

Josephus' *Against Apion* (English only)

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AGAINST APION

OR ON THE ANTIQUITY OF THE JEWS

BOOK I

(1) IN my history of our *Antiquities*, most excellent Epaphroditus, I have, I think, made sufficiently clear to any who may peruse that work the extreme antiquity of our Jewish race, the purity of the original stock, and the manner in which it established itself in the country which we occupy to-day. That history embraces a period of five thousand years,^a and was written by me in Greek on the basis of our sacred books. Since, however, I observe that a considerable number of persons, influenced by the malicious calumnies of certain individuals, discredit the statements in my history concerning our antiquity, and adduce as proof of the comparative modernity of our race the fact that it has not been thought worthy of mention by the best known Greek historians, I consider it my duty to devote a brief treatise to all these points; in order at once to convict our detractors of malignity and deliberate falsehood, to correct the ignorance of others, and to

Occasion
and plan of
the work.
Anti-semitic
critics
of the
Antiquities.

^a The same round number in *A. i.* 13.

AGAINST APION, I. 3-8

instruct all who desire to know the truth concerning the antiquity of our race. As witnesses to my statements I propose to call the writers who, in the estimation of the Greeks, are the most trustworthy authorities on antiquity as a whole. The authors of scurrilous and mendacious statements about us will be shown to be confuted by themselves. I shall further endeavour to set out the various reasons which explain why our nation is mentioned by a few only of the Greek historians; at the same time I shall bring those authors who have not neglected our history to the notice of any who either are, or feign to be, ignorant of them.

(2) My first thought is one of intense astonishment at the current opinion that, in the study of primeval history, the Greeks alone deserve serious attention, that the truth should be sought from them, and that neither we nor any others in the world are to be trusted. In my view the very reverse of this is the case, if, that is to say, we are not to take idle prejudices as our guide, but to extract the truth from the facts themselves. For in the Greek world everything will be found to be modern,^a and dating, so to speak, from yesterday or the day before: I refer to the foundation of their cities, the invention of the arts, and the compilation of a code of laws; but the most recent, or nearly the most recent, of all their attainments is care in historical composition. On the contrary, as is admitted even by themselves, the Egyptians, the Chaldaeans, and the Phoenicians—for the moment I omit to add our nation to the

The Greeks
untrust-
worthy as
anti-
quarians.

Timaeus, 22 B and C, where an Egyptian priest discourses to Solon in similar terms on the modernity of the Greeks. Cf. *Ap.* ii. 192, 224 for other parallels to that dialogue.

list—possess a very ancient and permanent record of the past. For all these nations inhabit countries which are least exposed to the ravages of the atmosphere, and they have been very careful to let none of the events in their history be forgotten, but always to have them enshrined in official records written by their greatest sages. The land of Greece, on the contrary, has experienced countless catastrophes,^a which have obliterated the memory of the past ; and as one civilization succeeded another the men of each epoch believed that the world began with them. They were late in learning the alphabet and found the lesson difficult ; for those who would assign the earliest date to its use pride themselves on having learnt it from the Phoenicians and Cadmus.^b Even of that date no record, preserved either in temples or on public monuments, could now be produced ; seeing that it is a highly controversial and disputed question whether even those who took part in the Trojan campaign so many years later made use of letters,^c and the true and prevalent view is rather that they were ignorant of the present-day mode of writing. Throughout the whole range of Greek literature no undisputed work is found more ancient than the poetry of Homer. His date, however, is clearly later than the Trojan war ; and even he, they say, did not leave his poems in writing. At first transmitted by memory, the scattered songs were not united until later ; to which circumstance

^a Allusion to the debated interpretation of the phrase *σήματα λυγρά*, “baneful tokens” (Hom. *Il.* vi. 168) ; referring to a message intended to bring about the death of Bellerophon. “The balance of probabilities seems to be in favour of the view that” the words “denote some kind of alphabetic or syllabic writing” (Jebb, *Homer*, 1887, p. 112).

AGAINST APION, I. 13-16

the numerous inconsistencies of the work are attributable.^a Again, the Greeks who [first] essayed to write history, such as Cadmus of Miletus and Acusilaus of Argos and any later writers who are mentioned, lived but a short time before the Persian invasion of Greece. Once more, the first Greek philosophers to treat of celestial^b and divine subjects, such as Pherecydes of Syros, Pythagoras, and Thales, were, as the world unanimously admits, in their scanty productions the disciples of the Egyptians and Chaldaeans. These are the writings which the Greeks regard as the oldest of all, and they are sceptical even about their authenticity.

(3) Surely, then, it is absurd that the Greeks should be so conceited as to think themselves the sole possessors of a knowledge of antiquity and the only accurate reporters of its history. Anyone can easily discover from the historians themselves that their writings have no basis of sure knowledge, but merely present the facts as conjectured by individual authors. More often than not they confute each other in their works, not hesitating to give the most contradictory accounts of the same events. It would be superfluous for me to point out to readers better informed than myself what discrepancies there are between Hellanicus^c and Acusilaus on the genealogies,^d how often Acusilaus corrects Hesiod, how the mendacity of Hellanicus in most of his statements is exposed by Ephorus,^e that of Ephorus by Timaeus,^f that of

6th cent.
B.C.

Discrepan-
cies
between
different
Greek
historians.

^a Traditions about Greek origins arranged in genealogical form.

^c Pupil of Isocrates, latter half of 4th cent.

^f *Circa* 352-256 B.C.; wrote a voluminous history of Sicily, his native country, down to 264 B.C.; nicknamed *Ἐπι-τίμαιος*, "Fault-finder"; attacked by Polybius.

Timaeus by later writers, and that of Herodotus by everybody.^a Even on Sicilian history Timaeus did not condescend to agree with Antiochus,^b Philistus, or Callias ; there is similar divergence on Attic affairs between the authors of the "Atthides"^c and on Argive affairs between the historians of Argos. What need, however, to speak of the histories of individual states and matters of minor importance, when contradictory accounts of the Persian invasion and the events which accompanied it have been given by writers of the first rank? On many points even Thucydides is accused of error by some critics, notwithstanding his reputation for writing the most accurate history of his time.

