τῶν
ταύρων καὶ κριῶν σφαγέντων καθ᾿ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν
ἐνὸς κατὰ γένος, τῇ δὲ σκήνῃ κατηγορεῖν ἐστὶν
207 τῷ λαῷ καὶ θύειν προσέταξε κατὰ δύναμιν. οἱ
δὲ ἄλλοι ἀμιλλώμενοι καὶ υπερβάλλεις φιλο-
τιμούμενοι τὰς θυσίας, ἀς ἐκαστὸς ἐπιφέροι, τοῖς
λεγόμενοι υπήκουν. ἐπισεμενέων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν
2 τῷ βωμῷ αἰφνίδιον ἐξ αὐτῶν2 πῦρ ἀνήφθη αὐτο-
ματον, καὶ ὅμοιον ἀστραπῆς λαμπρὸν ὀρέμουν
tῇ φλογὶ πάντα ἐδαπάνα τὰ ἔπι τοῦ βωμοῦ.

208 (7) Συνέβη δὲ καὶ 'Αραβῶν συμφορά τις ἐκ τοῦ-

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1 ML: προβυμομένως SPE: προχρομένως O(R).
2 ἱερῶν SPL. αὐτῶν RO.

* 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 r.s.) and below (§§ 213 f., 218, 223 f.)
(6) Moses, after recompenos 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 atone-
ment for sins. (I propose in my treatise on sacrifices a
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 fumi-
gated, as I have said, b 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, con-
sumed everything upon the altar in flame.

(7) But this fire was also the cause of a misfortune

betray signs of rewriting. The author seems to be in
doubt how much to include in the present work on the
sacrifices, how much to reserve for a separate treatise, and
breaks off more than once from the subject. Probably,
when the projected treatise was finally abandoned, he
incorporated much more of its intended contents in later
editions of the Antiquities.  

\* § 109.
τον λογιζομένως ὡς ἐπ᾽ ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατρί, γενναίως δὲ ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῦ καρτερηθείς, ὅτι καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν πρὸς τὰ συμπίπτοντα στερρόν ἢν καὶ κατὰ 209 βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἤγείτο τὸ πάθος γεγονέναι· τῶν γὰρ νῦν αὐτοῦ τεσσάρων ὄντων, ὡς προείπον, δύο οἱ πρεσβύτεροι Νάβαδος καὶ Ἀβίους κομίσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα οὗτος ἄν προείπε Μωυσῆς ὑμιμαμάτων,1 ἀλλ᾽ οἱς ἐχρώνιοι πρωτερον, κατεκαύθησαν τοῦ πυρὸς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀρμήν βαλόντος καὶ τὰ στέρνα καὶ τὰ πρόσωπα φλέγειν αὐτῶν 210 ἄρξαμένους καὶ σβέσαι μηδενὸς δύναμιν. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπέθανον, Μωυσῆς δὲ κελεύει τὸν πατέρα αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς ἅδελφους βαστάζων τὰ σώματα καὶ κομίσαντας τῆς παρεμβολῆς τῆς θάψαι μεγαλοπρεπῶς. πενθεὶ δὲ αὐτοῖς τὸ πλῆθος χαλεπῶς ἐπὶ τῷ θανάτῳ παρὰ δόξαν οὕτως γεγενη- 211 μένῳ διατεθέν. μόνους δὲ Μωυσῆς τοὺς ἅδελφους αὐτῶν καὶ τὸν πατέρα μὴ φροντίζειν τῆς ἐπ᾽ αὐτοῖς λύπης ἤξιοσ, προκρίναντας τὴν εἰς τὸν θεόν τιμήν τοῦ περὶ αὐτοὺς σκυθρωποῦ ἢδη γὰρ 'Αραχών καὶ τὴν στολὴν τὴν ιερὰν ἠμφίεστο. 212 (8) Μωυσῆς δὲ πάσαν τιμήν παραιτήσαμεν, ἢν ἐώρα τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν ἐποιμον, πρὸς μόνῃ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ θεραπείᾳ διετέλει. καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς τὸ Σαναίν ἀνόδους ἀπέχεισθε, εἰς δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσιῶν ἐχρηματίζετο περὶ ὅν ἐδεύτο παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ἰδιωτεύων καὶ τῇ στολῇ καὶ πάσι τοῖς ἄλλοις ἁγίων ἐσταυρωθήτων δημοτικάτερον καὶ μὴ δὲν βουλόμενος τῶν πολλῶν διαφέρειν δοκεῖν ἡ μόνῳ 213 τῷ προνοούμενος αὐτῶν βλέπεσθαι. ἔτε δὲ τὴν

1 O: δημάτων rall.

a § 192.
b Bibl. Nadab (§ 192 note).
for Aaron, if regarded as a man and a father, albeit the blow was valiantly borne by him, because he had a soul steeld 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,

* In Lev. x. 4 it is "Mishael and Elzaphan, the sons of Uzziel the uncle of Aaron" who are instructed to remove the corpses.
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πολιτείαν καὶ νόμους [αὐτῶν] ¹ ἔγραφε, καθ’ οὓς κεχαρισμένως τῷ θεῷ βιώσονται μηδὲν ἄλληλοις ἐγκαλεῖν ἐχοντες· ταῦτα μέντοι κατὰ τὴν ὑπʼ ἀγόρευσιν τοῦ θεοῦ συνετάττετο. διεξεύμει μὲν οὖν περὶ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ τῶν νόμων.

214 (9) Ὁ μέντοι περὶ τῆς τοῦ ἄρχωμενς στολῆς παρέλιπον διελθεῖν βουλομαι· οὐδὲνοθεός γὰρ προφητῶν ² κακουργίαις κατέλυσεν ἀφορμὴν, εἰ καὶ τωρὶς τοιούτοις γένοντο παρεχθεὶς τῷ τοῦ θεοῦ ἀξιώματι, αὐτοκράτορα δὴ εἶναι τὸν θεόν παρατυγχάνειν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κατέλυσεν ὅπως θελήσει καὶ μὴ παρεῖναι, καὶ τοῦτ’ οὖν Ἑβραῖοι δήλον εἶναι μόνον ἦθελσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν ἔξων τοὺς παρα-215 τυγχάνουσι. τῶν γὰρ λίθων, οὓς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους φέρει τὸν ἄρχωμεν προεῖπον, σαρδώνυχες δὲ ἡσαίαν καὶ σημαίνειν αὐτῶν τὴν φύσιν ἠγοῦμι περισσῶν πάσαν εἰς γνώσιν ἢφιμένων, συνέβαινε λάμπειν, ὅποτε ταῖς ἱερουργίαις ὁ θεὸς παρείσθη, τὸν ἐτερον τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ δεξιῷ τῶν ὁμοίων πεπορτημένου αὐτῆς ἀποπηδάσης καὶ τοῖς πορωτάτω φαινομένης, οὐ 216 πρώτον ταύτης ὑπαρχοῦσης τῷ λίθῳ. θεαμαστόν μὲν οὖν καὶ τοῦτο τοὺς μὴ τὴν σοφίαν ἐπὶ ἐκ-

¹ ins. RO: om. rell.
² συκεφαρτῶν SPL.
³ O: ἔδ rell.

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a 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.

b § 165.

c What follows is the author’s interpretation of the mysterious Urim and Thummim (words meaning "Lights and Per-

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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,\(^b\) 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,\(^c\) 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\(^\prime\)), and an erroneous one. All that can be said with certainty about these primitive objects of divination is that they were something distinct from the stones on shoulder and breastplate and were kept within the latter: “And thou shalt put in the breastplate (or “pouch”) of judgement the Urim and the Thummim” (Ex. xxviii. 30). The \textit{LXX} rendering of that passage, \textit{kai ἐπιθύμησε ἐκι (ως) πο λόγιον, τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν}, and its rendering elsewhere (Numb. xxvii. 21) of Uriim by δῆλον (sc. λίθοι, “conspicuous stones”) seems to have led to the interpretation in the text. See Hastings, \textit{D.B. s.v.}

\(^{a}\)\textit{Jewish Antiquities, III. 213–216}

\(^{b}\)Oracular flashing of the stones on the high-priest’s robe.

\(^{c}\)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\(^\prime\)), and an erroneous one. All that can be said with certainty about these primitive objects of divination is that they were something distinct from the stones on shoulder and breastplate and were kept within the latter: “And thou shalt put in the breastplate (or “pouch”) of judgement the Urim and the Thummim” (Ex. xxviii. 30). The \textit{LXX} rendering of that passage, \textit{kai ἐπιθύμησε ἐκι (ως) πο λόγιον, τῆς κρίσεως τὴν δήλωσιν καὶ τὴν ἀλήθειαν}, and its rendering elsewhere (Numb. xxvii. 21) of Uriim by δῆλον (sc. λίθοι, “conspicuous stones”) seems to have led to the interpretation in the text. See Hastings, \textit{D.B. s.v.}
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φαυλοσμῶ τῶν θείων ἡσικήσων, ὦ δὲ ἐστὶ τούτου διαμασιῶτερον ἐρῶ· διὰ γὰρ τῶν διάδικα λίθων, οὓς κατὰ στέρνον ὁ ἄρχωνεσ ἐνεραμμένους τῷ ἔσσῃν φορεῖ, νῦν μέλλουσι πολεμεῖν προεμήνουν

217 ὁ θεός· τοσοῦτον γὰρ ἀπῆστρατεύειν ἀπ' αὐτῶν αὐθὴ μῆκος τῆς στρατιάς κεκινημένης, ὡς τῷ πλήθει παντὶ γυνώριμον εἶναι τὸ παρείναι τὸν θεόν εἰς τὴν ἐπικουρίαν, δὲν "Ελληνες οἱ τὰ ἴμμετερα τιμῶμεν ἐθνη διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν δύνασθαι

218 τούτους τὸν ἔσσῃρα λόγιον καλοῦσιν. ἐπαύσατο μὲν οὖν ὁ τε ἔσσῃρ καὶ ὁ σαρδών ύστερον τὸν λάμπειν ἔστει διακοσίων πρότερον ἡ ταύτην ἐμὲ συνθεῖναι τὴν γραφήν, τοῦ θεοῦ δυσχεράντας ἐπὶ τῇ παραβάσει τῶν νόμων, περὶ ὧν φρονόμεν εὐκαιρότερον. τρέφομαι δὲ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸν ἔξος λόγον.

219 (10) Καθιερωμένης γὰρ ἥδη τῆς σκηνῆς καὶ διακεκοσμημένων τῶν περὶ τοὺς ἱερέας τὸ τε πλῆθος ὀμόσκηρον αὐτῶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκρίνειν εἶναι καὶ τρέπεται πρὸς θυσίας τε καὶ ἀνέσεως ὡς ἀπασαν ἥδη κακοῦ προσδοκίαν ἀπεωθημένων, καὶ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς ἀμεινόνων εὐθυμοῦντες δωρεάς τε τῷ θεῷ τὰς μὲν κοινὰς τὰς δὲ [καὶ] 220 καὶ τὸν ἱδίαν ἀνετίθεσαι κατὰ φιλάς. οἱ τὲ γὰρ φυλαρχοὶ κατὰ δύο συνελθόντες ἀμαξαῖν καὶ δύο βόσας προσκομίζοντες εἰς μὲν οὖν ἦσαν αὐταὶ καὶ

1 ἔθ RO. 2 ex Lat. requiem: aliās codd. 3 conj. Cocceii: ἐπιθυμοῦντες codd. 4 om. RO.

λόγιον is the LXX version of the Heb. word rendered in the E.V. "breastplate," Ex. xxviii. 15 etc. 5 The work was completed in A.D. 93–94 (xx. 267) and was probably 15 or more years in the making. The 200 years

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vated a superior wisdom to disparage all religious things; but I have yet a greater marvel to record. By means of the twelve stones, which the high-priest wore upon his breast stitched into the essén, God foreshowed victory to those on the eve of battle. For so brilliant a light flashed out from them, ere the army was yet in motion, that it was evident to the whole host that God had come to their aid. Hence it is that those Greeks who revere our practices, because they can in no way gainsay them, call the essén logion (‘‘oracle’’).a Howbeit, essén and sardonyx alike ceased to shine two hundred years before I composed this work,b 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,c 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. 1. 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).

a Or, with another reading, “praises.”
τὴν σκηνὴν ἐν ταῖς ὀδοιπορίαις παρεκόμιζον. πρὸς τούτων ἐκαστὸς φιάλην τε κομίζει καὶ τρύβλιον καὶ θυσικὴν, τὴν μὲν δαρεικοῦς δέκα δυναμένην 221 καὶ πλήρης θυμματῶν· τὸ δὲ τρύβλιον καὶ ἡ 
φιάλη, ἄργυρα δὲ ἦν, σύκλους μὲν αἱ δύο δια
kosίους ἐλίκου, εἰς δὲ τὴν φιάλην ἐβδομήκοκτα 
mόνοι δεδαπάνητο, πλήρεις δὲ ἦσαν ἀλεύρων ἑλαίῳ πεφυραμένων, οἷς ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ χρώνται πρὸς 
tὰς ιερουργίας· μόσχον τε καὶ κριόν σὺν ἄρνιῳ 
tῶν ἐπτήσιων1 ὀλομελὴ καυθησόμενα καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς 
222 χίμαρον ἐπὶ παρατίθεσι ἀμαρτημάτων. προσήγε 
dὲ τῶν ἀρχόντων ἐκαστὸς καὶ ἐτέρας θυσίας 
σωτηρίους λεγομένας καὶ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν δύο 
βόας καὶ πέντε κριόν πυν οὖν ἄρνας ἐτείοις καὶ 
ἐρίφοις. οὕτως μὲν δὴ θύουσιν ἐπὶ ἡμέρας δώδεκα 
kατὰ πάσαν ἡμέραν εἰς· Μωυσῆς δὲ οὐκέτι ἀνα
βαίνων ἐπὶ τὸ Σιναίον ἀλλ' εἰς τὴν σκηνὴν εἰσοῦν 
ἀνεμάνθον παρὰ θεοῦ περὶ τε τῶν πρακτέων καὶ 
223 τῶν νόμων τῆς συντάξεως· οὗς κρείττονας ἢ κατὰ 
sύνεσιν ἀνθρωπίνην ὄντας εἰς τὸν ἀπαντα βεβαιώς 
ἀιῶνα συνεβή φυλαχθῆναι, δωρεᾶν εἶναι δέξαντας 
τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς μήτ' ἐν εἰρήνῃ ὑπὸ τρυφῆς μήτ' ἐν 
πολέμῳ καὶ' ἀνάγκην 'Εβραίων παραβιναί τινα 
tῶν νόμων. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων παύομαι

1 τῶν ἐτ. ἐπείρ ῬΩ.

* Or "platter"; the Greek terms used for the three articles are those employed by the LXX (Numb. vii. 13 f., E.V. "charger . . . bowl . . . spoon").
which transported the tabernacle on the march. Furthermore, each of them brought a salver, 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-

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* A Persian gold coin; Heb. and lxx (Numb. vii. 14) name no coin; E.V. "ten shekels."
* Or "deliverance" "welfare," after lxx: Heb. שְׁלָדָם, E.V. "peace-offerings." They are referred to below as "thank-offerings" (ἡ χαριστήριoy § 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.
λέγων γραφὴν ἐτέραν ἡξιωκῶς συνθέται περὶ τῶν νόμων.

224 (ix. 1) Νυνὶ δὲ ὅλῳν τινῶν ἐπιμυθήσομαι τῶν ἡς ἅγιεις καὶ ἱερουργίαις κειμένων· καὶ γὰρ τὸν λόγον μοι περὶ τῶν θυσίῶν ἐνεστάναι συμβέβηκε. δύο μὲν γὰρ εἰςων ἱερούργιαι, τούτων δὲ ἢ μὲν ὡς τῶν ἰδιωτῶν ἑτέρα δὲ ὡς τοῦ δῆμου
225 συντελοῦμενα κατὰ δύο γίνονται τρόπους· τῆς μὲν ὁλοκαυτεῖται πάν τὸ θυόμενον καὶ διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τὴν προσηγορίαν τοιαύτην ἔλαβεν, ἡ δὲ χαριστήριος τέ ἐστι καὶ κατ᾽ εὐωχίαν δρατάται τῶν
226 τεθυκότων· ἐρῶ δὲ περὶ τῆς προτέρας· ἀνὴρ ἰδιότης ὁλοκαυτῶν θύει μὲν βοῦν καὶ ἄρνιον καὶ ἠρφον· ταῦτα μὲν ἐπετεια, τοὺς δὲ βοῶς ἐφείται θύει καὶ προῆκοντα· ἀρρένα δὲ ὁλοκαυτεῖται τὰ πάντα. σφαγέντων δὲ τούτων τὸν κύκλον τῶν
227 ἁματι δεῦσου τοῦ βωμοῦ οἱ ἱερεῖς, εἶναι καθαρὰ ποιήσαντες διαμελίζοντι καὶ πάσαντες ἄλοιπον ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνατιθέασι σχίζων ἡδὴ πεπληρωμένον

* 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.
* Or "purity laws," referring to cap. xi. §§ 258 ff. (see § 273 in particular).
* Philo draws the same distinction, τῶν θυσίων αἱ μὲν εἰσιν ὑπὲρ ἄναρτος τοῦ θυσίος . . . ἀλὰ δὲ ὑπὲρ ἑκάστου (De Victimis 3, § 168, quoted by Weill).
* The meaning "holocaust" (LXX ὀλοκαύτωμα or-κατωτες E.V. "burnt-offering") is not inherent in the Hebrew 'olah, which strictly = "that which goes up" to heaven.
* 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.  

(ix. 1) Here I will but mention some few of the regulations concerning purifications 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—taking two distinct forms. In the first, the whole of the sacrificial victim is burnt entire, whence the sacrifice derives its corresponding name; 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 ox, a lamb, and a kid, these last being a year old; the slain oxen may be older than this; but all victims for these holocausts must be males. The beasts being slaughtered, the priests drench with the blood the circuit of the altar, and then, after cleansing them, dismember them, sprinkle them with salt, and lay them upon the altar, already laden

1 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.

2 So Lev. i. 5; traditionally only the N.E. and S.W. corners.

3 Lev. specifies only the washing of inwards and legs, mentioned below; but 2 Chron. iv. 6 suggests complete cleansing.

4 The regulation of Lev. ii. 13, though there confined to the "meal offering," was taken to apply to all sacrifices.
καὶ πυρὸς φλεγομένου, τοὺς δὲ πόδας τῶν ἱερεῶν καὶ τὰ κατὰ νηρὰν ἐκκαθάραντες ἀκριβῶς τοῖς ἄλλοις καθαγινοθησόμενα προσεπιφέροντι, τὰς δορὰς τῶν ἱερεῶν λαμβανόντων. καὶ ὁ μὲν τῆς ὀλοκαυτώσεως τρόπος ἑστὶν οὕτως.

228 (2) Τὰς δὲ χαριστηρίας θυσίας ἐπιτελοῦντες ταύτα μὲν ξύλα θύουσι, ὀλόκληρα δὲ ταύτα καὶ τῶν ἐπετείων πρεσβύτερα, ἀρρενα μὲντοι θήλεσι συνδιαζόμενα. θύσιντες δὲ ταύτα φοινίσσουσι μὲν αἴματι τὸν βωμὸν, τοὺς δὲ νεφροὺς καὶ τὸν ἐπέπλουν καὶ πάντα τὰ πιμελῆ σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἱππατος καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς τὴν οὐρὰν τοῦ ἄρνος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. τὸ δὲ στήθος καὶ τὴν κτήμαν τὴν δεξιὰ τὸς ἱερεῦς παρασχόντες ἐπὶ δύο ἡμέρας εὐσωκοῦνται τοῖς καταλειμπομένοις τῶν κρεών, ἀ δὲ αὐν περισσεύῃ κατακαλοῦσι.

230 (3) Θύουσι δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάνων καὶ ὁμολογών τῷ προσερημένῳ τὸ περὶ τῶν ἁμαρτάνων τῆς ἱερουργίας τρόπῳ γίνεται. οὗ δὲ αὐτῶν πορίζειν τὰ τέλεια θύματα περιστεράς ἢ τρυγόνας δύο, ὅν τὸ μὲν ὀλοκαυτεῖται τῷ θεῷ, τὸ δὲ τὸς ἱερεῦς εἰς βρώσιν διδάσκει. ἀκριβέστερον δὲ περὶ τῆς θυσίας τώνδε τῶν ξύλων ἐν τοῖς περὶ θυσίων ἐρούμεν. ὁ μὲν γὰρ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσῶν ἁρνα καὶ ἐριφόν θήλειας τῶν αὐτοτετῶν προσφέρει, καὶ τῷ μὲν αἴματι δεῦτε τὸν βωμὸν ὁ ἱερεὺς, οὕτως μὲν τὸ πρῶτον ἀλλὰ τῶν γανῳῶν τὰς

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¹ χαριστηρίας S.P.L.

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² Lev. i. 6 mentions the flaying of the larger animal only.
³ Heb. yashādēmim, E.V. “peace-offerings” (margin “thank-offerings”), LXX ὑσια σωτηρίου; “peace-offering” connects the word with shalom “peace,” “thank-offering.”

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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-offering, 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 caud, 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).

* Leviticus specifies no age.
* i.e. the larger victim; “if his means suffice not for a lamb” (Lev. v. 7).
* The projected work (i. 25 note).
* In Lev. lamb and kid are alternatives.
* I follow Whiston: ἀποτερεῖς 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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ἐξοχάς, καὶ τοὺς τε νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν ἄλλην πιμελήν ὑπὸ τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἦπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ, οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς τάς τε δορὰς ἀποφέρουνται καὶ τὰ κρέα ἐπ’ ἔκεισθε δαπανήσωντες τῆς ἥμερας έν τῷ ἱερῷ· ὁ γὰρ νόμος εἰς τὴν αὑρινὸν ἀπολιπεῖν οὐκ ἐξελέγχοντας, οὐ τὰ κρέα κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν ὀμοίως οἱ ἱερεῖς αὐθημερὸν συνόουνται. οἱ δὲ ἄρχοντες έφ’ οἷς ἡμάρτανον ἐκθυμόμενοι ταῦτ’ ἄνθρωποι τοῖς ἰδιώταις, διαλλάσσοντο δὲ τῷ προσάγειν θύματα ταύτην ἐρεύνον ἄρσενας.

233 (4) Νόμος δὲ ταῖς ἰδιώτικαις καὶ ταῖς δημοσίαις θυσίαις καὶ ἄλευρον ἐπιφέρεσθαι καθαρώτατον, ἀρνὺ μὲν ἀσσαράνως μέτρου κριῶ δὲ δυοὶ ταύρῳ δὲ τριῶν. τούτῳ καθαγνίζοντοι εἶπ’ τῷ βωμῷ μεταμειγμένον ἑλαῖων κομίζεται γὰρ ἐκ καὶ ἑλαίων ὑπὸ τῶν τεθυκότων, ἐπὶ μὲν βοῦ εἰνὸς ἱμισ, ἐπὶ δὲ κριῶ μέρος τούτου τρίτου τοῦ μέτρου, καὶ τετάρτη μερίς ἐπ’ ἁρνύ. ο δ’ εἶν μέτρου ἀρχαῖον Ἠβραίων 〈καθεδρικά〉 δύναται δύο όχι το Ἀττικοῦ. το δ’ αὐτὸ μέτρου τῷ ἑλαίῳ καὶ οἴνῳ παρηγοῦν, 235 σπέρδουσι δὲ περὶ τῶν βωμῶν τῶν οἶνων. εἰ δὲ τις ὑμῖν οὐκ ἐπιτελεῖ ἐπίτευγκα κατ’ εὐχὴν σειμίδαλι, ταύτης ἀπαρχῆς μίᾶς ἐπιβάλλει τῷ βωμῷ δράκα, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν οἱ ἱερεῖς πρὸς τροφὴν λαμβάνουσιν.

1 Niese ex Lat.: δαπανήσατε codd.
2 RO: καθαγνίζοντες rell.
3 ins. Niese.

* i.e. "the horns of the altar" (Lev. iv. 30-34).
* Reference unverifiable.
* "Ils offrent en plus" (Weill). This makes intelligible sense, but the meaning can hardly be extracted from προσάγειν.

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but only the projecting corners; 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 does not permit it to be left until the morrow. On the other hand, the sinner who is conscious of sin, but has none to convict him of it, sacrifices a ram (so the law ordains), whose flesh is likewise consumed in the temple by the priests on the selfsame day. The rulers, when making sacrifices of atonement for their sins, bring the same things as private individuals, with the difference that they offer males, a bull and a kid. 

(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 assarēn 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. 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

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* 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).
* "a tenth part (of an ἀράχθος)," Numb. xv. 4, otherwise an omer: see § 29 note.
* Cf. § 197.
ἡ ἑρθεῖσαν, ἔλαβε γὰρ συμπεφύραται, ἡ γενο-
μένων ἀρτων. Ιερέως δὲ κομίσαντος καὶ ὀποσονοῦν
236 ὀλοκαυτεῖν ἀναγκαῖον. κωλύει δὲ ὁ νόμος θύειν
ζῶν αὐθημερῶν¹ μετὰ τοῦ γεγενηκότος ἐπὶ
tαύτῳ, οὐδὲ ἄλλως δὲ πρὶν ὡράννη ἡμέραν γεννη-
thέντες διελθεῖν. γύνονται δὲ ἄλλοι θυσίαι ὑπὲρ τοῦ
tὰς νόσους διαφύγειν ὡς καὶ ἄλλας αἰτίας, εἰς ὡς
πέμματα σὺν ιερεῖοις ἀναλίσκεται, ὅπως εἰς τὴν
υστεραίαν² οὐδὲν ὑπολιτεῖν ἐστι νόμιμον, τῶν
ιερεῶν μέρος ὑδίον λαβόντων.

237 (X. 1) Ἑκ δὲ τοῦ δήμου ἄναλοματος νόμος
ἐστὶν ἄρνα καθ' ἐκάστην ἡμέραν σφάζονται τῶν
αὐτοτέων ἀρχομένης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ ληγοῦσις,
kατὰ δὲ ἔβδομην ἡμέραν, ητίς σάββατα καλεῖται,
dύο σφάτους τῶν αὐτῶν τρόπον λειτουργοῦντες.

238 τῇ δὲ νομίμῳ τάς τε καθημερινὰς θυσίας ἐπι-
tελοῦσι καὶ δύο βόσκεσθαι ἄρνας ἐναντιοῦ ἐπὶ
tὰ κριόν, ἔριφον δὲ ἐπὶ παρατήρουσιν³ ἁμαρτάδων,
eἰ τὰ κατὰ λήθην γένουτο.

239 (2) Τῷ δὲ ἔβδομῳ μηνί, ὅπερ Ἔκαθον Ἀπο-
περβεταίον καλοῦσι, προσθέντες τοῖς εἰρημένοις
ταῦροι καὶ κρίνον καὶ ἄρνας ἐπὶ τούς θυσίοις καὶ ἔριφον
ὑπὲρ ἁμαρτάδων.

¹ RO: αὐθημερῶν rel.
² Niese: ὑστερα (ὑστέρα RO) codd.
³ παρατήρου Niese (cf. xviii. 117).

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¹ Perhaps referring to the “sacrifice of thanksgiving” (χαρακτορις ΙΧΧ) in the verses of Leviticus immediately following (xxii. 29 ff.) though neither “sickness” nor “sweetmeats” are there specified.
² Cf. Ap. li. 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.

tained that the Tamid ("continuous" daily sacrifice) could be offered and paid for by individuals (Well, quoting references).


d 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 יאֶה יָבָשׁ יָבָשׁ, 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.
(3) Δεκάτη δὲ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς κατὰ σελήνην διανυστεύοντες ἔως ἐσπέρας θύουντες ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα τε καὶ κριῶν δύο καὶ ἄρνας τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ταῦτα καὶ ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων ἐρίφοιν. προσάγουσι δὲ δύο πρὸς τούτους ἐρίφους, ὅτι μὲν ζῶν εἰς τὴν ὑπερόμοιον ἐρημίαν πεμπτεῖται ἀποτροπισμός καὶ παραίτησις τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων ἐσόμενος, τὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς προαστελοῖς εἰς καθαρότατον ἄγνοιας χωρίων αὐτοῦ. σὺν αὐτῇ καὶ

ουσὶ τῇ δορᾶ μηδὲν ὅλως καθάραντες. συγκατακαίεται δὲ ταύτας ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου προσαχθεῖς, ἀλλ’, ἐκ τῶν ἄνω ἀναλωμάτων τοῦ ἀρχιερείου παρασχόντος οὐ δὴ σφαγέντος εἰσκομιόντας εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ αἰματός ἁμα καὶ τοῦ ἐρίφου ῥάκη τῷ δακτύλῳ τῶν ὀρφον ἐπτάκις, τὸν δ’ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοσαυτάκις εἰς τὸν ναὸν καὶ περὶ τὸν χρύσεον βωμὸν καὶ τὸ λουπὸν περὶ τῶν μείζων κομίσας εἰς τὸ αἰθριόν πρὸς τούτοις τὰς ἐξοχὰς καὶ τοὺς νεφροὺς καὶ τὴν πιμέλην σὺν τῷ λοβῷ τοῦ ἕπατος ἐπιφέρουσι τῷ βωμῷ. παρέχεται δὲ καὶ κριῶν δ’ ἀρχιερεύς ὀλοκαύσωσι τῷ θεῷ.

(4) Τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηνὸς καὶ δεκάτῃ,

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2 Dindorf: θύουν: δ’ codd. (which Niese retains, indicating a lacuna before it).

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1 10th Tishri, Yom Kippur or "Day of Atonement," the most solemn fast in the Jewish calendar.
2 "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).
3 Josephus here distinctly alludes to the mysterious figure, taken over from primitive pagan belief, of Azazel (prob. = "entire removal," ἄζεσαι, ἀζητάω), the wilderness spirit or jinn to whom the scapegoat was sent, Lev. xvi. 8 ff.
(8) On the tenth of the same lunar month they fast until evening; on this day they sacrifice a bull, two rams, seven lambs, and a kid as sin-offering. But besides these they offer two kids, of which one is sent alive into the wilderness beyond the frontiers, being intended to avert and serve as an expiation for the sins of the whole people; while the other they conduct to the suburbs to a spot that is perfectly pure, and there burn it, skin and all, without any cleansing whatsoever. Along with it is burnt a bullock, which is not offered by the community but is provided at his own expense by the high-priest. So soon as this bullock has been slain, he brings 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, and as many times over the sanctuary itself and around the golden altar; the rest he carries into the outer court and sprinkles about the larger altar. Furthermore, they lay upon the altar the extremities, the kidneys, and the fat with the lobe of the liver. The high-priest also provides on his own account a ram for a burnt-offering to God.

(9) On the fifteenth of this same month, at which day:

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"Without the camp," Lev. xvi. 27.

So the Talmud interpreted the repeated phrase "the bullock which is for himself," Lev. xvi. 6, 11.

Details not in Scripture; according to tradition once upwards, seven times on the floor (Yoma v. 4, 5, ap. Wellii).

The altar of incense, § 147.

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).

Added details: Lev. mentions only the burning of the fat.
JOSEPHUS

trepoménon to loipon ton kairoú prós tìn xei'merínōn 2 àwar, skhímáis píghvusai kellei kai oikiai ãkastos, toù kríous ùfroumēnous épi 245 philaki tòu étous, òtan te 3 patridaon épistúchoion, paragínomenous eis ãkeínn tìn pólyn, ón dìa tôn vaoù megálopolin ëxousin, ëf' ãméraas ókto ãortiin ánontas òlókautëis te kai ùsion tòv ùchi tòte xaristíria, fërountas ën taíx chereivn eirepíntwnn muropílon kai ùtëas sun krádhi ðofíkous pepyei'menun tòu meliou tòu tòis perstéas prosostos.

246 ënain de tì prówtì tòwn ãmérwv tìn tòis òlókautëwos ëswos ëk tríwn kai dèka bòwn kai árnwv ëni pleiónwn kai kriwv diú, kath' paratiçn ãmariíwn èrìfou prososthýmenon. taíx ò 4 èxs ãmérais ó mev autòs árímbos tòwn árnwv kai tòwn kriwv sun tòv èrìfou thýetai, ùfaimorítes de ãkásth ãméraas ëna tòwn bòwn eis èpítì 4 katan- 247 tòsw. ánientai de ìpò pantoù èrgou kath' tìn òvdòn ãméraan kai tòv ùchi, kathà proeihríkamenv,5

1 RO; xei'merón rell.
2 Lat., ed. pr. 1 tò te codd.
3 òtav te Lat. (dumque), ed. pr. òtav codd.
4 pértì RO.
5 kathàter ëríkamev ROM.

a The F. of Sukkoth ("Tabernacles" or "Booths." Gr. σκήνωτης) synchronized with the autumnal equinox, Philo, De Spec. Leg. ii. 24, § 204 kaiwv èxousa tòn metopomívei ìsmérion, or in Rabbinical terminology the Òbìkond, 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

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the turning-point to the winter season is now reached, Moses bids each family to fix up tents, apprehensive of the cold and as a protection against the year’s inclemency. Moreover, when they should have won their fatherland, 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 and willow with a branch of palm, along with fruit of the persea. 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. They abstain from all work on the eighth day and, as we have said, sacrifice to God a calf, a ram, seven existence (στεγασμένας δαιμόνια) after the open-air life during the harvest, with its exposure to cold (χρωμά) and heat. He adds the Biblical interpretation (Lev. xxiii. 40 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.

* The Greek has the plural, “native cities” (or “estates”).
* In Lev. “boughs of thick trees,” traditionally interpreted as myrtle (Onkelos etc.).
* Known as the lulab.

* Lev. (vaguely) “fruit of goodly trees”; the fruit actually carried, known as the etrog, was a kind of citron (A. xiii. 373 κινέις αὐτοῦ ἑβαλλον). i.e. on the seventh day.

* Kept as a “closing festival” (Heb. ’asereth).
* Reference unverifiable.
JOSEPHUS

μόσχον τε θύουσιν καὶ κρίνων καὶ ἄρνας ἐπτὰ, ὑπὲρ δὲ ἀμαρτησάμενοι παραστήσεως έριφον. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἑβραίοις τὰς σκηνὰς περιτελεῦσιν ἐστι πάτριοι.

248 (5) Τῷ δὲ μηνὶ τῶν Σαββάτων, λέει Νισάν παρ’ ἡμῶν καλεῖται καὶ τοῦ ἐτους ἐστὶν άρχή, τεσσαρεσκαί- δεκάτῃ κατὰ σελήνην ἐν κρίνῳ τὸν ἡλίου καθεστώτος, τούτῳ γὰρ τῷ μηνὶ τῆς ὑπ’ Ἀλγυπτίους δουλείας ἡλευθερώθημεν, καὶ τὴν θυσίαν, ἣν τότε ἐξεντάται ἄπ’ Ἀλγυπτίου θύσαι προσέπον ἡμᾶς πάσχα λεγο- μένην, δι’ ἐτους ἐκάστου θεῶν ἐνόμισεν, καὶ δὴ τελοῦμεν αὐτὴν κατὰ φατρίας μηδενὸς τῶν τεθυ- 249 μένων εἰς τὴν ἐποίουσαν τηρουμένου. πέμπτῃ δὲ καὶ δεκάτῃ διαδέχεται τὴν πάσχα ἡ τῶν αἴζων ἐορτή ἐπτὰ ἡμέρας οὔσα, καθ’ ἣν αἴζωμις τρέφονται καὶ καθ’ ἐκάστην ἡμέραν ταῦτα σφαξάνται δῦο καὶ κρίνω μὲν εἰς ἐπτὰ δὲ ἄρνες. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν ὀλοκαυτεῖται προστιθεμένου τοῖς πάσι καὶ ἐρίφου ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτάδων εἰς εὐωχίαν κατὰ ἡμέραν ἐκάστην 250 τοῖς ἑρείπου. τῇ δὲ δευτέρᾳ τῶν αἴζων ἡμέρα, ἔκτῃ δ’ ἐστὶν αὐτὴ καὶ δεκάτῃ, τῶν καρπῶν οὓς ἔδερισαν, οὐ γὰρ ἤσπαντο πρότερον αὐτῶν, μετα- λαμβάνοντας καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἠγούμενοι τιμῶν δίκαιον εἶναι πρῶτον, παρ’ οὐ τῆς εὐπορίας τοιῶν ἐνυχῶν, τὰς ἀπαρχὰς αὐτῶ τῆς κρίθης ἐπιφέρουσι τρόπον

1 θύσιν B (θύσιν οὖ O).

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a The ecclesiastical year, beginning in the spring; A. i. 81 note.
b H. 311 ff.
c Or “companies,” H. 312 note.
d Reckoned as “eight” in H. 317 (with note).
e “On the morrow of the sabbath” Lev. xxiii. 11 and 15, an ambiguous and disputed phrase, on the interpretation of 496
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 P. of Unleavened Bread; so too the LXX (τὴν ἑορτὴν τῆς πρώτης) and Philo (ἡ ἑορτὴ ἡ μετὰ τὴν πρώτην εὐθείᾳ 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."
JOSEPHUS

251 τοιούτων, φρύξαντες τῶν ἀσταχῶν τὸ δράγμα καὶ πτίσαντες καὶ καθαρὰς πρὸς ἄλεστον τὰς κριθὰς ποιήσαντες τῷ βωμῷ ἄσσαρῶν προσφέρουσι τῷ θεῷ, καὶ μίαν εἰς αὐτοῦ δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τὸ λουτόν ἀφίασι εἰς χρήσιν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τότε λουτὸν δημοσίᾳ ἔξεστι πάσῃ καὶ ἰδίᾳ θερίζειν. θύσω σὺ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἀπαρχαίς τῶν καρπῶν ἄριστον εἰς ὀλοκάρπωσιν¹ τῷ θεῷ.

252 (*6) Ἔκβολος ἐβδομάδος διαγεγενημένης μετὰ ταύτης τὴν θυσίαν, αὕτη δ' εἰσὶν αἱ τῶν ἐβδομάδων ἡμέραι τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ἄνεα, τῇ πεντηκοστῇ, ἦν Ἔβραιοι ἁσαρθά καλοῦσι, σημαίνει δὲ τούτῳ πεντηκοστῇ, [καθ ἦν]; προσάγουσι τῷ θεῷ ἄρτους² ἀλφίτων μὲν πυρίνων ἄσσαρών, δύο μὲτὰ 253 θύμιν γεγονότων, θυμάτων δὲ ἄρνας δύο ταῦτα μὲν γὰρ τῷ θεῷ προσάγειν νόμιμον,⁴ εἰς δὲ δεῖπνον τοῖς ιερεῦσι σκευάζεται καὶ καταληπτικών οὐδέν ἐστιν εἰς αὐτῶν εἰς τὴν ἐπιστᾶν συγκεκριμένον ὀλοκαυτωθησομένου μόσχου τε θύσωσι τρεῖς καὶ κριοῦς δύο καὶ ἄρνας τεσσαρεσκαίδεκα.

² ὀλοκάρπωσιν RO. ³ om. ed. pr.
⁴ L: ἄρτων (panes Lat.)rell.
⁵ Niese: τόμημα ρύσαν RO: μόσχον rell.