(4) For such inconsistency many other causes might possibly be found if one cared to look for them ; for my part, I attach the greatest weight to the two which I proceed to mention. I will begin with that which I regard as the more fundamental. The main responsibility for the errors of later historians who aspired to write on antiquity and for the licence granted to their mendacity rests with the original neglect of the Greeks to keep official records of current events. This neglect was not confined to the lesser Greek states. Even among the Athenians, who are reputed to be indigenous^d and devoted to learning, we find that nothing of the kind existed, and their most ancient public records are said to be

Reasons for this discrepancy :
(1) neglect of Greeks to keep public records.

^a *e.g.* Manetho (*Ap.* i. 73), Ctesias, Strabo, pseudo-Plutarch.

^b Of Syracuse, 4th cent., wrote histories of Sicily (to 424 B.C.) and Italy. Philistus and Callias were also Syracusans (4th-3rd cent.).

^c Historical and geographical works on Attica ; among the authors were Philochorus, Demon, and Ister.

^d "Autochthonous."

the laws on homicide drafted for them by Dracon, a c. 621 B.C. man who lived only a little before the despotism of Pisistratus. Of the Arcadians ^a and their vaunted 560 B.C. antiquity it is unnecessary to speak, since even at a still later date they had hardly learnt the alphabet.

(5) It is, then, this lack of any basis of documentary (2) their regard for style rather than accuracy. evidence, which would have served at once to instruct the eager learner and to confute the liar, that accounts in the main for the inconsistencies between different historians. But a second reason must be added. Those who rushed into writing were concerned not so much to discover the truth, notwithstanding the profession which always comes readily to their pen, as to display their literary ability; and their choice of a subject was determined by the prospect which it offered them of outshining their rivals.^b Some turned to mythology, others sought popularity by encomiums upon cities or monarchs; others, again, set out to criticize the facts or the historians as the road to a reputation. In short, their invariable method is the very reverse of historical. For the proof of historical veracity is universal agreement in the description, oral or written, of the same events. On the contrary, each of these writers, in giving his divergent account of the same incidents, hoped thereby to be thought the most veracious of all. While, then, for eloquence and literary ability we must yield the palm to the Greek historians, we have no reason to do so for veracity in the history of antiquity, least of all where the particular history of each separate foreign nation is concerned.

^a Also regarded as autochthonous (Herod. viii. 73).

^b Cf. *A.* i. 2.

(6) Of the care bestowed by the Egyptians and Babylonians on their chronicles from the remotest ages, and how the charge and exposition of these was entrusted, in the former country to the priests, in the latter to the Chaldaeans; and how, among the nations in touch with the Greeks, it was the Phoenicians who made the largest use of writing, both for the ordinary affairs of life and for the commemoration of public events; of all this I think I need say nothing, as the facts are universally admitted. But that our forefathers took no less, not to say even greater, care than the nations I have mentioned in the keeping of their records—a task which they assigned to their chief priests and prophets ^a—and that down to our own times these records have been, and if I may venture to say so, will continue to be, preserved with scrupulous accuracy, I will now endeavour briefly to demonstrate.

The Jewish scriptures and the care bestowed upon them

The writers and custodians of the records.

(7) Not only did our ancestors in the first instance set over this business men of the highest character, devoted to the service of God, but they took precautions to ensure that the priests' lineage should be kept unadulterated and pure.^b A member of the priestly order must, to beget a family, marry a woman of his own race,^c without regard to her wealth or other distinctions; but he must investigate her pedigree, obtaining the genealogy from the archives^d and producing a number of witnesses.

Selection of the custodians. Scrutiny of priestly marriages and genealogies.

that the historical books of the Old Testament after the Pentateuch were included in the second or prophetic portion of the Hebrew Canon and attributed to prophetic writers.

^b Cf. Lev. xxi. 7 ff.

^c *Ib.* 14.

^d Cf. the pedigree of his own family taken from "the public registers" by Josephus, *Vita*, 3-6.

And this practice of ours is not confined to the home country of Judaea, but wherever there is a Jewish colony, there too a strict account is kept by the priests of their marriages; I allude to the Jews in Egypt and Babylon and other parts of the world in which any of the priestly order are living in dispersion. A statement is drawn up by them and sent to Jerusalem, showing the names of the bride and her father and more remote ancestors, together with the names of the witnesses. In the not infrequent event of war, for instance when our country was invaded by Antiochus Epiphanes, by Pompey the Great, by Quintilius Varus, and above all in our own times, the surviving priests compile fresh records from the archives; they also pass scrutiny upon the remaining women, and disallow marriage with any who have been taken captive, suspecting them of having had frequent intercourse with foreigners.^a But the most convincing proof of our accuracy in this matter is that our records contain the names of our high priests, with the succession from father to son for the last two thousand years.^b And whoever violates any of the above rules is forbidden to minister at the altars or to take any other part in divine worship.

170-168 B.C.
63 B.C.
c. 4 B.C.
A.D. 66-70.

It therefore naturally, or rather necessarily, follows (seeing that with us it is not open to everybody to write the records, and that there is no discrepancy in what is written; seeing that, on the contrary, the

The twenty-two books of Scripture.

^a Cf. *A.* iii. 276, xiii. 292. Yet Josephus himself, a priest, married a captive, *Vita* 414.

^b Cf. *A.* i. 16 and xx. 227.

prophets alone had this privilege, obtaining their knowledge of the most remote and ancient history through the inspiration which they owed to God, and committing to writing a clear account of the events of their own time just as they occurred)—it follows, I say, that (8) we do not possess myriads of inconsistent books, conflicting with each other. Our books, those which are justly accredited, are but two and twenty, and contain the record of all time.

Of these, five are the books of Moses, comprising the laws and the traditional history from the birth of man down to the death of the lawgiver. This period falls only a little short of three thousand years. From the death of Moses until Artaxerxes,^a who succeeded Xerxes as king of Persia, the prophets subsequent to Moses wrote the history of the events of their own times in thirteen^b books. The remaining four^c books contain hymns to God and precepts for the conduct of human life.