* In Leviticus the ceremony consists of the bringing of the first sheaf (ὀνείρ, 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. eis.), 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 (Menaḥoth 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. There after all are permitted, publicly or individually, to begin harvest. Moreover, besides the first-fruits of the crops, they offer a young lamb as a burnt-offering to God.

(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 assarôns 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-

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5 Or 'ômer (§ 233); Hebrew uses the same word for this measure and for "sheaf," a fact which may have assisted the change of practice (previous note).
6 The seven weeks, reckoned from the "waving" of the barley-sheaf (Lev. xxiii. 15) or from the time of first putting the sickle to the corn (Deut. xvi. 9), which gave to the F. of wheat-harvest its name "Feast of Weeks" (Shabu'oth).
7 Not "Pentecost," which would be equally unintelligible to Greeks and would require the article. This is one of the author's loose etymological statements. 'Asartha is the Aramaic equivalent of the Heb. 'asareth, the post-Biblical name for the F. of Weeks or Pentecost, and probably means "closeness (festival)," as occurring at the close of these seven weeks.
8 "Two wave loaves," Lev. xxiii. 17.
9 Some ms. add "alone."
10 Weill quotes the Mishna, Menôšaoth xi. 9, for an extension of the time, under certain circumstances, to three days.
JOSEPHUS

254 ἐρίφους δὲ δύο ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων. ἦστε δ' οὐδεμία τῶν ἑορτῶν, καθ' ἣν σὺν ὁλοκαυτοῦσιν οὐδὲ τῶν πόνων τῶν ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐργοὺς ἄνεσιν οὐ διδόσαν, ἀλλ' ἐν πάσαις νόμιμοι τὸ τῇ θυσίας εἶδος καὶ τῷ τῆς ἁργίας ἀταλαίπωρου καὶ πρὸς εἰσωρίας1 εἰσὶ τεθυκότες.

255 (7) Ἐξ μέντοι τοῦ κοινοῦ σέτος ὁπτὸς ζύμης ἄμοιρος, ἀσσαρώνει δ' εἰκοσι καὶ τέσσαρες εἰς τούτο ἀναλούνται. ὅπτωνται δὲ ἀνὰ δύο διαιρεθέντες μὲν τῇ πρὸ τοῦ σαββάτου, τῷ δὲ σαββάτῳ πρωί κομισθέντες ἐπὶ τῆς ιερᾶς τραπέζης τίθενται κατὰ ἕκες εἰς ἀλλιθέους τετραμμένου. δύο δὲ χρυσέων ὑπερκειμένων πινάκων λιβανωτοῦ γεμόντων διαιρεθέντων έως τοῦ ἐρέου σαββάτου καὶ τότε μὲν ἄντ' ἐκείνων ἄλλοι κομίζονται, οἱ δὲ τοῖς ιερεύσι πρὸς τροφὴν δίδονται, καὶ τοῦ λιβανωτοῦ θυμισμένου ἐπί τῷ ιερῷ πυρί, ἐφ' ὧν καὶ ὁλοκαυτοῦσι τὰ πάντα, λιβανωτὸς2 ὑπὲρ ἐκείνου ἄλλος ὑπὲρ τῶν ἁρτῶν προτίθεται.3 θύει δ' ὁ ιερεὺς ἐκ τῶν ἱδίων ἀναλωμάτων, καὶ διὰ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας τούτῳ ποιεῖ, ἀλευρόν ἑλαυνόμενον καὶ πεπηγὸς ὀπτήσει βραχείᾳ, καὶ εἰς μὲν ἐστὶν ἁσσαρών τοῦ ἀλεύρου, τοῦτον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἡμίους4 πρωί, τὸ δ' ἐπερον δείλῃς ἐπιφέρει τῷ πυρί. τὸν μὲν οὖν περὶ

1 εἰσωρίας: Nielse. 2 RO: + δ' rel. 3 ιερεία: prostīthetαι codd. 4 μεμισθένον ROM Lat. 5 + τὸ RO.
teen lambs, with two kids in atonement for sins. 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, twenty-four assarôs being employed for the purpose. 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 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 assarôs of meal, of which one half is put by him on the fire in the morning and the other towards evening. The explanation of

The 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. Akiha (Menakoth 45 b, quoted by Well). So § 142 (not in Leviticus); the previous mention of these loaves accounts for some abruptness here.

"Two tenth parts of an ephah," i.e. two assarôs going to each of the twelve cakes (Lev. loc. cit.).

Two eph are shown on the table as depicted on the Arch of Titus; cf. § 143, where they are called ἑδραί.
JOSEPHUS

totwn logon akribesteron adhis deilwosomen, ikanva de mou dokesi kai vtn peri autwn proeirhthnavi.

258 (xi. 1) Mounos de tin Deunon philon tis pros twn laon koumwnias upexelomeinov ieran esomenev hgnize pignaios vadosi kai ainaous kal thesiis, as epi tois toioitos vnomious paroxontai to thei, twn te skheni autois kai ta skheu tis ieran kai ta al' osa pros skexn tis skhnes epeioipto paradwken, opwos upheumven ton ierewn uperetouson hodo gar to thei kathierwnto. 1

259 (2) Kal peri twn zwnon de diexkynen ekaston, o te trofwno kal os palin apanxmeno diatelein, peri oon ev ois an hmin afomh tis grafigi genetai dielusomeba tas autias prostatinontes, af' oin kynheis ta mewn autwn breuta2 hmin ekelenwewn 260 einai, twn de prosetaxen apexesthai. aimaatos meintoi pantos eis trofhn apnyorvesin tihn chrhnon phychn autov kai pneuma vnomiwn, kai krwos tov teixhkon cariomatax zwnov tihn brwson di ekolusen, epitplou te kai stetaos algeinov kai probaiteinov kai tov twn bovon apexesthai proeitn.

261 (3) 'Apnylase de tis poleon kai tois lepra tis omoias kakwhtantas kai tois peri tihn goun phroumenous kai tais gynaikas eis h twn kata

1 SP(L): kathierwnto rell.
2 esti codd.: y te has been suggested.
3 af' Niese.
4 R: brewnta rell.

* In the projected "Customs and Causes," i. 25.
* The priests (§ 198); or, with the other reading "it" (the tabernacle, ibid.).
* 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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*d* Not mentioned in *Lev. loc. cit.*

*e* "Without the camp" *Lev. xiii. 46* (of the leper).

*f* Gonorrhoea; expulsion from "camp" or "city" is not specified in Leviticus in this instance.
JOSEPHUS

φύσιν ἐκκρισεὶς ἐπίοις 1 μετέστησε πρὸς ἡμέραν ἐμβομήν, μεθ’ ἓν ὦς ἦδη καθαράς ἐνδημέας ἐφίησεν. 282 ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῖς κηδευόσαι νεκρῶν μετὰ τοιαύτας ἡμέρας νόμιμον τὸ ἐνδήμεαν τὸν δ’ ὑπὲρ τὸν ἀριθμὸν τούτων τῶν ἡμερῶν ἐνεχόμενον ἐν τῷ μᾶκαμι τῷ καθ’ νόμιμον ἀμνάδας δύο, ὡν τὴν μὲν ἔτεραν καθαγνύζειν δεῖ, τὴν δ’ ἔτεραν οἱ λεπτοὶ καὶ λαμβάνοντοι. ὁμοίως δὲ θύουσι καὶ περὶ τοῦ τὴν γονὴν ρεομένον· ὅς δ’ ἐν κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἀποκρίνεται γονὴν, καθεις αὐτὸν εἰς ὑδαρ ψυχρὸν ὁμοίως τοῖς κατὰ νόμων γυναικεῖ πλησίον οὐκ 

284 εξοσοίαν ἔχει. τοὺς δὲ λεπτοὺς εἰς τὸ παντέλεσ εξῆλθαν ἡ πόλεως μηδεὶς συνίδαιεστιένους καὶ νεκροῦ μηδὲν διαφέροντας· ἀν δὲ τις εἰσεκενθα μὴν τὸν θεόν ἀπολυθή τῇ νόσῳ καὶ τὴν ἐρωμένην κομίσθητι χρόνον, ὅ δ’ οἰκεῖος ποικίλαις ἀμείβεται θυσίας τὸν θεόν, περὶ ὅν ῥήσου ἐροῦμεν.

285 (4) ὁ θεὸν καὶ καταγελάσειν ἀν τῆς τῶν λεγόντων Ἰωνᾶς ἡ περα κεκακωμένων αὐτὸν τε ἀπ’ Ἀλεξιπτοῦ ψυχαν καὶ τῶν ἑκπεσόντων διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἐρρήσαμεν εἰς τὴν ἰαναπαί σῖαν άγαγεῖν αὐτοὺς. εἰ γὰρ τοῦτο ἂν ἠλθέση, οὐκ ἂν ἐπὶ τῇ αὐτοῦ Ἰωνᾶς ἀτιμία τοιαῦτ’ ἐνομοθέτησεν, οἷς εὐλογοῦν ἒν αὐτὸν καὶ ἔτερον εἰσηγουμένων ἀντειρηκέναι, καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ πολλοὶ δωτον λεπτῶν ἐθνοῦς καὶ τιμής ἀπολαύσων, οὐ μόνον ὑβρείς καὶ φυγής ἀπηλλαγμένων, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς

1 ἔστει ΡΩ.

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  b No Scriptural parallel.  
  c Weill compares Numb. xii. 12 “as one dead” (of Miriam smitten with leprosy).  

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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, if this were 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

* 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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Lev. xiv. 10.
Numb. xix. 11; xxxii. 19.
Lev. xiv. 16.
JOSEPHUS

ἐπισημοτάτας στρατευέται στρατευομένων καὶ τὰς πολιτικὰς ἀρχὰς πιστευομένων καὶ εἰς ἱερὰ καὶ
267 νοοῦς ἐχόντων εξοσολέαν εἰσείναι· ὡς τ᾽ οὐδὲν ἐκάλυπε καὶ Μωυσῆν, εἰ τοιούτω τινὶ συμπτώματι
περὶ τὴν χρόαν ἦ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἡλάττωτο, νομοθετήσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὰ κάλλιστα καὶ μηδεμίαν
268 τοιαύτην ὀρίσαι ζημίαν. ἄλλα δὴλον μὲν, ὡς ταῦτα περὶ ἧμῶν λέγουσιν ὑπὸ βασικανίας προαγό-
μενοι, Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων καθαρὸς ἂν ἐν καθαροῖς
toις ὁμοφύλοις περὶ τῶν νενοσηκότων ἐνομοθέτει
cατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο ποιών. ἄλλα περὶ μὲν
tούτων ἐκαστὸς ὡς αὐτῷ δοκεῖ ὁκοπεῖτω.

269 (5) Τάς δὲ γυναίκας ἐπειδὰν τέκνων εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσινὲν κεκάλυκε καὶ θυσίων ἀπεστάθαι μέχρι
τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν, ἃν ἄρρεν τὸ τεχθὲν ἦ
dιπλασίονας γὰρ εἶναι τὰς ἡμέρας ἐπὶ θηλυτοκίαις
συμβέβηκεν. εἰσοδοῦσαι μέντοι μετὰ τὴν προειρη-
μένην προθεσμίαν θυσίας ἐπετελοῦσιν, ὡς οἱ ἱερεῖς
πρὸς τόν θεὸν διανέμονται.

270 (6) "Ἀν δ᾽ ὑπονοηθῇ μεμοιχεύσθαι τις αὐτῷ τὴν
gυναίκα, κομίζει κριθῆς ἀλληλοεμένης ἀσσαρῶν,
καὶ μίας αὐτῆς δράκα ἐπιβαλόντες τῷ θεῷ τὸ
λοιπὸν τοὺς ἱερεῖς διδάσασιν εἰς τροφήν. τὴν
dὲ γυναίκα στήσας τις τῶν ἱερέων κατὰ τὰς πύλας,
aὶ δ᾽ εἰσὶ τετραμέναι πρὸς τὸν νεόν, καὶ τῆς

1 ipse aut Lat. = <ἡ αὐτή> 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.

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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 assarōn 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

° "She shall touch no hallowed thing," Lev. xii. 4.

* A whole tractate of the Mishnah (Sōtah) 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 Sōtah i. 5, the accused were brought to the Nicanor or eastern gate of the temple," G. B. Gray, Int. Crit. Comm. in loc.

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JOSEPHUS

κεφάλης το ίματιον ἀφελῶν ἐπιγράφει μὲν τοῦ
271 θεοῦ τὴν προσηγορίαν διψθέρα, κελευεὶ δὲ ὁμονεὶς
μηδὲν ἰδικηκέναι τὸν ἄνδρα, παραβάσαν δὲ τὸ
σῶδρον τοῦ δεξιοῦ σκέλους ἐξαρθρὸν γενέοται καὶ
τὴν γαστέρα προσβείταιν ὀρτῶς ἁποθανεῖν· ἐν δὲ
ὑπὸ πολλοῦ τοῦ ἔρωτος καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτον ἐξοτο-
τυπίς προπετῶς ὁ ἀνήρ διὰ τὴν ὑπόνοιαν ἐξ
κεκυμένος, μηδὲ δεκάτῳ γενέοται παιδίου ἄρρεν
272 αὐτῆς. τῶν δ’ ὀρκων τελεσθεντῶν τῆς διψθέρας
ἀπαλεύοντας τοῦνομα εἰς φιλίην ἐκπείξει, προ-
κομίσας τε ἐκ τοῦ ἑροῦ γης εἶ τι προστύχοι καὶ
κατασάπασας ἐκπείξεις δίδωσιν· ἢ δὲ εἰ μὲν ἅδικος
ἐνεκλήθη, ἐγκύμων τε γίνεται καὶ τελεσθεῖται
273 κατὰ τὴν γαστέρας· ψευσαμένη δὲ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐπὶ
tois γάμοις καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τоῖς ὀρκοῖς μετ'
αὐθαμαύνης καταστρέφει τοῖς βίοις, τοῦ το σκέλους
ἐκπεσόντος αὐτῆς καὶ τὴν κοιλαν ὑδέρου κατα-
λαβόντος, καὶ περὶ μὲν τῶν θυσίων καὶ τῆς ἄγνειας
tῆς ἐπὶ αὐτῶν ταῦτα Μωυσῆς τοῖς ὑμοφόλοις
προενόησε, νόμους δὲ αὐτῶις τοιούτους ἔθετο.
274 (xii. 1) Μοιχελαν μὲν εἰς τὸ παντελῆς ἀπείπε
νομίζασε εὐθαναίμον τὸ περὶ τοὺς γάμοις ύμιαλὲν τοὺς

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a According to Scripture (Numb. v. 23) and tradition, the words of the imprecation.

b According to Sôfeh ii. 4 a roll of parchment (megillah), the use of διφθέρα (the rougher unprepared skin) being expressly forbidden; Numb. "a book," Philo χαρτίων.

c 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.

d i.e. the impression. "Potions into which written words

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the veil from her head, inscribes the name of God a upon a skin b; 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. c These oaths being completed, the priest expunges from the skin the Name thereon and wrings it d 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. e Such were the provisions concerning sacrifices and the purification relating thereto that Moses made for his countrymen; and here are the further laws f 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 (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).

f Here, as in § 151 (note), I take ταυτερεία (which in class. Greek is retrospective) to be used for ταυτερεία "as follows." Josephus ipse scriptit.
JOSPEHUS

ἀνδρας, καὶ ταῖς τε πόλεσι καὶ τοῖς οἶκοις συμφέρειν τὸ τούς παιδίας εἶναι γυναικεῖος. καὶ τὸ μίσγεσθαι δὲ μητράσιν ὡς κακόν μέγιστον ὁ νόμος ἀπείπεν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πατρὸς συνεῖναι γαμέτῃ καὶ τηθία καὶ ἀδελφαῖς καὶ παιδίων γυναικῶν ὡς ἐκφυλον ἔχειν τὴν ἁδικίαν μεμόστηκεν. ἐκώλυσε δὲ 275 καὶ γυναικὶ μεμισθαμένη τοῖς κατὰ φύσιν πλησιάζειν μηδὲ κτήνεσιν εἰς συνουσίαν φοιτῶν μηδὲ τὴν πρὸς τὰ ἄρρενα μὲν τιμᾶν διὰ τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς ὡραν ἥδονην θηρωμένους παράνομον. κατὰ δὲ τῶν εἰς ταύτ' ἐξεξεργασάτων δῶνον ὃρισε τὴν τιμωρίαν.

276 (2) Τῶν δ' ἱερεῶν καὶ διπλασίων τὴν ἁγιείαν ἐποίησεν τούτων τε γὰρ αὐτοῦς ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις εἴργει καὶ προσέται γαμεῖν τὰς ἡταρηκιών ἐκώλυσε, μὴτε δούλην μητρὰ ἀληθεύοντος γαμεῖν αὐτοὺς κεκώλυκεν καὶ τὰς ἐκ κατηκλίσεως καὶ τοῦ πανδοκείμενος πεπορυσμένας τὸν βίον μηδὲ τὰς τῶν προτέρων ἄνδρων ἐφ' αἴσθητοτοὺς αὐτὸς ἀπηλλαγ-277 μένας. τὸν ἀρχιερέα μὲν τοῖς οὐδὲ τεθηκότος

1 Lat., ed. pr.: om. codd. 2 Text a little doubtful.

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a So Yebamoth 61 a (Wellil). 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 ἡταρηκιών, corresponds to the first (not, as Welll suggests, to the second) in Lev.: ἡταρηκιών (ἡταρηκιών) is his normal euphemism for πόρην, A. iv. 206, 245, v. 306, vili. 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 innkeeping or who have for whatsoever reasons been separated from their former husbands. As for the foreigners" (i.e. been "polluted") ; Weill quotes Ketuboth 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 καταγωγός Lat. caupo also = tavern-keeper). With this must be connected the fact that the Targum commonly translates the Heb. צונא "harlot" by the word πανδοκίτης (derived from the verb πανδοκεῖσθαι, "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" (καταγωγή), A. v. 7. Whether this translation arose merely from the ill-fame of inns and innkeepers (see 'Aboda zara ii. 1 with Elmslie's note in Texts and Studies viii. 2) or has other etymological explanation behind it (Weill sees in it a supposed connexion of צונא with the vb. זון "to feed") is uncertain; anyhow the "innkeeper" of Josephus has been evolved out of the "harlot" of the Bible through the medium of current Aramaic exegesis.
JOSEPHUS

ἀνδρὸς ἥξισε γυναῖκα, τούτῳ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἱερεῖσι συγγχωρῶν, μόνην δ' αὐτῷ [δέδωκε] γαμεῖν παρθένον καὶ ταύτην φυλήτην. Ὅθεν οὐδὲ νεκρῷ πρόσεισσον ὁ ἄρχιερεψ τῶν λοιπῶν οὐ κεκοιμημένων ἀδελφοίς καὶ γονεῖς καὶ παῖδι τοῖς αὐτῶν προσ-278 ἴεναι μεταστάσιν. ἀφελείς δὲ εἶναι πάσαν ἀφελείαν· τὸν δὲ μὴ ὀλόκληρον τῶν ἱερέων νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἐκέλευσε τὰ γέρα, ἀναβαίνειν δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν καὶ εἰσίειν ἐις τὸν ναὸν ἐκώλυσε· μὴ μόνον δὲ περὶ τὰς ἱερουργίας καθαροὺς εἶναι, σπουδάζειν δὲ καὶ περὶ τὴν αὐτῶν διαίταν, ὡσ' αὐτὴν ἁμε-279 πτον εἶναι. καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτίαν οἱ τὴν ἱερα-τικὴν στολὴν φοροῦντες ἁμαρτοῦντες εἰς ἐις καὶ περὶ πάντα καθαροὶ καὶ ἅπαντες πάντες ὕπαρκει, πίνειν οἶνον ἐστὶν δὲ τὴν στολὴν ἐχουσὶν κεκοιμημένοι· ἔτε δὲ καὶ τὰ ἱερεῖα θύσιοι ὀλόκληρα καὶ κατὰ μηδὲν λεσαλβημένα.

280 (3) Ταύτα μὲν οὖν ἦδη καὶ κατὰ τὸν ζωῆς χρόνον τῆς αὐτοῦ γυνώμενα παρέδωκε Μωυσῆς, τῶν δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ περὶ πάντα καθαροὶ καὶ ἅπαντες, πίνειν οἶνον ἐλάττωσεν ἡμεῖς οὖν δὲ τὴν Χαναάναιαν λάβωσι 281 τάδε ποιῶν· δὲ ἐβδόμου ἐτῶν ἀνεποίηδος ημέρας τῇ γῇ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρότητος καὶ φυτεᾶς, διότι καὶ αὐτοῖς δὲ ἐβδομῆς ἠμέρας τὴν ἄπο τῶν ἑρων προείην ἀνάπαυσιν. καὶ τῶν αὐτομάτως ἀναδοθέντων ἀπὸ


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*a The acute emendation φυλήτην (for φυλάττειν), quoted by Weill from Mangey on Philo ii. 229 M., is certainly right: for φυλήτης cf. Ant. iv. 14 f, 26 etc. Philo's expression is μὴ παρθένου μόνων ἀλλὰ καὶ ἱερεὰς ἐξ ἱερείων. On the other hand, the Biblical restriction is less rigid, "a virgin of his own people" Lev. loc. cit. (cf. Ezek. xlii. 22), and so elsewhere Josephus himself, Ap. i. 31 ἐξ ἵμαθος γυναικὸς παθομακότεθα; 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. 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, but to ascend to the altar or to enter the sacred building is forbidden. 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. 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

b "He shall eat the bread (LXX τὰ δῶρα) of his God," Lev. xxi. 22.

a i.e. when on duty: "when ye go into the tent of meeting," Lev. loc. cit. Tradition (op. Wellil) did not regard this as an absolute prohibition. Cf. Ap. i. 199, li. 108.
τῆς γῆς κοινῆν εἶναι τοῖς θέλοντι τὴν χρήσιν, τῶν τε ὁμοφύλων καὶ τῶν ἀλλοτριοχώρων, μὴ δὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν φυλάττοντας· ποιεῖν δὲ τοῦτο καὶ μεθ’ 282 ἔβδομην ἐτῶν ἐβδομάδα. ταῦτα πεντῆκοντα μὲν ἑστιν ἡ τὰ πάντα, καλεῖται δὲ ὑπὸ Ἑβραίων ὁ πεντηκοστὸς ἑναντός ἱώβηλος, ἐν ὃι οἱ τε χρεω- σται τῶν δανείων ἀπολύονται καὶ οἱ δουλεύοντες ἐλεύθεροι ἀφίενται, οὓς δὲν τὰς ὁμοφύλους καὶ παραβάντας τι τῶν νομίμων τῷ σχήματι τῆς δουλείας ἐκόλασε θάνατον οὐκ ἐκδεχομένους. 283 ἀποδίδοσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἄγρους τοὺς ἄρχθεν αὐτῶν ἔστασις τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον ἑναντίος τοῦ ἱώβηλου, ἐλευθερίαν δὲ σημαίνει τούομα, συν- ἔρχονται οἱ το ἀποδόμενος τὸ χωρίον καὶ ὁ πριάμενος, καὶ λογισάμενοι τοὺς καρποὺς καὶ τὰς εἰς τὸ χωρίον δαπάνας γεγενημένας τῶν μὲν καρπῶν πλεονάξεων εὐφθείνους προσδέχεται τὸν ἄγρον ὁ 284 ἀποδόμενος, τοῦ δ’ ἀναλόματος ὑπερβάλλοντος.

* See note δ below.

† 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 prosbōl (προσβολή) of Hillel.

‡ 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 σχήμα δουλειας in the text. Cf. A. iv. 273 for further details.
enjoyment of these was to be open to all desirous of them, whether countryman or alien, none of them being kept back. This practice was also to be observed at the end of the seventh week of years. This is the period amounting to fifty years in all, of which the fiftieth year is called by the Hebrews ḫōḇēl⁴; at that season debtors are absolved from their debts⁵ 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 punished⁶ by reduction to a servile condition, without being condemned to death. Now too he restores cf. xxxv. 13-14 estates to their original owners after the following fashion. When the ḫōḇēl comes round—the name denotes "liberty"⁴—the vendor and the purchaser of the site meet together and reckon up the products of the site and the outgoings expended upon it.⁷ Then if the proceeds are found to exceed the outgoings, the vendor recovers the estate; but if the

⁴ One of the author's loose etymological statements (cf. A. v. 34). The traditional, and doubtless correct, meaning of ḫōḇēl is "ram," an abbreviation for "ram's horn," "cornet," by the sounding of which the "jubilee" was proclaimed. For ḫōḇēl (Lev. xxv. 10) LXX writes ᾠναυσός ἀφεσις σημαία; here σημαία ("signalling") is the translation of ḫōḇēl, while ἀφεσις=Heb. deror, "liberty," as the context shows. Josephus has erroneously equated ḫōḇēl=ἀφεσις = ὑπερβολα.

⁵ 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 (v. 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).
ΟΙΣΑΔΕΙΟΝΤΟΣ <μὴ> καταβάλω τὸ ικνομένον ἐξίσταται, τῆς κτήσεως, ᾗς εἰς συναρμομένων τῶν τε καρπῶν καὶ τῶν ἀναλογίας 285 ἀποδίδοσι τοῖς καὶ πρότερον νεμηθέντα. τὸ αὐτὸ δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις νόμοις ἱσχύει ήθέλησε ταῖς κατὰ κόμας πεπραμέναις· περὶ γὰρ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει πεπραμένων ἐγνωσεν ἐτέρως· εἰ μὲν γὰρ πρὸ τοῦ τελευτήκην τὸν ἐναυτὸν καταβάλοι τὸ ἀργόριον, ἀναγκάζει τὸν πριάμενον ἀποδοθῆναι, εἰ δὲ πλῆρες γένοιτο τὸ ἔτος, βεβαιοτί τὴν κτήσιν τῷ 286 πριάμενοι. ταύτῃν Μινωῆς τὴν διάταξιν τῶν νόμων, θυ υπὸ τὸ Σιναίον καθιστάτω τὴν στρατιάν, ἐξέβαιε παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις γεγραμμένην παραδίδοσιν.

287 (4) Ἐπειδὴ δὲ καλῶς αὐτῷ τὰ περὶ τὴν νομοθεσίαν ἔχειν ἐδόκει, πρὸς ἐξέτασιν τοῦ στρατοῦ τὸ λουτρόν ἐγκατέστη τῶν πολεμικῶν ἦδη κατὰ νοῦν ἔχων ἀπετεθανό, προστάσες τε τοῖς φυλάρχοις πλὴν τῆς Λευτίδος φυλῆς ἀκριβῶς τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἐκμαθεῖ τῶν στρατευόμεθα δυναμένων ἔρευν γὰρ 288 ἐσον οἱ Λευτίδαι καὶ πάντων ἀτελεῖς. γενομένης δὲ τῆς ἐξέτασεως εὐρέθησαν μυριάδες ἐξήκοντα τῶν ὀπλιτευόμεν δυναμένων, ὧν ἄρα ἐκοσὶ ἐτῶν ἔως πεντήκοντα, καὶ τρισχίλιοι πρὸς ἐξακοσίους

1 ins. Herwerden. 2 ἐξέρχεται R: ἐξέρχεται ΟΜ.
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

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 ἀπεσθαί is based on Thuc. v. 61 ἀπεσθαί τοῦλησαν (cf. A. xviii. 278).

2 Heb. and xxx 603,550; but the additional century in Josephus has the support of the Armenian version. Cf. iii. 196 for a similar difference of figures.

ἄπλοιτεε is Thucydidean and in Josephus recurs only in A. xix. 243.
καὶ πεντήκοντα. ἀντὶ δὲ Δευὶ κατέλεξεν εἰς τοὺς φυλάρχους Μανασσήν τοῦ Ἰωσήφου παῖδα καὶ Ἐφραίμην ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἰωσήφου. δέησις δὲ ἤν αὕτη Ἰακώβου πρὸς Ἰωσήφου ποιήτους αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν τοὺς παῖδας, ὡς καὶ προείποιν.

289 (5) Πηγνύντες δὲ τὴν σκηνὴν μέσην ἀπελάμβανον τριῶν φυλῶν κατὰ πλευράν ἑκάστην παρασκηνομένων· ὅδοι δὲ διὰ μέσων ἔτετμητο, καὶ κόσμος ἢν ἁγοράς, καὶ τῶν πολουμένων ἑκαστον ἐν τάξει διέκειτο, καὶ δημιουργοὶ τέχνης ἀπάσης ἐν τοῖς ἑργαστηρίοις ἦσαν, οὐδενὶ τε ἄλλῳ ἢ πόλει μετα- ἀνισταμένῃ καὶ καθιδρυμένῃ ἐσὼκει. τὰ δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πρώτοι μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς κατεῖχον, ἐπείτα δὲ οἱ Λευίται πάντες διόντες τὸ πλῆθος, ἐξητάσθησαν γὰρ καὶ αὐτοὶ τοῦ μὲν ἄρρενος ὅσον τριγωνίτην εἴχεν ἦμεραν γενόμενον, διομόρου καὶ διοψίδου πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτακοσίοις συνδοκόντα. καὶ ἐφ’ ὅσον μὲν ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν συνέβαλεν ἐστάναι τὴν νεφέλην, μένειν αὐτοῖς ὡς ἐπιθυμοῦντος ἔδοκε τοῦ θεοῦ, τρεπομένης δὲ τάς τις μετανισταθαι.

291 (6) Εὑρεὶ δὲ καὶ βυκᾶν ὁ τρόπον ἐς ἀργύρου ποιησόμενον, ἐστὶ δὲ τοιαύτῃ μῆκος μὲν ἔχει πηχυωτὸν ὀλίγῳ λείπον, στενὴ δέ ἐστι σύριγγες

1 SPE: Ἐφράην Μ., Ἐφράθην ΡΟ., Ἐφράην Λ.
2 τρισχίλιοι MLEZon.

*a Numb. “from twenty years old and upward”; cf. A. i. i. 196.
*b Cf. ii. 195.

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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 silver trumpets and their signals.

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* 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 prætorium. The last phrase is a combination of Thuc. vii. 75 εἴθερ γὰρ ἄλλο τε μετακινήσατο τε και κατωτέρω. 

* Not mentioned in Numb. loc. cit.: "the Levites shall pitch round about the tabernacle."

* Some MSS. read 22,880. Both figures differ from the Biblical round number of 22,000 (Numb. iii. 39 Heb. and LXX).
αὐλοῦ βραχύς παχυτέρα, παρέχουσα δὲ εὐρὸς ἄρκον ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πρὸς ὑποδοχὴν πνεύματος εἰς κάδωνα ταῖς σάλπιγξι παραπλησίως τελοῦν· ἀσώρα καλεῖται κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλώσσαν. 292 γίνονται δὲ δύο, καὶ τῇ μὲν ἐτέρᾳ πρὸς παρακελευσιν καὶ συλλογὴν ἐχρώντο τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας· καὶ μιᾷ μὲν ἀποσημηναίον ἔδει τὰς ἀρχὰς συνελθεῖν σκεψομένας περὶ τῶν οἰκείων, 293 ἀμφότεραις δὲ συνήγε τὸ πλῆθος. τῆς δὲ σκηνῆς μετακινομένης ταῦτα ἐγένετο· ἀποσημηναίον γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον οἱ παρὰ τὰς ἀνατολὰς ἐσκηνοκότες ἀνίσταντο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν δευτέραν οἱ πρὸς τῶν νότων αὕτης καθεστώτες. εἰς ἡς σκηνὴ λυμένη μέση τῶν προϊστομῶν ἐξ φυλῶν ἐκομίζετο καὶ τῶν ἐπομένων ἐξ. Δεύτερα δὲ περὶ τὴν σκηνὴν πάντες 294 ἦσαν. τρίτον δὲ σημηνάτος τὸ κατὰ λίβα τετραμμένον τῶν ἐσκηνοκότων μέρος ἐκανεῖτο, καὶ τέταρτον τὸ κατὰ βορρᾶν. ταῖς δὲ βυσκαίαις ἐχρώντο καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἱερουργίαις προσάγοντες τὰς θυσίας καὶ τοῖς σαββάτοις καὶ ταῖς λουταῖς ἡμέραις. θύει δὲ τότε πρῶτον μετὰ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τὴν ἐξ Αἰγύπτου τὴν πάσχαν λεγομένη ἐπὶ τῆς ἑρήμου.

295 (xiii) Καὶ βραχύ διαλυτῶν ἀπαντάται τοῦ Σιναίου ὄρους καὶ τόπους τινὰς ἀμείψας, περὶ δὲν

1 ed. pr.: телωντα codd.  
2 RO: αὕτης rell.  
3 ed. pr.: εὐκείοτα codd.  
4 φάσκα RO.

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2 Χαζοσέρα, the straight trumpet depicted on the Arch of Titus; as opposed to the shophar or curved horn, used mainly for secular purposes.
3 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 asōra 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 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. These clarions they used also for their sacrificial ceremonies, when bringing the victims to the altar, both on the sabbath and on the other (festal) days. 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. 

* 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.

ad 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 (Sifre, cited by Weiss) it was indicated by the first two phrases.
δηλώσωμεν, εἰς τι χωρίον Ἐσερμωθ λεγόμενον παρῆν, καὶ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος πάλιν στασιάζειν ἀρχεταί, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν αἰτιάθαι τὸν τε κατὰ τὴν ἀποδημίαν αὐτῷ πεπειραμένων, καὶ ὅτι γῆς αὐτοῦς ἀγαθῆς πείσαντος ἀπαναστήναι τὴν μὲν ἀπολέσειν, ἀντὶ δὲ ἦς ὑπέσχετο παρέξειν εὐδαιμονίας ἐν ταύταις ἀλώντας ταῖς ταλαιπωρίαις, ὑδατος μὲν ὑπανιζόμενες, εἰ δὲ καὶ τὴν μάνναν ἐπιλιπέστων συμ- βαίνει τέλεον ἀπολούμενοι. πολλὰ δὲ εἰς τὸν άνδρα καὶ δεινὰ λεγόμενοι, εἰς δὲ τὸν άυτοῖς παρῆμεν, μὴν Μωυσέος καὶ τῶν πεποιημένων αὐτῷ περὶ τῆς κοινῆς σωτηρίας ἀμυνόμενων μὴ ἀπογνωσίας τῆς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθείας. τὸ δὲ πλῆθος πρὸς τοῦτο μᾶλλον ἐκινήθη καὶ θεριζόθησαν ἐτοι μᾶλλον πρὸς τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐπετείνετο. Μωυσῆς δὲ παραθαρσόμενοι αὐτοὺς οὕτως ἀπεγνωκότας ὑπέσχετο, καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ὑπ' αὐτῶν περιμβρισμένος, πλῆθος αὐτοῖς παρέξειν κρεῶν οὐκ εἰς μίαν ἡμέραν ἀλλ' εἰς πλείονας. ἀπιστοῦντας δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ καὶ τῶν ἐρωμένου, πόθεν ἄν τοσαύτας εὐπορήσεις μιμῆσις τῶν προειρημένων, ''ὁ θεὸς,' εἰπε, ''καίγω καίτοι κακῶς ἀκούοντες πρὸς ύμῶν οὐκ ἄν ἀποσταλέμεν κάμνοντες ὑπὲρ ύμῶν, καὶ ταύτα οὕκ εἰς μακρὰν ἐσται.''' ἀμα ταύτ' ἔλεγε καὶ πίστευται τὸ στρατόπεδον ὀρτύγων ἀπαν καὶ ἤφροιζον αὐτοῖς περι-

* 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.

* Bibl. Hazeroth (Ἀσηρῶθ), Numb. xi. 35. But, as Weill suggests, the form 'Ἐσερμωθ' in Josephus recalls rather the 462
which we shall speak, came to a place called Esermoth. 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.

Semitic patriarch Hazarmaveth (Ḥazor-faith) 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.
οὐκ έισ μακράν μετέρχεται τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς εἰς αὐτὸν θρασύτητος καὶ λοιπορίας· ἀπέθανε γάρ οὐκ ὠλίγον πλῆθος αὐτῶν, καὶ νῦν ἔτι κατ’ ἐπωνυμίαν ὁ χάρος ὁνομάζεται Ἀραβαβᾶ, ἐπωνυμίας μνημεία λέγουτο ἁν
de a τούς όροις καθήμεθα, καὶ καλύσει τοῦ λουπόν επιώτας οὐ μόνον οὐ βασιλεὺς οὐ πόλις ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ τὸ πᾶν ἄθροισθεν αὐτῶν ἐθνος. παρασκευαζόμεθα οὖν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον οὗ γὰρ ἀμαχητὶ παραχωρήσουσιν ἡμῖν τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μεγάλοις αὐτὴν ἀγώνισαν ἀφαιρεθέντες. περικυκλοῦν δὲ κατασκόποις, οἱ τῆς τε γῆς ἀρετὴν κατανοήσουσι καὶ πόση δύναμις αὐτοῖς. πρὸ δὲ πάντων ὁμανοώμεν καὶ τὸν θεόν, ὃς ἐστὶν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἡμῶν βοηθός καὶ σύμμαχος, διὰ τιμῆς ἔχουμεν.

(2) Ἰωσήφος δὲ ταῦτ’ εἰπόντος τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν τιμαῖς ἀμείβεται, καὶ κατασκόποις αἴρεται δώδεκα τῶν γνωριμωτάτων, ἔξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς ἐνα, οἱ διεξέλθοντες ἀπὸ τῶν πρὸς Αἰγύπτων τῆς Ἰσραήλ

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1 ins. Niese.  2 ed. pr., Lat.: ὀροὶς L: χωρίοις rell.  3 ἄθροισθεν ἡμῶν RO.  4 τῆς τε ed. pr.: τῆς (οτ τῆς δὲ) codd.

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a Heb. Kibroth-hattaavah: Josephus takes over the correct Greek translation, ἐπωνυμίας μνημεία, from the LXX.  b 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, Num. that spot still bears the surname of Kabrothaba,⁶ xi. 34. that is to say, "graves of lust."

(xiv. 1) Thence Moses led them up into the so-called Ravine,⁴ 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."

ἀπασαν ἐπὶ τε Ἁμάθην πόλιν καὶ Δέβανον ἀφικνοῦντα τὸ ὄρος, καὶ τὴν τῆς γῆς φύσιν καὶ τὴν τῶν ἐνοικοῦντων ἄνθρωπων ἐξωστερησαντες παρῆσαν τεσσαράκοντα ἡμέραις εἰς πάν καταχρησάμενοι τὸ ἔργον, ἔτι τε καρποὺς ὃν ἐφερεν ἡ γῆ κομίζοντες, τῇ τε τούτων εὔπρεπελα καὶ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἁγαθῶν, ἀ τὴν γῆν ἐχειν διηγοῦντο, πολεμεῖν ἑπαίροντες τὸ πλῆθος, φοβοῦντες δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸ τῷ τῆς κτήσεως ἀπόρῳ, ποταμοὺς τε διαβῆναι λέγοντες ἀδυνάτους ὑπὸ μεγέθους ἁμα καὶ βάθους καὶ ὁρῇ ἁμήχανα τοὺς ὀδεύουσι καὶ πόλεις καρ-305 τεράς τεῖχεσι καὶ περιβόλων ὀχυρώτητι. ἐν δὲ Ἂμβρων καὶ τῶν γυγάντων ἐφασκον τοὺς ἀπογόνους καταλαβείν. καὶ οἷς μὲν κατάσκοποι τεθεαμένοι πάντων οἷς μετὰ τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Ἀγόπτον ἐνέτυχον μείζω τὰ κατὰ τὴν Χαναναίαν αὐτοὶ τε κατεπλάγγασι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος οὕτως ἔχειν ἑπειρότως.

306 (3) Οἱ δὲ ἀποροῦν ἐξ ὧν ἡκρόασαν τὴν κτήσιν τῆς γῆς ὑπελάμβανον καὶ διαλυθέντες ἐκ τῆς ἐκκλησίας σὺν γυναιξί καὶ παισί όλοφυρόμενοι διήγον, ὡς οὕδεν ἔργῳ τοῦ θεοῦ βοηθοῦντος λόγῳ δὲ μόνον ὑποχρυμένου, καί τὸν Μωυσῆν πάλιν ἔτυμωτο καὶ κατεβόων αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ἀδελφοῦ Ἀρώνος τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, καὶ ποιηράν μὲν καὶ μετὰ τῶν εἰς τοὺς ἄνθρας βλασφημῶν διάγωνοι τὴν νόκτα, πρωτὶ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν συντρέχουσίν,

1 κατεπλάγγασι L (καταπλάγγασι M).
2 +〈τελθεῖν〉 Niese.

* Hamath on the Orontes in north Syria. The Biblical 466
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 descendants of the giants. Thus the scouts, having seen that the things of Canaan surpassed in magnitude all that they had encountered since the exodus from Egypt, were not only themselves panic-stricken, but sought to reduce the people to the same condition.

(8) 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.
δι' ἑννόιας ἔχοντες καταλεύσαντες τὸν τῷ Μωυσῆν καὶ τῶν Ἡληρίων ἐπὶ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων ὑποστήρεσσεν. 308 (4) Τῶν δὲ κατασκόπων Ἰησοῦς τε ὁ Ναυτήχου παιὸς φιλῆς Ἑφραίματίδος καὶ Χάλεδος τῆς Ἰούδα φιλῆς φοβηθέντες χωροῦσιν εἰς μέσους καὶ τὸ πλῆθος κατεῖχον, βαρσεὶν δεόμενοι καὶ μήτε ψευδολογίαν κατακρίνειν τὸν θεοῦ μήτε πιστεύειν τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ μὴ τάληθη περὶ τῶν Χαναναίων εἰρηκέναι καταπληξεμένους, ἀλλὰ τοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν αὐτοῦ τῶν ἁγάθων 309 παραρμασίαν οὐτε γὰρ τῶν ὑψώτατον τὸ μέγαθος οὐτε τῶν ποταμῶν τὸ βάθος τοὺς ἀρετὴν ἁσκηκόσιν ἐμποδών στήσεσθαι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα, καὶ ταῦτα τὸν θεοῦ συμπροσθυμομένου καὶ υπερμαχοῦντος αὐτῶν. ἦμεν οὖν, ἐφασαν, ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους μηδὲν ἔχοντες δι’ ὑποψίας ἡγεμόνι τῇ τῷ θεῷ πεπιστευκότες καὶ ὠδηγοῦσιν ἡμῖν ἐπομενοι. 310 καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες ἐπεχειροῦσι τὴν ὅργην καταπράσαναι τοῦ πλῆθους, Μωυσῆς δὲ καὶ Ἡληρίων πεσόντες ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν τὸν θεόν ἰκέτευον οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐαυτῶν σωτηρίας, ἀλλὰ ὅπως τῆς ἀμαθίας παύσῃ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ καταστήσῃ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀμηχανίας τοῦ παραστάτου αὐτοῖς πάθους ἕτεραγμένην· παρὴν δὲ ἡ νεφέλη καὶ στάσα ὑπὲρ τὴν σκηνὴν ἐσήμαινε τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν τοῦ θεοῦ. 311 (xv. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ παραστήσας πάρεισθαι εἰς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὸν θεόν ἐκῆλον κινήσαντα ὑπὸ τῆς ὑβρεως αὐτῶν1 λήφθαι τιμωρίαν, οὐκ αἰσχίνων μὲν τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων,2 οἰον δὲ οἱ πατέρες ἐπὶ νους 312 θεσίᾳ τοῖς τέκνοις ἐπιφέρουσι. παρελθόντι γὰρ εἰς

1 αὐτῷ RO: αὐτῷ Niese.
2 RO: ἐξημαρτημάτων τελ.
to the assembly, with intent to stone Moses and Aaron and to return to Egypt.

(4) But two of the scouts, Jesus, son of Nannechos, of the tribe of Ephraim and Caleb of the tribe of Judah, in horror made their way into the midst and sought to restrain the crowd, entreating them to be courageous and neither to accuse God of untruthfulness nor to put faith in those who had terrified them by false statements concerning the Canaanites, but rather to trust those who exhorted them to proceed to prosperity and the acquisition of those good things. For neither the height of the mountains nor the depth of the rivers would prove obstacles to the activities of men of tried valour, above all when God was seconding their ardour and championing their cause. "Go we then forward," said they, "against the foe, with no lurking misgivings; trust in our leader, God, and follow us who will show you the way!" By these words did they endeavour to allay the passion of the multitude. Meanwhile, Moses and Aaron, prostrated to earth, were supplicating 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

* Joshua son of Nun (iii. 49 note).
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τὴν σκηνὴν αὐτῶν καὶ περὶ τῆς μελλούσης ὑπὸ αὐτῶν ἀπωλείας ἀποκλαυμένων τὸν θεὸν ὑπομνῆσαι μὲν, ὡσα παθόντες ἐξ αὐτῶν καὶ πηλίκων ἐνεργείων μεταλαβόντες ἀχάριστοι πρὸς αὐτὸν γένοντο, ὅτι τῇ νῦν τῶν κατασκόπων ὑποαχθέντες δειλὰ τοὺς ἐκείνους λόγους ἀληθεστέρους

313 τῆς ὑποσχέσεως ἤγισαντο τῆς αὐτοῦ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτῶν οὐκ ἀπολεῖ μὲν ἀπαντᾷ οὐδὲ ἔξαφνοι τὸ γένος αὐτῶν, δὲ πάντων μᾶλλον ἀνθρώπων ἔσχε διὰ τιμῆς, τὴν μένοι Χαναναίων οὐ παρέξειν γῆν αὐτοῖς λαβεῖν οὐδὲ τὴν ἀπ' αὐτῆς

314 εὐδαμομίαν, ἀνεστίοις δὲ ποιήσει καὶ ἀπόλλας ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρημίας ἐπ' ἐτη τεσσαράκοντα καταβιωναι, τῆς παρανομίας ποιην ταύτην ἐκτόνωται. ἢ παυσὶ μέντοι τοῖς ὑμετέροις παραδόσειν τὴν γῆν ὑπεσχέτο κακεῖνος τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅν ἐαυτοῖς ὑπὸ ἀκρασίας ἐφθονίσατε μετασχεῖν, ποιήσει διεσφότασ.

315 (2) Ταύτα δὲ Μωυσέως κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμην διαλεξθέντος ἐν λύπῃ καὶ συμφορᾷ τὸ πλῆθος ἐγένετο, καὶ τὸν Μωυσῆν παρεκάλει καταλακτὴν αὐτῶν γενέσθαι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν καὶ τῆς ἀλης τῆς κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἀπαλλάξαντα πόλεις αὐτοῖς παρασχεῖν. ὃ δ' οὐκ ἔφασκε τὸν θεὸν τοιαύτην πείραν προσήφεσθαι, μὴ γὰρ κατὰ κοινοῦτη προαχθῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἀνθρωπίνην εἰς τὴν ὁργὴν τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀλλὰ γνώμην καταφησισάμενον αὐτῶν. οὐ δεῖ δὲ ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Μωυσῆς εἰς ἀνὴρ ἐν τοσαύτας μυριάδας ὁρυζομένας ἐπράγνυ καὶ μετήγαγεν εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον. ὃ γὰρ θεὸς αὐτῷ συμπαρῴδη ἤττᾶσθαι τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ τὸ

1 Dindorf: προσελήφθη codd.
2 μετήγαγε πρὸς τὸ ἡμερών RO.
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 cithless, 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

* No premature attempt at conquest, such as is described at the opening of Book iv.
πλῆθος παρεσκεύαζε, καὶ πολλάκις παρακούσαντες ἀσύμφορον αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀπειθείαν ἐπέγνωσαν ἐκ τοῦ συμφορᾶ περιπεσεῖν.

317 (3) Ῥαμασσάτος δὲ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὁ ἄνηρ καὶ τῆς ἱσχύος τῆς τοῦ πιστοῦσαν περὶ ὧν ἂν εἰπεῖνοι ὅπερ ἔχειν ὑπήρξε τοὺς μόνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὲρ ἔστι γοῦν οὐδεὶς Ἑβραῖον, διὸ οὐχὶ καθάπερ παρόντος αὐτοῦ καὶ κολάσοντος ὑπὸ ἀκοσμὴ πειθαρχεῖ τοὺς ὑπ’ αὐτόν νομοθετηθεῖσι, καὶ λαθεῖν δύνηται. καὶ πολλὰ μὲν καὶ ἀλλὰ τεκμῆρια τῆς ὑπὸ τὸν ἀνθρωπὸν ἀπὸ δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, ἢδ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ Εὐφράτην μηνων ὁδὸν τεσσαρών ἠλθόντες κατὰ τιμὴν τοῦ παρ’ ἥμιν ἱεροῦ μετὰ πολλῶν κυνήγων καὶ ἀναλωμάτων καὶ ἄνθρωπος οὐκ ἠγχούσαν τῶν ἱερείων μεταλαβεῖν, Μωυσέος ἀπηγορευκότος επὶ τοῖς τῶν ὑπὸ νομισμένων οὕδ’ ἐκ τῶν πατρίων ἥμιν αὐτοῖς συντυχόντων. καὶ οἵ μὲν μηδὲ θύσαντες, οἱ δὲ ἡμιέργους τὰς θυσίας καταλειπόντες, πολλοὶ δ’ οὐδ’ ἄρχην εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν δυνηθέντες ἄπιασιν, ὑπακούειν τοῖς Μωυσεός προστάγμασι μᾶλλον ἡ ποιεῖν τὰ κατὰ βουλήσων τὴν ἐαυτῶν προτιμώντες, καὶ τὸν ἔλεγξοντα περὶ τούτων αὐτούς οὐ δεδιότες, ἀλλὰ μόνον τὸ συνειδὸς ὑφορώμενοι. οὕτως ἡ νομοθεσία τοῦ θεοῦ δοκοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πεποίηκε τῆς αὐτοῦ φύσεως κρείττονα νομίζεσθαι. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦτο τοῦ πολέμου μικρὸν ἐμπροσθεν, Κλαυδίου

1 Dindorf: εἶπον (εἴπε) codd.

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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
JOSEPHUS

Ῥωμαίων ἄρχοντος ᾽Ισμαήλου δὲ παρ’ ἡμῶν ἀρχιερέως ὁντος, καὶ λυμοῦ τὴν χώραν ἡμῶν καταλαβόντος, ὡς τεσσάρων δραχμῶν πωλεῖσθαι τὸν 321 ἄσσαρώνα, κομμοθέντος ἀλεύρου κατὰ τὴν ἐορτὴν τῶν ἀζύμων εἰς κόρους ἑβδομήκοντα, μέδεμνοι δὲ οὕτω Σικελοὶ μὲν εἶσιν εἰς καὶ τριάκοντα1 Ἀττικοὶ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα εἰς, οὕτως ἑτόλυμησε τῶν ἱερέων κρίμινον ἐμφαγεῖν2 τοσαύτης ἀπορίας τὴν γῆν κατεχούσης, δεδουλὸς τὸν νόμον καὶ τὴν ὁργὴν, ἦν καὶ ἐπὶ ἀνεξελέγκτος αἰεὶ τὸ θεῖον τοῖς 322 ἀδικήμασιν ἔχει. ἄστ1 οὐ δεὶ βαυμάζειν περὶ τῶν τότε πεπραγμένων, ὡστε καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν τὰ καταλειπθέντα ὑπὸ Μωυσέου γράμματα τηλεκαύτην ἴσχυν ἔχει, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς μισοῦντας ἡμᾶς ὁμολογεῖν, ὥστε τὴν πολύτιμαν ἡμῶν ὁ καταστράμμενός ἐστι θεὸς διὰ Μωυσέου καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῆς ἐκείνου. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ὡς αὐτῶ τῶν δοκεῖ διαλύσεται.

1 ed. pr., Lat.: τριακόσιοι codd.
3 + καὶ RO.

* Ishmael ben Phiabi, who was high priest c. A.D. 59–61, when Nero was emperor (A. xx. 179, 194: Schürer, G.J.V. li. 219). The mention of Claudius (who died in 54 A.D.) is a slip. The house of Phiabi provided other high-priests—a Jesus under Herod the Great (A. xv. 322), and another Ishmael under Tiberius ( xviii. 34); but there is no record
being ruler of the Romans and Ishmael our high-priest, when our country was in the grip of a famine so severe that an assarob 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—not one of the priests ventured to consume a crumb, 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.

Otherwise an δομή or "tenth part" of an ephah (iii. 29, 142).

In such statements Josephus is usually untrustworthy and in this instance inconsistent: in A. xv. 314 he gives the equation, 1 cors = 10 Attic medimni. The Attic medimnus was about a bushel and a half.

Or "a loaf." We must apparently assume that the "flour" was brought in the form of leavened loaves, which might not be eaten at that season.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Δ

(i. 1.) Ἕβραιος δ’ ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν βίος ἀγάθης καὶ χαλέπος ὄν ἐπόνει καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ θεου τῶν Χαναναίων πείρασι λαμβάνειν· οὐ γάρ ἡξίοιν τοῖς Μωυσεῖος πεθαρμόντες λόγους ἠρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα τῆς παρ’ ἐκείνου προδυμίας κρατήσεων αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμῶν νομίζοντες κατηγόροις ἡμῶν ἀυτοῦ καὶ πραγματεύοντες μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους ὑπενόουν, ἐν’ αἰεὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας δεῖνται, πολεμῶν δὲ τοῖς Χαναναίοις ὀρμήκεσαν λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχὶ Μωυσεῖ χαριζόμενον ἐπικουρείων αὑτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ κηδόμενων αὐτῶν τοῖς ἐθνοῖς διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὧν ἐπιτρέπεσθαι καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἄρετὴν πρότερον τὸ παρασχεῖν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ νῦν θεολόμενοι ἡμεῖς ἅμα ὁ παρεῖσθαι σύμμαχον· ἐναὶ τε καὶ ἀπαλλοτριοῦν αὐτῶν Μωυσῆς ἀδελφὴ τῶν θεῶν· διὸς τε συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτοκράτορον ἐναι, καὶ μὴ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρ’ Ἀβγατισίων ἐξελθέων ὑβρισμὸν Μωυσῆν τύραννον ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ἥν πρὸς τὴν τούτου βούλησιν ἐξαπατώμενοι, ὁ δὲ μόνῳ τὸν θεῖον αὐτῷ προδήλοις περὶ τῶν ἡμε-
BOOK IV

(i. 1) The Hebrews, however, found life in the desert so unpleasant and hard that it drove them, notwithstanding the prohibition of God, to make an assault on the Canaanites. For they refused to remain inactive in obedience to the words of Moses, and, imagining that even without his support they could by themselves defeat their enemies, they proceeded to accuse and suspect him of scheming to keep them without resources, in order that they might always stand in need of his aid. They were accordingly bent on war with the Canaanites, declaring that it was from no favour for Moses that God succoured them, but because in general He had a care for their race out of regard for their ancestors whom He had taken under His protection. It was thanks to them and to their own valour that He had in the past given them their liberty, and now, would they but exert themselves, He would be ever at their side as their ally. They further asserted that they were strong enough by themselves to defeat these nations, even should Moses desire to alienate God from them. Besides, it was wholly to their advantage to be their own masters, and not, while rejoicing in their deliverance from Egyptian insolence, to tolerate a tyrant in Moses and to live in accordance with his will—"deluded into believing that to him alone does
τέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοιαν, ὡς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς Ἁβράαμου γενεᾶς ὄντων, ἀλλ’ αὐτοὶν ἔνα τούτον1 τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος εἰς τὸ πάντ’ αὐτὸν εἰδέναι τὰ μέλλοντα παρ’ αὐτοῦ μανθάνοντα: 5 δόξεων τε συνετοὺς εἶναι, εἰ τῆς ἁλαζονείας αὐτοῦ καταγνώντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες κτήσασθαι γῆν ἃν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηται θελήσοντοι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ διά τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἐπ’ ὁνόματι τοῦ θεοῦ 6 κωλύσοντι προσσχοῖνεν. τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν λογιζόμενου καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὡς ἦς ἐπὶ ταῦτην αὐτοῖς γεφυρωσαι εἰναι δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τὸν Χαναάλων μάχην ἦσαν ὀρμημένοι, τὸν θεὸν προσηρχόμενοι στρατηγὸν ἀλλ’ οὐχί τὴν παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου συνεργίαν περιμένοντες.

7 (2) Ὡς2 οὖν ταῦτ’ ἀμείνων αὐτοῖς ἔξειν ἔκρυναν καὶ τοῖς πολέμιοις ἐπήλθον, οἱ μὲν οὐ κατα- πλαγέντες αὐτῶν τὴν ἐφόδον οὐδὲ τὴν πλῆθον γενναίοις αὐτοὺς ἔδεξαντο, τῶν δὲ Ἐβραίων ἀποθηγήσκοι τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν διαλυθεῖσας ἀκόσμως διώ- 8 κόμενον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν συνέβυγα, καὶ τῷ παρ’ ἑλπίδας δυστυχῆσαι3 παντάπασιν ἀθυμοῖν οὐδὲν ἔτε θρηστοῦ προσεδόκα, λογιζόμενον ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ μήνθιν θεοῦ πάθοιν προεξορμή- σαντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἐκείνου4 θυσίας...

9 (3) Μενοῦσις δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἰκεῖους ὄργαν ὑπὸ τῆς ἡττης καταπεληγότας, φοβοῦμενδος δὲ μὴ θαρ- σήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ μειζώνων ὀρεξθέντες ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἔλθοιεν, ἐγὼν δειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν πορρωτέρω τῶν Χαναάλων

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1 SP: τὸτε τοιωτά
2 ἦς OL Lat.
3 duxi RO.
4 + dixi SPL (Lat. ?)
the Deity reveal our destiny from goodwill towards him, as though we were not all of the stock of Abraham, but God had made this one man responsible for knowing all the future, as taught by Him." They would (they said) show themselves sensible if, scorning the arrogance of Moses and in reliance upon God, they were to determine to win this land which He had promised them, without heeding the man who, under this pretext, would, in the name of God, prevent them. And so, reflecting on their distress and on this desert, which made it appear yet worse, they were all eager for battle with the Canaanites, claiming God as their leader and without waiting for any concurrence on the part of their legislator.

(2) Having then decided that this course would be the better for them, they marched against their foes. These, undaunted by their onset or numbers, received them valiantly; of the Hebrews, many perished and the rest of the army, their line once broken, fled, pursued by the enemy, in disorder to the camp; and, utterly despondent at this unexpected reverse, they looked for no more good hereafter, concluding that they owed this disaster also to the wrath of God, having rushed precipitately into battle without His assent.

(3) But Moses, seeing his people downhearted at this defeat and fearing that the enemy, emboldened by their victory and ambitious of greater achievements, would march upon them, decided that he ought to lead his army further from the Canaanites.
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10 εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιτρέφοντος ἑαυτῷ πάλιν ἐκεῖνω, συνήκε γὰρ δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας οὐ δυνησόμενον ἐφρώσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνταῦθα νομίζων ἡσυχάσειν αὐτούς καὶ μὴ πρότερον τοῖς Χανααίοις εἰς χείρας ἦσσειν πρὶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν εἰς τοῦτο κακῶν λάβωσιν.

11 (ii. 1) "Ὅπερ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις συμβαίνει στρατοπέδωι καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας δυσάρκτοις εἶναι καὶ δυσπειδέστε, τούτο καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνέπεσεν· ἐξήκοντα γὰρ δυτες μυριάδες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλήθος ἦσαν ἂν μηδὲ ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ὑποταγέντες τοῖς κρείττοσι, τότε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐξηγανάκτουν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα. στάσις οὖν αὐτοῖς οὐχ ἦσαν ὡς μεν οὔτε παρὰ Ἕλληνων οὐτε παρὰ βαβύλων γενομένην κατέλαβεν, όπ' ἢς ἄπαντας ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσαντας ἕσωσε Μωσῆς, οὐ μησικακῶν ὅτι παρὰ ὅλῳ ἡλθες καταλύσεις.

12 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθάνειν. οὐδ' ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἡμέλησε τοῦ μερίδεν αὐτοὺς παθεῖν τῶν δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ περ εἰς τὸν νομοθέτῃν αὐτῶν ἐξυβρισσόντων καὶ τὰς ἐφτολάς, ὁι αὐτὸς διὰ Μωσίησος αὐτοῖς ἑπέστειλεν, ἐρρύσατο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ σταυρωθέων αὐτοῖς ἂν γενομένων δεινῶν, εἰ μὴ προενόησε. τὴν τε ὁμ στάσιν καὶ ὅσα μετὰ ταῦτην Μωσῆς ἐπο-

1 ὁς οὖν ΡΟ.
2 ed. pr.: ἀπολέσθαι κωδ. ἡ ἀπολέσθαι codd.
3 μετ' αὐτήν RO.

* 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. vili. 80 ὅλην φιλέι καὶ τὰ τοῖς στρατοπέδεοι μάλιστα ὅτε τοῖς μεγίστοις; with the adjectives following cf. B.J. ii. 92 τὸ τε ἐξωκτὸν καὶ τὸ δυστεθῆ.
λεγέωσαι διηγήσομαι προδιελθὼν τὴν αὐτὸν ἀφ' ἦς ἐγένετο.

14 (2) Κορῆς τῆς 'Εβραίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέρων ἰκανὸς δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ δὴμος ὁμολείπ πιθανώτατος, ὡρῶν ἐν ὑπερβαλλοῦσῃ τιμῇ τὸν Μωυσῆν καθεστῶτα χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνου, καὶ γὰρ φυλέτης ἦν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς, ἀχθόμενος ὅτι ταῦτης τῆς δόξης δικαιότερον ἄν τῶν πλουτεῖν ἐκείνου μᾶλλον μὴ

15 χείρων ὧν κατὰ γένος αὐτῶς ἀπέλαυε. παρὰ τέ ῥοὺς Λευίτας, φυλέται δ' ἦσαν, καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τοῖς συγγενεῖ κατεβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων Μωυσῆν δόξαν αὐτῷ θηράμενον κατασκευάσαι καὶ κακουργοῦντα κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ θεοῦ περιοράν, παρὰ τοὺς νόμους μὲν τᾶδελφῳ τῆς ἱερωσύνης Ααρών δῶτα, μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι

16 τοῦ πλῆθους ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ψηφισμένον, τυράννων δὲ τρόπῳ καταχαρίζομένου τὰς τιμὰς οἷς ἄν ἐθελήσῃ χαλεπότερον <τ' ἦδη τυγχάνειν τῷ βιάζεσθαι τῷ λεληθῶτος ἐξευρίσκειν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἀκουτα ἀλλὰ μηδὲ συνιέντας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τῆς

1 ἄν τῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ codd.
2 Niese: τυράννων or τυράννων codd.
3 A τέ, which the mss. insert before λεληθῶτως, has perhaps been misplaced.

Gr. Κορῆς; Heb. Korah (= "baldness"), xxx. Kaph.

Tradition enlarges upon the wealth of Korah, which it attributes to his discovery of treasures buried by Joseph in Egypt (see Jewish Encyclopedia). Psalm xli. (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, one of the most eminent of the Hebrews by reason both of his birth and of his riches, 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, and was aggrieved at the thought that he had a greater right to enjoy all this glory himself, as being richer than Moses without being his inferior in birth. So he proceeded to denounce him among the Levites, who were his tribesmen, and especially among his kinsmen, declaring that it was monstrous to look on at Moses hunting round to create glory for himself and mischievously working to attain this in the pretended name of God. In defiance of the laws he had (he said) given the priesthood to his brother Aaron, not by the common decree of the people but by his own vote, and in despotical fashion was bestowing the honours upon whom he would. 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-

* His first cousin. The pedigree (Ex. vi. 16, 18; Numb. xvi. 1) was:

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Levi
Kohath
  |Amram  |Ithar  |Uriel
  |Aaron  |Moses  |Korah  |Elizaphan
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* According to tradition Korah’s main grievance was that the office of “prince” of the Kohathites had been bestowed upon Elizaphan, who belonged to a branch of the family younger than his own (Numb. iii. 30: see pedigree above).
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17 ἵνα γὰρ αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ὅτι λαβεῖν ἄξιόν πείθει τυγχάνειν αὐτῶν καὶ ταῦτα βιάσασθαι μὴ θρασυνόμενος, οἷς δὲ ἀπορον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τιμῶνθαι βλα μὲν ἄγαθοι βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν οὐ προσφέροντι, τέχνη δ' εἶναι κακογροῦσι
18 δυνατόν. συμφέρει δὲ τῷ πλῆθει τοὺς τοιούτους ἐπὶ λανθάνειν οἰομένους κολαξίαν καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν ἕσσαντος φανερώς ἵνα πολεμίους. "τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἀποδοθῶν δυνάμενον Μωυσῆς Ἁαρῶν καὶ τοὺς υἱῶν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱεροσύνην
19 παρεδωκεν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Δευτέρους φυλῆς τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεός τινες παρασχεῖν ἐκρίνει, εὖ ἐπὶ ταύτης δικαιότερος τυγχαίνει, γενές μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ἡ Ἁαρῶν, πλούτω δὲ καὶ ἡλικία διαφέρουσι εἰ δὲ τῇ προσβυτάτη τῶν φυλῶν, εἰκότως ἢ ἡ Ἱουδάτους τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοι λαμβανόντων αὐτὴν Δαβάδιμοι καὶ Αβραάμοι καὶ Φαλλασ. προσβυτάτοι γὰρ οὔτοι τῶν ταύτης τὴν φυλῆν νεμομένων καὶ δυνατὸν χρημάτων περιουσίᾳ.

20 (3) Ἐβδομάτο μὲν σοὶ ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Κορῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ προνοεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἐργὼ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους τιμὴν μετατηθῆσαι. καὶ δὲ μὲν ταῦτα κακοθὼς μετ'
21 εὐπρεπείας πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας ἐλεγε. προϊόντος δὲ εἰς τοὺς πλεῖους κατ᾽ ὁλίγον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀκρωμένων προστιθεμένων ταῖς κατὰ

1 τότε RO.

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* Reuben (see i. 304 note).
* Gr. Dathames (most ms.): Bibl. Dathan.
* Pallu (Ixx Φαλλαύς) 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

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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 6 should
have this dignity, to be held by Datham, 5 Abiram,
and Phalaus 6; for they are the eldest of the mem-
bers of that tribe, and powerful through abundance
of possessions."

(8) 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 4
verse in its traditional form (which is thought to be corrupt)
mentions along with Dathan and Abiram "On the son of
Peleth" (LXX Φαλεθ). 5

 Or "assenting to" (in A. vi. 287 προστίθεσθαι is a
synonym for προτείνειν); not, I think, as earlier translators
take it, "adding to," "improving upon."

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Ααρώνος διαβολαίς ἀναπήμπλαται τούτων ἅπας ὁ στρατός. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι τῷ Κορή πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρες σπεύδοντες ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τῶν Ἑωσφόρων 22 ἄδελφὸν καὶ τούτων αὐτῶν ἀτιμοῦν. ἀνηρέθιστο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλήθος καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Ἑωσφόρον ὁρμη-κεσαν, εἰς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμος μετὰ θορύβου καὶ ταραχῆς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ στάντες 1 ἐβόων διώκειν² τὸν τύραννον καὶ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάθαι τὸ πλήθος, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βία προστάγματα κελεύ- 23 οντος· τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἴπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τῶν ἱερα- σόμενον³ ἐκλεγόμενος, τὸν άξιον ἂν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν παραγαγεῖν, οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὑποδεικνύοις ταύτην φέροντα προσνεῖμαι, κρίνοντά τε παρασχεῖν Ἄαρώνη ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ πλῆθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν δόσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τάδελφῳ καταλεῖπεν.

24. (4) Ἑωσφόρης δὲ τῇ Κόρέοις διαβολήν ἕκ πολλοῦ προειδώς καὶ τὸν λαὸν παροξυσμόμενον ἰδιός εἰς ἐδεισεν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν οἶς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καλῶς ἐδουλεύετο καὶ τὸν ἄδελφὸν εἰδῶς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς ἱερωσύνης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὗ 25 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν, ἦκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐδένα ἐποίησατο λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κορῆ βοῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο, δεξίος ὃν καὶ κατὰ τάλλα καὶ πλῆθεως ὁμιλεῖν

1 πάρτες ROM Lat.
2 M ed. pr.: ἄκειν rell. (except Lat.).
3 ἱερωσόμενον codd. (and so § 28).
4 Niese: παράγειν codd.

* Traditional detail, not in Scripture.
these calumnies upon Aaron, the whole army was soon pervaded with them. Korah's confederates were two hundred and fifty of the leading men, burning to deprive the brother of Moses of the priesthood and to dishonour Moses himself. But the multitude was equally excited and bent on stoning 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

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5 Literally "pursue" or "prosecute"; most mss. have "let the tyrant come (forth)."

6 The rendering "would not have consented (literally "endured") to settle it" (so Hudson and Weill) seems hardly justifiable: φίλημα in that sense takes a participle, not an infinitive. Cf. φίλημα διόταν below, § 26.
εὐφυὴς, "ἔμοι," φησίν, "ὅτι Κορή, καὶ σὺ καὶ
tούτων ἔκαστος," ἀπεδήλου δὲ τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ
dιακοσίους ἄνδρας, "τιμῆς ἄξιοι δοκεῖτε, καὶ τὸν
ὀμιλοῦν δὲ πάντα τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀποστερῶ τιμῆς,
κἂν ὑστερῶσιν ὁμ ὑμῖν ἐκ πλοῦτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
26 ἀξιώσεως ὑπάρχει. καὶ νῦν 'Ααρώνι τὴν ἱερωσύνην
οὐκ ἔπειδή πλοῦτῳ προείχε, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφιτεροῦς
ἡμᾶς μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλεις, οὐ μὴν
οὐδ' εὐγενεία, κοίνον γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ' ἐποίησεν οὐ
θεὸς τὸν αὐτὸν δοὺς προπάτορα, οὐδὲ διὰ φιλο-
αδελφίαν ό δικαίως ἂν ἄτερος εἶχε τοῦτο φέρων
27 ἐδωκα τάδελφον καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φροντίζων τοῦ
θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων τῆς τιμῆς ἐχαρίζομην, οὐκ
ἀν ἐμαυτῷ παρεῖσ δοῦναι παρέσχων ἄτερος, συγ-
γενεστέρος ἂν ἐμαυτῷ τάδελφον καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν
οἰκείοτερον η̣ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον διακείμενος· καὶ γὰρ
οὐδὲν συνετῶν ἂν τοὺς κινδύνους ἐμαυτὸν ὑποτίθεντα
τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄλλω τῆς διὰ τοῦτον
28 εὐθαμομνίαν χαρίζοσθαι. ἀλλ' ἄγω τε κρείττων
ἡ κακουργεῖν, ὁ τε θεὸς οὐκ ἂν περιείδην ἑαυτὸν
καταφρονούμενον οὐδέν' ἡμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ἢ τι καὶ
ποιοῦντες αὐτῷ χαρίζοσθε, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος
τὸν ἱεροσύμνουν αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτ' αἰτίας ἡμᾶς
29 ἁλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μὴν εἴ ἐμῆς χάριτος λαβὼν
'Ααρώνι' ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ κρίσιν θεοῦ, κατα-
τίθησον αὐτὴν εἰς μέσον ἐπιδικάσιμον τοῖς βουλο-

1 Dindorf: οὗτος codd.
2 ed. pr.: λαβὼν codd.
3 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!"
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" 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; 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 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

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5 Their common grandfather, Kohath.
6 Or "me" (as often).
μένως, οὐκ ἐκ τοῦ προκριθεὶς ἤδη τυχεῖν αὐτῆς ἄξιῶν ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ τὸν νῦν αὑτῷ1 περὶ αὐτῆς 30 σπουδάσαι, προτιμῶν <δὲ>2 τοῦ τὸ γέρας ἐξειν τὸ μὴ στασίαζοντας ὑμᾶς ὅραν καὶ τοὺς κατὰ τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυνχάνων· ὃ γὰρ ἔδωκεν ὁ θεὸς ὑμῖν ἠμάρτομεν τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένων ὑμῶν 31 λαβεῖν νομίζοντες.4 ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέσθαι παρέχοντος ἐκεῖνου τὴν τιμὴν ἀσεβές, καὶ πάλιν ἄξιον γ’ ἐγείρειν ἐὰν ἀπαντᾷ ἡμῖν μη τὴν ἀσφάλειαν τὴν ἑπ’ αὐτῇ βεβαιοῦντος ἡμῶν τὸν θεὸν πανταπασι ἀλόγιστον. κρμεῖ τούτων πάλιν αὑτός, τίνας βούλεται τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν8 αὑτῷ θυσίας 32 ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ προεστάναι τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἀτοπον γάρ Κορῆν ἐφιέμενον τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἔξουσίαν τοῦ τίνι παράσχῃ ταύτην ἀφελέσθαι τὸν θεόν, τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ τῆς διὰ τούτο ταραχῆς παύσασθε, πρωτὸ δὲ ὥστε τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀντιποιεῖσθε κομιζόν ἐκαστος θυμιατήριον οἰκοδεν σὺν θυμά- 33 μασι καὶ πυρὶ πάριτε. καὶ οὐ δὲ, Κορῆ, παρα- χώρησον τὴν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτως αὐτοῦ μένε νησσορίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σαυτοῦ ποιεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα, παραγίνου δὲ κριθησόμενος οὕτως περὶ τοῦ γέρως. ἀνεμέσθην δ’ οἷς καὶ Ἀαρῶνα προσδέξασθαι συγκριθησόμενον, γένους μὲν ὄντα τοῦ αὐτοῦ μηδὲν δὲ μεμφηναι τοῖς παρὰ 34 τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεπραγμένοις δυνάμενον. θυμά-

1 SP : τοῦ οτ τοῦτο rell.
2 Text RO : + συγχωρήθωμε rell.
3 ins. Niese.
4 καὶ μὴ βούλ. ἧμιν λαμβάνοντες RO.
5 ἄξιοντ’ (ἄξιοντα) codd.
6 ἡμῶν SP.

* 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 thercon 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 (Eli, 371), and the marks of the "Sophoclean" assistant (see Introduction) are evident in this speech.
σετεɩ οὖν συνελθόντες ἐν φανερῷ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ θυμιωμένων ὑμῶν οὕτως ἀν τὴν θυσίαν ἥδιως κρίνειεν ὁ θεός, οὗτος ὑμῖν ἵκερες κεχειροτονήσεται, τῆς ἐπὶ τάδελφῳ διαβολῆς ὡς κεχαρισμένου λέμους, άν τὴν τιμήν αὐτῶ ῥυόμενος.”

35 (iii. 1) Ταῦτα Μωυσέως εἰπόντος παύεται καὶ τῆς παραχῆς τῷ πλῆθος καὶ τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν ὑποψίας, ἐπένευσαν δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις καὶ γὰρ ήν καὶ ἐδόκει χρηστὰ τῷ λαῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύουσι τὸν σύλλογον, τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ συνήθειν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρατεῦζομενοι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δέ αὐτῆς κρίσει τῶν περὶ τῆς ἑρωτοῦντος 36 ἀγνωσίων. συνέβαινε δ’ εἶναι θορυβώδη τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετεώρου τοῦ πλῆθους ὄντος ἐν ἔλπιδι τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἱδιούν λαμβανόντων εἰ Μωυσῆς ἔλεγχθεὶ κακούργων, τῶν δὲ φρονίμων εἰ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγεῖσαν καὶ παραχῆς ἔδεισαν γὰρ μὴ τῆς στάσεως προϊούσῃς ἀφαιροθῇ 37 μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς ὁ κόσμος τῆς καταστάσεως. δὲ πᾶς ὁμαλὸς φύσει χαίρων τῷ καταβολῆς τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ πρὸς ὁ τις εἶποι πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν γνώμην τρέπων ἐθορύβει. πέμψας δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς πρὸς Ἀβραὰμ καὶ Δαβάμων ὑπηρέτας ἐκελευσεν ἥκειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ περιμένειν τὴν 38 ἱερουργίαν. ὡς δ’ οὕτε ὑπακούσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἐφασαν καὶ Μωυσῆν οὖ περισφεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παντὸς ἐκ κακούργιας αὐξανόμενον, ἀκούσας τὰ παρ’ αὐτῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀκολουθείν αὐτῷ τοὺς

1 Ο: θυμιώσατε rell.
2 ex Lat. ins. Niese.
3 RO: ἐπηρέασα rell.
incense, on assembling here, in the sight of all the people; and, on your offering your incense, whosesoever sacrifice God shall judge to be most acceptable, he shall be your elected priest, thereby clearing me of the charge of having through favour bestowed this dignity upon a brother."

(iii. 1) After this speech of Moses, the multitude ceased their turbulence and their suspicions of him, and assented to his proposals, which indeed were, as they were thought, excellent for the people. So for the time they dissolved the meeting, but on the morrow they gathered to the assembly to assist at the sacrifice and at the judgement to be passed thereby upon the competitors for the priesthood. It proved indeed a tumultuous assembly, the multitude being all agog in expectation of the issue: some would have taken pleasure in seeing Moses convicted of a crime, others of the sager sort in being delivered from troubles and turbulence, for they feared, if sedition gained ground, a further obliteration of the ordered beauty of their constitution; while the general mass, with its innate delight in decrying 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. 25. requested his chief councillors b to accompany him and

a Bib. Dathan (§ 19).
b “The elders of Israel” (Numbers).
προβούλουν αξιώσας απήει πρός τοὺς περὶ Δαβάμην, οὕτως ἤγομενος εἰναι δεινὸν βαδίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερηφανήσαντες· οἱ δὲ οὔδὲν αντειπόντες ἦκολούθουσιν. 29 οἱ δὲ περὶ Δαβάμην πυθόμενοι τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ τῶν αξιολόγων τῆς πληθύνος πρὸς αὐτοὺς παραγνόμενον προελθόντες γυναιξίν ἁμα καὶ τέκνοις πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπέβλεπον, τι καὶ μέλλοι ποιεῖν ὁ Μωυσῆς· ἔτι τε θεράποτε ἦσαν περὶ αὐτοὺς, ὅσ εἰ βλαν τινὰ προσφέροι Μωυσῆς ἀμινομένοι.