From Artaxerxes to our own time the complete history has been written, but has not been deemed worthy of equal credit with the earlier records, because of the failure of the exact succession of the prophets.

We have given practical proof of our reverence for^d our own Scriptures. For, although such long ages have now passed, no one has ventured either to add, Jews' veneration for their Scriptures.

with that work, chronologically the latest of the "thirteen books."

^b Probably (1) Joshua, (2) Jd. + Ruth, (3) Sam., (4) Kings, (5) Chron., (6) Ezra + Neh., (7) Esther, (8) Job, (9) Isaiah, (10) Jeremiah + Lam., (11) Ezekiel, (12) Minor Prophets, (13) Daniel.

^c Probably (1) Psalms, (2) Song of Songs, (3) Proverbs, (4) Ecclesiastes.

^d Lit. "how we approach."

or to remove,^a or to alter a syllable; and it is an instinct with every Jew, from the day of his birth, to regard them as the decrees of God, to abide by them, and, if need be, cheerfully to die for them. Time and again ere now the sight has been witnessed of prisoners enduring tortures and death in every form in the theatres, rather than utter a single word against the laws and the allied documents.^b

What Greek would endure as much for the same cause? Even to save the entire collection of his nation's writings from destruction he would not face the smallest personal injury. For to the Greeks they are mere stories improvised according to the fancy of their authors; and in this estimate even of the older historians they are quite justified, when they see some of their own contemporaries venturing to describe events in which they bore no part, without taking the trouble to seek information from those who know the facts. We have actually had so-called histories even of our recent war published by persons who never visited the sites nor were anywhere near the actions described, but, having put together a few hearsay reports, have, with the gross impudence of drunken revellers, miscalled their productions by the name of history.^c

Greek disregard for their records and historical accuracy.

(9) I, on the contrary, have written a veracious account, at once comprehensive and detailed, of the war, having been present in person at all the events. I was in command of those whom we call Galilaeans,

Defence of the author's Jewish War.

^a Cf. Deut. iv. 2, "Ye shall not add unto the word which I command you, neither shall ye diminish from it."

^b Cf. Ap. ii. 219.

^c Cf. B. i. 1 ff. For a rival history of the war by Justus of Tiberias see *Vita* 336 ff. Here he seems to allude to untrustworthy histories by *Greek* writers.

so long as resistance was possible ; after my capture I was a prisoner in the Roman camp.^a Vespasian and Titus, keeping me under surveillance, required my constant attendance upon them, at first in chains ; subsequently I was liberated^b and sent from Alexandria with Titus to the siege of Jerusalem.^c During that time no incident escaped my knowledge. I kept a careful record of all that went on under my eyes in the Roman camp, and was alone in a position to understand the information brought by deserters. Then, in the leisure which Rome afforded me, with all my materials in readiness, and with the aid of some assistants for the sake of the Greek, at last I committed to writing my narrative of the events. So confident was I of its veracity that I presumed to take as my witnesses, before all others, the commanders-in-chief in the war, Vespasian and Titus.^d They were the first to whom I presented my volumes, copies being afterwards given to many Romans who had taken part in the campaign. Others I sold^e to a large number of my compatriots, persons well versed in Greek learning, among whom were Julius Archelaus,^f the most venerable Herod,^g and the most admirable King Agrippa himself.^h All these bore testimony to my scrupulous safeguarding of the truth, and they were not the men to conceal their sentiments or keep silence had I, through ignorance or partiality, distorted or omitted any of the facts.

^e In the parallel account (*Vita* 362) King Agrippa II is named, with others, as receiving a presentation copy.

^f Son of Chelcias and husband of Mariamme, sister of King Agrippa II ; *A.* xix. 355, xx. 140.

^g Unknown ; not, as Reinach suggests, Herod, king of Chalcis, who died before the war (*A.* xx. 104).

^h Agrippa II.

(10) Nevertheless, certain despicable persons have and reply to his critics.
 essayed to malign my history, taking it for a prize composition ^a such as is set to boys at school. What an extraordinary accusation and calumny! Surely they ought to recognize that it is the duty of one who promises to present his readers with actual facts first to obtain an exact knowledge of them himself, either through having been in close touch with the events, or by inquiry from those who knew them. That duty I consider myself to have amply fulfilled in both my works. In my *Antiquities*, as I said, I have given a translation of our sacred books; ^b being a priest and of priestly ancestry, I am well versed in the philosophy ^c of those writings. My qualification as historian of the war was that I had been an actor in many, and an eyewitness of most, of the events; in short, nothing whatever was said or done of which I was ignorant. Surely, then, one cannot but regard as audacious the attempt of these critics to challenge my veracity. Even if, as they assert, they have read the *Commentaries* of the imperial commanders, ^d they at any rate had no first-hand acquaintance with our position in the opposite camp.

(11) My desire to expose the levity of those who profess to write history has compelled me to digress. Having now, I think, sufficiently shown that the Topics of the present work.

^b Cf. *A.* i. 5, xx. 261. In the *Antiquities* (first half), he implies, he has given his own paraphrase and interpretation of the Old Testament; but in reality he is largely dependent on an older Greek version, the Septuagint.

^c Or "study," "scientific treatment"; Josephus shows some knowledge of traditional exegesis (*Halakoth*, etc.).

^d Cf. *Vita* 342, 358.

tradition of keeping chronicles of antiquity is found rather among the non-Hellenic ^a races than with the Greeks, I propose, in the first place, ^b to reply briefly to those critics who endeavour to prove the late origin of our constitution from the alleged silence of the Greek historians concerning us. I shall then ^c proceed to cite testimonies to our antiquity from external literature, and finally ^d to show the utter absurdity of the calumnies of the traducers of our race.