40 (2) ὁ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος τὰς χείρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχὼν γεγωνάτερον ἐκβόησας, ὡς ἀκουστὸν πάση τῇ πληθυν γενέσθαι, τι δέσποτα, φησί, τῶν ἐπὶ οὐρανοῦ τι καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης· οὐ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῶν υπὸ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένων μάρτυς αξιολόγωτος, ὡς γνώρη τῇ γνώτε τὰ πάντα καὶ δραμένοις ἡμαν ἔξεπόρισας οἴκτον ἐν πάσι δεινοὶ Ἑβραῖοι ποιησάμενοι· ἔλθε μοι τοῦτων ἀκροατήσ τῶν λόγων, σὲ γὰρ οὕτῳ πραττόμενον οὕτω νοηθέν λανθανεί, ὅστις οὖδὲ φθονήσας μοι τῆς ἀληθείας τῶν τούτων ἄχαρταν ἐπεπροσθε θέμενος· τὰ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερα τῆς ἐμῆς γενέσεως αὐτός οἶσθ' ἀκριβέστερον, οὐκ ἀκοφὶ μαθὼν ὅψει δὲ τὸτ' αὐτοίς παρὼν γυμνόμενοι, δε ἐπὶ τούτους καὶ περὶ ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς ἀδίκως 41 ὑπονοοῦσι, τοῦτων μοι γενοῦ μάρτυρι. ἐγὼ βλεν ἀπράγμονα καταστησάμενοι ἀνδραγαθία μὲν ἐμὴ σῇ δὲ βουλῇ, καὶ τούτων Ἐρανηλίου μοι τοῦ

1 δεσμένοι: Nieze: ἀπορομένοις Naber: emendation needless.

a So, not (as earlier translators) "deeming it dangerous": cf. B.J. iv. 393 δεινὰ ἤγομενον ὑποτεθαμένοι τῷ πρὸν ἱστήμεν. b The Arabic version of Numbers adds a similar phrase, "ut viderent quid futurum esset" (trans. Walton, Polyglot). 494
went off to the faction of Datham, not scorning 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. Moreover they had their servants 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 and at thy will, thanks too to what

\[\text{ Appeal of Moses for the intervention of God. Cf. Num. xvi. 15, 23.}\]

\[\text{ This is J.'s rendering of the Hebrew teph "(their) little ones" in Num. xvi. 27: LXX ἀνθραχνία ("chattels"), Targum of Onkelos "their families," Vulgate "omnique frequentia."}\]

\[\text{ ἀνθράκων... ἀνθραχαία: an echo of Thuc. ii. 63 ἀνθραγμοσύνη ἀνθραγαθίτεραι.}\]
πενθεροῦ καταλυπόντος, ἀφεῖς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐμαυτῶν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ τούτων ταλαιπωρίαις. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν, νῦν δ᾽ ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας μεγάλου ὑπέστην πόνου καὶ παντὶ δεινῷ τοῦμόν
43 ἀντιτάξας πρόθυμον, νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ κακούργειν ὑποπτεύομαι παρ᾽ ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν καμάτων ὑπάρχει1 τὸ περιέχει, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτός, ὁ τὸ πρὸ ἐκεῖνό μοι φήνας κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον καὶ τῆς σαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀκροατὴν τότε καταστήσας καὶ θεατὴν τεράτων ὁσα μοι παρέσχεν ἰδεῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ τόπος ποίησας, ὁ κελεύσας ἐπ᾽ Ἀλγυπτοῦ ἀντλήναι καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τοῦτοι ἐμφανίσαι, 44 ὁ τὴν Ἀλγυπτίων εὐδαιμονίαν σείσας καὶ τῆς ὑπ᾽ αὐτοῖς2 δουλείας δρασμόν ἡμῖν παραχθῶν καὶ μικροτέραν ἐμοῦ τὴν Φαραώθου ποιήσας ἡγεμονίαν, ὁ γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀμαθῶς ἕχουσι τῶν ὅδων ποίησας τὸ πελάγος καὶ τὴν ἀνακεκομμένην θάλασσαν τοῖς Ἀλγυπτίων ἐπικυμήναις ὀλέθροις, ὁ γυμνὸς οὖν 45 τὴν ἐξ ὅπλων ἀσφάλειαν χαρισάμενος, ὁ ποτίμους ἡμῖν διεφθαρμένας πηγάς ἐρεῖσαι παρασκευάσας καὶ τελέως ἀποροθύνῃ ἐκ πετρῶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμῖν ποτὸν μηχανησάμενος, ὁ τῶν γῆθεν ἀπορουμένους εἰς τροφὴν διασώσας τοὺς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ὁ καὶ ἀπ᾽ οὐρανοῦ τροφὴν καταπέμψας οὐ πρότερον ἱστορηθεῖσαν, ὁ νόμων ἡμῖν ἐπίνοιαν ὑποθέμενος 46 καὶ διάταξιν πολιτείας· ἐλθεῖ, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων, δικαστὴς μου καὶ μάρτυς ἀδυροδόκητος, ὅς οὐτε δωρεάν ἐγὼ παρ᾽ Ἐβραίων τινὸς κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου

1 ἵππηκε RO. 2 αὐτοῦς RO.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 42-46

Raguel my father-in-law left me, 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; 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; 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. 263; or "which Raguel . . . too left me free to enjoy."

b iii. 35. c Quails, iii. 25. d Manna, iii. 26.
JOSEPHUS

προσηκάμενον οὐτε πλούτως κατέκρινα πενίαν νικάν δυναμένην οὐτε ἐπὶ βλάβη τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτευσάμενος εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτα τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπινοιας πάρεμι, ὡς οὐχὶ σοῦ κελεύσατος Ὁσαρὼν
47 δοὺς τὴν ἱερωσόμην ἄλλα κατ’ ἐμὴν χάριν. παράστησαν δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὅτι πάντα σῇ προοίμια διοικεῖται καὶ μηδὲν αὐτομάτως ἄλλα κατὰ βούλησιν βραβευόμενον. τὴν σὴν εἰς τέλος ἔρχεται, ὅτι δὲ φροντίζεις τῶν Ἐβραίων ὑπηράτων, μετελθὼν Ἄβιραμον καὶ Δανάμην, οἰ σου καταδικάζουσιν ἀναισθησίαν ὡς ὑπ’ ἐμὴς τέχνης νικώμενον.
48 ποιήσεις δὲ φανερῶς τὴν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς δίκην οὕτως μεμνημότως κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης, μὴ κοινῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοὺς μεταστήσας μηδὲ ὡς ἀποβανόντας κατ’ ἀνθρώπινων ἐξελευθέρωσαι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ φανέρωσιν νόμον, ἄλλα χάνοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἀμα τῇ γενεᾷ
49 καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἡν πατοῦσι γῆν τοῦτο γὰρ σῆς ἐπίδειξις ἣν ἱσχὺς ἀπασί γένοιτο καὶ διδασκαλία σωματικῆς δέει τοῦ1 ταῦτα πείσεσθαι περὶ σοῦ δοξάζοντας ὑμῖν ὅσια· εὐρεθεὶς γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ἀγαθὸς ὑπηρέτης ὦν σὺ προστάσσεσις.
50 εἰ δὲ ἀληθεῖς πεποίηται τὰς κατ’ ἐμοὶ διαβολάς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς φυλάξειας2 κακοῦ, διὰ τῆς ἐπιρράπησεν ἔλεον αὐτοῖς τούτων ποιήσειας3 ἐμῶν· καὶ διὰ τὴν ἐπιρράπησεν παρὰ τοῦ τὸν σὸν ἀδικήσῃς θελήσαντος λαὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ βραβεύσων ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην σῴζῃ τὴν πληθὺν ἐπομένην τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπαθὴ τηρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ

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1 δέει τοῦ Holwerda; δὲ εἰς τοὺς codd.
2 φυλάξεις ROM.
3 ποιήσεις RO.

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* 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 carest
for those who would benefit the Hebrews, by pur-
suing with vengeance Abiram and Dathan, 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! 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
ture, then mayest thou keep these men free from all
harm, and that destruction which I have imprecated
on them bring thou upon me. And, having exacted
justice from him that would have wronged thy people,
henceforward, awarding harmony and peace, save
thou this multitude that followeth thy command-
ments, preserving them unscathed and exempt from

his words are addressed to the people), as at the Red Sea he
had suggested three alternative expedients (ii. 337).
Δικαιότητας και δικαίωμας τῆς τῶν ἡμερήσιων τῆς Ἰσραήλιτικῆς
καὶ τῆς Ἰσραήλιτικῆς.  

εἰς αὐτὴν. Ἰησοῦς αὐτός, ὥστε μηδὲ
φημήνα, τινας γνώνας, συνήθει τε πάλιν τῆς γῆς
tὸ περὶ ἰδίων κεχρῆσθαι καὶ καθίστασι, ὥστε μὴ
ev πάθοι των προερχόμενων ἀνθρώπων εἶναι τοῖς
ὄροις. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπόλυτον ἐπίθετος
τὸν θεὸν τῆς Ἰσραήλιτικῆς γενόμενον. ὁδόραιτο δ' ἄν
tὸς ὀδόν τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτοῦ καὶ καθ' αὐτὴν
όφισθα ἀξίας οἴκτου, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοιαύτα παθόντων
ἐφησθήσαν οἱ συγγενεῖς τῶν γὰρ συντεταγμένων
ἐκλαθήσεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ὀφειν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος
ἐβεβαιών τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ νομίζοντες ὡς ἀληθείαν
ἀπολαλέναι τοὺς περὶ Δαβίδην οὐδ' ἐλυποῦντο.

οὐδὲ εἰς τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης
ἀμιλλωμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερέων δοκιμασίαν,
ἐν οἷς προσδεξεῖται τὴν δυσλαν ὅ θεος ἦδιον ἀκείνως

1 ἐκτιμῶναι Μ.  
2 ἐπ' rell.  
3 Coccio: ἐφθάνα or φανήθη κατά τέκνων  
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,
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 onlookers that it had actually suffered any such convulsion. Thus they perished, furnishing an exhibition of God’s mighty power. Yet one might commiserate them, not only for a catastrophe by itself alone meriting compassion, but because moreover their kinsfolk rejoiced over their awful fate. For, oblivious of their confederates, at the sight of what had befallen they ratified the sentence, and, judging that Dathan and his followers had perished as miscreants, they refrained even from grief.

(4) But 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 led by Dathan and Abiram, (2) a revolt of representatives of the whole people, led by Korah, against the Levites.

Addition to Scripture.

Peculiarities in this section, noted below, indicate the reappearance of the “Thucydidean” assistant (see Introduction). There is some lack of coherence with what has preceded.
κεχειροτονημένοις: συνελθόντων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἄνδρῶν, οἱ καὶ διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὴν ἐτμῶντο παρὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν, ἢ κακείνους ὑπερβάλλοντο, προῆλθον καὶ Ἀαρών καὶ Κορῆς, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς πάντες καθήγησαν ἐπὶ τοὺς θυμιστηρίους ὅποσα κομίζοντες ἔτυχον. 55 ἔξελαμβάνει δὲ πῦρ τουσίτων ὅσον οὐτὲ ὁιονος ξειροποιητὸν ἱστόρησε τις οὗτε γῆθεν ἀναδοθεὶν κατὰ ὑποδρομὴν καῦματος οὗτε κατὰ βίαν πνευμάτων ὦλης πρὸς αὐτὴν παρατριβείσης αὐτομάτως ἐξεκρούσθη, ἀλλ' ὅποιον τὰν 4 θεόν κελεύσαντος ἄφθειρη λαμπρὸν καὶ 56 φλογωδύστατον. ὅτι οὖν πάντες, οἱ τε διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἂν τοὺς ἐπὶ αὐτῶς ἐφθάρσαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανὴ γεγονέναι. περισσώτερος δὲ μονὸς Ἀαρών ἔμαθεν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βλαβεῖσ τῷ τὸν θεόν εἶναι τὸν 57 οὖς ἔδει καὶ εἰς ἀπεσταλκότα. Μισοῦσι δὲ τούτων ἀπολομενῶν βουλομένως τὴν τυμωρίαν αὐτῶν μνήμη παρανοθήκει καὶ τοὺς αὕτης ἐσομενοὺς αὐτὴν μαθεῖον, ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀαρώνον

1 ML: εὐθ' rell. 2 Dindorf: αὐτὸ codd. 3 Bekker: αὐτὸ codd. 4 ins. Bekker.

* There is no indication that they have already been mentioned (§ 21).
* "Princes of the congregation, called to the assembly (LXX ἑνεκλητες βουλῆς), men of renown," Numb. xvi. 2.
* 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 Well). The use of ὅποσο for ὅσοι is a distinctive mark of the 502
elected. Then assembled two hundred and fifty men, a 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 b; Aaron and Korah c advanced likewise, and the whole company in front of the tabernacle burnt incense on all those censers which d 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, e 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.
58 καταβέσθαι βωμόν, ὡς ἂν ὑπόμνησις εἰς τοὺς αὐθείς ὁν ἐπαθον [καὶ]
59 ὅτι τὴν ἱσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ νομίσεων ἀπατάσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ Ἄαρών μὲν
προκοπῆς τῇ Μωυσέου χάριτι τὴν ἀρχιερευσίνην ἔχειν δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει φανερῇ
γενομένη, μετά τῶν νῦν ἢδη βεβαιῶς ἀπέλαυε
τῆς τιμῆς.

50 (iv. 1.) Τὴν μέντοι στάσιν οὐδὲν αὐτῶς συνέβη
παύσασθαι, πολλῷ δὲ μᾶλλον αὐξείν καὶ φύεσθαι
χαλεπωτέραν. ἡλάμβανε δὲ τῆς ἔπε τὸ χείρῳ
προκοπῆς αὐτίαν, ὡς ἢ συνεδρίατο λήξειν τὸ
δείχνων ἢν εἰκὸς ἀλλὰ εἰς χρόνον παραμενεῖν. οἱ
γὰρ ἀνθρωποὶ πεπιστευκότες ἦδη μηδὲν γίνεσθαι
δίχα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας οὐκ ἐβουλοῦτο ταῦτα
χωρίς τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ πεπράξειν,
κατηγοροῦν δὲ αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργήν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι
τοσαυτὴν οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῶν κολασθέντων

61 ἀδικίαν, ὡς Μωυσέος πραγματευσαμένου· καὶ τοὺς
μὲν διεφθάρθαι μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτότας ἢ ὅτι περὶ
tῆς τοῦ θεοῦ ἤρωκελών ἔσπουδακέσαν, τὸν δὲ
τοιούτων καὶ πάντων ἀρίστων ἔξαμαρτότας
καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἀρχιερεύσεων ἀναμφιλεκτὸν παρασκεύων

62 παρασκείων οὐδένα γὰρ ἢτις ἂλλον ἀντι-
ποιήσεσθαι καὶ τοὺς πρῶτους ἄρωντα κακῶς
ἀπολωλότας. ἢτι γε μὴ καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων

1 om. Lat.
2 ὁμ. δὲ RO: χαλεπωτέραν <τ> ἡλάμβανε Niese.
3 Bekker: γίνεσθαι codd.
4 τοσοτῶν Niese.
5 ἀντιποιήσεσθαι codd.

Let them be made beaten plates for a covering (lxv 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 \( \pi \varepsilon \delta \epsilon \varepsilon \nu \alpha \) of the altar,” Numb. xvi. 38. For \( \pi \varepsilon \delta \epsilon \varepsilon \nu \alpha \) Josephus perhaps read \( \pi \varepsilon \delta \epsilon \varepsilon \nu \alpha \); the two words appear as variant readings in Ex. xxxviii. 24 LXX, in a similar connexion.

\(^a\) Literally “ mulcted,” with the collateral idea of “ crippled.”
τοὺς διεφθαρμένους δέησις ἐγένετο πολλὴ τοῦ πλήθους μειώσαλ τι τῆς Μωυσέως μεγαλαυχίας· ἀσφαλὲς γὰρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ’ εἶναι.

63 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ συμιστάμενον ἥκροατο τῶν θόρυβον, δείσας μὴ τι νεωτερίσωσι πάλιν καὶ γένηται τι μέγα καὶ χαλεπόν, συνήγαγε τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν [καὶ]1 περὶ μὲν δὲν ἥκροατο εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐ καθιστάμενος, ἕνα μὴ παροξύνῃ τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῖς φυλάρχοις προ- ειπών κομίζειν τὰ τῶν φυλῶν ὅνωματα βακτηρίας

64 ἐπηγεγραμμένα· λήψεσθαι γάρ ἐκεῖνον τὴν ἱερω- σύνην, οὔπερ ἂν ὁ θεός ἐπισημήνῃ τῇ βακτηρίᾳ. δόξαν οὖν κομίζουσιν οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἁαρῶν ἐπηγράψας Δευτην2 ἐν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ ταῦτας Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κατατίθησι. τῇ δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προεκόμισε τὰς βακτηρίας· γνώριμοι δ’ ἦσαν κατασημανμένοι αὐτὰς τῶν τε ἄνδρῶν

65 οὔπερ ἐκόμιζον καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους. καὶ ταῖς μὲν ἄλλας ἐφ’ οὔπερ αὐτὰς σχήματος Μωυσῆς παρ- ἐλαβεν ἐπὶ τούτου μεμενχυόμενος ἐβλεπον, ἐκ δὲ τῆς Ἁαρῶνος βλαστοῦσι τε καὶ κλάδους ἀναφύττας ἑώρασι καὶ καρπῶν ὁραίοιν, ἀμύγδαλα δ’ ἦν, ἐκ τοιούτου ἐξύλου τῆς βακτηρίας κατεσκευασμένης.

66 ἐκπλαγέντες δ’ ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς θέας, εἰ καὶ τοις διὰ μίσους ἢν τοῦ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἁαρῶν, ἀφέντες τούτο θαυμάζειν ἤρξαντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπευφημοῦντες τοῖς δεδογμένους τῷ θεῷ συνεχόρουν Ἁαρῶν

1 omm. εδδ.
2 Δευτην Niese.
petition to the people to abate somewhat of Moses' arrogance, as this would make for their security.

(2) But a 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" b 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

* Josephus omits the incident of the plague, causing the death of 14,700 persons, occasioned by these further murmurs (Numb. xvi. 41-50).

* Or (with Niese's text) "(tribe) of Levi"; according to Numb. xvii. 3 it was Aaron's name that was inscribed on the staff.
καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσίαν. καὶ δὲ μὲν τρῖς αὐτῶν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαιῶς εἴχε τὴν τιμήν, ἢ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων στάσις πολὺν ἀκμάσασα χρόνον τούτον ἐπαινήσῃ τὸν τρόπον.

67 (3) Ἔτι, ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἢ τῶν Λευίτων ἁφεύτο φυλὴ θεραπεύσωσα1 τὸν θεοῦ, ἐνα μὴ δὲ ἀπορίαν μηδὲ ζήτησιν τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοῖν τῷ ἱερῷ, κατὰ βουλήν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χανααίαν κτησαμένους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευεν κατανεμεῖαι τοῖς Λευίταις ὅκτῳ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράφαντας εἰς δισεκάτους πῆχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖναι. πρὸς τοὺς δὲ καὶ τὸν λαὸν διέταξε2 τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν δεκάτην αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ ἱερεῖς τελεῖν. καὶ δὲ μὲν ἡ φυλὴ παρὰ τοῦ πλῆθους λαμβάνει ταύτ' ἐστίν· ἀναγκαίον δὲ ἡγησάμην αὐτὸς ἱερεῖς ἱδιαὶ3 παρὰ πάντων γίνεται δηλώσαι.

69 (4) Τῶν μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὅκτῳ πόλεων τρισκαίδεκα παραχωρήσαντα οὓς Λευίτας αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ τῆς δεκάτης, ὑπὸ παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ κατ' ἔτος λαμβάνονι, δεκάτην αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζεσθαι. ἐτί δὲ ἀπαρχάς τοῦ λαοῦ δικαίως τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ

1 ex Lat. Bernard: θεραπεύσωσα codd.
2 Niese: ἐξετάξε (ἐξετάζε RO) codd.
3 idem O (Niese).

4 Or, perhaps, "conceded Aaron's honourable right to the priesthood."
5 The "Sophoclean" assistant, like his favourite poet, has a partiality for the lucky number (see Introduction). Here probably he breaks off and in the following sections Josephus the priest seems to take up the pen himself.
allowed Aaron to hold the priesthood with honour. So he, having thrice been elected by God, was now firmly established in his office, and the sedition of the Hebrews, so long rampant, was thus terminated.

(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, 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 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. 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, 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-

\* i.e. of after times; or perhaps “the sacred ministry” (Weiff).
\* So xxx, Numb. xxxv. 4; Hebrew, “a thousand,” which is difficult to reconcile with the next verse.
\* See further, §§ 205, 240 ff.
\* Not in the Pentateuch; but see Josh. xxix. 4-19, where the thirteen cities given to the priests are enumerated.
τῶν τετραπόδων δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας νεομισμένων τὸ γενήθην πρῶτον, ἂν ἁρσων ἦ, καταβαίνει παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἰερεύσιν, ἵστε αὐτοὺς πανοικί 71 αντιείσθαι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει. τῶν δὲ οὖ νεομισμένων ἐσθίειν παρ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους τοὺς δεσπότας [τῶν τικτομέων] θίκλων καὶ ἰμισον αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν, ἀνθρώπων δὲ πρωτοτόκου πέντε σίκλους, εἶναι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων κούρας, τοὺς τε πέπτωντας τῶν αὐτών καὶ ἀρτοποιούμενους τῶν πειμάτων αὐτοῖς τινα 72 χορηγεῖν. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν αὐτοὺς καθιερώσων εὐχὴν πεποιημένους, νομίζων δὲ οὕτως καλοῦνται, κο- μώντες καὶ οἶνον οὖ προσφέρομενοι, τούτους δὲ δὴν τὰς τρίχας ἀφιερώσων ἐπὶ θυσία τῇ δρόσῳ 73 τὰς κουράς νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερεάς. καὶ οἱ κορβάν αὐτοῖς ὀνομάζαντες τῷ θεῷ, δώρων δὲ τούτο σημαίνει κατ' Ἑλλήνων γλώτταν, βου- λομένους αφίεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας τοῖς ἱερεύσι καταβάλλειν ἀργύριον, γυναῖκα μὲν τριάκοντα σίκλους ἄνδρα δὲ πεντήκοντα. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν ἐν- δεέστερα τῶν ὀρισμένων ἐχωνὶ χρημάτων θή τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἔξειναι περὶ τούτων ὡς βουλοῦνται δο- 74 κιμάσαι, εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοὺς κατ' οἶκων θύσιον εὐχύνσι ἐνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἄλλα μὴ ὑθησκείας ἀνάγκην κομίζειν τοῖς ἱερεύσιν ἐνυστρόν τε καὶ

1 om. RO. 2 χρήματα Bekker.

* To be erected hereafter (§ 200).
* 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).
* 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. In the case of creatures 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, and for the firstborn of man five shekels. 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. Again, those who describe themselves as "Corban" 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; 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

\[\text{Numb. xviii. 18.} \]
\[\text{Deut. xviii. 4.} \]
\[\text{Numb. xv. 20 f.} \]
\[\text{Ex. vi. 2.} \]

\[\text{Lev. xxvii. 1-8.} \]

\[\text{Deut. xviii. 3 with Lev. vii. 81 ff.} \]
\[\text{C.f. Numb. xviii. 18.} \]

\[\text{In Numbers this sum applies to the firstborn of unclean beasts also.} \]

\[\text{According to Numb. vi. 18 the Nazirite throws his hair on to the sacrificial fire.} \]

\[\text{"Corban", an "offering," "oblation"; translated, as here, by δοσος in Mark vii. 11, by Josephus again in Ap. i. 167 (where it denotes an oath) by δοσος θεος.} \]

\[\text{Special terms for minors and superannuated (Lev. xxvii. 5-7) are here omitted.} \]

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χελώνων καὶ τῶν δεξιῶν βραχίων τούθ᾽ ὑμάτως. καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἰερεύς Μωυσῆς τοσαύτην, πάρεξ ὑπέρ ἀμαρτημάτων θύών ὦ λαὸς δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν, 75 εὐπορίαν ἔπενονσε. πάντων δὲ τῶν τοῖς ἰερεύσι τελουμένων κοινωνεῖ τελεταῖς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἐξω τῶν ὑπέρ ἀμαρτημάτων ἐπιφερομένων θυσίων ἁγιάζας γάρ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ μόνοι δαπανῶσιν οἱ ἀρρενεῖ τῶν ἰερέων αὐθημερόν.

76 (5) Ὡς δὲ ταύτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωυσῆς διέταξεν, ἀρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιάς ἐπὶ τοὺς τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὄρους ἦλθε καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων πέμψας ἥλιον δίδον αὐτῷ παρασκευά, πίστεις ἃς αὐτὸς ἐθέλει λαβεῖν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικηθήσεται δώσειν ὀμολογίαν, ἀγορὰν τῇ στρατῷ χορηγῆσαι καὶ τῷ τιμήν τοῦ 77 ὕδατος αὐτοῦς κελεύσει καταβαλεῖν. οὐ δὲ οἷς ἐπρεσβεύσατο Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος οὐδὲ συγχωρῶν τὴν δίδον ἐν ὀπλοῦ τὴν στρατιάν ἀγαθῶν προσπήρτα τῷ Μωυσεῖ, καλόσως αὐτοὺς ἐι τολμήσαιν βίαν περαιοῦσαι. καὶ Μωυσῆς, ἀρχεῖν γὰρ μάχης οὐ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ θεὸς χρωμένω, τὴν δυνάμειν ὑπανηγῇ διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου ἐκπεριμών.

1 ed. pr.: καὶ codd. 2 ML: κελεύσει RO, εἰ κελεύσει SP.

Or “shoulder”; Greek “arm.”

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
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leg of the victim. 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 βιωμον θυσίαν ἅρκα κραφαγιαί, and Mishnah, Hullin 10. 1 (quoted by Driver in loc.). Josephus presents a mixture of the two lists.

* iii. 230-232, etc.

Text a little uncertain.

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Τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Μαριάμμην
teleυτῇ τοῦ βίου καταλαμβάνει τεσσαρακοστον
ἔτος πεπληρωκυίαν ἀφ’ οὗ τὴν Ἀγωντὸν κατέλυπε
μηνός δὲ Ἑαυτικοῦ νομοθεία κατὰ σελήνην.
θάπτουσι δ’ αὐτὴν δημοσίᾳ πολυτελῶς ύπέρ τινος
ὄρους, δ’ καλοῦσι Σείν, καὶ πενθήσαντα ἐπὶ τριάκοντα ἡμέρας τὸν λαὸν ἐκάθηρε Μωυσῆς τοῦτῳ
79 τῷ τρόπῳ μόσχον θῆλειαν, ἄρτρον μὲν καὶ γεωργίαν ἀπειρον ὀλόκληρον δὲ, ἔαυθην πᾶσαν,
μικρὸν ἀπωθεὶ τοῦ στρατοπέδου προαγωγὴν εἰς
χωρίον καθαρότατον ὁ ἄρχιμερεύς ἔθνει τε καὶ τοῦ
αἵματος ἐπτάκις ἔρραιε τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρό
80 τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα καινομένης ὡς εἶχεν
όλης τῆς δαμάλιδος σὺν τῇ δορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς
ξύλων κέδρων εἰς μέσον ἐμβάλλοντο τὸ πῦρ καὶ
ὑσσωπον καὶ φοινικτὸν ἔρημον συναγαγών δ’ αὐτῆς
ἀπασαν τὴν τέφραν ἅγνος ἀνὴρ κατατίθησαν εἰς
81 χωρίον καθαρότατον. τούς σὺν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ με-
μισθωμένους, τῆς τέφρας ὁλύον εἰς πηγὴν ἐνεῖστες
καὶ ὑσσωπον βαπτίσαντες [τε καὶ τῆς τέφρας
ταύτης εἰς πηγήν], ἐρραίον τρίτῃ τε καὶ ἐβδομῇ
tῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λουπὸν ἦσαν. τοῦτο
dὲ καὶ κατελθοῦσαν εἰς τὰς κληρουχίας προσέταξε
ποιεῖν.

1 om. Bekker.
a Alias on the 1st of Nisan ( 적용. 181). Numbers (xx. 1)
mencions “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.”

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(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 rxx has eis τόπος καθαρός (Numb. xix. 3).

* Or “red”; Bibl. “scarlet.”

* i.e. ceremonially clean.
82. (7) Metà de tìn éπi tò wò pènthei tìs àδελφìs tòu stràtēghòu kàthára ou touaütìn xeneuméνi àπìge tìn dìnàmìn dià tìs érìmou, kai tìs 'Araβiàs elbòn eis xwaríon, ò mútròpòlon outwòn 'Araβes xeneumíkaou, pròteron ouw àrкhèn leguménìn

83 Pètravn de wòv ónomaζoméntìn, òntaúde òýbhlòu perièkòntovs òróus ouw ànabàs 'Aoiròw ép' ouwò, Mòvusèos outwò dëdèlòkòtòs òti melloì tèleutàn, ápantòs tou oustràtìmatoù àρòntos, katànèes gàr òn tì xwaríon, àpòdètai tìn àrkhieratikìn oston kai paràdous ouwòn 'Eleazárár òfì pàidì, pròs òn dià tìn òýlkìan ò arkhierwuswnì paràwìnta, òvìskète tòu plèðous ouw èis ouwòn àfì-

84 ouwòs, tòw mèn outwò tèleutìsas ènteí, ò kai tìn àδèlμìn àpèbále, bìwos de ènta tà pànta trìa pròs tòw èikòs kai èkataù. àpòènìskète de kàtà selènìn voumènìa mhnòs òntos tou parà mèn 'Aðnìsèos 'Ekatómβaivòs kaloumènou Lòwò ouw de parà Mákèdòsì<v>, 'Aββà2 de par' 'Eβráìos.

85 (v. 1) Pènðòs de ènt' ouwò ouw lâou triakou-

ònìmèrou àgonòtòs, èpte tou'tè àlòphìsou, ànàlìbìw òkèìþen Mòvusès tòu oustratóu parèì èntì tòn potàmu 'Arnvìna, òs ìk tòw tìn 'Araβiàs óròn àðìmìmènov2 kai dià pástìs érìmou réwò ouw èis tìn

1 'Aρκέμ Ruv.: 'Aρκέμwv Bernard.
2 Bernard: σαβ(β)δ', σαβ'àv (sebath Lnt.) codd.
3 RO: òραμìmìnov rell.

* Not mentioned in Numbers, which, however, names the mountain which Aaron ascended, viz. Mount Hor. Since later on (§ 161) Josephus identifies Petra with 'Rekèm', deriving that name from its king Rekem, probably 'Aρκέμ is here corrupt and we should read 'Aρκέμwv'. When Josephus wrote, Petra was the capital of the powerful Nabataean king-
dom.

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(7) After a purification held in such wise in consequence of the mourning for the sister of their chief, he led his forces away through the desert and came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Aree, 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{\textsuperscript{a}}\text{Aram. abba, Hebr. ab; the fifth month of the Hebrew year (c. July-August): "Aaron ... died in the fortieth year [after the exodus] ... in the fifth month, on the first day of the month" (Numb. i.e.). "Abba" is, however, an emendation; and it is possible that the ms. reading seba\(\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\) (Lat. sebath) should stand, and that Josephus followed another tradition, dating the event six months later, on the 1st of Shebat.

\[\text{\textsuperscript{b}}\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 λίμνην ἐκδίδοσιν ὄριζων τὴν τε Μωαβίτων καὶ 'Αμορίτων. γῆς δ' αὐτὴ καρποφόρος καὶ πλῆθος ἀνθρώπων' τοὺς παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς ἰκανὴ τρέφειν. πρὸς οὖν Σιχῶνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπέστειλε Μωυσῆς τῷ στρατῷ διόδον αὐτῶν ἐφ' αῖς ἃν θελήσεις πίστευν, ἵστε μηδὲν ἀδικεῖτεν μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε τοὺς ἐν- οικούντας, ὅπως Σιχῶν ἔκρατει, τοὺς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων λυστελές, εἰ καὶ τὸ ὡδῷρ αὐτοῖς πιπράσκεις ἐθέλοιεν. Σιχῶν δ' ἀρνούμενος ὀπλίζει τὸν οἰκείον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς 'Εβραίους διαβαίνειν τὸν 'Αρμώνα καλύειν ἐτοιμότατος ἦν.

87 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὅρων πολεμίως αὐτοῖς τὸν 'Αμοραίον διακειμένον οὕτε περιφρονούμενος ἁνέχεσθαι δεῖν ἐγώ καὶ τοὺς 'Εβραίους τῆς ἀπαραξίας καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν ἀπορίας, ὡς ἡς στασιάζει τοὺς πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνέπεσε καὶ τῷ δυσκόλως εἴχον, ἀπαλλάξαι διαγνώστω ἦρετο τὸν θεόν, εἰ πολέμειν αὐτῷ δίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νίκην ἀποσημηναντος αὐτὸς θαρσαλέως ἔχε πρὸς τὸν ἀγώνα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρόμοια, νῦν αὐτοὺς ἕξιν τῆς τοῦ πολέμεων ἱδονῆς ἀπολαύειν, ὅτι αὐτῇ συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι τῷ θείῳ. οἶ δὲ ἢς ἐπόθουν ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας ἀναλαβόντες εὐθέως εγκώρουν εἰς τὸ ἐργον. οὔ δὲ 'Αμοραίος οὐκέτ' ἢν ἐπινότων ὁμοίως αὐτῶ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε κατεπλάγῃ τοὺς 'Εβραίους καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ παρέχουσα θάττων αὐτὴν εὐφυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν τῷ ἀπηλέγχηκα πεφοβημένη. τὴν

¹ ἔσον ΟΜΛ. ² ἐπισημηναντὸς ΡΟ.
titis, a 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 b made such a show of spirit, now proved positively afraid. Thus, without waiting to

a The "Bituminous" lake—The Dead Sea.

b For δέκτης = πρέπειος cf. A. v. 171 (and so frequently ἀφετέρως, A. i. 98, etc.); but the word here may connote "too hastily."
πρώτην οὖν σύνοδον οὖν ὑπομείνατε ἀντιστήναι καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους τρέπονται, τούτῳ ἐαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ἢ τὸ μάχεσθαι
90 παρέξειν ἐθάρρουν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεωις οὕσας ὀχυραῖς. παρ᾽ ὁνομίαν αὐτοῖς ὁφελοῦσ᾽ ἢ εἰς ταύτας συνδιώκθειν. Ἑβραίοι γὰρ ὡς ἐνδόντας αὐτοὺς εὐθὺς εἶδον, ἐνέκειντο καὶ παραλύσαντες
91 αὐτῶν τὸν κόσμον εἰς φόβον κατέστησαν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἀπορραγόντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὴν διώξειν οὐκ ἐκαμνὸν, ἀλλ᾽ οῖς προ- 
πεπονήσαν προσεπταλαπωρήσαν προσβέμενοι,¹ καὶ σφενδονὰν τε ἀριστοὶ τυγχάνοντες καὶ πάσι 
τοῖς ἐκμίμοιοι δεξιοὶ χρησθαί, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὀπλισμὸν 
οὐσαν εὐσταθῆ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ διώκειν δυνεῖ 
μετέθεσον τοὺς πολέμους καὶ τοὺς πορρωτάτους 
συλληφθῆναι γεγονότας ταῖς σφενδόναις καὶ τοῖς
92 τοξεύμασι κατελάμβανον. φόνοις τε οὖν γίνεται 
πολὺς καὶ τραύμασιν ἐπόνουν οἱ διαφεύγοντες, 
ἐκαμνὸν δὲ ἐπὶ δύσει μᾶλλον ἢ τινὶ τῶν πολεμικῶν· 
καὶ γὰρ ὅρᾳ θέρους ἢν καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πιέζων 
ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ τῶν πλείους καταραχθέντας, καὶ 
ὅσον συνεστραμμένον ἔφευγε, περιστάτες ἐβαλλον 
καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἀμα καὶ τοξεύοντες 
93 διέφθειραν. ἀποδυναμείς δ᾽ αὐτῶν καὶ Σιχῶν ὁ 
βασιλεὺς. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ νεκροῦς ἐσκύλευον καὶ 
λείαν ἐλαβον καὶ πολλήν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς 
γῆς εἶχον μεστῆς ἐτε τῶν καρπῶν ὑπαρχοῦσης,

¹ προθέμενοι (Bekker, Niese) is a needless emendation.
² τε RO.

* Triple alliteration in the Greek. If the “Sophoclean” assistant is here at work, he had warrant for this in his model.
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

s. e. Soph. O.C. 589 κείνου-κομίζειν κείστ, 804 f. φόνος φανεῖ φρένας, 1140 τεκνόισι τερφθεί τοίζει

5 After Thuc. iii. 22 εὐσαλέεὶς τῇ ὀχλίσει.

6 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 δέον συνεπραμένων recalls Platana (ib. iii. 4) ! Here clearly the “Thucydidean” assistant lends his aid.

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94 καὶ διεξῆγεi πᾶσαν ἁδεῶς τὸ στράτευμα προνομῆς χρώμενον, ἀλισκομένων καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οὐδὲν γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἢν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ μαχῆμα παντὸς ἀπολογιστός. Ἀμοραίους μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτο πάθος κατάλαβεν οὔτε φρονήσας δεινοὺς οὔτε ἁγαθοὺς κατὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγονότας, Ἕβραῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων 95 παρελάμβανον. ἔστι δὲ χωρίων, ὁ τριῶν μεταξὺ ποταμῶν κεῖμενον ὁμοίων τι νήσῳ τὴν φύσιν ὑπάρχει, τοῦ μὲν Ἀρνώνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὀρει- ξοντος αὐτό, Ἰοβάκου δὲ τὴν ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ πλευράν περιγράφοντος, ὡς εἰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλων ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦ ὁνόματος μεταδίδοντο; τὰ μέντοι γε πρὸς τῇ δύσει τοῦ χωρίου περιέσωμ αὐτὴν Ἰόρδανος.

96 (3) Οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπι- τίθεται τοῖς Ἱσραήλιταις ὡς ὁ τῆς Γαλαήνης καὶ Γαλαανίτων βασιλέως στρατὸν ἔγνω, καὶ σπείδων μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν Σιχώνος, φίλου τυγχάνοντος, εὐρών δὲ ἐκείνου ἡ ἐπι- απολογιστά καὶ οὕτως ἔγνω τοῖς Ἕβραίοις εἰς μάχην ἐλθεῖν περιέσωσαί τοις νομίζων καὶ τῆς 97 ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν διάπεραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν· δι- αμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτοῦ τε ἀποθρήσκει κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ διαφθείρεται. Μισοῦσι δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἰοβάκου περαισάμενον διεξῆγε τῆς Ἡγου βασιλείας τὰς τῶν πόλεως καταστρεφόμενος καὶ κτεῖνων πάντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, οὐ καὶ πλούτως διέφερον πάντων

1 Bekker: πᾶσιν codd.
2 ἡματος Naber.

a Bibl. Jabbok (Ἰαβάκ).
b Cf. i. 177, where Josephus seems to imply that the Jordan derived its second syllable from "Dan, one of its two
the crops and was, without fear of molestation, traversed in every direction by the troops for foraging purposes; the cities too were captured, for these presented no obstacle now that all combatants had perished. Such was the catastrophe that overtook the Amorites, who had shown neither skill in counsel nor valour in action; and the Hebrews took possession of their land. It is a region situated between three rivers, which give it something of the nature of an island: the Arnon forming its southern boundary, its northern flank being circumscribed by the Jobak, 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.

(8) 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."

"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 ἔκειν θρήνητῶν δὴ ἀρετὴν γῆς καὶ πλῆθος χρημάτων. Ὡς ἐδὲ μέγεθος τε καὶ κάλλος ἦν οἶον ὁλόγουσι σφόδρα, ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ χειρὰ γενναίος ἁνὴρ, ὡς ἂν τὰ τῶν ἱρων ἦνα τοῖς τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας πλεονεκτήμασι, τὴν δὲ ισχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἐτεκμηριώσαντο κλῖνην αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἐν Ῥαβαρᾶ πόλει τῶν βασιλείων τῆς Ἀμμάντιδος, τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ συνθήκες, τεσσάρων δὲ πηχῶν τὸ εὐρός, μήκει 99 δὲ τοῦ διπλασίους ἐνὶ πήχει μείζονα. τούτου τούτων πταισαντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐπέδωκε τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ἁγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἰτίας ἀποθανῶν ὑπήρξεν καὶ γὰρ πόλεις ἔξηκοντα λαμπρῶς πάνυ τετει- 
χυμένας ὑποτελεῖς ἔκειν χαρέλαβον καὶ λείαν πολλὴν ἱδία τε καὶ δημοσία πάντες εὐπόρησαν.

100 (v. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδεύει κατ- 
αγαγών τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ κατὰ τὸ 
μέγα πεδίον Ἰεριχοῦντος ἀντικρύ, πόλεις δὲ ἐστῶν 
eυδαλῶν αὐτὴ φουνικάς τε φέρειν ἁγαθὴ καὶ 
βάλσαμον νεμομένη. ἤρχοντο δὲ φρονεῖν ἐφ' 
ἐαυτοῖς μέγα Ἰσραήληται καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς 
101 πολέμους ἐπιθυμιάν ὑπὲρέτεινον. καὶ Μωυσῆς 
ὁλέγων ἤμερον θύσας χαριστήρια πρῶτον τῷ 
θεῷ καὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐσυχῆνας μέρος τι τῶν ὁπλιτῶν 
ἐξεπεμφέ δημόσων τὴν Μαδιανίτων γῆν καὶ τὰς 
patrίδας αὐτῶν ἐκπολιορκήσαν. τοῦ δὲ ἐκπο- 
λεμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔλαβε τουαίτην.

102 (2) Βάλακος ὁ τῶν Μωαβίτων βασιλεὺς 
φιλίας αὐτῶν πατρίδας οὔσης καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Μα- 

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3 
4

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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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* Bibl. "Rabbah," Aramaic "Rabbath."

* Cf. iii. 36.

* The Ghôr ("Rift") or Jordan valley, B.J. iv. 455.

* So Josephus throughout: Bibl. Midian(ites), lxx Macedo.
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dianías, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραήλιτας τοσούτον φυσικόν ἐκάθισεν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων λιν αὐλαβεῖτο, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πέπυστο γὴν ἄλλην <οὖ>¹ πολυπραγμονεῖν τους Ἑβραίους ἀπηγορευκότος τοῦ θεοῦ κτησαμένους τὴν Χαναναίον,² βατοῦν ἡ φρονεμότερον ἐγχειρεῖν ἐγὼ τοῖς λόγοις.³ καὶ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις βραστεῖροι τε⁴ ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπραγίας κατειλημμένοις οὐκ ἔκρινε, κωλύσαι δὲ εἰ δύναιτο γενέσθαι μεγάλους λογιζόμενος πρεσβεύσαι πρὸς

104 Μαδιανίτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. οἱ δὲ, ἂν γὰρ τις ἀπὸ Εὐφράτου Βάλαμος μάντις ἄριστος τῶν τότε καὶ ἀπὸ αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων, πέμπουσι μετὰ τῶν Βαλάκου πρέσβεων ἀνδρὰς τῶν παρ’ αὐτοῖς ἀξιολόγων παρακαλέσοντας τὸν μάντιν ἐλθεῖν, ὡς ἐν έπ’ εξωλεία τῶν Ἰσραήλιτῶν ἅρας

105 ποιήσῃ τιτ. παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις δέχεται ἐνείμα φιλοφρόνως καὶ δευτερίας ἀνέκρινε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν, τῆς αὐτὴ ἔστιν ἐφ’ οἷς Μαδιανίται παρακαλοῦσι. τοῦ δ’ ἐμποδίων στάντος ἀμφικεῖται πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, προδημιῶν μὲν καὶ σπουδὴ τὴν ἱδίαν ἐμφάνιζων αὐτοῖς εἰς δ’ δεόνται τυχέων, τὸν δὲ θεόν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοῦ τῇ προαίρεσι θηλῶν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κλέος δὲ ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν τάυτης πρόρρησιν ἀγάγοι.

106 τὸν γὰρ στρατὸν, ὃς καταρασμένον αὐτοῖν ἐλθεῖν παρακαλοῦσι, δι’ εὐνοίας εἶναι τῷ θεῷ συν-

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¹ ἄλλα (ἐκ) R.: ἄλλαν rell. ² + καὶ ed. pr. (Lat.).
³ τοῖς δὲντος Herwerden. ⁴ Text doubtful.

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"" to try an assault of a verbal nature "" (i.e. through imprecations), or possibly "" to essay parley (with his friends)."" 526
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 λόγοι: the phrase recurs in B.J. vii. 340 ἀνεξελέπτως λόγοι "essayd a flight of oratory."

5 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.

6 So the Midrash (Weill).
Josephus

εβούλευε τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν αὐτίαν χωρεῖν παρὰ αὐτοῦς τὴν ἐχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραήλας καταλυσαμένους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταύτ’ εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε.

107 (3) Μαδιανώται δὲ Βαλάκου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου καὶ δέχοντας λυπαρῶς προσφέροντος πάλιν πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Βάλαμον. κακεῖνος βουλόμενος χαρίζει τι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἄνήρετον τοῖς θεόν, ὃ δὲ καὶ τῆς πείρας δυσχεράνας κελεύει μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. ὃς δ’ οὖχ ὑπολαβὼν ἀπὰτη ταύτα τοῦ θεόν κεκελευκέναι συναπῆε 108 τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὅδον ἀγγέλου θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ τι στενῶν χωρίων περιελημένον αἰμασιάς δυπλαίς ἢ ὄνοι, ἐφ’ ἢς ὁ Βάλαμος ὥχειτο, συνείσα τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὑπαντῶντος ἀπέκλινε τὸν Βάλαμον πρὸς τὸν ἔτερον τῶν τριγχῶν ἀνασβήτως ἔχουσα τῶν πληγῶν, ἃς ὁ Βάλαμος ἐπέφερεν αὐτῇ κακοπαθῶν 109 τῇ ὀλίψει τῇ πρὸς τὸν τριγχόν. ὡς δ’ ἐγκειμένου τοῦ ἄγγελου ὃ ὄνος τυπτομένη ὠκλασε, κατὰ βουλήσων θεοῦ φωνῆν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀφείσα 1 κατ’ ἐμέμφετο τὸν Βάλαμον ὡς ἀδικοῦν ἐπὶ ταῖς πρὸτεραι διακονίαις μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ πληγάς ἐπιφέρειν, μὴ συνείσι τῇ νῦν κατὰ θεοῦ προσέρχειν οἷς αὐτὸς ἐσπευσέν ὑπηρετεῖν εἴργεται.

110 ταραττομένον δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὅνου φωνῆν ἀνθρωπίνην οὕσαν ἐπιφανεῖς καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἑναρχής ἑνεκάλει τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς οὖχ ὁ τοῦ κτήματι ὄντος αἰτίου, τὴν δὲ ὅδον αὐτοῦ διακωλύοντος παρὰ 111 γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην. καταδείκτας δ’ ὁ

1 RO: λαβοῦσα rel.

* 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 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 a 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,
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Βάλαμος οίς τε ἡν ἀναστρέφεων, ἀλλ’ ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν χωρεὶν τὴν προκειμένην παρώρμησε προστάξας ὃ τι περ ἄν αὐτὸς κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ποιήσει τούτῳ σημαίνειν.

112 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἦκε πρὸς Βάλακον. δεξαμενοῦ δὲ αὐτῶν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπρεπῶς ἡξίου προσάχθεις ἐπὶ τὶ τῶν ὠρῶν σκέφθονται, πῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχει οὐκετίσεως. Βάλακος δ’ αὐτὸς ἀφίκεται τὸν μάντιν σύν βασιλικὴν θεραπεία φιλοτήμως ἀγόμενος εἰς ὅρος, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ στρατόπεδου σταδίους ἀπέχον ἐξήκοντα. κατοικῶν δ’ αὐτοὺς ἐκείνοις βωμοῦς τε ἐκελεύσεν ἐπτὰ δείμασθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοσοῦτος ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς παραστῆσαι ὑπουργόντως δὲ διὰ ταχέων τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλοκαυτε τυθέντας, ἦσ

113 ητ’ ἀντρόποις ἐδει τημαινομένην, ἢ ο λεώς, φησίν, ὡς οὔτος εὐδαιμῶν, ὡς ὁ θεὸς διδοὺς μυρίων κτήσι αγαθῶν καὶ συμμαχὸν εἰς ἀπαντά καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἐαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπένευσεν. ἦσ ὡδέν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπους ἀνένοι οὔτε μη κατ’ ἀρετὴν καὶ ἐξῆλθον ἐπιτηδειμάτων ἁριστῶν καὶ καθαρῶν πονηρίας ὑμεῖς ἀμείωτος κριθήσεσθε καὶ παισὶ βελτίσσων αὐτῶν ταῦτα καταλείπετε, θεοῦ μόνους ὑμᾶς ἀνθρῶπους ἐφορῶντος καὶ ὃθεν ἄν γένοισθε πάντων εὐδαιμονεστεροὶ τῶν ὑπὸ τοῦ ἦλιον ἐκπορίζων. γῆν τε ὦν ἐφ’ ὅρν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἐστειλε καθέστε δοιλεύσουσαν αἱ παισὶ ὑμεῖ-

1 conj.: τρόπον RO, τροπὴν tell.
2 ἀνθρώπων RO.
3 ἀνθρώπως Niese.
4 ex Lat.: δουλεύσουσα codd.

* 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.\(^2\) 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,\(^b\) “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

\(^2\) My conjecture δτρόπος (Atropos, the divinity of inflexible fate) yields the required sense and accounts for both readings of the ms. ; first the α was dropped, and then the feminine part. σημασωδένησε caused the conversion of τρόπος into τροπή (which Weill adopts, rendering “comme il y vit le signe d’une fuite”).
τέροις, καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κλέος ἐμπληθῆσεται πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα, ἀρκεσετε δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ παρασχειν ἐκάστη γῆ τῶν ἀφ’ ὑμετέρου γένους
116 οἰκήτορας. θαυμάζετε οὖν, ὦ μακάριοι2 οὐρανοὶ, ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἐς ἐνὸς πατρὸς γεγόνατε;3 ἀλλὰ τὸν νῦν ὑμῶν οἴλογον ἢ Χανααίων χωρῆσει γῆ, τὴν δ’ οἰκουμένην οἰκήτηριον δὲ αἰώνος ἵστε προκειμένην ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν τῇ γῆσοι καὶ κατ’ ἡπειρον βιοτεύσετε ὃσον ἐςτὶν ὑμῖν ἀστέρων ἁρμόδιον ἐν οὐρανῷ. τοσοῦτος δὲ ὑμῖν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσει τὸ θεῖον ἄφθονιαν μὲν παντολόων ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ κορηγοῦν, νῦν δὲ
117 καὶ κράτος ἐν πολέμῳ. παῖδας ἐχθρῶν ἔρως τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου λάβοι καὶ δρασυνθεῖεν ὡστε εἰς ὄπλα καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χείρας ἐλθεῖν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστρέψει τις νικηφόρος οὐδ’ ὡστε παῖδας εὑράναι καὶ γυναῖκας. τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν ἄνδρειας τὸ περίον ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἀνήρτηται, φι καὶ τὰ περιττὰ μειώνῃ ἴσχυς καὶ τὰ λείποντα διδόναι.”

118 (5) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτ’ ἐπεθελαζέν οὐκ ὁν ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ δὲ θεῷ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ νεκικημένος. τοῦ δὲ Βαλάκου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ παραβαίνειν αὐτὸν τὰς συνθήκας ἐφ’ αἷς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλων λάβοι δωρεῶν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικαλοῦντος, ἐλθόντα γὰρ ἐπὶ κατάρα τῶν πολεμίων ὑμεῖν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνους καὶ μακαρισμάταυς ἀποφαίνειν
119 ἀνθρώπων, “οὗ Βάλακε,” φησὶ, “περὶ τῶν ὅλων λογίζῃ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐφ’ ὑμῖν εἶναι τι περὶ τῶν

1 μακάριοι Nieze. 2 γεγόνατε. edd. 3 Dindorf (Lat. prestabittur): 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

* After Hom. II. v. 688 εὐφραντέω ἄλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον ὑλήν.
τοιούτων συγάν ἡ λέγειν, ὅταν ἦμας τὸ τού θεοῦ λάβη πνεῦμα; φωνᾶς γὰρ ἂς βουλεῖται τοῦτο
120 καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἦμῶν εἰδότων ἀφίγων. ἐγὼ δὲ μέμνημαι μὲν οὐτε καὶ σὺ καὶ Μαδιανῖται
dεθέντες ἐνταῦθε μὲ προσήμως ἡγάγετε καὶ
dι' ἀ τὴν ἄφεξιν ἐποιησάμην, ἢν τὲ μοι δὲ εὐχῆς
121 μηδὲν ἀδικήσαί σοι τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. κρείττων
dὲ ὁ θεὸς ὁν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκεις καὶ
παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγινώσκεις περὶ τῶν ἀνθρωπῶν1 παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς μὴ
tαύθ' ἄπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θεὸν λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι
dὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βουλήσουν: οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἦμας ἐτε
122 φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον. ἔγωγ' οὖν
tὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον οὔτ' ἔπαινεσάν προνόμην
οὔτ' ἐφ' οίς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθοίς
ἐμηχανήσατο διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εὑμενής αὐτοῖς οὕτος
ὡς καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοῖς εὐδαίμονα βίον καὶ κλέος
αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν ἐμοὶ τοιούτων ἀπαγγελιὰν
123 λόγων ὑπέθετο. νῦν δὲ, χαρίζεσθαι τε γὰρ αὐτῷ
σοὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ἔστι μοι καὶ Μαδιανῖται, ὃν
ἀπώσασθαι μοι τὴν ἄξιωσιν οὐκ εὐπρεπές, φέρε
βαρμούς τε ἑτέρους αἴθιος ἐγείρωμεν καὶ θυσίας
tαῖς πρὶν παραπλησίας ἐπετελέσωμεν, εἰ πείσαι
tὸν θεὸν δυνηθείν ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
124 ἀραὶς ἐνδήσαι." συγκωφήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βαλάκου
dὶς μὲν τεθυκότι τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐπένευσε τὰς κατὰ
tῶν Ἰσραηλίτων ἄρας, [θύσας δὲ καὶ τρίτων ἄλλων
πάλιν ἀνασταθέντων βωμῶν οὐδὲ τότε μὲν κατ-

1 ἀνθρωπῶν ML.
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.
125 ἡράσατο τοῖς Ἰσραήλιταίς, εἴπει στόμα πάθη προύλεγεν ὅσα τε βασιλεύσοι ἔσται καὶ ὅσα πόλεις ταῖς ἁξιολογώταται, ὅπιο ἐνὶσθα ὦδε οἰκεῖοβαί πως συνέβαινε τὴν ἁρχίν, ἢ τε καὶ προὑπῆρξεν ἐν τοῖς ἐμπροσθεν χρόνοις γενόμενα τοῖς ἄνθρωποις διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης εἰς μηῖμιν τὴν ἐμῆν. εἰ δὲν ἀπάντων λαβόντων τέλος ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνος προεῖπε τεκμηρίαι ταυ τις, ὦ τε καὶ ἐσούτο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.

126 (6) Βάλακος δὲ ἀγανάκτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μή καταράτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἰσραήλιτας ἀποπέμπει τὸν Βάλαμον μηδέμιας τιμῆς ἁξιώσας· ὃ δὲ ἀπώλην ἠδὴ καὶ τῷ περαιόν τὸν Εὐφράτην γενόμενον τὸν τε Βάλακον μεταπεμφῶμενον καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν "Βαλακέ," φησί, "καὶ Μαδιανιτῶν οἱ παρόντες, χρῆ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βουλήσων τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν Ἑβραῖων γένος οὐκ ἂν ὀλθήροις παντελῆς καταλάβων, οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτ' ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ ὀπάσαι τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς καρπῶν, οὔτ' ἀλλ' τις αὐτία παράλογος διαφθείρειν. πρόνοια γὰρ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτῶς ἐξαι τοιούτου πάθος ἐλθεῖν, υφ' οὗ καὶ ἀπολογοῦτα πάντες· συμμέτοσι δ' ἃν αὐτοῖς ὄλγα τε καὶ πρὸς ὄλγον, υφ' ὃν ταπεινωθὸς δοκοῦτε εἰτ' ἄνθρωποι ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπαγαγόντων αὐτοῖς τᾶς

1 hab. SP: ins. post στέμα L: om. rell. Doubtless a gloss.
2 Dindorf: τως codd.
3 οὐς' Niese.
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 behoves me despite God’s will to gratify you—doubtless this race of Hebrews will never be overwhelmed by utter destruction, neither through war, nor through pestilence and dearth of the fruits of the earth, neither shall any other unlooked-for cause exterminate it. For God is watching over them to preserve them from all ill and to suffer no such calamity to come upon them as would destroy them all. Yet misfortunes may well befall them of little moment and for a little while, whereby they will appear to be abased, though only thereafter to flourish once more to the terror of those who inflicted these injuries

* 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 סני, with the sacrifice already narrated, brings up the number to three; he has apparently interpreted סני as סני יָרֵם.

* Cf. a rather similar mysterious reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel in A. x. 210.
120 Βλάβασις, ὑμεῖς δ᾽ εἰ νίκην των πρὸς βραχύν καὶ ταῖς αὐτῶν κερδᾶναι ποθεῖτε, τύχουτ’ αὖν αὐτὸς ταύτα ποιήσαντες· τῶν θυγατέρων τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ βιάσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὄρων τοῖν χειροτόνης ἴκανάς διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀσκήσαντες τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον εὐπρεπές πέμψατε πλησίον ἐσομένας τῶν ἑκείνων στρατοπέδου, καὶ δειμένοις συνείναι τοῖς

130 νεανίας αὐτῶν προστάξατε. Ἐπειδὴ δὲ κεχειρωμένους ὁδὸν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καταλυπτώσαν καὶ παρακαλοῦντοι μένειν μὴ πρότερον ἐπινεύσασθαι, πρὸν ἀν πείσασθαι αὐτοὺς ἀφεντας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὸν τούτους αὐτοῖς δέμενον τιμῶν θεόν τοὺς Μαδιανιτῶν καὶ Μοαβείτων σέβοντος σὺν τοῖς γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὀργοσθήσεται." καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦτο ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ἤξετο.

131 (7) Τῶν δὲ Μαδιανιτῶν πεμψάντων τὰς θυγατέρας κατὰ τὴν ἑκείνου παραίνεσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀλλοκοται νέοι τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτῶν καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς λόγους αὐτοῖς παρεκάλουν μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσεως μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησίαζεις συνθείας· αὐτὸς δὲ ἀσμένως δεξαμεναὶ τοὺς λόγους συνήσαν

132 αὐτοῖς ἐνδησάμενοι δὲ αὐτοὺς τῷ πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐρωτει καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκμαζοῦσης περὶ ἄπολλαργῆν ἐγίνοντο. τοὺς δὲ ἀθυμία δεινῆ πρὸς

1 Ἀκουστὶ ΡΩ.

a Cf. Is. lvii. 17 lxx δ’ ἀμαρτίας βραχύ τι ἐλύση αὐτῶν and the concluding portion of the Ep. of Baruch (end of 1st cent. Δ.Δ.), beginning ἐ πραγμάτων ὑμῖν τὰ κακά (iv. 29).

b This suggestion is foreign to the older ("J") narrative
upon them.⁹ 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 entreatying 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.⁶

(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."
ἸΟΣΕΒΘΟΣ

τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν γυναικῶν κατέλαβε καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἐνέκειντο, μηδὲνας καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γαμετὰς αὐτῶν ἐσομένας αὐτῷ μένειν καὶ δεσποινάς ἀποδειχθησομένας πάντων ὑπῆρχεν ἀυτοῖς. ταῦτα δὲ ὅμωντες ἔλεγον καὶ θεοῦ μεσίτην ὑπὸ ὑπισχυόμενον, δακρύσοντες τις καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτούς ἐλεεινοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ κατασκευάζοντες εἶναι. αἱ δὲ χεὶς διδομένῳ αὐτοῖς κατενόησαν καὶ τελέσα ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἐχομένους, ἤξειντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγενεν.

134 (8) Ἡμῶν, ὡς κράτιστοι νέων, οἶκοι τὲ εἰς πατρίδοι καὶ κτήσις ἀγαθῶν αἴροντες καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν οἰκείων εὐνοία καὶ στοργή, καὶ κατ᾽ οὐδένας τούτων πόρων ἐνθάδε ἦκουσας ἡμεῖς εἰς ὡμιλίαν ἡκομέν, οὐδὲ ἐμπορευόμενοι τὴν ὥραν τουτού προσεκάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσις, ἀλλὰ ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὑπολαμβάνει τοιούτους ὑμᾶς τιμῆσαι ἐνίοις δεσμένους ἐπείσθημεν. καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστόργος ἔχεις καὶ λυπεῖσθαι μελλοντῶν ἀνακρωρίων, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ τὴν δέσμιν ὑμῶν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, πίστιν δὲ εὐνοίας λαμβάνεις τὴν μόνην ἡμῶν ἀξιόλογον νομισθέσσαν ἀγαπήσομεν τὸν μεθ᾽ ὑμῶν βίον ὡς γαμετὰς διανύσαι. δεὸς γάρ, μὴ καὶ κορον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὡμιλίας λαβόντες ἐπειδὴ ὑβρίσθης καὶ ἀτέμοιο ἀποτέμψητε πρὸς τοὺς γυναῖκας· συγγνώμωσκε ταῦτα φιλαττομέναις ἡζίουν. τῶν δὲ ἦν βούλονται πίστιν δώσειν

1 ἀποροῦσα SP Lat. (οὖσας L): τά λέγε ἄπορον.
2 RO Lat.: ὑπείσθη δεικ."

* The model for this speech and for the episode as a whole 540
of despondency at the women’s departure: they pressed and implored them not to abandon them, but to stay where they were, to be their brides and to be installed as mistresses of all that they possessed. This they affirmed with oaths, invoking God as arbiter of their promises, and by their tears and by every means seeking to render themselves an object of the women’s compassion. And these, when they perceived them to be enslaved and completely holden by their society, began to address them thus:

(8) "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 "Προτεινομένως τοις τεκται τειχώ κατά τρίβες").

Or, with another reading: "for lack of."
JOSEPHUS

ὁμολογούντων καὶ πρὸς [τὸ] ἡμῖν ἀντιλεγόντων

137 ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς πάθους, “ἐπεὶ ταύτα ἦμῖν,”

ἐφασαν, “δεδοκται, τοῖς θ' ἐδεσι καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς

ἀπαντας ἀλλοτριώτατα χρῆσθε, ὡς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς

ἡμῶν ἱδιοτρόπους εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποτὰ μὴ κοινὰ τοῖς

ἀλλοις, ἀνάγκη βουλομένους ἡμῶν συνοικεῖν καὶ

θεοὺς τοὺς ἁμετέρους σέβεσθε, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο

γένοιτο τεκμήριον ἢς ἔχειν τε νῦν φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς
eυνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐσομενῆς ἡ το τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν

138 θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν. μέμψαιτο δ' ἂν οὐδεὶς, εἰ γῆς εἰς

ἡν ἀφῄθε τοὺς ἴδιους αὐτής θεοὺς προστρέψωθε, καὶ

ταύτα τῶν μὲν ἁμετέρων κοινῶν ὀντῶν πρὸς

ἀπαντας, τοῦ δ' ἁμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου

τυχάνοντος.” δε죤 οὖν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον ἡ ταύτα

πᾶσιν ἡγιτέοι τῇ ἦτεῖν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην, ἐν ἡ

βιώσονται μόνοι κατὰ τοὺς ἴδιος νόμους.

139 (9) Οἰ δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτος κάλλιστα

λέγεσθαι ταύτα ὑπολαβόντες καὶ παραδόντες αὐ-

toὺς εἰς ἅ προεκαλοῦντο παρέβησαν τὰ πάτρια,

θεοὺς τε πλείονας εἶναι νομίζοντες καὶ θύειν

αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τῶν ἐπιχώριων τοῖς καθισμα-

μένους προβεβμένοι ξενικοῖς τε βρώμασιν ἔχαιρον

καὶ πάντ' εἰς ἴδιον τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τοῦναντίον

οἰς οὐ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε ποιοῦντες διετέλευν,

140 ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἴδῃ τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν παρανομίαν

χωρεῖν τῶν νέων καὶ στάσιν αὐτοῖς πολύ χείρῳ

τῆς προτέρας ἐμπεσείν καὶ κάνων παντελοῦς

τῶν ἴδιων ἐθισμῶν ἀπωλείας. ἀπαξ γὰρ τὸ νέον

1 RO: om. reli.

2 SI: προτρέποισθε reli.
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

* Lit. "according to the law native to those who had established" ("it"; or "them," i.e. the gods).
γευσάμενον ξενικῶν ἔσιμμῶν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο, καὶ εἰ τινες τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πατέρων ἄρετας ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν συνδιεφθειρότο. 141 (10) Καὶ Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος ἠγούμενος φυλῆς Χασβία, συνὼν Μαδιανίτιδι Σούρου 3 θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρός, κελευόθηκες ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸ τῶν Μωυσεῖ δοχεῖν τῶν τὸ 142 πρὸς ἴδονήν αὐτῇ γεννησόμενον ἐθεράπευεν. 2 εἰν τούτοις δὲ ὅτι τῶν πραγμάτων δείξας Μωυσῆς, μὴ γένηται τι χείρον, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τῶν λαὸν οὐδενὸς μὲν κατηγορεί πρὸς ὅνομα, μὴ βουλόμενος εἰς ἀπόνοιαν περιοιτήσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ λαοῦ μετανοήσαι δυναμένους, ἔλεγε δ’ ὡς οὐκ ἀξία δρέων οὐθ’ αὐτῶν οὔτε πατέρων τῆς ἴδονήν προτιμήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τούτον βιοῦν, 3 προσήκειν δὲ ἐως 4 ἐτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς 5 ἐχοι μεταβάλεσθαι, τὴν ἄνδρειαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιαζέσθαι τοὺς νόμους 144 ἀλλ’ ἐν τῷ μὴ εἰκεὶν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἶναι, πρὸς τούτοις δὲ οὐθ’ εὐλογον ἐφασκε σωφρονήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὄντις παροιμεῖν, μηδὲ τὰ κτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδειας δι’ εὐπορίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα λέγων ἔπειρατο τοὺς νέοις ἐπανορθῶν καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἀγείν ὃν ἐπράττον.
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, a the chief of the tribe of Simeon, b who was consorting with Chosbia c the Madianite, daughter of Sur, d 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. e Such was the state of things when Moses, f 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, g 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 ms. 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."
(11) Ἀναστάς δὲ μετ' αὐτῶν Ζαμβρίας "ἀλλὰ σὺ μέν," εἶπεν, "ὡς Μωυσῆ, χρῶ νόμοις οἷς αὐτὸς ἐσπούδακας ἐκ τῆς τούτων εὐθείας" το βεβαιον αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένος· ἐπεὶ μὴ τούτων αὐτῶν ἐχόντων τὸν τρόπον πολλάκις ἄν ἦδη κεκολασμένος 146 ἔγνως ἀν οὐκ εὐπαραλογίστοις Ἰσραήλ. εἰμὲ δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀκόλουθον οἷς σὺ προστάσσεις τυραννικῶς λάβοις· σὺ γὰρ ἄλλο τι μέχρι νῦν ἢ προσχήματα νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν δὲ σαυτῷ κακούργεις, ἀφαιροῦμενος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἱδίο καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν βλέπον αὐτευθύνον, δ' τῶν ἐλευθέρων 147 ἐστὶ καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἐχόντων. χαλεπώτερος δ' ἂν οὕτως Αἰγυπτιῶν Ἰσραήλ γένοιο τιμωρεῖν ἀξιῶν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἐκάστου πρὸς τὸ κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ βουλήν. πολὺ δ' ἂν δικαιότερον αὐτῶς τιμωρίαν ὑπομένους τὰ παρ' ἐκάστος ἀφομοιοῦμενα καλῶς ἔχειν ἀφανίζαι προηρημένοι καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀπάντων δόξης ἰσχυρῶν 148 τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακῶς ἀποτίαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἂν στεροῦσιν εἰκότως ἄν πράττω ἐν, εἰ δ' κρίνας ἀγαθὰ ταῦτ' ἔπειτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν τούτοις ὁκνήσαμι. γύναιον τε ἔγειρόν, ὡς φήσι, ἦγομαι παρ' ἐμαυτῷ γὰρ ἀκούσῃ τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ λαθεὶν προεθέμην; 149θύμω τε θεοὶ οἷς θυεῖν μοι νομίζεται δίκαιον ἤγοομενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἐμαυτῷ πραγματεύομαι τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν τὴν δόλην ἐς ἐνὸς ἐλπίδα τοῦ βλεψει παντὸς ἀνηρτη-

1 SPE: οὐρμῆιαι τελλ.  
2 νῦν, el. codd.: ύνι codd.  
3 + οὐκ codd.
(11) 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 wouldst 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 wouldst 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

* The modern word “self-determination” closely corresponds to the Greek.
κότα· γαρεὶς τ' αν οὐδεὶς κυριωτέρον αὐτὸν περὶ ὧν πραξαμεν γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποφασινόμενος.”

150 (12) Τοῦ δὲ Ζαμβρίου, ταῦτα περὶ αὐτὸς τε ἡδίκει καὶ τῶν άλλων τινῶν ἐιστόντος ὁ μὲν λαὸς ἴσως φανεὶ φόβω τοῦ μελλοντος καὶ τὸν νομοθέτην δὲ ὑπὸν μὴ περαιτέρο τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ προαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικρυς διαμάχης θελήσαντα· περιστατο γάρ, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων ἀνελγείας αὐτοῦ μιμηταί γενόμενοι παράξωσι τὸ πλῆθος, καὶ διαλύεται μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ σύλλογος προεληφθεί δ' ἐπὶ πλείον ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ πειρὰ μὴ φθάσαντος Ζαμβρία τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας. Φυεῖς ἀνήρ τά τε ἅλλα τῶν νεωτέρων κρείττων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιώματος τοῦς ἠλλικοῦτας ὑπερέχων, Ἐλεαζάρου γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως [νῦν] ἢ [Μωσεέως δὲ ἀδελφοῦ παίδος νῦν], περιλαβήσας τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαμβρίου, καὶ πρίν ἑυχροτέρων γενέσθαι τὴν ὑβρίν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδειας ἐργά τὴν δίκην αὐτοῦ εἰσπράξασθαι διαγόνους καὶ καλέσαι διαβήσαι τὴν παρανομίαν εἰς πλείονας τῶν ἀρξαμένων οὐ κολαζομένων, τόλμη ὅτι καὶ ψυχής καὶ σώματος ἀνδρεία τοσοῦτον προὐχων, ὡς μὴ πρότερον εἰ τινὶ συσταῇ τῶν δεινῶν ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ νίκην τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαμβρίου σκηνὴν παραγενόμενος αὐτὸν τε παίων τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ τὴν Χοσβλᾶν ἀπέκτεινεν. οἱ δὲ νεότεροι, οὗς ἀρετῆς ἀντιποίησις ἢν καὶ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν, μιμηταί

1 ROE om. words in brackets.

* Bibli. Phinehas (LXX Φινεής).
* Some mss. omit these words.
* A variation on the writer’s favourite Thucydidean phrase οἱ ἀρετής τε μεταποιησάμενοι (ii. 51); while the follow-548
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 Eleatzer 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 φιλακαλεῖ (lit. "to love beauty") recalls another famous phrase in Thuc. ii. 40. According to Numb. xxv. 5, "Moses said unto the judges (τὰς φυλαίς) of Israel, Slay ye every one his men," etc.
γενόμενοι τῆς Φιλερέουν τόλμης ἀνήρουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοὺς ὁμοίους Ζαμβρία τῆν αὐτίαν ἐληφότας. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδρά-155 γαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομοςάντων, εἴθαρησαν δὲ πάντες καὶ λοιμῷ, ταύτην ἐνσκῆμαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τῆν νόσου, ὡσεὶ τε συγγενεῖς ὄντες καλὸν δὲν ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα συναδικεῖν2 τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντες ἀπέθνησκον.3 ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρα κυσχίλιων καὶ μυρίων.3

156 (13) Ὡτί δὲ ταύτης παροξυνθεὶς τῆς αὐτίας Μεσοθῆς ἐπὶ τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν ὅληθρον τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, περὶ ὅν τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἐξόδου μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, προδιηγησάμενοι πρῶτον δὲ παρελίπομεν, δίκαιον γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτου τῆς τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀνέγκωμιστον. 157 τῶν γὰρ Βάλαμον παραληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μα-διανιτῶν, ὅπως ἐπαράσηται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ δυνηθέντα θεία προνοία, γνώμην δὲ ὑποθέμενον, ἢ χρησιμένων τῶν πολεμίων ὄλγου τοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος διεφθάρη τοῖς ἐπιτη-δεύμασι νοσησάντων δὴ τινῶν περὶ ταῦτα, μεγάλως 158 ἐπήμησιν ἀναγγείας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας, καὶ παρὸν αὐτῷ σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἐπὶ αὐτοῖς δό-ξαν καὶ ἐξιδιώσασθαι μυθοῦν ἂν γενομένου μάρτυρος τοῦ διελέγχοντος, ἐκείνω τῷ μαρτυρίαν ἀπέδωκε4 καὶ τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτῶ μυθήμης ἡξίωσε. καὶ

1 SP Exc. ἀδικεῖν rell. 2 συναδικεῖν Bekker. 3 καὶ μυρίων] δισμυρίων L. 4 ἔδωκε 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; while such of their relatives as, instead of restraining them, instigated them to those crimes were accounted by God their accomplices and died likewise. Thus there perished from the ranks no less than fourteen thousand men.\(^a\)

(18) That was the reason why Moses was provoked to send that army to destroy the Madianites.\(^b\) 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.\(^c\)

\(^a\) Numb. "twenty and four thousand" (as one ms. reads here).
\(^b\) § 101.
\(^c\) 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 (Parashuk) about Balaam," Weill infers that the prophecies of Balaam once formed a separate treatise.
ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τις δοκῇ οὕτω σκοπεῖτωσαν.

159 (vii. 1). Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ προέπον ἐπὶ τὴν Μαδιανίτων γῆν ἐπεμψεν στρατιὰν τοὺς πάντας εἰς δισχίλιους καὶ μυρίους, ἐξ ἐκάστης φυλῆς τὸν ἱσον ἁριθμὸν ἑπιλεξάμενος, στρατηγὸν δὲ αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξε Φίνεές, οὗ μικρῷ πρῶτον ἐμνήσθημεν φυλάχαντος τοὺς Ἑβραίους τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὸν παρανομοῦντα τούτους Ζαμβρίαν τιμώρμη-
160 σαμένου. Μαδιανίται δὲ προπυθόμενοι τὸν στρα-
τὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνοντα καὶ ὅσον οἰδέπω παρ-
εσάμενον ἠθροίζοντό τε καὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς
χώρας ἢ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀσφά-
161 λισάμενοι περιέμενον αὐτοὺς. ἐλθόντων δὲ καὶ
συμβολῆς γενομένης πέππει τῶν Μαδιανίτων πλῆθος
ἀσυνλόγων καὶ ἄριστων κρείττον οἱ τε βασιλεῖς
αὐτῶν ἀπαντᾶς· πέντε δὲ ἦσαν, Ὀχός τε καὶ
Σούρης ἐτὶ δὲ Ῥοβέθης καὶ Οὐρῆς,1 πέμπτος δὲ
Ῥέκεμος, οὗ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τὸ πάν ἀξίωμα τῆς
Ἀράβων ἔχουσα γῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παντὸς
τοῦ Ἀραβίου τοῦ κτίσαντος βασιλέως τὸ ὅνομα
Ῥεκέμης καλεῖται, Πέτρα παρ’ Ἑλληνικὴ λεγομένη.
162 τραπέτων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Ἑβραῖοι δεή-
πασαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὰς λείαν λαβόντες
καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας γυναῖκιν ἀμα διαφθείραντες
μόνας τὰς παρθένους κατέλυσον, τούτῳ Μωυσέως

1 RO (Lat.): Οδῆς rel.
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: Ochus and Sures, Robees 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\(^e\).  

\(^a\) 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. Evi (Eσείς) : Zur (Σωρός) : Reba (Pοσέχ ; in Josh. Pοσέ) : Hur (Οὔρ) : Rekem (Pορκα). Josephus omits the last half of the verse in Numbers: "Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword.”