(12) Well, ours is not a maritime country ; neither commerce nor the intercourse which it promotes with the outside world has any attraction for us. Our cities are built inland, remote from the sea ; and we devote ourselves to the cultivation of the productive country with which we are blessed. Above all we pride ourselves on the education of our children, and regard as the most essential task in life the observance of our laws and of the pious practices, based thereupon, which we have inherited. If to these reasons one adds the peculiarity of our mode of life, there was clearly nothing in ancient times to bring us into contact with the Greeks, as the Egyptians were brought by their exports and imports, and the inhabitants of the sea-board of Phoenicia by their mercenary devotion to trade and commerce. (Nor, again, did our forefathers, like some others, have recourse to piracy, ^e or to military schemes of aggrandizement, although their country contained myriads of courageous men.) It was to their coming on their ships to traffic with the Greeks

(I.) Explanation of the silence of Greek historians about the Jews.

^a " Barbarian."

^b §§ 60-68.

^c §§ 69-218.

^d *Ap.* i. 219-ii. 144.

^e After *Thuc.* i. 5 (who says that before the time of Minos piracy was regarded as an honourable occupation); *cf.* *Hom. Od.* iii. 71 ff.

that the Phoenicians owed their own early notoriety ; and through their agency the Egyptians became known and all whose merchandise the Phoenicians conveyed across great oceans to the Greeks. At a later date, the Medes and Persians were brought before the world by their dominion in Asia, the latter more particularly by their invasion of the other continent. The Thracians were known as near neighbours, the Scythians through the navigators of the Euxine. As a general rule, all the nations with a sea-board, whether on the eastern or the western sea, were better known by authors desirous of writing history, while those who lived further inland remained for the most part unknown. That this rule holds good also for Europe appears, for instance, from the fact that the city of Rome, which had long before their time attained such power and been so successful in war, is mentioned neither by Herodotus nor by Thucydides nor by anyone of their contemporaries ; it was only at quite a late date that a knowledge of the Romans with difficulty penetrated to the Greeks.^a On the Gauls and Iberians such was the ignorance of persons reputed to be the most exact of historians, such as Ephorus, that this writer imagined that the Iberians, who occupy so large a portion of the western world, were a single city ; while others ventured to ascribe to them customs destitute of all foundation in fact or tradition. While their ignorance of the facts is explained by their never having had the remotest relations with those peoples,^b their false statements are due to an am-
Rom. i. 4. 2, "The ancient history of the city of Rome is still unknown to wellnigh all the Greeks."

^b Or, perhaps, "by the complete isolation [of these nations] from the world."

bition to appear better informed than the rest of the world. Surely, then, it should no longer excite surprise that our nation, so remote from the sea, and so deliberately living its own life, likewise remained largely unknown and offered no occasion to historians to mention it.

(13) Suppose that we were to presume to dispute the antiquity of the Greek nation and to base our contention on the absence of any mention of them in our literature. Would they not undoubtedly laugh us to scorn? They would, I imagine, offer the very reasons which I have just given for such silence, and produce the neighbouring nations as witnesses to their antiquity. Well, that is just what I shall endeavour to do. As my principal witnesses I shall cite the Egyptians and Phoenicians, whose evidence is quite unimpeachable; for the Egyptians, the whole race without exception, and among the Phoenicians the Tyrians, are notoriously our bitterest enemies. Of the Chaldaeans I could not say the same, because they are the original ancestors of our race, and this blood-relationship accounts for the mention which is made of the Jews in their annals. After producing the evidence supplied by these nations, I shall then bring forward those Greek historians who have spoken of the Jews, in order to deprive our jealous enemies of even this pretext for controversy.

(14) I will begin with the Egyptian documents. I cannot quote from the originals; but in Manetho^a we

^a An Egyptian priest who lived under the first and, probably, the second of the Ptolemies, "the first Egyptian who gave in the Greek language an account of the doctrines, wisdom, history and chronology of his country," based on Egyptian records; his History was divided into three books.

(II.) Witness of various nations to the antiquity of the Jews.

(A) Evidence of the Egyptian MANETHIO.

have one who was both a native of Egypt and also proficient in Greek learning. This is evident from the history of his nation which he wrote in Greek, a translation, as he says himself, from the sacred books,^a in which he convicts Herodotus of being misled through ignorance on many points of Egyptian history. In the second book of his *History of Egypt* this Manetho writes about us as follows. I will quote his own words, just as if I had produced the man himself in the witness-box :

“ Tutimaëus. In his reign, I know not why, a blast of God’s displeasure broke upon us. A people of ignoble origin from the east, whose coming was unforeseen, had the audacity to invade the country, which they mastered by main force without difficulty or even a battle. Having overpowered the chiefs, they then savagely burnt the cities, razed the temples of the gods to the ground, and treated the whole native population with the utmost cruelty, massacring some, and carrying off the wives and children of others^b into slavery. Finally they made one of their number, named Salitis, king. He resided at Memphis, exacted tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and left garrisons in the places most suited for defence. In particular he secured his eastern flank, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, as their power increased in future, would covet and attack his realm. Having discovered in the Sethroite nome a city very

His account
of the
Hycsos
dynasty.

^a Or “tablets.”

^b Possibly “massacring the men . . . their wives and children.”

⁸ Manetho (as elsewhere cited): Σατρη L.

favourably situated on the east of the Bubastis arm of the river, called after some ancient theological tradition Auaris,^a he rebuilt and strongly fortified it with walls, and established a garrison there numbering as many as two hundred and forty thousand armed men to protect his frontier. This place he used to visit every summer, partly to serve out rations and pay to his troops, partly to give them a careful training in manœuvres, in order to intimidate foreigners. After a reign of nineteen years he died. A second king, named Bnon, succeeded and reigned for forty-four years; his successor, Apachnas, ruled for thirty-six years and seven months; next Apophis for sixty-one, and Jannas for fifty years and one month; and finally Assis for forty-nine years and two months. The continually growing ambition of these six, their first rulers, was to extirpate the Egyptian people. Their race bore the generic name of Hycsos,^b which means 'king-shepherds.' For *hyc* in the sacred language denotes 'king,' and *sos* in the common dialect means 'shepherd' or 'shepherds'; the combined words form Hycsos. Some say that they were Arabians."