\(^d\) Cf. § 82 (note), where the name appears in the mss. as Αρκην.
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163 Φινέεις κελεύσαντος. δὲ ἦκεν ἂγων τῶν στρατὸν ἀπαθὴ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον, βόσας μὲν γὰρ δυσχελίως καὶ πεντακισμύριοι, διὸς δὲ πεντακισύλλας πρὸς μυρίαν ἐπτὰ καὶ ἐξῆκοντα, ὅνους δὲ ἐξαισμύριας, χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου ἀπειρόν τι πλῆθος κατασκευῆς, ἢ κατ᾽ οἴκον ἐχρῶντο· ὑπὸ γὰρ εὐθαμονίας καὶ ἀβροδίατοι σφόδρα ἐτύγχανον. ἦκθησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ παρθένοι περὶ δυσχελίας καὶ τρισμυρίας. Μαυσοθῆς δὲ μερίσας τὴν λείαν τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν Ἐλεαζάρῳ δίδωσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, Δευταῖς δὲ τῆς ἐτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν μέρος, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν νέεις τῷ λαῷ καὶ διήγουν τὸ λοιπὸν εὐθαμόνως, ἄφθονος μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπ᾽ ἀρετῆς γεγενημένης, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δὲ σκυθρωποῦ ταύτης ἀπολαμβάνει ἐμποδίζομενοι.¹

164 (2) Μαυσοθῆς δὲ γηραιὸς ἦδη τυγχάνων διάδοχον ἐκατοῦ Ἡσυχοῦ καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τε ταῖς προφητείαις καὶ στρατηγὸν εἰ που δεῖσσει γεγενόμενον, κελεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ τήν προστασίαν ἐπιτρέπαι τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ Ἡσυχὸς πάσαν ἐπετάδευτο τῇ περὶ τοὺς νόμους παιδείαν καὶ τὸ θείον Μαυσόθου εὐκεφαλέαντος.

165 (3) Κἂν τούτῳ δύο φυλai Γαδίς² τε καὶ Ῥου-

¹ ἐμποδιζόμενος codd. ² M: Γάδου rell.

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¹ The virgins, who have not taken part in the previous seduction of the Isrealites, are to be preserved ("keep alive for yourselves"), presumably in the expectation of their conversion to Judaism.
² Bibl. (Heb. and rxx) 72,000.
³ Bibl. (both texts) 61,000.
⁴ So both Biblical texts; the qualifying word "about" possibly indicates acquaintance with a variant reading.

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being the orders of Moses to Phinees.\(^d\) 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 account in Numbers is more precise. There is first an equal division of the booty between combatants and non-combatants. Then, before it is distributed to individuals, a tax is deducted for religious purposes: from the portion of the combatants one five hundredth (not, as in Josephus, one fiftieth) is set apart for the priests, and from the portion of the non-combatants one fiftieth is set apart for the Levites. The Levites thus receive ten times as much as the priests. Josephus, who, as a priest, is concerned for priestly privileges (§ 68), equalizes the shares, not, however, without authority; the reading "50" for "500" is found in a small group of LXX MSS. in Numb. xxxi. 28.

\(^d\) Gr. "Jesus," here and, throughout.
βηλοῦ καὶ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος ἡμίσεια, πλήθει τετραπόδων εὐδαιμονίατες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀπασί, κοινολογοῦσά μεν παρεκάλουν τοῦ Μωυσῆν ἐξαίρετον αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἀμορῆτων παρασκεύην δορίκτητον οὖσαν. 167 ἁγασθην γὰρ εἶναι βοσκήματα τρέφειν. ὡ δὲ ὑπολαβῶν αὐτοῖς δείσαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναλάνδος μάχην πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ τῇ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐπιμέλειαν εὐθυγράφησαν κακίστους τε ἀπεκάλει καὶ δειλίας εὐοχήμονα1 πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντας αὐτοῖς μὲν βούλεσθαι τρυφάν αὐτών διάγοντας, πάντων τεταλαπωρήκοτων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν αἰ- 168 τουμένην ὡς αὐτῶν γην, μὴ θέλουν δὲ συναρα- μένους τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἁγώνων γην ἢ διαβᾶσιν αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὁ θεὸς παραδώσειν ὑπέσχηται ταύτην λαβεῖν καταστρεφαμένους οὐς ἐκεῖνος 169 ἀπεδείξεν ἡμῶν πολεμίως. οἱ δ’ ὄρπητες ὅρμαζο- μενον αὐτῶν καὶ δικαίως ἠρείσθησαν πρὸς τὴν ἄξιοσεν αὐτῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπελογοῦντο μὴ διὰ φόβου κινδύνων μηδὲ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν 170 μαλακίαν πεποιηθεῖα τὴν αἰτησιν, ἀλλ’ ὅπως τὴν λειαν ἐν ἐπιτηδείως καταλιπόντες εὐξαμοί πρὸς τοὺς ἁγώνας καὶ τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν δύναντο, ἠτοίμους τε ἔλεγον ἡμαυτοῦς κτίσασται πόλεις εἰς φυλακὴν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτήσεως αὐτοῦ 171 διδόντος συναπίεναι2 τῷ στρατῷ, καὶ Μωυσῆς ἀρεσθεὶς τῷ λόγῳ καλέσας Ἑλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τελεί πάντας συνεχόμενοι τῇ Ἀμορῆτων αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συμ- μαχήσαι τοῖς συγγενεῖσιν, ἐως ἂν καταστήσωσιν

1 ed. pr.: ἁχώματα codd.
2 συναπιέναι codd.

* Reubén (I. 304).
Rubel 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 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

a i.e. independently and in advance of the general allotment of territory.
tà πάντα. λαβόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτως τὴν χώραν καὶ κτισάντες πόλεις καρπεράς τέκνα [τε] καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τάλλα ὅσα συμπεριάγεων μέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἢν ἢν ἐμπόδια τοῦ πονεῖν ἀπέθεντο εἰς αὐτάς.

172 (4) Ὅλκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὰς δέκα πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτὼ καὶ τεσσάρων αγενησομένας, ἃν τρεῖς ἀπεδείξε τοὺς ἐπὶ ἀκουσωλ φόνω φευξομένους, καὶ χρόνῳ ἔταξεν εἶναι τῆς φυγῆς τοῦ αὐτῶν τῷ ἀρχιτέκτονε, ἐφ' όσι δράσας τῇ τῶν φόνων ἐξεγερεῖ. μεθ' δὲ ὑπενεχώρει τελευτάσαντα κάθοδον, ἐχόμενων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τοῦ πεφονευμένου συνεχεῖν κτείνειν, εἰ λάβοιεν ἔξω τῶν ὀρῶν τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἢ έλεγεν ἐκ τῶν πεφονευκότας. ἐτέρῳ δὲ

173 οὐκ ἐπετέτραπτο. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρὸς τὰς φυγὰς ἀποδεδειγμέναι ἦσαν αὑδε. Βόσσαραὑ μὲν ἐπί τοὺς ὀρίους τῆς 'Ἀραβίας, 'Ἀρίμανον δὲ τῆς Γαλαδηνῶν γῆς, καὶ Γαυλανᾶν δ’ ἐν τῇ Βατανίδι, κτησαμένων δ’ αὐτῶν καὶ τῆς Χαναάνων γῆι τρεῖς ἔτεραι πόλεις ἐξελλον ἀνατεθήσεσθαι τῶν Λευϊτῶν πόλεων τοῖς φυγάσιν εἰς κατοικισμὸν Μωυσέως ἐπιστελλαντος.

174 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πρῶτων τῆς Μανασσίτες φυλῆς καὶ δηλούσιν μὲν ὡς τεθηκοῦ τις τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπίσημος ἄνηρ Σωλοφάντης ὄνομα, παῖδας μὲν οὐ καταλημών ἄρσενας θυγατέρας δέ τοι, καὶ πυθμένων εἰ τούτων ὁ

1 Bισέρα R.O. 2 δὲ τοι R.O. μέστοι r.m.

* i.e. the proportionate number (4 for each tribe, hence 10 for the 24 trans-Jordanic tribes) of the 48 cities assigned to the priests and Levites (§§ 67-69).
having received the territory on these conditions and founded cities with strong defences, they deposited there children and wives and everything which, had they been required to carry it about with them, would have been an impediment to their labours.

(4) Moses himself too built the ten cities that were to be reckoned among the number of the forty-eight. 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

\[^{a}\text{Bibl. } "\text{Bezer (Bosdr) in the wilderness, in the table-land}^\] ; unidentified.

\[^{b}\text{Bibl. } "\text{Ramoath in Gilead}^\] ; elsewhere called by Josephus 'Aραμαδέ or 'Pαμάδη, Αντ. viii. 398 etc. ; commonly identified with es-Salṭ.

\[^{c}\text{Bibl. } "\text{Golan (\text{Gαλλάο}r) in Bashan}^\] ; 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}\text{Bibl. Zelophehad (Σαλπαδάς).}

The cities of refuge.

Deut. iv. 41 ff.; Numb. xxxv. 9 ff.

Jos. xx. 8.

Regulation concerning heritage.

Numb. xxxvi. 1 (xxvii. 1).
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175 κλήρος ἐσοτερικῶν, φησίν, εἰ μὲν μέλλονσι τινι συν-

οικεῖοι τῶν φυλετῶν, μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπεῖναι, εἰ δὲ ἐξ ἀλλῆς γαμοῦντο τις φυλῆς, τὸν

κλήρον ἐν τῇ πατρῴᾳ φυλῆ καταλαμβάνειν. καὶ τότε μένειν ἐκάστου τοῦ κλήρου ἐν τῇ φυλῆ διεστάζετο.

176 (viii. 1) Τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἑτῶν παρὰ τριά-

κοντα ἡμέρας συμπεπληρομένων Μωυσῆς ἐκ-

κλησίαν εἶπ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ συναγαγὼν, ὅπου νῦν

πόλις εστὶν Ἀβίλη, φωικόφυτον δὲ ἐστὶ τὸ

χωρίον, συνελθόντος τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς λέγει τοιοῦτον:

177 (2) Ἀνδρεῖς συστρατιῶται καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς

κοινωνεὶς ταλαπωρίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ θέῳ δοκοῦν ἡδὴ

καὶ τῷ γῆρᾳ χρόνῳ ητῶν εἰκοσι καὶ ἐκατόν

ἐνυπομένον δεῖ με τού ζῆν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τῶν πέρα

τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πραχθησομένων οὐ μέλλω βοηθὸς

ὑμᾶς ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος, κολυμμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ

178 θεοῦ, δίκαιων ἡγησάμην μηδὲ νῦν ἐγκαταλείπει

τούμον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἥμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόθυμον,

ἀλλ’ ἀδίκον τε ὑμῶν πραγματεύσαται τὴν τῶν ἁγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μνήμην ἐμαυτῷ γενομένων

179 ὑμῶν ἐν ἀφθονίᾳ τῶν κρευτῶν. φέρε ὅσον

ὑποθέμενος ὁν τρόπον ὑμεῖς τ’ ἄν εὐδαιμονήσασθε

καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλαμβάνεις κτῆσιν ἁγαθῶν.

1 Dindorf: εὐδαιμονήσετε codd.

* According to the Talmud (quoted by Weill) this law had only temporary validity.
* Abel-shittim (ixxx. Belzâ etc.) “by Jordan . . . in the plains of Moab” is mentioned in Numb. xxxiii. 49 as the last station in the itinerary of the wilderness wanderings; Josephus calls it indifferently Abile, Abele (v. 4) and Abila.
the inheritance should pass to these, he replied that, if they proposed to unite themselves to persons of their tribe, they should carry the inheritance with them to their husbands, but if they were married into another tribe, the inheritance should be left in their father’s tribe. Then it was that he ordained that each man’s heritage should remain in his tribe.ª

(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 b 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,

(85. iv. 488), and tells us elsewhere (v. 4) that it was 60 stades (c. 7 miles) distant from the Jordan. It is the modern Khurbet al-Kaffrein, 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.
Δίδων [παραθεμένος] ὁ πάντως ἀπέλθω τοῦ βιοῦ. Πιστεύεσθαι δὲ ἄξιός εἰμι διὰ τὸ τὰς πρῶτον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τελευταῖς γινομένας μετ’ ἄρετῆς πάσης ὄμωλώθ.

180 Ὡ ἡ τιμίας Ἰσραήλου, μία πάσων ἀνθρώπους ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως αὐτὸς ὁ θεὸς εὐμενής· μόνος γὰρ ὁ τόσο δοῦναι τε τις ἀξίοις καὶ ἀφελέσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων εἰς αὐτὸν Ἰκανός, ὁ παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἴους αὐτὸς τε βούλεται κἀκεῖ ἡν ἔπειτα ἡν ἡν διὰ νομιαν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παρακολούθησιν, οὐκ ἂν ὅτε μακαριστοὶ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πάσων ἄνθρωπων ἄνθρωποι ἡ κτήσις βεβαια μενεῖ τῶν τε ἁπάντων.

181 ταχείαν ἔξετε τῆς παρουσίας. μόνον ὅσο τὸ ἄκρος ὑμῶν ἐπεσθή βουλετάτοι, τούτος πειθαρχεῖτε, καὶ μήτε νομίμων τῶν παρόντων ἄλλων προτιμήσατε διάταξιν μήτε εὐσεβείας ἢν νῦν περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἡ ἐπειδὴ καταφρονήσατε εἰς ἄλλον μεταστήσασθε τρόπων. ταῦτα δὲ πράξαντες ἁλκιμώτατοι μάχαι ἀνεγειρῆσθι ἐπέσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀρχῶν ἐπέβαινεν· θεὸς γὰρ παρόντων ὑμῶν βοηθὸς πάντων περιφρονεῖν εὐλόγων. τὸς δ’ ἄρετῆς ἐπανλα ὑμῶν μεγάλα κεῖται πρὸς ἄπαντα τὸν βιοῦ κτησμάτων· αὐτῇ γε τὸν ἐπὶ πρῶτον ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρόσβιστον ἔστιν, ἐπειδή καὶ τὴν τῶν ἅγιων χαρίζεται περιουσίαν.

1 om. Bekker: Δίδων παραθεμένος om. Lat.
2 om. Dindorf: text uncertain: ἐνυχήσετε (or -σετε) . . . παύσηθε (-σθε) codd.
3 ed. pr. (Lat. geritis): ἐσκεπτος codd.
4 κτησμάτων conj. Niese.
5 γε τοι conj. Niese.
and so depart from life. Aye and I deserve your confidence, alike by reason of those jealous efforts on your behalf in the past, and because souls when on the verge of the end deliver themselves with perfect integrity.  

"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, ay 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 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: 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. Vita 258 μετά πάσην ἁρετήν πεπολέμησαι.

3 The Greek might be either neuter ("what") or masc. ("whom"); but he comes to the question of subordination to rulers later, § 186.

4 Not, I think, as earlier translators take it, "if ye possess (or "preserve") it (i.e. virtue) for all your life."
183 ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἄλληλους ὑμῶν χρωμένους αὐτὴ ἑκατοδικὴν ποιήσας τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πλέον δοξαζομένους ἁδήμητον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθεῖς τὴν εὐκλείαν ὑμῶν ὑπάρξαι. τούτων δὲ ἐν ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθεῖτε, εἰ τῶν νόμων οὐς ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τῷ θεῷ συνεταξάμην κατήκουι καὶ φύλακες γένοιον, καὶ μελετήτης τῆς σύνεσιν αὐτῶν. 184 ἀπεμι δὲ αὐτὸς χαῖρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς παρατιθέμενος ὑμᾶς νόμων τε σωφροσύνης καὶ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρεταῖς, οἱ πρόνοιαι ἐξουσί ὑμῶν τοῦ συμ- 185 φέροντος. θεὸς τε ὁ μέχρι νῦν ἡγεμονεύοσας ὑμῶν, καθ' οἱ βούλησιν κάγων χρῆσιμοι ὑμᾶς ἐγενόμην, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δεύτερο στήσει τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτὸς βουλεύετο χρόνον τοῦτον ἐχειν προστάτην ἔν τοῖς τῆς ἁρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μένοντες, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ χρῆσεσθε τῇ προ- 186 μηθείᾳ. γνώμας τε ὑμῶν εἰσηγήσονται τάς ἁρι- στάς, αἰς ἐπόμεννοι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔξετε, ὁ ἀρχι- ερεὺς Ἕλεαζάρος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἢ τε γερουσία καὶ ὁ τέλη τῶν φυλῶν, ὅπως ἀκροάσῃ μὴ χαλεπάς, γινόσκοντες ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἀρχεσθαι καλῶς εἰδότες καὶ ἀρχεῖς εἰσονται παραδόντες εἰς ἐξουσίαν 187 αὐτοῦ, τὴν τ' ἐλευθερίαν ἡγεῖσθε μὴ τὸ προσ- αγανακτεῖν ὀίς ἐν ὑμῖν ὁ ἡγεμόνες πράττειν ἀξιῶν νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τούς εὐθυγέτας ὑβρίζειν ἐν τούτω τὴν παραρθήσιαν τίθεσθε, ὃ ὅτ' ὁ λοιπὸς 188 φυλαττομένους ὑμῶν ἀμείνων ἐξεῖ τὰ πράγματα μηδὲ τὴν ἕσχα ἐπὶ τοῦτος ὀργὴν ποτὲ λαμβάνετε, ἢ κατ' ἐμὸν πολλάκις ἐτολμήσατε χρῆσθαι γινώ-

1 Niese: νόμω τε σωφροσύνης codd.
2 ἢμων 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 ἐκκυνδύνευσα ὑψ' ὑμῶν
189 ἀποθανέατι ἡ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ταύτα δ' οὐκ
ονειδίζειν1 ὑμᾶς προεδρήμην, οὐ γάρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ
ζῆν διοχεράνσοντας καταλιπεῖν ήξίουν- εἰς τὴν
ἀνάμιξην φέρων μηδὲ παρ' ὄν ἐπασχον αὐτὰ
καίρον ἐν ὁργῇ γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ὡστε τοῦ σωφρο-
νήσεως2 ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέλλον κατ' αὐτὸ γε τοῦτο
τάσφαλές3 εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας
ἐξυβρίζαι διὰ πλοῦτον, ὃς ὑμῖν πολὺς διαβάσει τῶν
Ἰώρδανον καὶ τὴν Χανααίαν κτησαμένους περι-
190 στήσεται. Ὑπὲρ προαχθέντες εἰς καταφρόνησιν ὑπ'
αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀλυγωρίαν ἀπολείπετε καὶ τὴν
ἐνυοιαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτον
ἐχθρὸν τὴν τε γῆν, ἢν κτήσεσθε, κρατήσαντες
ὅπλος ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶς ἀφαιρεθῆσθε μετὰ μεγίστων
ονείδων καὶ σκεδασθήσετε διὰ τῆς οἰκομένης πάσαν
ἐμπλήσετε καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δου-
191 λείας. ἐσται δ' ὑμῖν τοῦτων πείραν λαμβάνοντων
ἀνοφελῆς ἢ μετάνοια καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐ φυλαχθέντων
νόμων ἀνάμιξις. ὅθεν εἰ βούλοισθε τούτους ὑμῖν
μένειν, τῶν πολεμίων μηδέν' ἂν ὑπολείποισθε4
κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπολλύναι πάντας κρί-
ναυτε5 συμφέρειν, ἵνα μὴ ᾧτῶν παραγευσάμενοι
τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύσεως διαφθείρητε τὴν πάτριοι
192 πολιτείαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ἄλσον καὶ νεὼς
ὄποις αὖ ἠχον κατερεῖπεν παραινοὶ καὶ
dιαπανῶν πυρὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην
βεβαιά γάρ ἂν οὕτως ὑμῖν μόνον ὑπάρξειν ἢ τῶν

1 ονειδίζων P² (Lat.?).
2 σωφρονίσεως L.
3 τοῦτο τὰ ἀσφαλές conj.: τοῦτ' (τοῦτο SP) ἀσφαλές (ἀσφαλεῖς SPL) codd.
4 Niese: μηδένα ὑπολείποισθε codd.
5 Niese: κρίνατε codd.
been imperilled by you than by the enemy. I say this with no intent to reproach you—at my exit from life I should be loath to leave you aggrieved by recalling these things to mind, I who even at the moment when I underwent them refrained from wrath—but rather that ye may learn moderation for the future (and) that it is just in this thing that the path of safety lies, 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-

* Text uncertain.
193 οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀσφάλεια. ᾽Ινα δὲ μὴ δι᾿ ἀμαθίαν
tοῦ κρείττονος ἡ φύσις ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ κείρον
ἀπονεόῃ, συνέθηκα ὑμῖν καὶ νόμους ὑπαγορεύ-
σαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν, ἢς τὸν κόσμον
φυλάξαντες πάντων ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι κριθεῖτε.

194 (3) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν διδώσω αὐτοῖς ἐν βιβλίῳ τοῦς
νόμους καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγεγραμ-
mένην. οἱ δὲ ἐδάκρυσαν τε καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιζήτησαν
ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεμημένου τε ἣν
κινδυνεύσει καὶ προθυμηθεὶς τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν
σωτηρίας καὶ δυσελποστοὺντες περὶ τῶν μελλόν-
tων ὡς οὐκ ἔσομέν ἐσθς ἀρχής τοιαύτης,
/Foundation te τοῦ θεοῦ προνοησμένου διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν
195 εἶναι τὸν παρακαλοῦντα. ὡς τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου
μετ’ ὀργῆς ὀμιλήσεων αὐτῷ μετανοοῦντες ἠλγοῦν,
ὡς ἀπαντᾷ τὸν λαὸν εἰς δάκρυα προσεξόντα
κρείττον καὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγου παρηγορίας τὸ ἐπὶ
αὐτῷ ποιήσαι πάθος. Μωυσῆς δὲ αὐτοὺς παρ-
ηγόρει, καὶ τοῦ δάκρυος αὐτὸν ἀξίων ὑπολαμβάνειν
ἀπάγων αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ παρεκάλει
καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν.

196 (4) Βουλομαὶ δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν πρῶτον εἰπὼν τῷ
τε Μωυσεός ἀξιώματι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀναλογοῦσαν
καὶ μαθεῖν παρέξων δι’ αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις,
οἷα τὰ καθ’ ἡμᾶς ἀρχηθεὶς ἦν, [οὕτωσι] 2 ἐπὶ τὴν
τῶν ἄλλων τραπέζης διήγησιν. γέγραπται δὲ
πάντως ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέληπεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ
καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδὲ τῇ μη κατα-

1 Niese: ἐπ’ αὐτῶν (or ἐπ’ 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
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197 λέλοιπε Μωυσῆς. νενεωτέρισται δ' ἥμιν τὸ κατὰ γένος ἐκαστα τάξαυ: σποράδην γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνων κατελεύθη γραφέντα καὶ ὡς ἐκαστὸν τι παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ πύθοιτο. ἦδον τούτου χάριν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγη-

σάμην προδιαστελλαθαί, μή καὶ τις ἥμιν παρὰ τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐντυγχανόντων τῇ γραφῇ μέμψις

198 ὡς διημαρτητικός γενηται. ἔχει δὲ οὗτως ἡ διάταξις ἥμιν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν πολιτείαν. οὐ δὲ κοινοῦσιν ἥμιν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους κατέλυτε τούτους ὑπερεθὲν εἰς τὴν περὶ ἔθων καὶ αἰτίων ἀπόδοσιν, ἡν συλλαμβανομένου τοῦ θεοῦ μετὰ ταύτην ἥμιν τὴν πραγματείαν συν-

τάξασθαι πρόκειται.

199 (5) Ἐπειδὰν τὴν Χαναάιων γῆν κτησάμενοι καὶ σχολὴν ἐπὶ χρῆσει τῶν ἄγαθῶν ἱκάνοντες πόλεις τὸ λοιπὸν ἡ ἰδὴ κτίζειν προαιρήσθη, ταῦτα ποιοῦντες τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράξετε καὶ τὴν εἰδαι-

200 μονίαν βεβαίαν ἔξετε· ἵπταν πόλις ἐστω μία τῆς Χαναάιων γῆς ἐν τῷ καλλιστῶ καὶ ἡ ἀρετὴν ἐπιφάνει, ἢν ἢν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτῷ διὰ προφητείας ἐξέλθηται, καὶ νεὼς εἰς ἐν ταύτη ἐστω, καὶ βεβαῖος εἰς ἐκ λίθων μὴ κατειργασμένων ἀλλὰ λογάδην συγκειμένων, οἱ κοινάματε χρισθέντες εὐπρεπεῖς

1 ins. Niese. 2 ὑπ' ΡΟ. 3 + τε codd.

4 Bekker: πράττενε codd.

5 ME: ἐπιστὶ ΡΟ: ἐκλέξθαι codd.

* 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 tra-

dition, 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) “Whosoever, 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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b Weill compares the opinion expressed by a 2nd century Rabbi, to the effect that the Law was given to Moses “roll by roll,” not en bloc (Giffin 60a); just as Mahomet claims to have received the Qur’an.

c The exact distinction intended is not evident.

d See i. 25 note.

e The phrase comes from Thuc. iv. 4 ἡ ἀρχὴ τῆς θρόνου καὶ ἡ ἐκκλησία τῆς θρόνου, “brought stones which they picked out and put them together as they happened to fit” (Jowett).
JOSEPHUS

201 τ' ἀνελεύθερον καὶ καθάρισεν πρὸς τὴν θέαν. ἦ δ' ἐπὶ τούτον πρόσβασις ἔστω μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, ἀλλὰ προσχώσεως αὐτῷ καταπραγματεύοντας γενομένης. Εὖ ἔτερα δὲ πόλει μὴν βωμός μὴν νεώς ἐστοι τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ εἰς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραῖον γένος ἔν.

202 (6) ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας θεοῦ καταλευκεῖν κρεμάσθω δὲ ἡμέρας καὶ ἀτίμως καὶ ἀφανῶς βαπτίσθω.

203 (7) Συνερχόμενος δὲ εἰς ἃν ἢν ἂν ἀποφήμωσον πόλει τῶν νεῶν τρίς τοῦ ἐτους οἱ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἦς ἄν Ἑβραίων κρατῶσιν, διὸς τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν ὑπηργοῦν εὐχαριστώσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλων παρακάλωσι καὶ συνιῶσις ἀλλήλους καὶ συνενωούμενοι προσφιλεῖς διὸ καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλήλους ὀμοφύλους τε ὄντας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἐπιπηδευμάτων, τούτο δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς τουαυτῆς ἐπιμελείας αὐτῶς ὑπάρξειν, τῇ τὲ ὁφεῖ καὶ τῇ ὀμιλίᾳ μνήμην αὐτῶν ἐνυπάντεσθαι ἀνεπιμικτῶς γὰρ ἀλλήλους μένοντας ἀλλοτριωτάτους αὐτῶς νομοθήσεσθαι.

205 (8) Ὁ οὖν δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἔξαιρεσις ὑμῖν χωρὶς ἢς διέταξα, τοῖς ἑρεθεῖς καὶ Δευτερίας δεδόθη, ἢ παρασκέυασθαι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐωχίας ὑπηρετεῖτο καὶ τὰς θυσίας

1 τ' ἂν Niese; το codd.
2 ins. Niese.
3 T. Reinach: αὐτής codd.
4 SPL: diērēstrate (-ēstrate) rell.

a Cf. Ἅπ. II. 198 εἰς ναὸς ἄνδρα θεοῦ.
b The penalty of stoning only is prescribed by Leviticus i.e.: 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.③

(6) "Let him that blasphemeth God be stoned, then hung for a day, and buried ignominiously and in obscurity.④

(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,⑤ 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 ④ to be given to the priests and Levites: let it be sold at its native place, but let the proceeds serve for the repasts and the and exposure seems to have been confined to the blasphemer. So far Josephus follows tradition, but in adding the words "for a day (long)" he departs from the practice described in the Mishnah (see M. Weill's note).

③ Lit. "putting in (instilling) a memory of them" (i.e. of their common race and common institutions). Others, taking αβατωv as αβατωv, render "sui recordationem efficiunt" (Hudson), "se souviendront d'eux-mêmes" (Weill). The motives here mentioned do not appear in Scripture.

④ § 68; some mss. read "ye appointed."
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tas ev tē ierā polei dikanon gar elnai tōn ek tēs
γῆς ἀναδιομένων, ὡν ὁ θεός αυτοῖς κτήσασθαι
parēxhēn, épi tимη toû dēdewkóstos ἀπολαῦειν.

206 (9) "Ek mιsòthou γυναικὸς ἤταιρημένης θυσίας μὴ

teleōn ἤδεσθαι γαρ μηδεὶς τῶν ἀφ᾽ ὀβρεως τὸ

θεῖον, χεῖρων1 ὃ ὅν ἀν εἶη τῆς ἐπὶ τοὺς σώμασιν
αισχύνης ὀμοίως μηδὲ ἀν ἐπὶ ὅχεσαι κυνὸς ἦτοι

θηρευτικὸν ἢ ποιμνίων φύλακος λάβη2 τις μισθόν,

ἐκ τούτου θύειν τῷ θεῷ.

207 (10) "Βλασφημεῖτω δὲ μηδεὶς θεοῦς οὐς πόλεις

αλλὰ νομίζουσιν: μηδὲ φυλαῖν ἱερὰ ξενικά, μηδὲ ἀν

ἐπωνομασμένον ἢ τινι θεῷ κειμένου λαμβάνειν.

208 (11) "Μηδεὶς δὲ εξ ύμῶν κλωστῆν εξ ἐρίου καὶ

λίνου στολὴν φορεῖτω· τοῖς γὰρ ἱερεύσι μόνους

ταύτην ἀποδεδείξθαι.

209 (12) "Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πλῆθους εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν

πόλιν ὑπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις δὲ ἑτῶν ἐπτά, τῆς σκηνο-

πηγῆς ἐορτῆς ἀνεσάης, ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βῆματος

1 edd.: χεῖρω codd.

2 Dindorf: λάβη codd.

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* Josephus, in common with tradition (Siyre 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 ἄλλαγμα κυνός), i.e. of the ἱαδεσθα or temple
prostitute; this technical use of "dog" is found in
inscriptions. "In the impure worship 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
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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 to refer to a proposed exchange of a dog for a pure animal, such as a lamb, for sacrifice.

Ex. i.e. "Thou shalt not revile Elohim," meaning, according to Palestinian tradition, "the judges." Here Josephus follows Alexandrian exegesis: the xxx translated the plural Elohim by šeōr, and so Philo (Vita Mor. ii. 26, § 205, De spec. leg. i. 7, § 53). Cf. Ap. iii. 237, where the same reason for the injunction is given as in Philo, viz. the hallowing of the word "God."

Deut. i.e. "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 (Kilaim ix. 1, Well).
ψηλοῦ σταθεῖς, ἀφ᾿ ὅδε γένοιτ' ἵνα εξάκουστος, ἀναγνωσκότω τῶν νόμων ἀπασί, καὶ μὴ γυμνὴ μὴτε παῖδες εἰρρήσωσαν τοῦ ἀκούσα, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ
210 οἱ δούλοι· καλὸν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφέντας καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ φυλακθῆναι μηδέποτε ἐξαλειφθῆναι δυναμένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδὲ ἄμαρτήσονται μὴ δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις διωρισμένων, οἱ τε νόμοι πολλῆς πρὸς ἄμαρτάνων ἔξουσι παρρησίαν, ὡς προλεγόντων αὐτοῖς ἃ πεί-
σονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφάσαν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς καὶ κελεύουσαν, ὥστε εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ένδον αὐτοῖς τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, ἢς ὀλιγωρθὴσαν ἡδίκησαν καὶ τῆς ξημίας αὐτοῖς αἰτίαν γεγόνασιν, μακανεκτῶσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες πρῶτον τῶν νόμων, μάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας αἰτίαν.
212 (13) "Δίς δ᾿ ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτῆς καὶ ὅποτε πρὸς ὑπὸν ὁμα τρέπον τις ὑπὸ τὰς δωρέας, ὥς ἀπαλλαγέων αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαιαὶ οὐσίας φύσει τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ᾿ ἀμοιβῇ μὲν τῶν ἀπὸ γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπὴ τῶν ἐσομένων·
213 ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτών τὰ

1 ex Lat. (unde) Niese: οἳ codd.
3 edd.: μήτε codd. 4 oúde RO.

The reader is not clearly defined in Scripture: Deut. xxxi. 11 (after mention of priests and elders) "thou shalt read," lxx "ye shall read," Samaritan Pent. (G. A. Smith in loc.) "he" or "one shall read." The Mishnah, Sotaḥ viii. 8, states that it was customary to read a selection of passages from Deut., and that the reader on one occasion was king Agrippa (whether Agrippa I. or II. does not appear). On the 576
priest, 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. a

(13) "Twice each day, d 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.

b Deut. "this law"; the Mishnah specifies passages drawn from eleven chapters of that book.


d Not specified in Scripture; tradition attributed to Moses an ordinance to pray three daily, including a midday prayer, Moore, Judaism, ii. 218, 220.
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μέγιστα ὁν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἐν τε βραχίσσου ἐκαστον διαφαίνειν, ὅσα τε τὴν ἱσχύν ἀποσημάτων δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εἴνοιαν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἑπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περὶ ὥσπερ πανταχόθεν ὁ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόσυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

214 (14) "Ἀρχετῶσαν δὲ καὶ ἐκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἐπτά οἱ καὶ τὴν ἁρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προσκεκότες· ἐκάστη ἢ δὲ ἄρχῃ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδόσωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευτών φυλῆς. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δικαίων λαχῶντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ, ὡς μήτε βλασφημεῖν ἐκείνων παρόντων μήτε βρασύνεσθαι τισιν ἐξεῖναι, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδοὺς αὐτῶν εὐλαβεστέρους, ὡςτε τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κατα-

215 φρονεῖν, ἀπεργαζομένης. οἱ δὲ δικασταί ἀποφήγασθαι κύριοι περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, πλὴν εἰ μή τι χρήματα λαβόντας τις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαφθορά τοῦ δικαίου ἐνδείξατ' ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ αὐτίαν προφέροι, καθ' ἢν οὐ καλῶς ἔλεγχει αὐτοῖς ἀποφήγαμένους· οὔτε γὰρ κέρδει χαρίζομένους οὔτε ἀξιώματι προσῆκε φανερὰς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς

1 Dindorf: ἐνδείξαται (-εται) codd.

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 Μεσαζάλ ("door-post") was the name given to a small metal cylinder enclosing a parchment, inscribed with Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21, and affixed to the right-hand door-post of Jewish houses; tephillin, the N.T. "phylacteries" (φυλακτήρια), were scrolls similarly inscribed, enclosed in 578
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 adjudge 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 τυθεμένους. 217 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἦν οὕτως δόξει καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσθενέστερος ἐκείνων ὅσ ἦν τις κατὰ φόβον ἀιχύνος προσνέμω τὴν ψήφου κεκρίσθαι· τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ ἑαυτὸς ἦστι τὸ δίκαιον. ὁ τοῖς ἐν ἀξίωματι τυγχάνουσι καταχαρίζομενος τις ἐκείνους τοῦ θεοῦ 218 δυνατωτέρους ποιεῖ· ἃν δὲ οἶ δικασταὶ μὴ νοῦσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ’ αὐτοῖς παρατεταγμένων ἀποφημασθαί, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀκέραιον ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες ἃ τε ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαίνε-
σθαναν.

219 (15) "Εἰς δὲ μὴ πιστεύσοντο πρὸς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον δύο, ὅν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ ποιήσει τὰ προβεβημένα. γυναικῶν δὲ μὴ ἐστὶ μαρτυρία διὰ κούφοτητα καὶ θράσος τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν· μαρτυρεῖτοσαν δὲ μὴ δούλοι διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγένειον, οὐδὲ διὰ κέρδος εἰκός ἢ διὰ φόβον μὴ τάληθνα μαρτυρήσασθαί. ἃν δὲ τις θεοδο-
μαρτυρήσας πιστευθῇ, πασχέτω ταῦτ' ἐλεγχθεῖς ὅσα ὁ καταμαρτυρηθεῖς πάσχεις ἐμελλεν.

220 (16) "Ἀν δὲ πραξάθητος φόνοι ἐν τοῖς χώρᾳ μὴ εὑρίσκηται ὁ δρᾶσας μηδὲ ὑπονοηται τοῖς ὅσ διὰ μίας ἀπεκτονήκιως, ζητεῖτοσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μὴν ὑπερείναν· καὶ δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πληθαίον τῇ χώρᾳ, ἐν ἢ ὁ φόνος ἐπράξθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία

1 οἱ τοῖς RO; τοῖς οὐν rell. 2 αὐτοῖς RO. 3 om. RO. 4 Dindorf: μηδε (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." 580
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 cupiditiy 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

The "senate" in Josephus recalls the Sanhedrin of later days: cf. the provincial council of seventy set up by himself in Galilee for the trial of major cases, B.J. ii. 570 f.

\(^a\) Traditional ruling: not in Scripture.

\(^b\) Detail not in Scripture.

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συνελθόντες μετρείτωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου 221 κεῖται ὁ νεκρὸς τῆς χώραν. ἢ δὲ ἢ πλησιασάτης πόλις, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ δημόσιοι πριάμενοι δάμαλιν καὶ κομίσαντες εἰς φάραγγα καὶ ἀνεπιθήδειον ἀρότω καὶ φυτὸς χωρίον τοὺς τένοντας κοψάτωσαν τῆς 222 βοός, καὶ χερσιβάς ἔλομενοι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς βοὸς οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευίται καὶ ἡ γερονια τῆς πόλεως ἐκείνης καθαράς ἀναβουσάτωσαν τὰς χεῖρας ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου καὶ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε δρωμένος παρατυχεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δὲ ἢλεω τὸν θεόν καὶ μηκέτε τοιώντων δεινόν συμβῆναι τῇ γῇ πάνω.

223 (17) "Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον καὶ ὁ κατ’ αὐτὴν βίος, καὶ μὴ λάβῃ πόθος ὑμᾶς ἄλλης πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ταῦτην στέργοντε καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἰχόντες δεσπότας κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἔκαστα πράττετε· ἀρκεῖ γάρ ὁ θεὸς ἱγεμόνι εἶναι. βασιλέως δ’ εἰ γένοιτο ἐρως ὑμῶν, ἐστω μὲν οὕτως ὄμοφυλος, πρόνοια δ’ αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἀλλῆς 224 ἀρετῆς διὰ παντός ἑστω. παραχωροῖ δὲ οὕτως τοῖς μὲν νόμοις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πλεῖονα τοῦ φρονεῖν, πρασσεῖτω δὲ μηδὲν δί κα τῶν αρχιερέως καὶ τῆς τῶν γερουσιαστῶν γνώμης, γάμοις τε μὴ πολλοῖς χρώμενος μηδὲ πλῆθος διώκων χρημάτων μηδ’ ἵππων, ὁμι τῶν νόμων ἐσοιτο. καλυπέοις δ’, εἰ τούτων τι

1 Niese: ἀρτήρῳ codd. 2 λάβοι ROM.

* Deut. “a valley with (ever) running water.”
* The text seems sound; M. Weill would alter it, rendering “Qu’il confie aux lois et à Dieu les desseins les plus importants.”

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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, a 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, b and let him do nothing without the high priest and the counsel of his senators c; 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

a M. Weill quotes the Talmud (Sanhedris 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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diā σπουδῆς ἔχοι, γλυκεῖσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῶν δυνατώτερος.

225 (18) ""Οροὺς γῆς μὴ ἐξέστω κανεῖν μήτε οἰκείας μὴτ' ἀλλοτρίας πρὸς οὐς ἔστων ὑμῶν εἰρήνη, φυλαττέσθω δ' ὡσπερ θεοῦ ψήφον βεβαιῶν εἰς αἰῶνα κειμένην ἀναίρεῖν, ὡς πολέμων ἐντεῦθεν καὶ στάσεων γυμνομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντας προσωτέροι χωρεῖν βούλεσθαι τῶν ὀρῶν. μὴ γὰρ μακρὰν εἶναι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τὸν ὄρον μετακινοῦντας.

226 (19) ""Γῆν ὁ φυτεύσας, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων ἄν καρπὸν προβάλῃ τὰ φυτὰ, μῆτε τῷ θεῷ ἀπαρχάς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερέτω μήτ' αὐτὸς χρῆσθων· σὺ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τούτον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἐνεχθήναι, βιασμένης δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἀώρως μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀρμόζειν μὴτ' αὐτῷ τῷ δεσπότῃ χρῆσθαι. τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τριγάτῳ πάν τὸ γενόμενον, τότε γὰρ ὁ ὄροις εἶναι, καὶ συναγαγόν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν κομιζόμεθα, καὶ σὺν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ ἀλλοῦ καρπὸν μετὰ τῶν φιλῶν εὐωδικόμενος ἀναλυκέτω καὶ μετ' ὀρφανῶν καὶ χρεουσίων γυναικῶν· πέμπτου δὲ ἐτῶν κύριος ἔστω τὰ φυτὰ καρποῦσθαι.

227 (20) ""Τὴν ἀμπελοῖον κατάφυτον γῆν μὴ σπείρεις· ἀρκεῖσθαις γὰρ αὐτῆς τρέφειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἔξ ἀρότρου πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι. βουσκόν ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐτέρων ζῴων σὺν αὐτοῖς

1 RO: βέβαιων rell.
2 RO: ἄρκει rell.
3 σίν αὐτοῖς om. RO.

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.
from becoming more powerful than is expedient for your welfare.

(18) "Let it not be permitted to displace boundary-marks, whether of your own land or of the land of others with whom ye are at peace; beware of uprooting as it were a stone by God's decree 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

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υπὸ γεννητῆς ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ κατ’ οἰκεῖα γένη κάθεις υποείσαθα τὸν ἄρτον. εἶναι δὲ καθαρὰ ὑπὸ ὀπέρματα καὶ ἀνεπίσκοπα, καὶ μὴ σύνδον καὶ κρίνα σπείρειν ὑπὸ γάρ τῆς τῶν ἀνόμων κοινώνιας 229 χαίρειν τὴν φύσιν. μηδὲ κτήνεσιν ἐπάγειν διὰ μὴ συγγενῆς δέος γάρ ἐκ τούτου μὴ διαβῆ καὶ μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρωπείων ἡ πρὸς τὸ ὀμόφυλον ἀτμόλα τῆς ἀρχῆς ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ 230 φαθλα πρότερον λαβοῦσα. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι τοιούτων συγκεκριμένων, ἦ μὲν κατὰ μίσης παρατροπῆς τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσοιτο, ἀλλὰ ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἐμακρήνεται τοῖς νόμοις εἰδότι προνοεῖσθαι τοῦ κατ’ αὐτοῦς ἀμέτρου.

231 (21) Ἀμώντας δὲ καὶ συναιροῦντας τὰ θέρη μὴ καλαμάσθαι, καταλυεῖν δὲ τῶν καὶ τῶν ἀραγματῶν τοῖς βλου σταθμοῦν ἐρμαίνει εἰναι πρὸς διατροφὴν ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς τρύγης ἀπολυπείν ταῖς ἐπιφυλακές τοῖς πέντε καὶ τῶν ἐλαίων τοῖς παρεῖναι τῷ καρπῶν πρὸς συλλογὴν τοῖς ἐξ 232 ἱδίων οὐκ ἔχουσι μεταλαβεῖν οὐκ ὁσαύτη γὰρ ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἐπ’ ἀκριβείς ἀνατόμων συλλογῆς εἴπερμα τοῖς δεσπότας γένους, ὥστε χάρις ἐκ τῶν δεσπότων ἐλθοῦν, τὸ τε θείου τὴν γῆν προθυμοτέραιν εἰς τὴν ἐκτροφὴν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεργάσεται μὴ τοῦ καθ’ αὐτοὺς προνοομένων ἀνθρώπων ἐκ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων διατροφῆς λόγων ἐχόντων.
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

a Additional detail, not in Scripture.

b Text doubtful. The construction ἑκοτὸς...oration has the support of Sophocles (ἕκοτος τε θυρυλίσσεσα), whose style was imitated by the assistant of Josephus.

Or "handfuls."
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238 μηδὲ βοῶν ὅποτε τρίβοιεν τοὺς στάχνας ἀποδεῖν τὰ στόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἁλώσεως οὔ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον ἐφεύτων τοὺς συνειργασμένους τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ περὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πονήσαντας. μηδὲ ὅπωρας ἀκμαζούσης καυλύειν ἀπτεσθαι τοὺς ὁδῷ βαδίζωντας, ἀλλὰ ὡς εἴς οἰκεῖων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν ἐμπίπλασθαι, κἂν ἐγχώριοι τυγχάνωσι κἂν ἔσοι, χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ωραίων μεταλαμβάνειν ἀποφέρεσθαι. 239 δὲ αὐτοῖς μηδὲν ἐξέστω. μηδὲ τρυγώντες ἢν ἐὰν τὰς λησὺς κομίζωσιν εἰργάτων τοὺς ὑπαντίσσων ἐπεσθείες ἅδικον γὰρ ἁγαθῶν, ἀ κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, φθονεῖν τοὺς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν, τὰς ὁρᾶς ἐν ἀκμή τε οὐσις καὶ σπευδοῦσης ἀπελθεῖν ὡς τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένων ἢν εἰ, κἂν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης τινᾶς ὁκνοῦντας ἀφοῦ τοῖς μεταταγμέναι, 240 ὁπταὶ μὲν Ἰσραήλ ὡς κοινωνοῦν καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν, ἄφωνοις δὲ ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπους ξενίων τυχεῖν ἀξιοῦντας ἢν ὁ θεὸς καθ' ὁμοὶ αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν. 241 ἀναλύματα γὰρ οὓς ἠγγέλων ὑπὰ τις κατὰ χρηστότητα παρέσχων ἀνθρώποις λαμβάνειν, τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν ἀρχήν τῶν ἁγαθῶν χορηγοῦντος ὅτι ἐπὶ τῷ καρποθοθαί μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις μεταδίδοναι φιλοτιμώς, καὶ βουλομένους τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ τὴν ἱδίαν περὶ τὸν Ἰσραήλιτῶν λαόν εὐνοιαν καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἐμφανίζεσθαι, ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περίοντος αὐτοῖς 238 κάκεινοι μεταδίδοντων. ὡ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας

1 SP: ἐπεφέρεσθαι rell.
2 Dindorf: παρακαλέσανν codd. - «καλώσει» 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, entreat 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 μιᾶς λειψούσας τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ
σκύτει λαβῶν τιμωρίαν ταύτην αἰσχρότην ἐλεύ-
θερος ύπομενέτω, ὅτι τῷ κέρδει δουλεύσας ὑψίστε
239 τὸ ἄξιόμα: καλῶς γὰρ ἰμῶν ἦχε πεπειραμένοις ἐν
Αἰγύπτῳ συμφορῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πρόνοιαν
τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑπαρχόντων ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ
τυχόντας εὔπορίας ἢς ἐλέου καὶ πρόνοιας τοῦ θεοῦ
τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἢς ὁμοίον πάθους ἀπομερίζειν
τοῖς δεισμένοις.

240 (22) "Ταῖς δὲ δεκάταις ταῖς δυσίν, ἃς ἔτους
ἐκάστου προείπον τελείων, τὴν μὲν τοῖς Λευταῖς,
τὴν δὲ ἐτέραν πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας, τρίτην πρὸς
αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔτος τρίτον συμφέρειν εἰς δια-
νέμησιν τῶν σπανίζοντων γυναικῶν τε χήρας καὶ
241 παισίν ὅρφανοις· τῶν δὲ ὀφραίων δὲ καὶ πρῶτον
ἐκάστων τύχης γενόμενον εἰς τὸ ιερὸν κομιζέτωσαν,
καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπέρ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτῶν γῆς ἢν
αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχετο εὐλογήσαντες, θυσίας
ἀς ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρειν κελέει ἐπιτελέσαντες
τούτων τὰ προτέλευα τοῖς ίερεῦσι διδότωσαν.

242 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτα τις ποιήσας καὶ πάντων τὰς
δεκάτας ἀμα ταῖς εἰς τοὺς Λευταῖς καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας
ἀπεννοχώς ἄπιναι μέλλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκαί,
στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τεμενίσματος εὐχαριστησάτω

κατὰ οὗτος Dindorf.  

* As Reischach remarks, the verses in Deut. about scourging,
though interposed between the precepts with which Josephus
has been dealing, are really of much more general applica-
tion. 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).

+ ταῖς ἄπαρχαις MSPL.

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these precepts receive forty stripes save one 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 to pay each year, the one for the Levites and the other for the banquets, ye should devote a third 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 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. §§ 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.

* Text a little uncertain.
μὲν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῆς ἀπ' Ἀλωνητῶν αὐτοῦς ὑβρεως ἀπαλλάξας γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθήν καὶ πολλὴν ἐδωκε καρποῦσθαι, μαρτυράμενος δὲ ὡς τὰς τε δεκάτας
dεκάτας κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέους τελέσειε νόμους αὐτησάζων τὸν θεον εὐμενη καὶ Ἑλέων αὐτῷ διὰ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ κοινῆ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίοις διαμένειν, φυλάττομεν μὲν οἱ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ προσκτήσασθαι δὲ ὁσα δύναται χαρίζομεθα.

244 (23) "Γαμεῖτωναν δὲ ἐν ὧρᾳ γάμου γενόμενοι παρθένους ἐλευθέρας γονέων ἀγαθῶν, δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἀγέσθαι παρθένον μὴ ζευγνύσθωσι συνοικοῦσαν ἀλλω νοθεύσας μηδὲ λυπῶν τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμεῖσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, μηδὲ ἄν ὑπ' ἔρωτος πρὸς τούτο τινες ἐκβιάζωνται, κρατεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τοῖς ἀξιώμασι πρόσφορον ἔτεκτε μηδὲ ἢταρτημένης εἶναι γάμου, ἢς δὲ υβριν τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ θυσίας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἄν προσούτο. γένοιτο γὰρ ἄν οὕτω τῶν παίδων τὰ φρονήματα ἐλευθερία καὶ πρὸς ἄρετὴν θρία αἰ ὑπὸ τὸ ἐλευθέρων φύντες αὐτορῶν μηδὲ ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἐλευθερίας συν- ἐλθοῦσιν εἰ τὸς ὧς παρθένον μηνοτευνάμενος ἐπέειτα μὴ τουιττην εὑροι, δικὴ λαχῶν αὐτὸς μὲν κατηγορεῖτο χρώμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οἰς ἀν ἐκεί τεκμηρίους, ἀπολογοῦσθω δὲ τῆς κόρης πατήρ

2 + καὶ τὰλλα Ε.
3 προσκτήσατα ex Lat. (et addat) Bernard.
4 λεπτομέν O² (Reinach).  + δὲ SPL.

* One authority adds "and all else."
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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 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 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 her former husband. Female slaves must not be taken in marriage by free men, however strongly some may be constrained thereto by love: such passion must be mastered by regard for decorum and the proprieties of rank. Again, there must be no marriage with a prostitute, 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 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
ἡ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὅς ἦν μετὰ τούτους ἐγγυτέρω δοκῇ 247 τοῦ γένους. καὶ κριθεῖσα μὲν ἡ κόρη μῆ ἁδικεῖν συνοικεῖτο τῷ κατηγορήσαντι μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ἀποπέμπτεσθαι αὐτῇν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ μεγάλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ πρὸς ἃς οὐδὲ
248 ἀντεπείν δυνηθεὶς, τοῦ δὲ τολμηρῶς καὶ προ-
πετῶς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν καὶ διαβολὴν πρόστιμον ἐκτινώτω, πληγᾶς τεσσαράκοντα μῆ λειποῦσας λαμβάνων, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀποτινωτῶ τῷ πατρὶ. ἂν δὲ ἐξελέγχῃ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐφθαρμένην,
δημότις μὲν οὖν τοῦ μῆ σωφρόνου προστίθαι
τῆς παρθενίας ἀχρό νομίμων γάμων καταλευκέσθω,
249 ἂν δὲ ἐξ ἑρέων ἢ γεγενημένην, καὶ ἐσθὼν Ἴῳσα. δύο
γυναικῶν οὐσῶν τῶν, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας ἐν τιμῇ
σφόδρα καὶ εὐνοία κειμένης ἢ δὲ ἔρωτα καὶ κάλλος
ἡ κατ᾽ ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τῆς δὲ ἐτέρας ἐν ἐλάττω
μοίρᾳ τυγχανούσης, ἂν ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαπημένης παῖς
γενόμενος, νεώτερος ὢν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας φύντος,
ἀξιοὶ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρὸς εὐνοίαν
τῶν πρεσβειῶν τυγχάνειν, ὡστε διπλοῦν τὸ μέρος
τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας ἐκλαμβάνειν, τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν
250 τοῖς νόμοις διετάξαμην, μὴ συγκεκριμένων ἁδικοῦ
γὰρ τὸν τῇ γενέσει πρεσβύτερον, ὅτι τὰ τῆς
μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἤττονα παρὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ πατρός,
251 τῶν ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ στερεῖσθαι. ὃ κόρην ἄλλῳ

3 + <ἀ> Naber.

2 RO: λαμβάνειν roll.

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a Scripture mentions only the father (accompanied by the mother) as counsel for the defence.
b Deut. xxii. 19 “an hundred (shekels) of silver” (ἐκατόν σίκλου). The Hebrew names no coin; tradition, supporting Josephus, names a coin equivalent to a half-
shekel (Kethuboth 45b, quoted by Weill).
her father or brother or whosoever, failing these, be considered her next of kin. 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.

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.

Only specified in this passage of Scripture (Deut. xxii. 17; cf. 2 K. ii. 9).
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κατηγγυμένην φθείρας, εἰ μὲν πείσας καὶ πρὸς τὴν φθορὰν συγκάτασιν λαβὼν, ἀποδημηκέτω σὺν αὐτῇ πονηρῷ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἐκάτεροι, ὃ μὲν τὸ αἰσχυστὸν πείσας ἐκοινώσας ὑπομείναι καὶ προ-
τυμήσαι τοῦτο τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γάμου τῆς κόρης, ἢ δὲ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτῆς πεισθείσα δι᾽ ἡδονήν η διὰ
252 κέρδος πρὸς τὴν ὑβρίν· εἰ δὲ που μόνη περιπεσὼν βιάσηται μηδένος βοηθοῦ παρόντος, μόνον ἀπο-
θνησκέτω. ὁ φθείρας παρθένου μήπω κατηγ-
γυμένην αὐτὸς γαμεῖτο. ἦν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς
κόρης μὴ δόξῃ συνοικίζειν αὐτῷ, πενθήκοντα
253 σίγκλους τιμῆν τῆς ὑβρεῖς καταβαλλέτω. γυ-
ναῖκος δὲ τῆς συνοικούσης βουλόμενος διαζευ-
θήσει καὶ ἀσθηπτοὺς αὐτίας, πολλαὶ δὲ ἄν τοίς
ἀνθρώπως τοιαύτα γίγνοντο, γράμμασι μὲν περὶ
tοῦ μηδέποτε συνελθεῖν ἱσχυριζέσθων· λάβοι γὰρ
ἀν σύναξι εξουσίαν συνοικεῖν ἔτέρω, πρότερον γὰρ
σὺν ἐφετέρῳ εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκεῖνοντα κακωθεῖ
η τελευτήσαντος αὐτῶν θελήσει γαμεῖν ὁ πρότερος,
254 μὴ ἐξείναι αὐτῷ ἐπανέναι. τὴν ἁτεκνίαν, τῶν ἀδελφῶν αὐτῆς τετελευθηκότος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἑκεῖνον γαμεῖτο

¹ ed. pr. + ἰδιῶν codd. ² conj. : ἐκεῖνον codd.

MLE : καὶ RO : om. SP. ³ RM : αὕτη rell.

* 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 “compen-
sation” to be paid only when no marriage took place
(references quoted by Weill).

* 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 inter-
pretations; the school of Shammai (1st cent. b.c.) under-
standing by it unchastity, that of Hillel extending it to cover
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"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."

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 Well remarks, the latter view seems to have prevailed, cf. A. xvi. 198, Vita 429 (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?” (κατά πᾶσαν σφαλμα), with the saving clause in the reply, μὴ ἐστὶν προσεεῖ (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 (Bab. Bathra 109a, Welli); so xxx (πεφυγος) and Matt. xxii. 24 with parallels (τέκνον, ἀργευο).
καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν γενέσας ὁμομαθα τὴν τοῦ τεθνεω- 
τος καλέσας ὁνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον- 
τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις λυσιτελήσει γενό- 
μενον τῶν οἰκῶν οὐκ ἐκλειπόντων καὶ τῶν χρη- 
μάτων τοῖς συγγενέσι μενόντων, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ 
κοφισμὸν οἴσει τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ἐγγίστα τῶν 
255 προτέρων ἀνδρῶν συνοικίσασι. ἦταν δὲ μὴ 
βούληται γαμεῖν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἔλθον 
ἡ γυνὴ μαρτυρᾶσθω τοῦ, ὥστε βουλομένην αὐτὴν 
ἐπὶ τοῦ οἰκοῦ μένειν καὶ τεκνών ἔξ ἀυτοῦ μὴ 
προσδέχοντο ὑβρίζων τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῦ 
μνήμην. ἐρωμένης δὲ τῆς γερουσίας, διὰ πολα 
αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον, ἂν τε 
μικρὰν ἄν τε μείζων λέγη, πρὸς ταῦτα ἔπετε 
256 ὑπολύσασα δὲ ἀυτὸν ἡ γυνὴ ταξιλοῦν τὰ σάνδαλα 
καὶ πτύσασα ἄυτον εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τούτων 
αὐτῶν ἄξιον εἶναι παρ’ αὐτὴς λεγέτω τυγχάνει 
ὑβρίσαντα τὴν τοῦ κατοικομένου μνήμην. καὶ ὁ 
mὲν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπέτυχο τοῦτ’ ἔχων ὄνειδος 
πρὸς ἄπαντα τὸν βίον, ἡ δ’ ὑπὲρ ἀν διβοληθῆ 
tὸι τῶν δεομένων γαμεῖσθω. ἀν δ’ αἰχμάλωτον τῆς 
λάβῃ παρθένον ἂν τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένω 
συνοικίσωμεν μὴ πρότερον ἐξεστῶ εὐθὺς ἀφασθαί καὶ 
κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἤ ἐνυμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθου 
σχῆμα ἀναλαβοῦσαν ἀποθετήσαντες συγγενεῖς καὶ 
257 τῶν δεομένων γαμεῖσθω. ἀν δ’ αἰχμάλωτον τῆς 
λάβῃ παρθένον ἂν τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένω 
συνοικίσωμεν μὴ πρότερον ἐξεστῶ εὐθὺς ἀφασθαί καὶ 
κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἤ ἐνυμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθου 
σχῆμα ἀναλαβοῦσαν ἀποθετήσαντες συγγενεῖς καὶ 
258 φίλους τοὺς ἀπολυλότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ὅπως τὸ ἐπ’ 
αὐτοῖς κορέσασα λυπηρὸν ἐπειδ’ οὕτως ἐπ’ εὐωχία 
τράπηται καὶ γάμους καὶ τὸν γὰρ ἔπνευ και δίκαιον

1 γενέσας (γενέσας) codd.
2 Reinauch: ταῦτα codd. 
3 πτύσασα ROM.

* 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 Well, permitted marriage with a captive previously married (see to a Gentile)."

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παιδοποιοῦν παραλαμβάνοντα θεραπεύειν αὐτῆς τῷ βουλητῶν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν διώκοντα 259 μόνον τοῦ κατ’ αὐτὴν ἀμελείν κεχαρισμένου. τριάκοντα δ’ ἡμερῶν τῷ πένθει διελθοῦσών, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς δικρύους αὐταὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ταῖς φρονίμοις, τότε χωρείν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον. εἰ δὲ ἐμπληθείς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερφανεύσειν αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ἔχειν, μηκέτ’ ἐξουσίαν ἔχετω καταδουλοῦν αὐτήν, ἀλλ’ ὅπῃ βουλεῖται χωρείν ἀπίτω τοῦτο ἔλευθερον ἐξουσία.

260 (24) "Ὡσοὶ δὲ ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονώσι τοὺς γυναῖκας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς μὴ νέμωσιν ἡ δὲ ἀλοχόνην ἢ δὲ ἀσυνεσίαν1 ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις αὐτοῖς νουθετεῖτοσαν οἱ πατέρες, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐφ’ υιάσων οὗτοι δικασταί, 261 συνελθείν μὲν ἄλληλοις οὐχ ἠδονῆς ἔνεκα λέγοντες οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων αἰξίσεως κοινῶν τῶν ἐκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων γενομένων, ἀλλ’ ὅπως παιδών τὐχώσιν, οἱ γηροκομήσωσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὃν ἂν δέωνται παρ’ αὐτῶν ἐξουσί, "γενομένον τέ σε2 μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τῶ θεοῦ χάριν εἰδέναι τὴν μεγίστην ἀράμενοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεθρέψαμεν μηδενὸς φείδω ποιούμενοι τοῦ καὶ δόξαντος εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν σὴν καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἁρίστων 262 εἶναι χρησίμου. νῦν δὲ, συγγνώμην γὰρ χρῆ3 νέμειν εφ’ ἀμαρτήσας νέων, ἀπόχρη σοι ὅσα τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τιμῆς ἀλλαγώρησας, καὶ μεταβαλοῦν πρὸς

1 ex Lat. (propter insipientiam): δὲ ἀσύνεσιν R: δὲ σύνεσιν rell.
2 τέ σε Niene: τέ RO: δέ γε rell.
3 RO: δεῖ 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).
τὸ σωφρονέστερον, λογισάμενος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ
tοῖς εἰς πατέρας τολμομένους χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὡς καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους
ἐστὶ καὶ συνατμισθῇ δοκεῖ τοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ
προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν οὗτοι ὁ μὲν προσήκειν αὐτοῖς
παρὰ τῶν παίδων τυγχανόντων, καὶ νόμος κολασσῆς
γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπαραίτητος, οὐχ οὐ μὴ
263 πειραθείης." κἂν μὲν τούτους θεραπεύεται τὸ
τῶν νέων αὐθαδες, ἀπαλλαττᾶσθαι τῶν ἐπὶ
toῖς ἡγομένων οὐκειδῶν οὕτως γὰρ ὅ 
οὐ τος νομο-
thetis ἀγαθὸς εἰ 
καὶ οἱ πατέρες εὐνυχεὶς οὓκ
ἐπιδόντες οὕτε ὑπὸ κολαξόμενον οὕτε ὑγιάτερα.
264 ὃ δὲ ἡμῶν καὶ ἡ παρ' αὐτῶν διδασκαλία
τοῦ σωφρονεῖν τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι φανάριον, ἔχοντι
δὲ ἀσπόνδους αὐτῷ ποιή τούς νόμους τοῖς συνεχέσιν
κατὰ τῶν γονέων τολμήμασι, προαχθεῖς ὑπὸ
αὐτῶν τούτων ἐξω τῆς πόλεως τοῦ πλήθους
ἐπομένου καταλευσθῶ καὶ μείνας δὲ ὅλης τῆς
ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τὴν ἀπάντων θαπτέσθω νυκτὸς.
265 οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὅπωσον ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀν-
αιρεθῆναι κατακραυγάντες. θαπτέσθωσιν δὲ καὶ οἱ
πολέμιοι καὶ νεκρὸς μηδὲ εἰς ἀμοιρος γῆς κείσω
περαιτέρω τοῦ δικαίου τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνων.
266 (25) "Δανείζεων δὲ Ἐβραίων ἐπὶ τόκους ἐξέστω
μηδενὶ μήτε βρωτὸν μήτε ποτὸν· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιοι
προσοδεύεσθαι τοῦ ομοφύλου τὰς τύχας, ἀλλὰ

1 ὃ ἐκ Bekker ex Lat.: οὖ ὁ (ὡς ὁ etc.) codd.

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* In Scripture and in tradition (see Weill) the law applies only to sons.

* 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-

*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. Αἴας 1296 ταφής ἄδεξεος, ΑΝ. 1071 (the later play, turning on the burial of enemies, is doubtless in mind).
βοηθήσαντας ταῖς χρείαις αὐτοῦ κέρδος εἶναι νομίζειν τὴν τ’ ἐκείνων εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενησομένην ἐπὶ τῇ χριστότητι.

267 (26) "Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἶτε ἀργύρια εἶτε τινὰ τῶν καρπῶν, ὕγρον ἢ ἐχρόν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρησάντων κομίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδότωσαν τοὺς δοῦσιν ὠσπερ ἀποθέμενοι εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰ δεηθεῖεν ἔζοντες.

268 ἄν δὲ ἀνασχυντός περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, μὴ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βαδίσαντας ἐνεχυριάζεων πρὶν ἢ δίκη περὶ τούτου γένηται· τὸ δ' ἐνέχυρον αἰτεῖν ἐξω καὶ τὸν ὀφελοῦντα κομίζειν δι' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τῷ μετὰ νόμου βοηθείας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἕκοντι. κἂν μὲν εὐπορος ἢ ὁ ἐνεχυρόσμενος, κατεχέτω τούτῳ μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ὁ δεδανεικώς, ἄν δὲ πένης, ἀποτιθέτω πρὶν ἥλιον δυσμῶν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἄν ἴματιν ἢ τὸ ἐνέχυρον, ὡσποὺ εἰς ὑπὸν ἐχθα τοῦτο, φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πενομένοις ἔλεον νέμοντος. μῦλην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην σκευῆ μὴ ἐξεῖναι λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὡσποὺ μὴ στερῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ σείτα ὀργάνων μηδ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας πάθωσι τι τῶν χειρῶν.

270 (27) "Ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου μὲν κλοπῆ θάνατος ἐστὶν ζημία, ὅ δὲ χρυσόν ἢ ἀργυρόν υφελόμενον τὸ διπλοῦν ἀποτιθέτω. κτείνας δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ' ἑκοντι.
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 expressly) "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).

b In Ex. xxii. 4 the "double" penalty applies to stolen animals found alive in the thief's hands: money is not mentioned.
JOSEPHUS

οικον κλεπτομένοις τις ἀθώος ἔστω καὶ ἦν ἐπος διορύγματι τεχιών. βόσκημα δὲ ὁ κλέφος τετραπλήν τὴν ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω πλὴν βοὸς, πενταπλὴν δὲ ὑπὲρ τούτου καταβαλλέτω. ὁ δὲ τὸ ἐπίτιμον ἀπορος διαλύσασθαι δοῦλος ἔστω τοῖς καταδεδικασμένοις. 3

273 (28) "Πραγματέως δὲ ὁμοφύλῳ τις ἕτη δουλεύετω, τῷ δὲ ἐβδόμῳ ἐλευθερος ἀφείσθη δὲ τέκνων αὐτῶν γενομένων ἐκ δουλῆς παρὰ τῷ πριαμένῳ διὰ τὴν εὔνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἴκεια φιλοστοργίαν βούληται δουλεύειν, ἐναυτῷ ἐνστάντος τοῦ ἱσχυροῦ, πενηκοστὸς δὲ ἐναυτός ἐστιν, ἐλευθερούσθω καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλευθέραν ἐπαγόμενος.

274 (29) "Εάν δὲ τις ἡ χρυσοῦν ἡ ἀργύριον εὐρή καθ’ ὁδὸν, ἐπιζητήσας τὸν ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ κηρύξας τὸν τόπον ἐν ὧν εὐθεῖα ἀποδότω, τὴν ἐκ τῆς ἑτέρου ζημίας ἀφελείαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαμβάνων. ὡμολογήσαι καὶ περὶ βοσκήματων οἷς ἦν ἐντύχη τις κατ’ ἐρήμιαν πλανωμένοις· μὴ εὐθεῖον τὸν κυρίου παραχρῆμα παρ’ αὐτῷ φυλαττόν μαρτυράμενος τὸν θεὸν μὴ νοσφίζοντας ἀλλότρια.

1 Bernard: ei codd. 2 καταδεικασμένοι MPLE. 3 ins. E: om. rell.

a i.e. had not got beyond the stage of digging through it. Josephus omits the proviso added in Exodus, "If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness," in other words, as interpreted by Philo, εἰ δὲ ἔλευθε ἄναξ ὁ θεὸς ὁμολογοῦσα τοῖς θεοῖς ἐκεῖνοι, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἥρκοντας καὶ δικαιοῦσα ἀνέσθω (II. 337 M., quoted by Weill, who adds another fanciful interpretation).
b i.e. "an ox or a sheep" (Ex.): Josephus again omits the Scriptural proviso "and kill it or sell it."

c In Ex., as the text stands, this refers only to the house-
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gagg'd in burglary shall be innocent, even though the Ex. xxii. 2. thief were yet but breaking through his wall. He that steal a head of cattle & shall pay fourfold as Ex. 1. penalty, save in the case of an ox, for which he shall be fined fivefold. He that hath not the means to de- fray the imposed amount shall become the slave of those who have had him condemned.  

(28) "A Hebrew sold to another Hebrew shall serve him for six years: in the seventh let him go free." 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, 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.  

(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, 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.

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 Hulækah (Weill).  

And his wife, if he has one (Ex. xxii. 3).  

The neut. ("his own" or "his home surroundings") includes his master, Ex. xxii. 5.  

In Scripture the master bores the ear of the willing servant, and he serves him "for ever"; the jubilee is not mentioned here.  

* Detail not in Scripture, but attested by tradition (Weill).
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276 (30) "Μὴ ἐξείναι δὲ παρέναι κτημῶν των κἀκε-  

παθοῦντων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πεπτωκότων ἐν πηλῷ,  

συνδισσόζειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πόνον οἰκείον ἡγησάμενον  

βοηθεῖν.

278 (31) "Μηνὶδὲ καὶ τὰς ὀδοὺς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν,  

καὶ μὴ γέλατα θηρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐμποδίζειν  

πλάνη τὴν ἐτέρου χρείαν.

(32) "Ομοίως μὴ δὲ βλασφημεῖτω τις τῶν ἁπο-  

tου̃ καὶ τῶν ἑνεών.

277 (33) "Ἐν μάχῃ τις, ὅπου μὴ σίδηρος, πληγεῖς  

παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀποθανόντων ἐκδικεῖσθω ταύτων  

παθόντων τοῦ πεπτωχότος. ἄν δὲ κομισθεὶς παρ'  

ἐαυτοῦ καὶ νοσήσας ἐπὶ πλείονα ἡμέρας ἔπειτ'  

ἀποθάνῃ, ἀδύνατος ἄρτω ἡ πλήξα, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ  

πολλά δαπανήσαντος εἰς τὴν νοσηλείαν ἀπωτινέτω  

πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς κατακλίσεως  

278 ἀνάλωσε καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἱεροῖς ἔδωκεν. ὁ γυναῖκα  

λακτίζας ἐγκυοῦ, ἀν μὲν ἐξαμβλώσῃ ἡ γυνὴ  

ξημεούσθω χρῆμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ὡς παρὰ  

τὸ διαφθαρεῖν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μειώσας τὸ πλήθος,  

didόσθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ  

1 SP: ἀπόστα rell.: ἀπεστος 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 coleti” (Juv. Sot. xiv. 103).

b Text and meaning doubtful. For the first adjective most ss. have the erroneous reading “the absent”; the ss. followed in the text have a word which in its one occurrence elsewhere means “unseen” (not “unseeing”); a 608
(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."

(32) "Similarly, let none revile the sightless or the dumb."

(33) "In a fight without use of the blade, 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. 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 (δοτας) has been conjectured meaning "speechless." The passage in Leviticus mentions "deaf" and "blind."

Paraphrase of the Biblical "if men contend and one smiteth the other with a stone or with his fist."

Josephus here amalgamates two separate laws in Exodus: (1) vv. 18 f. relating to quarrels; (2) vv. 20 f. relating to the beating of a slave by his master. The last clause corresponds to the Heb. "he shall pay for šiḥot and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed"; here šiḥot may mean either "his sitting down" (from yāḥad, as Josephus takes it) or "his cessation" i.e. "unemployment" (from šābath, as LXX takes it, translating by ἄργας).
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χρήματα θυσιακούς δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς καταθέσαι δι-καιοῦντος τοῦ νόμου.

279 (34) "Φάρμακον μήτε θανάσιμον μήτε τῶν εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐχέτω μηδὲ εἰς ἔαν δὲ κεκτημένος φωραθῇ τεθνάτω, τούτῳ πᾶσχων ὁ διεθνεῖν ἂν ἐκείνους καθ' ὃν τὸ φάρμακον ἦν παρεσκευασμένον.


281 (36) "Βοῦν τοῖς κέρασι πλήττοντα ὁ δεσπότης ἀποσβατέτω· εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἄλλος κτείνει των πληξιῶν· αὐτὸς μὲν καταλευσθεὶς ἀποθνησκέτω μηδ' εἰς τροφὴν εὐχρηστοῖς εἶναι κατηξιωμένος, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἑλέγχηται προειδῶς αὐτῶ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μὴ φυλαξάμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ὡς αἰτίος τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοῶς ἀνηρρημένῳ 282 γεγενημένοις. ἐὰν δὲ δουλον ἡ θεράπαιναι ἀπο-

1 om. RO.

2 om. R.

* Misunderstanding of Scripture, which (though the text is uncertain) appears to contemplate one fine only payable to the husband; and so tradition (Weill).

* The traditional interpretation of the Heb. "if any mischief happen"; xxx and Philo interpret otherwise.

* The nearest Biblical parallel to this section is Ex. xxii. 18, "thou shalt not suffer a sorceress (xxx φάρμακον) to live." On that passage Philo ii. 315 ff. M. dilates on poison.

* 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 gareth 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, ib. 32, 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 ἄφαρσθη, "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 (ib. 323 M.), the court decides δ ἐὰν χρη παθεῖν ἢ ἀφαιρέσθαι.
κτείνη βοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλιθοῦσθαι, τριάκοντα δὲ σίκλους οὐ κύριος τοῦ βοῶς ἀποτινέτω τῷ δεσπότῃ τοῦ ἀνηρμένου. βοῦς δὲ ἐὰν οὕτως πληγεὶς ἀποθάνῃ, ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ὁ τεθνεώς καὶ ὁ πλήξας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀμφοτέρων οἱ δεσπόται αὐτῶν διανεμέσθωσαν.

283 (37) "Ὅς φρέαρ ἢ λάκκον ὄρφαναι ἐπιμελέσεις ποιεῖσθαι ὅστε σανίδων ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχειν κεκλεισμένα, οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς εἰργουντο ὑδρείας, ἀλλ' ἡ ἑαυτοῦ κύνδυνος ὡς ἐμπεσομένου ἂ. οὐ δ' ἣν εἰς ὄργυμα τοιοῦτον μη κλειστὸν ἐμπεσων βόσκημα τινὸς διαφθείρῃ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότῃ καταβαλλέτων. περιβαλλέσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στέγεσιν ἄπερ ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους οὐκ ἔσει τινὰς ἀποκυλισθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.

284 (38) "Παρακαταθήκην δὲ ἀσπερ ἵππον τε καὶ θέουν χρήμα ὁ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιοῦτω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἀποστερήσει ψαυτινθεί τὸν πεπιστευκότα μῆτ' ἄντι μήτε γυνή, μηδ' εἰ χρυσὸν ἀπερων μέλλοι κερδαινεῖν, καταφρονῶν τῷ μηδένα εἶναι τὸν ἐξελέγξοντα. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ τὸ συνείδος ἐπιστάμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ προσήκειν ἐκαστὸν εὔ πράττειν, καὶ μάρτυρι ἀρκούμενος αὐτῷ πάντα ποιεῖσθω ἅ παρ' ἀλλὰν ἐπαίνον αὐτῷ παρέξει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὅν οὐδεὶς πονηρὸς ὃν λανθάνει. εἰ δὲ μηδέν ἐπιβολοῦν δρῶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς ἀπολέσειεν,
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. 

(37) "They that dig a well or a pit are to take care to keep them closed in by laying planks above, not to preclude any from drawing water, but to avoid all risk of falling into them. Should any man have a cavity of such sort not closed, and another man's beast fall into it and perish, he shall pay the price of it to its owner. Let roofs also be surrounded by something in the nature of a wall, to prevent any from rolling off and being killed.

(38) "Let the receiver of a deposit esteem it worthy of custody as of some sacred and divine object, 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, 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.).


Philo (ii. 341 M.) uses the same phrase, λαβίων ὲτ ἱερὸν χρήμα παρακαταθήκη (and a little above ἱερῶτατον παρακαταθήκη).

* Or "to be sure" (καθόλου = Lat. omnino).
ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐπτὰ κρύτας ὀμυντό τὸν θεόν, ὅτι μὴδὲν παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βουλήσου ἀπόλοιπο καὶ κακίαν, οὐδὲ χρησάμενοι τινὶ μέρει αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἀνεπαιτίατος ἀπίτω, χρησάμενος δὲ κἀκεχολοῦ μέρει τῶν πεπιστευμένων, ἀν ἀπολέσας τῷ ἑαυτῷ τὰ λοιπά, πάντα ἐλαβέν ἀπο-288 δούναι κατεγνώσθω. ὡμοίως δὲ τῷ περὶ παρα-καταθηκῶν κἀκεχολοῦ τὸς ἀποστερήσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐργαζόμενοι, μεμισθισθῶν. θεὸν οὐκ ἀποστερητέον ἄνδρος πένητος μισθόν, εἰδότας ὡς ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ὁ θεὸς αὐτῶ τοῦτον εἶπ παρεσχήκος. ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλ' αὐθεντεύω ἐκ-τίνες ὡς οὐ βουλόμενον τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς εξ ἀν πε-πόνηκε χρήσεως ὑστερεῖν τὸν εἰργαζόμενον.

289 (39) "Παύεις ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας πατέρων μὴ κολάξειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οἴκτου μᾶλλον ἄξιον, ὅτι μοχθηρῶν ἐγένοντο πατέρων, ἦ μίσους φύντας εκ φαύλων. οὐ μην οὐδὲ πατράσιν ἱών ἀμαρτίαν λογιστέων, τῶν νέων πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν αὐτῶν ἐπιπρεπόντων ὑπερηφανίᾳ τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι.