[In another copy, however, it is stated that the

^a Cf. § 237. Auaris is perhaps Pelusium.

^b The correct form Hycussōs means, according to W. E. Crum (art. Egypt, Hastings, *B.D.* i. 659 b), "Sheikhs of the (south Syrian) Bedawin"; he regards the interpretation of the last syllable as "shepherd" as a late gloss. The domination of the Hycsos lasted from (?) c. 1800 B.C. to c. 1580 B.C. They were finally expelled by Ahmose, the founder of the eighteenth dynasty. Their connexion with the Jews is a disputed question, but in the opinion of some critics (*e.g.* Dr. H. R. Hall) Josephus is correct in regarding their expulsion as the original of the Biblical story of the Exodus.

word *hyc* does not mean "kings," but indicates, on the contrary, that the shepherds were "captives." For *hyc* in Egyptian, as well as *hac* with an aspirate, expressly denotes "captives."]^a

This view appears to me the more probable and more reconcilable with ancient history.

The kings of the so-called shepherds, enumerated above, and their descendants, remained masters of Egypt, according to Manetho, for five hundred and eleven years.

Then ^b the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt rose in revolt against the shepherds, and a great war broke out, which was of long duration. Under a king named Misphegmosuthosis, the shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a place called Auaris, containing ten thousand *arourae*.^c The shepherds, according to Manetho, enclosed the whole of this area with a great strong wall, in order to secure all their possessions and spoils. Thoum-

Their expulsion from Egypt and foundation of Jerusalem.

"in another copy," *i.e.* as is clear in § 92, of *Josephus*. The bracketed words here are doubtless a similar gloss which has crept into the text. What the "other copy" may have been we do not know; but Josephus, who contemplated a fuller treatment of this subject (§ 92), may have revised this work as he revised his *Antiquities*, and conceivably we have in these glosses relics of another edition. The last sentence of § 83 apparently forms no part of the gloss. The "view" here referred to is that the Hycsos were Arabians, which Josephus regards as "more probable" than that mentioned later, that they were ancestors of the Jews.

^b In this paragraph Josephus gives a paraphrase of Manetho.

^c Lit. "containing a circumference of 10,000 *arourae*." The *aroura* was an Egyptian measure of land (= about half an acre), which Josephus, by his paraphrase, appears to have mistaken for a measure of length. For Auaris *cf.* § 78.

mosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis (he continues), invested the walls with an army of 480,000 men, and endeavoured to reduce them to submission by siege. Despairing of achieving his object, he concluded a treaty, under which they were all to evacuate Egypt and go whither they would unmolested. Upon these terms no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand,^a entire households with their possessions, left Egypt and traversed the desert to Syria. Then, terrified by the might of the Assyrians, who at that time were masters of Asia, they built a city in the country now called Judaea, capable of accommodating their vast company, and gave it the name of Jerusalem.

In another book of his Egyptian history Manetho states that this race, the so-called shepherds, were described as captives in the sacred books of his country.^b In this statement he is correct. Sheep-breeding was a hereditary custom of our remotest ancestors, and from this nomadic life they came to be called shepherds. But their other name of captives in the Egyptian records was given not without reason, since our ancestor Joseph told the king of Egypt^c that he was a captive, and afterwards, with the king's permission, had his brethren brought

^a The number of the garrison mentioned in § 78.†

^b Lit. "in their sacred books"; § 92 shows that the Egyptian books are intended.

^c In the Biblical account he told his cup-bearer (Gen. xl. 15). The Florentine ms. adds the following marginal note: "In another copy was found this reading: 'was sold by his brethren and brought down into Egypt to the king of Egypt; and again afterwards, with the king's permission, sent for his brethren.'" See note ^a on p. 196.

into Egypt. However, I propose to investigate these matters more fully elsewhere.^a

(15) For the moment I am citing the Egyptians as witnesses to our antiquity. I will therefore resume my extracts from Manetho bearing on the chronology. The following are his words :

Subsequent
kings of
Egypt.

“ After the departure of the pastoral people from Egypt to Jerusalem, Tethmosis,^b the king who expelled them from Egypt, reigned twenty-five years and four months, and on his death the kingdom passed to his son Chebron, who reigned thirteen years. After him Amenophis reigned twenty years and seven months ; then his sister Amesses twenty-one years and nine months ; her son Mephres twelve years and nine months ; then from father to son Mephramouthosis twenty-five years and ten months, Thmosis nine years and eight months, Amenophis thirty years and ten months, Orus thirty-six years and five months ; his daughter Akenchēres twelve years and one month ; her brother Rathotis nine years ; then from father to son Akenchēres twelve years and five months, Akenchēres II twelve years and three months, Harmais four years and one month, Ramesses one year and four months, Harmesses Miamoun sixty-six years and two months, Amenophis nineteen years and six months, and then Sethosis,^c also called Ramesses. The last-named king, who possessed an army of cavalry and

Ram(es)ses
H c. 1340-
1273 B.C.

^a Perhaps looking on to §§ 227 ff., where he reverts to Manetho. But we should expect *ὑστερον* or the like ; *ἐν ἄλλοις* usually refers to a separate work.

^b Called Thoummosis above, § 88. Perhaps Thmosis (§ 96) is the correct form.

^c Perhaps “ Sethos ” (cf. § 231).

a strong fleet, made his brother Harmais ^a viceroy of Egypt ^b and conferred upon him all the royal prerogatives, except that he enjoined upon him not to wear a diadem, not to wrong the queen, the mother of his children, and to show similar respect to the royal concubines. He then departed on a campaign against Cyprus and Phoenicia, and later against the Assyrians and Medes, and with or without a contest, through the terror inspired by his mighty army, reduced all these nations to submission. Emboldened by these successes he, with yet greater audacity, continued his advance, subduing the cities and districts of the east. Meanwhile, some time after his departure, Harmais, whom he had left in Egypt, unscrupulously defied all his brother's injunctions. He violated the queen, freely indulged himself with the concubines, and, at the instigation of his friends, put on a diadem and rose in revolt against his brother. The keeper of the Egyptian temples thereupon wrote a letter which he sent to Sethosis, telling him everything, including the insurrection of his brother Harmais. Sethosis instantly returned to Pelusium and recovered his kingdom; and the country was called after him Aegyptus."

†his maritime opponents who were causing great loss of life† [text doubtful]. Not long after he slew Ramesses and appointed Harmais, another of his brothers, viceroy of Egypt.'" See note ^a on p. 196, and, for the naval action of Sethos(is) in the Red Sea, Herod. ii. 102, to which Josephus alludes in *A.* viii. 260 ff.; Herodotus calls him Sesostris, Josephus there identifies him with Shishak, the enemy of Rehoboam. The relationship of Ramesses to Sethos(is) is variously stated in the accounts. In the text above R. is another name of Sethos(is); in the marginal note he is his brother; in § 231 below Rampses is his son.

AGAINST APION, I. 102-108

For Manetho states that Sethos was called Aegyptus and his brother Harmais Danaus.^a

(16) Such is Manetho's account ; and, if the years which he enumerates are summed up, it is clear that the so-called shepherds, our ancestors, left Egypt and settled in our ^b country 393 years ^c before Danaus came to Argos. Yet the Argives regard him as one of the most ancient of men.^d Manetho has thus furnished us with evidence from Egyptian literature on two most important points : first that we came into Egypt from elsewhere, and secondly, that we left it at a date so remote in the past that it preceded the Trojan War by nearly a thousand years. His additional statements, which he derived not from the Egyptian records, but, as he admits himself, from fables of unknown authorship, I shall refute in detail later on ^e and show the improbability of these lying stories.

Importance
of Manetho's
evidence.

(17) I therefore now propose to pass on to the allusions to our race in the Phoenician chronicles, and to produce the evidence which they afford. For very many years past the people of Tyre have kept public records, compiled and very carefully preserved by the state, of the memorable events in their internal history and in their relations with foreign nations. It is there recorded that the Temple at

(B) *Phoenician* evidence :
(i) Tyrian archives.

^a Cf. § 231.

^b Lit. " this."

^c The total length of the reigns enumerated in chap. 15 from the expulsion of the Hycsos to the *accession* of Sethosis is only 333 years. To this Josephus (or his source) seems to have added sixty years for the reign of Sethosis, the duration of which is given in § 231 as fifty-nine years.

^d The mythical Inachus was held to be still more ancient.

^e §§ 227 ff.

Jerusalem was built by King Solomon 143 years and eight months before the foundation of Carthage by the Tyrians.^a There was good reason why the erection of our temple should be mentioned in their records, for Hirom,^b king of Tyre, was a friend of our king Solomon, a friendship which he had inherited from his father.^c Sharing Solomon's zeal for the splendour of the edifice, Hirom gave him 120 talents of gold, and also cut down the finest timber from the mountain called Libanus and sent it to him for the roof. In return Solomon, among many other gifts, made him a present of land in Galilee in the district called Chabulon.^d But the main bond of friendship between them was their passion for learning. They used to send each other problems to solve; in these Solomon showed the greater proficiency, as, in general, he was the cleverer of the two. Many of the letters which they exchanged are preserved at Tyre to this day.^e

Temple begun c. 1012 B.C.

To prove that these assertions about the Tyrian archives are not of my own invention, I will call upon Dius,^f who is regarded as an accurate historian of

(i) DIUS on Solomon's riddles.

^c Cf. 2 Sam. v. 11, 1 Kings v. 1, where it is Solomon who inherits from *his* father David a friendship with Hiram.

^d 1 Kings ix. 10-13. The district apparently took its name from the town or village of Cabul, called Chabolo in the *Life* § 213.

^e Letters between Hiram and Solomon on the building of the temple are given in 1 Kings v., paraphrased in Josephus, *A.* viii. 50-54, and others of a more literary character are quoted from Eupolemus (2nd cent. B.C.) in Euseb. *Praep. Ev.* ix. 33 f. None of these refer to the riddles mentioned below; the origin of these may perhaps be sought in the story of the Queen of Sheba and her "hard questions" (1 Kings x. 1).

^f The same extract is quoted in *A.* viii. 147. Nothing more is known of Dius.

Phoenicia, for his witness. In his history of the Phoenicians he writes as follows :

“ On the death of Abibalus, his son Hirom came to the throne. He levelled up the eastern part of the city with embankments, enlarged the town, united to it by a causeway the temple of Olympian Zeus, which was isolated on an island, and adorned it with offerings of gold ; he also went up to Libanus and had timber cut down for the construction of temples. It is said that Solomon, the sovereign^a of Jerusalem, sent riddles to Hirom and asked for others from him, on the understanding that the one who failed to solve them should pay a sum of money to him who succeeded. Hirom agreed, and being unable to guess the riddles, spent a large part of his wealth on the fine. Afterwards they were solved by a certain Abdemun^b of Tyre, who propounded others. Solomon, failing to solve these, paid back to Hirom more than he had received.”

Thus has Dios attested my previous statements.

(18) I will, however, cite yet a further witness, (iii) MEN-
Menander of Ephesus.^c This author has recorded ANDER of
the events of each reign, in Hellenic and non-Hellenic^d Ephesus.
countries alike, and has taken the trouble to obtain
his information in each case from the national records.
Writing on the kings of Tyre, when he comes to
Hirom he expresses himself thus :

^c The extract below is quoted also in *A.* viii. 144. The writer is probably the same person as the Menander of *Pergamum* quoted by Clement of Alexandria (*Strom.* i. p. 140, § 114) as stating that “ Hiram gave his daughter in marriage to Solomon at the time when Menelaus visited Phoenicia after the capture of Troy.”

^d “ Barbarian.”