200 (40) "Γάλλους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ σύνοδον φεύγειν τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀφελομένων αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδοποιίας καρπόν, ὅν ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' αὐξήσει τοῦ γένους ἦμων ὁ θεὸς παρέσχεν, ἑλαύνειν

2 MLE: μηδὲ rell.  
2 RO: om. rell.  
3 μεμισθισθὼ (M) δὲ ed. pr.  
4 ἐργαζόμενον RO.  
5 ed. pr.: φόντει codd.

*Cf. § 214. Tradition (cited by Wellil) mentions a tribunal of three (or five) judges in such cases, not of seven.*

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seven judges a 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, b 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 c 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." d 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 λοιπά must be taken as dependent on ἐξολοθρεῖς, not (as by Hudson and Well) with πᾶσα. 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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δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνων σφαγῆ καὶ πρὸς τούτων 291 ἀπολλύντας τὸ ἐκείνων αὐτῶν δῆλον γάρ, ἃς τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς τεθηλυσμένης μετεκοσμήσαντο πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ σῶμα. ὡς δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ νομίζόμενον τέρας τοὺς ὀράσιν μὴ ἐξείναι δὲ ποιεῖν ἐκτομίας μήτε ἀνθρώπους μήτε τῶν ἄλλων ζώων.

292 (41) Ἅψυχη μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν εἰρημικὴ τῶν νόμων κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν διάταξις ἐστιν καὶ ὁ θεὸς εὐμενῆς ἀστασίαστον αὐτῆς τῶν κόσμων παρέξεται, γένοιτο δὲ χρόνος μηδὲ εἰς, ὃς καυσεῖ τι ποιέων 293 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἑνεκτέινα μεταβαλεῖ. ἐπεῖ δὲ ἀνάγκη τὸ ἀνθρώπου καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἢ κατὰ προ- άφρους τραχύς καὶ κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν, φέρε καὶ περὶ ποιήσαι ἡρῴης προσδιατάξωμεν, ὥσ ἂν προ- ειδότες ἢ χρὴ ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ χρείᾳ τῶν σωτηρίων εὐπορήτε καὶ μη τότε ἢ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπιξητοῦντες ἀπαρασκεύαστοι τοῖς καιροῖς περιπέσθη. 294 Ἔγνω ὑμῶν ἢ ὁ θεὸς ἐδώκε κάπων καταγροφοῦσι καὶ ψυχὰς πρὸς ἁρπήν ἑσκεμένους ἀπὸλεμοῦ μὲν νέμουσαν παράσχοι τε κεκτημένοι αὐτὴν, μήτε ἀλλοτρίων εἰς αὐτὴν ἐπὶ κακώσει στρατευόμενον 295 μήτε στάσεως ἐμφυλίου κατασχοῦσης ὑμᾶς, ὃ Ἱερά τάναντα παρατάχει τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πράττοντες ἀπολείπετα ἐκεῖνοι νομισθέντα, χρῄζοντε τοῖς νόμοις ὃς ἀγαθοὺς δοκημάζεις ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσι διατελοῦσθε ἑργον ὅτι το ἓν πολεμικὸν ἢ νῦν

1 RO: πρὸ τοῦτων rel.: per hoc Lat.
2 Bekker: παρατέσσερε codd.
3 τοῖς Dindorf.

"Another text reads “before them” i.e. “before the infants’ birth.”
5 Cf. iii. 287 for a similar transition from civil to military
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 unmarred 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.

" ἡ ἄνθρωπον, a Thucydidean phrase, characteristic of A. xvii.-xix.
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ὑφ’ ὑμᾶν ἡ ὑστερον ἐπὶ παιδῶν ὑμετέρων γένηται

296 τοῦ ὑπερόροιν πραξθείς: μελλοντας δὲ πολεμεῖν

προσβείαν καὶ κήρυκας πέμπειν παρά τοὺς ἐκουσίως

πολεμίους; πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀπλῶν καλὸν εἶναι χρῆσθαι

λόγοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς, δηλοῦντας ὅτι καὶ στρατιῶν

πολλήν ἔχουντας καὶ ἱπποὺς καὶ ὀπλα καὶ πρὸ

tούτων εἰμενῇ τὸν θεόν καὶ σύμμαχον, δόμως

ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀναγκάξεσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ τὰ

ἐκεῖνων ἀφαιρουμένου ἀβούλητον αὐτοῖς κέρδος

297 προσλαμβάνειν. καὶ πειθομένων μὲν καλῶς ὑμᾶς

ἔχεις τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάττειν, εἰ δὲ φρονοῦντες

ἔφ’ ἐαυτοῖς ὃς ἵσχυ διαφέρουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἔθελεν,

στρατὸν ἐπ’ αὐτοὺς ἀγάγετε; στρατηγῷ μὲν

ἀυτοκράτορι χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ ὑποστράτηγον

dὲ χειροτονήσαντες ἐνα τὸν ἁρετὴν προύχοντας

πολυαρχία γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τοῦτο ὄξεως τι πράττειν

ἀνάγκην ἔχουσιν ἐμπόδιον εἰναι καὶ βλάπτειν

298 πέφυκε τοὺς χρωμένους. στρατὸν δ’ ἄγεις καθαρὸν

ἐκ πάντων τῶν ῥώμη σωμάτων καὶ ψυχῆς εὐ-

tολμῆι διαφέροντων τὸ ἀδιλαντίστατος, μὴ
tοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τραπεῖν εἰς φυγὴν

ὡφελῆσαι. τοὺς τε νεωστὶ δειμαλίνους οἰκίας,

οἷς οὗτῳ χρόνος ἀπολαύσεως αὐτῶν ὑπαιτοῦσι,

καὶ φυτεύσαντας οὖτω δὲ καρπῶν μετεσχηκότας,

ἐὰν κατὰ χώραν, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσάμενους δὲ

καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας, μὴ πόθῳ τούτων φει-

δόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ πιροῦτες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τού-

των ἀπόλαυσιν ἐθελοκακήσωσιν [περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας].

1 ἀγάγετε RO. 2 E: τὸ δὲ codd. 3 M: ἀποκρίνεσται roll. 4 om. Lat.

στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτῳ, after Thuc. vi. 72 τοὺς τε στρατη-

γοὺς καὶ ὅλους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας χρῆναι ἐλθοῦν.
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.

* After Thuc. *ibid.* μήγα δὲ βιωθεί καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τῆς πολιαρχιαν.*
299 (42) "Στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ προνοεῖσθε, μὴ τι τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ἐργάσῃσθε. πολυρκοῦντας δὲ καὶ ξύλων ἀπορουμένους εἰς ποίησιν μηχανημάτων μὴ κείρεν τὴν γῆν ἦμερα δένδρα κόπτοντας ἄλλα φείδεσθαι, λογιζομένους ἐπ᾽ ὦφελεία ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, καὶ φωνῆς ἀν εὐπορήσαντα δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς ύμᾶς, ὡς ουδὲν αὕτη τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότα πάσχοι κακῶς παρὰ δίκην, εἰ δύναμις αὐτοῖς ἢν καὶ μετοικήσαντα ἄν καὶ πρὸς ἄλλην μεταβάντα γῆν. κρατήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς αὐτοπαθέμενος κτείνατε, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους εἰς τὸ τελευτ ὑμῶν φόρους σώζετε πλὴν τοῦ Χα- ναναίων ἑβνοῦς: τούτους γὰρ πανοκ ἤρεθαν αὐθανάσαι.

300 (43) "Φυλάσσειν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὡς μήτε γυναῖκα ἀνδρικῇ σκευῇ χρῆσθαι μήτ᾽ ἄνδρα στολῇ γυναικείᾳ."

302 (44) Πολιτείαν μὲν οὖν τοιάνδε Μωυσῆς κατέλιπε, νόμους δὲ ἐπὶ πρῶτον τεσσαρακοστῷ ἐτεὶ γεγραμμένους παραδίδωσι, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἐτέρᾳ γράφῃ λέγομεν. ταῖς δὲ ἐξῆς ἡμέραις, συνεχεῖς γὰρ ἐξεκλητισάσειν, εὐλογίας αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ζησομένους ἄλλα παραβησιομένους τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς διωρισμένα. ἐπεὶ δὲ ποίησιν ἐξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω, ἡν καὶ κατα-

* 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 Well 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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λέοντες. ἐν βιβλίῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρόρρησαν περιέχουσαν τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ ἦν [καὶ] γέγονεν [τὰ] πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκεῖνον δημιουργήκοτος 304 τῆς ἀληθείας. ταῦτ’ οὖν τὰ βιβλία παραδίδοσιν τοῖς ἱερεῖσι καὶ τὴν κιβωτίαν, εἰς ἢν καὶ τοὺς δέκα λόγους γεγραμμένους ἐν δύοις πλαξίς κατέθετο, καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν τῷ τε λαῷ παρήγαγε κρατήσας τῆς γῆς καὶ ἱδρυθεὶς μὴ λήθην λαβεῖν τῆς Ἀμαλ- ληκτῶν ὑβρεὼς, ἀλλὰ στρατεύσαντας ἐπὶ αὐτοὺς τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν ὑπ’ ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνον- 305 τας ἐποίησαν κακῶς, ἐξελόντας δὲ τὴν Χαναάλων γῆν καὶ πάσαν διαφθείραντας τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πληθυνθανατὸν καθα’ πρέπει, τὸν βωμὸν τε ἀναστήσας πρὸς ἤλιον ἀνέσχοντα τετραμμένον οὐ πόρων τῆς Σικίμωνος πόλεως [ἐμπεριαγέων] μεταξὺ δυοῦ οίκων, Γαρεζαίου μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ’ ἐκ λαιῶν Βουλής προσαγορευομένου, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ τὴν στρατιάν καθ’ ἐξ φυλᾶς ἐπὶ τοῖς δυοῦ οίκοι

1 ed. pr., Lat.: τυγχάνοντες codd.
2 Σικίμων ΠΟ.
3 om. ed. pr., Lat.
4 Ἱρείδου Μ: Γαρεζαίου Nielse.
5 Ἱρβάλου ed. pr.: Hebal Lat.

* 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 f.

6 A. iii. 39 ff. (esp. 60), Ex. xvii. 8-16. The passage in
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 Garizaean 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.

Direction not named in Scripture: the phrase "towards the sun-rising" seems to be taken from Herodotus (B.I. vii. 281 note).

Shechem: some ms. read "the Sikimates," The word ἐπεράγας ("to bring round"), which follows in the Greek ms., looks like a gloss on ἀναστήσα: ("to erect"), or rather a correction of the assistant (B.I. 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.

Heb. Gerizim, Ἰκεῖν Παραφείαν.

Heb. Ebal, Ἰκεῖν Παραφείαν: Ἱουβέλ ("Counsel") of Josephus is an instance of the frequent Hellenization of a Hebrew name; the Heb. is perhaps connected with the god Bel.
ἀναστήναι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Δευτέρα τε καὶ ἑτέρας. 308 καὶ πρῶτοι μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Γαρίζειν g γενομένους εὐχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα τοὺς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων φυλακὴν σπουδάσασιν ὃν τε Μωυσῆς εἶπε μὴ παρακροασμένοις, εὐθημεῖν δὲ τὰς ἑτέρας, καὶ τούτων πάλιν εὐχομένων 307 τὰς προηγμένας ἐπανεῖν. ἔπειτα κατὰ ταύτα τοῖς παραβησομένοις κατάρας τίθεσθαι ύποφυσώσας ἀλλοιλαίς ἐπὶ τῇ κυρώσει τῶν λεγομένων. ἀνέγραφε δὲ τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰς κατάρας αὐτοὺς, ὡς μηδέποτε ἐκλιπέτε τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ 308 τοῦ χρόνου, ἃς δὴ καὶ τῷ βουμῷ τελευτῶν ἐνέγραφε κατὰ πλευρὰν ἐκατέρας, ἢ καὶ στάντα φησὶ τὸν λαὸν θυσαῖ τε καὶ ὅλοκαυτώσας καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν σὺν ἐπενεγκεῖν ἑρειον ἐτέρουν, οὐ γὰρ εἶναι νόμμων. ταῦτ' ὅπεν Μωυσῆς διέταξε καὶ τὸ Ἐβραῖων έθνος ἀκόλουθα τούτως ποιοῦν διατελεῖ.

309 (45) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραια τοῦ λαὸν σὺν γυναιξὶν ἁμα καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγών, ὡς παρεῖναι καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ὅρκου τῶν νόμων αὐτῶν φυλακῆς ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διανοιας ἄκριβείς λογιστάς γενομένους ἢ μηδὲν ἀυτοὺς μὴς συγγενεῖα χαριζομένους μὴς εἴκονας φόβῳ μὴς ἄλλην καθάπαξ αὐτῶν κυριωτέραν τῆς τῶν νόμων φυλακῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντας παραβησθαι τοῦ-

1 RO: + τοὺς rell.  
2 ἐτέρο ROM.  
3 Holwerda: παρακροασμένοι (παρακρο.) codd.  
4 + et' SPLE.  
5 ἢ μηδὲν conj. εὶ μηδὲν eis etc codd.

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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).
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 308-309

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 imprecate curses upon future transgressors, mutually responding in corroboration of the pronouncements. These blessings and curses he put on record himself, to the end that their lesson might never be abolished by time, and indeed at the last he inscribed them upon the altar, 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. "Josèphe est ici plus loyaliste que la loi" (T. Reinach).

* Lit. "showing themselves strict accountants."
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310 τοὺς, ἀλλ' ἂν τέ τις τῶν ἐξ αἵματος συγχέειν καὶ
catalúnein ἐπεχειρηῇ τὴν κατ’ αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἄν
tε πόλις, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ κομὴ καὶ κατ’ ἱδίαν,
καὶ κρατήσαντας μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾶν θεμελίων καὶ
μηδὲ τὸ ἐδαφὸς τῶν ἀπονεμηθέντων εἰ δυνατὸν
καταλυσεῖν, εἰ δ' ἀσθενοῦν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν,
αὐτὸ τὸ μή κατὰ βούλησιν ἱδίαν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι
dεικνύει. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὀμυνε.  

311 (46) Ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν αἱ θυσίαι τῶν
θεῶν μᾶλλον κεχαριμέναι γένουτο καὶ ὅπως ἂν
οἱ στρατεύοντες ἐξίοιεν τεκμηρίων χρώμενοι τοῖς
λίθοις, ὡς καὶ πρῶτον δεδήλωκα. προεφήτευσε
312 δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Μωυσέως παρόντος. ἔπειτα πάνθ' ὅσα
ποιήσειν1 ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας ἐν
tε πολέμους καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην νόμους τε συντελεῖς
καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον συμπορίζων ἀνα-
λογιζόμενος προείπεν, ὡς διηλύειν αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον,
ὅτι παραβάντες τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πείρα-
313 θήσονται κακῶν, ὡς ὅπλων τε αὐτοῖς πολεμίων
πληρωθήναι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι πόλεις καὶ
τὸν νεών καταπροσβῆναι καὶ πραθῆναι δουλεύειν
ἀνδράσων οὐδένα λημφόμενοι ὅπωστε ἐπὶ ταῖς συμ-
φοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετανοήσεις δ' αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ
314 χρησίμως ταῦτα πάσχοντας. "ὁ μὲντοι θεὸς ὁ
κτίσας ὑμᾶς πόλεις τε πολίταις ἰμετέρως ἀποδώσει
καὶ τὸν ναὸν· ἐσεθεὶ δὲ τὴν τοὺτον ἀποβολὴν ὑμῖν
ἀπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις."  

315 (47) Παραρρήσας δὲ τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς

1 ποιήσειν SP.  

2 oïn RO.  

a iii. 216.
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 punish-
ment, 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 repent-
ance 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-

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627
Χαναναίους στρατεύειν ἔδαγεν, ὡς τού θεοῦ συνεργοῦτος ὁς ἦν ἐπιχειρήσει, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπιευγήμησας τὴν πληθὺν, “ἐπεί,” φησὶ, “πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἀπειμω προγόνους καὶ θεὸς τήνδε μοι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς ἐκεῖνους ἀφίξεως ἄφρος.

316 χάριν μὲν αὐτῷ ἐξών ἔτι καὶ παρῶν ὑμῶν ἔχειν ὀμολογῳ προνοίας τε τῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἢν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀπαλαγης μόνον τῶν ἡμετέρων ἐπονήσατο κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ διωρεῖς τῶν κρειττῶν, ὅτι τε πονοῦτί μοι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὑμῶν μεταβολῆς φροντίδα λαμβάνοντι συνηγνώσατο καὶ παρέσχεν ἐν ἀπασί αὐτὸν ἢμῖν εὔμενη.

317 μᾶλλον δ' αὐτὸς ἢν ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν αὐτῶν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ τελὴ χαριζόμενος, ὑποστρατήγῳ χρώμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέτῃ ἄν τὸν ἡμετέρον λαὸν ἐνεργεῖτε ν ἱδελπισθεν. ἀνθ' ᾧν προευλογήσατε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὧς μελήσει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῶν, ἀπαλασσόμενος καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην, αὐτὸς τε ταῦτῃ ὀφειλομένην ἀμοιβήν ἀποδιδόσ καὶ καταλείπον εἰς μνήμην ὑμῶν τὸ σέβειν τε καὶ τιμῶν προσήκειν τούτων ὑμῶν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, πάντων ὄν τε παρέσχητε καὶ μένων εὔμενης ἐτε 319 παρέξει δύρημα κάλλιστον, φιλάττειν· ὡς δευτὸς μὲν ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἀνθρωπος νομοθέτης ὑβριζόμενον αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων καὶ μάτην κειμένων, θεοὶ δὲ μὴ πειραδείγητε χαλεπαίνοντος ὑπὲρ ἀμελομένων νόμων, οὐς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ὑμῖν ἐδωκε.”

320 (48) Μαυσολέος δ' εὶ ταῦτα πρὸς τελευτή τοῦ βίου φήσαντος καὶ μετ' εὐλογίας ἐκάστη τῶν φιλῶν

1 στρατεύειν MS. 2 ex Lat. cdd.: ἡμετέρων codd. 3 ed. Genev.: ἐπισυνοντι SP (omitting κατα) : ἐπὶ νοῦν tell. 4 ὑμῖν RO.
paign against the Canaanites, assured of God's co-operation in all his enterprises, and after addressing auspicious words to the whole assembly, "Seeing," said he, "that I am going to our forefathers and that this is the day that God hath appointed for my departure to them, while yet alive and among you I render thanks to Him, alike for the care which He has bestowed on you, not only in delivering you from your distress, but in presenting you with the best of boons, and then for that, while I was toiling and with utmost endeavour taking thought for the amelioration of your lot, He aided me in those struggles and showed Himself ever gracious towards me." 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

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* Gr. "us" (sing. for plur., as often).

* \(\text{προσευλογήσει SPL.}\)

* \(\text{Niese: τελευτής codd.}\)
προφητεύσαντος τὰ καὶ γενησόμενα ὅσα δάκρυα προὔπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς γυναίκας στερνοτυπομένας ἐμφανίζειν τὸ ἐπ’ αὐτῶ τεθνη-ξομένων πάθος. καὶ οἱ παιδεὶς δὲ θρηνοῦντες ἑτ’ μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀθαναστεροί κρατεῖν λύπης, ἔδηλον ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαλορείγας παρ’ αὐτὴν 321 τὴν ἡλικίαν συνίεαν. ἦν δὲ κατ’ ἐπόνοιαν τοῖς τε νέοις καὶ προβηθηκόσι χαμίλλα τῆς λύπης. οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἶδότες φιλονομόντος κηδεμόνωσι περὶ τοῦ μελλοντος ἀπεβηκόντων, τοῖς δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὸ πένθος ἦν καὶ ότι μησίω καλῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ 322 γεγευμένων ἀπολείπεσθαι συνέβαινεν αὐτοῦ. τὴν δ’ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους οἴων ὧν καὶ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν τεκμαίροντο ἀν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ νομοθετή, καὶ γὰρ πεπευσμένοις ἀπαντεῖν τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ μελλονὴ τελευτή κατηφεῖν, ὡς κατὰ βούλησιν αὐτὸ πάσχοντας θεοῦ καὶ φύσεως νόμῳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις ἐνικήθη δα-323 κρύσαι. πορευομένως δ’ ἐνθεν οὐ εἴμελλαι ἀφανισθῆ-σεσθαι πάντες ἐποντο δεδακρυμένοι, καὶ Μαυσούς τους μὲν πόρρῳ τῇ χείρι κατασείων μένει ν ἡρε-μούντας ἐκέλευε, τοὺς δ’ ἐγγιόν λόγους παρεκάλει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτῷ δακρυτὴν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπο-324 μένους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτι αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι κρί-νοντες, τὸ κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱδίαν ἐφείσει κατέχοντες ἐαυτοῦ ἐν ἀλλήλοις δακρύσσοντες. μόνη δ’ ἡ γεουσία προὔπεμψεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς Ἑλεάζαρος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰσσου.  
1 ex Lat.: γενήματα codd.  
2 RO (+ ἦ): πραιτηθήκουσιν tell.  
3 ἐστάσθη λα. ἐστάσθη ὁ.  
4 τὸ RO.  
5 According to another reading, “that in fact came to pass.”
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
325 ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ 'Ἁβαρεὶ καλουμένῳ ἐγένετο, 
τούτῳ δὲ ὑψηλὸν 'Ἰεριχούντος αὐτικρὺ κεῖται γῆν 
ἀριστήν τῶν Χαναάνων καὶ πλείοτην παρέχου 
τοῖς ἑπ' αὐτοῦ κατοπτεύειν, ἀπέσευσε τὴν γερο-
326 σίαν. ἀσπαζόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸν 'Ελεάζαρον αὐτοῦ 
καὶ τὸν 'Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομιλουόντος ἔτει, νέφους 
αιφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν στάντος ἀφανιζεῖ κατὰ 
τοὺς φάραγγος. γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν εἰς ταῖς ἱεραῖς 
βιβλίοις τεθνεώτα, δείσας μὴ δὲ ὑπερβολὴν τῆς 
περὶ αὐτού ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θείον αὐτοῦ ἀναχωρήσαι 
τολμήσωσιν εἰςεῖν.

327 (49) Ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἑτών εἰκοσι 
καὶ ἑκατὸν, ὥς ἦρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνι λείπον
mēn. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ υστάτῳ μηνὶ τοῦ ἔτους, 
ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων Δύστρου καλουμένου 'Αδάρου 
328 δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν νυμφηρίᾳ, συνέσει τε τοὺς πάπτον 
ἐνθρώπους ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ χρησάμενος άριστα τοῖς 
νοηθεῖσιν, εἰςεῖν τε καὶ πλήθεοις ὁμλήσαι κε− 
χαρισμένοι τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτωρ, 
329 ὡς μηδὲ ἐνείωσιν τούτων τῇ ψυχῇ δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ 
γυμνόσκειν μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ

1  + κατ' SPL. 2 Niese: ἠλείπονν codd.

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 
682
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 (ἐκλησίας τῆς σκιάς) 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).

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.

The same phrase in i. 85 (of Enoch), iii. 96 (of Moses).

Feb.-March; Rabbinic tradition named the 7th (not the 1st) of Adar (Weill).
παρ’ ἄλλοις αὐτὰ βλέπειν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ’ αὐτῷ. καὶ στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις, προφήτης δὲ οἷος οὐκ ἄλλος, ὡσθ’ ὦ τι ἂν φθεγξαιτο δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ λέγοντος ἀκροάσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. πενθεῖ μὲν οὖν αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐφ’ ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, λύπη δὲ οὐκ ἄλλη κατέσχεν Ἐβραίους τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος, δ’ ὡσθ’ τότε Ἡσυχάσως ἀποθανόντος. ἐπόθουν δ’ αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ πειραθὲντες αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐνυγχάνοντες αὐτοῦ δεων ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιξήγησιν, τὸ περὶ τόν αὐτοῦ τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐκ τούτων λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ Ἡσυχάσως τέλος τοιούτων 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 whomsoever compiled, and are accordingly (for Books I-IV) reproduced below. How much earlier than the date of the Latin version they may be is unknown. The reference to Eusebius in the chronological statement at the end of the heading to Book I betrays a date not earlier than the fourth century; but that these chronological statements are later than the summaries of contents is indicated by their varying position (before or after the summary) and by their absence, in the earlier books, from the Latin version. In his Jewish War Josephus himself incorporated a rough summary of the whole in his proem (i. 19-29); and, though it is 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 phrasology occasionally suggests the hand of one of the author's assistants. References to the smaller sections and pages of the present edition are appended.
ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Α

Προοίμιον περὶ τῆς ολῆς πραγματείας. ¹

α’. Ἡ τοῦ κόσμου σύστασις καὶ διάταξις τῶν στοιχείων.

β’. Περὶ τοῦ γένους Ἀδάμου καὶ τῶν ἀπ᾿ αὐτοῦ δέκα γενεῶν τῶν μέχρι τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ.

γ’. Ὡς ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο καὶ ὄν τρόπον Νόχου σωθῆς ἐν λάρνακι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν κατώκησεν ἐν τῷ Σιών ἡ τετόρῳ πεδίῳ.

δ’. Ὡς πύργον ² οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ ἐφ᾿ ὑβρεῖ τοῦ θεοῦ φικοδόμησαν, ³ καὶ ὡς τὰς φωνὰς αὐτῶν μετέβαλε καὶ ὁ τόπος, ἐν ὃ τούτο γέγονεν, Βαβυλών ἐκλήθη.

ε’. Ὡς οἱ Νόχου ἔγγονοι πάνω τὴν οἰκουμένην ἐπιώκησαν.

ζ’. Ὁτι τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐκαστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν οἰκισάντων ⁴ προσηγορεύθη.

ζ’. Ὡς Ἀβραὰμος ὁ πρόγονος ἢμῶν ἐξελθὼν ἐκ τῆς Χαλδαίων γῆς κατέσχε τὴν τότε μὲν Χαναναίαν νῦν δὲ Ἰουδαίαν λεγομένην.

¹ om. Lat. (in which the table of contents stands after the Proem).
² πύργον Niese: πύργος ὑπ oodd. ³ + κατέσχεν 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' Ὡσι̣λυμο̣υ τῆν Χαναναίαν καταλαβόντος εἰς Αργυπτὸν ἀπῆρε καὶ διατρέψας ἐν αὐτῇ την χρόνον ὑπέστρεφεν ὑπίσω.

θ'. Ἡττα Σοδομιτῶν Ἀσσυρίων αὐτοῖς ἐπιστρατευσάντων.

ε'. Ὡς Ἀβραμος ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους ἐκστρατεύσας ἐνίκησε καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῶν Σοδομιτῶν ἔσωσε καὶ τὴν λείαν ἣν ἐλαβον ἀφείλετο.

ια'. Πῶς τὸ Σοδομιτῶν ἔθνος θεὸς κατεστράφητο χολωθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐφ' οἷς ἡμάρτανον.

ιβ'. Περὶ Ἰσακῆλου τοῦ Ἀβράμου καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων αὐτοῦ Ἀράβων.

ιγ'. Περὶ Ἰσάκου, ὡς ἦν γνήσιος παῖς Ἀβράμου.

ιδ'. Περὶ Σάρρας τῆς Ἀβράμου γυναικὸς, καὶ πῶς τὸν βίον κατέστρεφεν.

ιε'. Ὡς ἐκ Κατούρης Ἀβράμως γαμηθείσης τὸ τῶν Γρωγλομνίτων Ἀράβων ἔθνος ἐγεννήθη.

ιζ'. Περὶ τῆς Ἀβράμου τελευτῆς.

ιη'. Περὶ τῆς Ἰσάκου παιδῶν Ἡσαυ καὶ Ἰακώβου γενέσεως καὶ διαμόρφωσε.

ἰη'. Ἰακώβου φυγή εἰς τὴν Μεσοποταμίαν διὰ τὸν ἐκ τάξεις φόβον, καὶ ώς γῆμας ἔκει καὶ δώδεκα γεννήσας παῖδας πάλιν εἰς τὴν Χαναναίαν ἐπανήλθεν.

1 om. Lat.
| (viii) How that, a famine prevailing in Canaan, he removed to Egypt and, having abode there some time, returned back again. | 161 | 80 |
| (ix) Defeat of the Sodomites, attacked by the Assyrians | 171 | 84 |
| (x) How Abraham marched against the Assyrians and overcame them, delivered the Sodomite prisoners and recovered the booty which the enemy had taken | 176 | 86 |
| (xi) How God exterminated the race of the Sodomites, being incensed with them for their sins | 194 | 94 |
| (xii) Concerning Ishmael, son of Abraham, and his descendants, the Arabs | 214 | 106 |
| (xiii) Concerning Isaac, the legitimate son of Abraham | 222 | 108 |
| (xiv) Concerning Sarra, wife of Abraham, and how she died | 237 | 116 |
| (xv) How from Katura's marriage with Abraham sprang the race of the Trogloidyte Arabs | 238 | 116 |
| (xvi) Concerning the death of Abraham | 256 | 126 |
| (xvii) Concerning the birth and upbringing of Isaac's sons, Esau and Jacob | 257 | 126 |
| (xviii) Jacob's flight to Mesopotamia from fear of his brother, and how, having married there and begotten twelve sons, he returned again to Canaan | 278 | 134 |
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, I-II

ιθ'. Ὁς Ἰσακος τελευτήσας ἐτάφη ἐν Νεβρῶν.
Περιέχει ἡ βιβλίον χρόνον ἕτων ὡς Ἰώσηπος ῥη', Ἐβραῖοι ἀμωβ', Ἐυσέβιος ῥηθ'.

BIBAION B

α'. Ὁς Ἰσαύς καὶ Ἰάκωβος Ἰσακοῦ παῖδες διέλαβε τὴν οἰκήσαν καὶ Ἰσαύς μὲν τὴν Ἰδουμαίαν κατέσχεκ, Ἰάκωβος δὲ τὴν Χαναναίαν.

β'. Ὁς Ἰώσηπος ὁ νεώτατος τῶν Ἰακώβου παῖδων ὀνειράτων αὐτῶν προδιδικτύντων τὴν μέλλουσαν εὐθαμονίαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐφθονήθη.

γ'. Ὁς αὐτὸς οὗτος εἰς Ἀγγέλου πραθεῖς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν διὰ τὸ πρὸς αὐτόν μίσος καὶ γενόμενος ἐπίσημος ἐκεῖ καὶ λαμπρός τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς ἑσεκεὶν ὑποχειρίους.

δ'. Ἡ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ μετὰ τῆς γενεὰς πάσης πρὸς αὐτὸν μετάβασις διὰ τὸν γενόμενον λιμὸν.

ε'. Ὁσα τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐν Ἀγγέλῳ συνέβη κακοπαθοῦσιν ἐπ' ἐτη τετρακόσια.

ζ'. Ὁς Μωσέως ἤγουμένου τὴν Ἀγγέλου ἐξελιπον.

ξ'. Ἡ Μωσέως γένεσις καὶ ἀνατροφή.

2 περιέχει . . . γνωθ' om. SL Lat.: περιέχει ἡ βιβλίον χρόνον ἕτων . . . γνωλγ' P (the opening words of this ms).

λαμπρότατοι RO.

* So the Latin version: the Greek mss have "Nebron" (l. 170 note).
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>SECTION</th>
<th>PAGE</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(xix) How Isaac died and was buried at Hebron</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The book covers a period of 3008 years according to Josephus, of 1872 according to the Hebrews, of 3459 according to Eusebius.

**BOOK II**

(i) How Esau and Jacob, sons of Isaac, divided the territory, Esau occupying Idumaea and Jacob Canaan . . . . 1 168

(ii) How Joseph, the youngest of Jacob's sons, by his dreams foreshowing his future fortune, excited the envy of his brethren . . . . 9 172

(iii) How the same, being sold into Egypt by his brethren because of the hate that they bore him, and there becoming great and illustrious, had his brethren at his mercy . . . . 20 176

(iv) The migration of his father with all his family to join him because of the famine . . . . . . . . . . . . . . . 168 236

(v) What befell the Hebrews in Egypt, suffering affliction for 400 years 201 250

(vi) How, under the leadership of Moses, they left Egypt . . . . [315] 302

(vii) Birth and education of Moses . . . . 205 252

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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, II-III

η'. Ὡς ἡ θάλασσα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις διωκομένοις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἀλγυπτίων ἀνακοπεῖσα φυγὴν δὲ αὐτῆς παρέσχεν.

Περιέχει δὲ ἡ βίβλος ἡ διακόσια εἴκοσι.] 1

BIBLION Γ

α'. Ὡς Μωυσῆς τὸν λαὸν ἀπ' Ἀλγυπτίου ἀναλαβὼν ἤγαγεν ἐπὶ τὸ Σωαιὸν ὥρας πολλά ταλαιπωρήσαντα ἐν τῇ ὁδοιπορίᾳ.

β'. Ὡς πολεμήσαντες Ἑβραίοις Ἀμαλκηκάται καὶ οἱ πέραξ ἦττήθησαν καὶ πολλήν τῆς στρατιᾶς ἀπέβαλον. 2

γ'. Ὡς τὸν πενθερὸν αὐτὸς Ἰεθὸρ Μωυσῆς παραγενόμενον πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ Σωαιὸν ἀσμένως ὑπεδέξατο.

δ'. Ὡς ὑπέθετο διατάξαι τὸν λαὸν αὐτῷ κατὰ χλιάρχους καὶ ἐκατοντάρχους ἀτακτὸν ὡντα τὸ πρῶτον, καὶ ὠς 4 ἔκαστα τούτων ἐποίησε Μωυσῆς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ πενθεροῦ παραίνεσιν.

1 The bracketed portion (in MSP) is omitted by ROL Lat.; in place of it cod. O has Ὡς Ἑβραίος ἐδοξείλαν τοῖς Ἀλγυπτίοις ἀτραφείς ὑπὸ τὴν ὁδοιπορίαν πολλάς καὶ μέγας γερέμενος πληγάς προσβέξας τοῖς Ἀλγυπτίοις ὑπὲρ τοῦ λαοῦ ὡς λαβὼν τὸν λαὸν καὶ διδὼν τῇ ὁμόθων αὐτοῦ διετέρατον.

2 List of contents in ROSP Lat.; om. ML.

3 Section omitted by O, with corresponding alteration of the subsequent figures: καὶ πολλὰ . . . ἀπέβαλον] et Israelitae praedam hostium perceperunt Lat.; πολλὰ] τὴν πολλὰ SP.

4 καὶ ὠς] quomodo Lat., beginning a new section (γ'), with alteration of subsequent figures.
(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 5 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

* 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.

5 Jethro: Raguel in the text of A. iii. 63.
e' ὡς ἀναβὰς Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸ Σινάιον ὄρος καὶ λαβὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐδωκεν.

ζ'. Περὶ τῆς σκηνῆς ἥν κατεσκεύασε Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρμίᾳ εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡστε ναὸν εἶναι δοκεῖν.

η'. Τίνες τε τοὺς ἱερεῖς εἰσιν αἱ στολαὶ καὶ ἡ τοῦ ἄρχιερέως καὶ τῶν ἀγνείων οἱ τρόποι καὶ περὶ τῶν ἐορτῶν καὶ ὡς ἑκάστη τῶν ἐορτῶν διατέτακται.

θ'. Ὡς ἐκείθεν ἄρας Μωυσῆς ἤγαγε τὸν λαὸν εἰς τοὺς ὄρους τῶν Χαναναίων καὶ τοὺς κατοικομένους αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ τῶν πόλεων τὸ μέγεθος ἐξαπέστειλεν.

ι'. Ὡς ὑποστρέφοντος μετὰ τεσσαρακοστὴν ύποστρεφάντων ἡμέραν καὶ λεγόντων οὐκ ἄξιομάχους αὐτούς ἀλλὰ τὴν τῶν Χαναναίων ὑπεξαιρόντων δύναμιν, τὸ πλῆθος παραχθὲν καὶ πεσὸν εἰς ἀπόγνωσιν ὁρμησεν ὡστε καταλεῖσθαι παρὰ μικρὰν τὸν Μωυσῆν καὶ πάλιν εἰς τὴν Ἀἴγυπτον ὑποστρέψαι δουλεύεσθαι διεγνωκότες.

κ'. Καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ τούτῳ Μωυσῆς διαγιανακτήσας τὸν θεὸν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ἐτή τεσσαράκοντα τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρμίας διατριβὴν προεἶπεν ὁργίσθαι, καὶ μὴν

1 ἐκατετα] ἱμερῶν SP.
2 καὶ τῶν . . . διατέτακται] et quae purificationes et quemadmodum de festu julitatisbus et singulis diebus fuerit constitutum Lat.
3 τὸ μέγ.,] magnitudines Lat. 4 τὰ μικρὰ om. SP.
5 SP Lat.: προείπεν 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 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 envoy 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 for them a sojourn for forty years in the wilderness, and | |

* Or, according to another reading, "days."
* Text doubtful.
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, III–IV

eἰς Ἀλμυτον ὑποστρέφειν μήτε λαβεῖν τὴν Χανα-

ναλαν.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἑτῶν δύο.1

BIBLION Δ

αἡ Ἑβραῖων δίχα τῆς Μωυσείς γνώμης μάχη

πρὸς Χαναναίους καὶ ἠπτα.

βἠ. Στάσις Κορέου καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους πρὸς

Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφόν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

γἠ. Τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐν τῇ ἑρήμῳ

ἔτεσιν ὀκτὼ καὶ τριάκοντα.2

δἠ. Ὑσ Σηχῶνα καὶ Ὑγην τοὺς Ἀμορραιῶν

βασιλεῖς μυκής Μωυσῆς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν

[ἀπασαν]3 αὐτῶν διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν

τὴν χώραν δυοὶ φιλαῖς καὶ ἡμισελα τῶν Ἑβραίων.4

εἠ. Μωυσείς πολιτεία καὶ πῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων

ἡφαίστηθη.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὐτῇ5 χρόνον ἑτῶν τριάκοντα

καὶ ὀκτώ.

1 μήτε λαβεῖν ... δύο om. Lat.

2 + δ (om. P) ὥσ τέ μὲν τὴν στάσεως κατάμχειται διεφθάρμας κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δ᾽ ἱερωσύνην Ἀλατῶν ὁ Μωυσής ἀδελφός κατέσχε καὶ ὁ ἑγγεὼς (ἐκγ. P) αὐτοῦ: L inserts this section between (ii) and (iii).

3 oμ. Lat.: τρ. αὐτῶν ἅπασαν SP.

4 + δ (om. PL) περὶ Βαλάρου τοῦ μάρτυρος καὶ ποταπό (ποτα-

πό S) ἢ τὸ εἴδος, ὥσ ἐπὶ Μαδαβίτας Ἑβραῖοι στρατεύονται

ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν SPL.

5 R Lat.: om. rel. 648
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, the kings of the Amorites, and destroyed all their army, allotted their country to two and a half of the tribes of the Hebrews | 85 | 516

(v) Constitution of Moses, and how he disappeared from among men | 176 | 560 | 199 | 570 | 320 | 628

This book covers a period of thirty-eight years.

* Gr. Sêchon and Ogæs; the latter is more precisely described in the text (A. iv. 96) as “king of Galadene and Gaulanitis.”
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