“ On the death of Abibalus the kingdom passed to his son Hirom, who lived fifty-three years and reigned thirty-four. He laid the embankment of the Broad Place,^a dedicated the golden pillar in the temple of Zeus,^b went and cut down cedar wood on the mount called Libanus for timber for the roofs of temples, demolished the ancient temples, and built new shrines dedicated to Heracles and Astarte. That of Heracles he erected first, in the month Peritius.^c He undertook a campaign against the people of Utica who refused to pay their tribute, and did not return home till he had reduced them to submission. Under his reign lived Abdemun, a young lad, who always succeeded in mastering the problems set by Solomon, king of Jerusalem.”

The period intervening between this king and the foundation of Carthage is computed as follows :

^a On the death of Hirom the throne passed to his son Balbazer, who lived forty-three years and reigned seventeen. His successor Abdastratus lived thirty-nine years and reigned nine. The four sons of his nurse conspired against him and slew him. The eldest of these, Methusastartus, son of Delecastartus, mounted the throne and lived fifty-four years and reigned twelve. He was followed by his brother, Astharymus, who lived

^b According to Eupolemus a present from Solomon to Suron (= Hiram) ; Eus. *P.E.* ix. 34. Herod. (ii. 44) saw a golden *stele* in the temple of Heracles, probably the temple here called that of Zeus ; he mentions two temples of Heracles and none of Zeus.

^c The fourth month of the Macedonian year (? January).

^d In this paragraph Josephus apparently paraphrases his authority.

fifty-eight years and reigned nine. He was slain by his brother Phelles, who seized the throne and reigned eight months, having reached the age of fifty, when he was slain by Ithobal, priest of Astarte, who lived forty-eight years and reigned thirty-two. He was succeeded by his son Balezor, who lived forty-five years and reigned six. He, in turn, was succeeded by his son Mettēn, who lived thirty-two years and reigned twenty-nine; and he by Pygmalion, who lived fifty-eight years and reigned forty-seven. It was in the seventh year of his reign that his sister^a took flight, and built the city of Carthage in Libya.

The whole period from the accession of Hiram to the foundation of Carthage thus amounts to 155 years and eight months;^b and, since the temple at Jerusalem was built in the twelfth year of King Hiram's reign,^c 143 years and eight months elapsed between the erection of the temple and the foundation of Carthage.

What need is there to add further Phoenician evidence? The agreement of the witnesses, as will be seen, affords strong confirmation of their veracity. Of course our ancestors arrived in the country long before the temple was built; for it was not until they had conquered the whole land that they erected it. The facts, derived from the sacred books, have been clearly stated in my *Archaeology*.^d

^a Elissa, commonly known as Dido.

^b There has been some corruption in the figures for the individual reigns, which do not amount to the total here given.

^c The source for this statement is unknown. In *A.* viii. 62 the date given for the commencement of the building is the *eleventh* year of Hiram's reign.

^d *A.* viii. 61 f.

(19) I will now proceed to the allusions made to us in the records and literature of the Chaldaean ; on various points these are in close agreement with our own scriptures. My witness here is Berosus,^a a Chaldaean by birth, but familiar in learned circles through his publication for Greek readers of works on Chaldaean astronomy and philosophy. This author, following the most ancient records, has, like Moses, described the flood and the destruction of mankind thereby, and told of the ark in which Noah, the founder of our race, was saved when it landed on the heights of the mountains of Armenia.^b Then he enumerates Noah's descendants, appending dates, and so comes down to Nabopalassar, king of Babylon and Chaldaea. In his narrative of the actions of this monarch he relates how he sent his son Nabuchod- nosor with a large army to Egypt and to our country, on hearing that these people had revolted, and how he defeated them all, burnt the temple at Jerusalem,^c dislodged and transported our entire population to Babylon, with the result that the city lay desolate for seventy years until the time of Cyrus, king of Persia. He adds that the Babylonian monarch conquered Egypt, Syria, Phoenicia, and Arabia, his exploits surpassing those of all previous kings of Chaldaea

(C) Chal-
daean
evidence :
BEROSUS.

On the
flood.

625-604 B.C.

Nebuchad-
rezzar
604-561 B.C.

c. 537 B.C.

^a Beros(s)us, priest of the temple of Bel at Babylon, c. 330-250 B.C., wrote a history of Babylon (*Χαλδαϊκά* or *Βαβυλωνικά*) comprising at least three books (§ 142), besides works on astronomy and astrology.

^b An extract from his account of the flood is given in A. i. 93. The name mentioned by Berosus was not Noah, but, as we learn from Syncellus, Xisuthrus.

^c The burning of the temple, not mentioned in the extract which follows, is presumably interpolated by Josephus, and erroneously placed in the reign of Nabopalassar.

and Babylon.^a But I will quote Berosus's own words, which are as follows : ^b

“ His father Nabopalassar, hearing of the defection of the satrap in charge of Egypt, Coele-Syria, and Phoenicia, and being himself unequal to the fatigues of a campaign, committed part of his army to his son Nabuchodonosor, still in the prime of life, and sent him against the rebel. Nabuchodonosor engaged and defeated the latter in a pitched battle and replaced the district under Babylonian rule. Meanwhile, as it happened, his father Nabopalassar sickened and died in the city of Babylon, after a reign of twenty-one years. Being informed ere long of his father's death, Nabuchodonosor settled the affairs of Egypt and the other countries. The prisoners—Jews, Phoenicians, Syrians, and those of Egyptian nationality—were consigned to some of his friends, with orders to conduct them to Babylonia, along with the heavy troops and the rest of the spoils ; while he himself, with a small escort, pushed across the desert to Babylon. There he found the administration in the hands of the Chaldeans and the throne reserved for him by their chief nobleman. Being now master of his father's entire realm, he gave orders to allot to the captives, on

On Nabuchodonosor

^a Here follows the gloss : “ Then again [a passage] a little lower down in Berosus is cited in his history of antiquity ” (or perhaps “ in the narrative of the *Antiquities*,” with reference to *A.* x. 219).

^b The passage is quoted also in *A.* x. 220 ff.

² The bracketed words, omitted by Eus. and Lat., are an obvious gloss in cod. L.

³ *αὐτοῦ* Eus. cod. and *A.* x. 221.

⁴ Eus. : *εἰκοσιεννέα* L.

⁵ + *ἐξ* L.

⁶ Text follows *A.* x.

their arrival, settlements in the most suitable districts of Babylonia. He then magnificently decorated the temple of Bel and the other temples with the spoils of war, † restored † the old city, and added a new one outside the walls, and, in order to prevent the possibility in any future siege of † access being gained † to the city by a diversion of the course of the river, he enclosed both the inner and the outer city with three lines of ramparts, those of the inner city being of baked brick and bitumen, those of the outer city of rough brick. After fortifying the city on this grand scale and adorning the gateways in a manner worthy of their sanctity, he constructed a second palace adjoining that of his father. It would perhaps be tedious to describe the towering height and general magnificence of this building ; it need only be remarked that, notwithstanding its immense and imposing proportions, it was completed in fifteen days. Within this palace he erected lofty stone terraces, in which he closely reproduced mountain scenery, completing the resemblance by planting them with all manner of trees and constructing the so-called hanging garden^a ; because his wife, having been brought up in Media, had a passion for mountain surroundings."

(20) Such is the account given by Berosus of this king, besides much more in the third book of his *History of Chaldaea*, where he censures the Greek

Further evidence of Berosus.

^a Regarded as one of the seven wonders of the ancient world. A fuller account is quoted from Ctesias in Diodorus, ii. 7 ff.

³ ὦν Α.: ὑπὲρ ὧν Syncellus: ἐπαίρων L.

⁴ Gutschmid: ἀνάστημα L.

⁵ οὔτος Naber.

historians ^a for their deluded belief that Babylon was founded by the Assyrian Semiramis and their erroneous statement that its marvellous buildings were her creation.' On these matters the Chaldaean account must surely be accepted. Moreover, statements in accordance with those of Berosus are found in the Phoenician archives, which relate how the king of Babylon subdued Syria and the whole of Phoenicia. To the same effect writes Philostratus in his *History*, where he mentions the siege of Tyre,^b and Megasthenes^c in the fourth book of his *History of India*, where he attempts to prove that this king of Babylon, who according to this writer subdued the greater part of Libya and Iberia, was in courage and in the grandeur of his exploits more than a match for Heracles.^d

The assertions which were made above * concerning the temple at Jerusalem, that it was burnt down by the Babylonian invaders and that its re-erection began on the succession of Cyrus to the throne of Asia, will be clearly proved by a further quotation from Berosus. His words in his third book are as follows :

" After beginning the wall of which I have spoken, Nabuchodonosor fell sick and died, after a reign of forty-three years, and the realm passed to his son Evilmaraduch. This prince, whose

^c The writer to whom later Greek authors mainly owed their knowledge of India; was sent by Seleucus I (Nicator) on an embassy to the Indian king Chandragupta (Sandracottus) c. 300 B.C.

^d The same passage is referred to in *A. x.* 227, and quoted (from Abydenus) in *Eus. P.E.* ix. 41.

^e § 132. The quotation which follows obviously affords no proof of these assertions.

government was arbitrary and licentious, fell a victim to a plot, being assassinated by his sister's husband, Neriglisar, after a reign of two years. On his death Neriglisar, his murderer, succeeded to the throne and reigned four years. His son, Laborosoardoch, a mere boy, occupied it for nine months, when, owing to the depraved disposition which he showed, a conspiracy was formed against him, and he was beaten to death by his friends. After his murder the conspirators held a meeting, and by common consent conferred the kingdom upon Nabonnedus, a Babylonian and one of their gang. In his reign the walls of Babylon abutting on the river were magnificently built with baked brick and bitumen. In the seventeenth year of his reign Cyrus advanced from Persia with a large army, and, after subjugating the rest of the kingdom, marched upon Babylonia. Apprised of his coming, Nabonnedus led his army to meet him, fought and was defeated, whereupon he fled with a few followers and shut himself up in the town of Borsippa.^a Cyrus took Babylon, and after giving orders to raze the outer walls of the city, because it presented a very redoubtable and formidable appearance, proceeded to Borsippa to besiege Nabonnedus. The latter surrendering, without waiting for investment, was humanely treated by Cyrus, who dismissed him from Babylonia, but gave him Carmania^b for his residence. There

^a Mod. *Birs Nimrud*, south of Babylon.

^b A district on the Persian Gulf.

³ L: om. Eus., Lat.

⁴ Eus.: 'Ασίαν L Lat.

⁵ Gutschmid: Βόρσιππον L Eus.

Nabonnedus spent the remainder of his life, and there he died."

(21) This statement is both correct and in accordance with our books. For in the latter it is recorded that Nabuchodonosor in the eighteenth ^a year of his reign devastated our temple, that for fifty ^b years it ceased to exist, that in the second ^c year of the reign of Cyrus the foundations were laid, and lastly that in the second ^d year of the reign of Darius it was completed. I must not, however, neglect any of the superabundant proofs available, and will therefore append the Phoenician record.^e The chronological calculation there appears as follows :

agrees with Jewish and Phoenician records.

Under King Ithobal,^f Nabuchodonosor besieged Tyre for thirteen years.^g The next king, Baal, reigned ten years. After him judges were appointed and held office as follows : Eknibal, son of Baslech, two months ; Chelbes, son of Abdaeus, ten months ; Abbar the high-priest, three months ; Myttyn and Gerastratus, son of Abdelimus, six years ; after them Balator was king for one year. On his death his subjects sent to Babylon and fetched from there Merbal, who reigned four years ; and on his death they sent for his brother

(587 B.C.) to the edict in the first year of Cyrus (538 B.C.), lasted forty-nine years. The seventy years of Jer. xxv. 12 (§ 132 above) was a round number.

^c Cf. Ezra iii. 8.

^d Cf. Ez. iv. 24 ; but this date marks the resumption of the interrupted work. The building was not completed till four years later (*ib.* vi. 15).

^e Probably from Menander of Ephesus.

^f Ithobal II. An earlier king of the name is mentioned in § 123.

^g A. x. 228 (on the authority of Philostratus).

Hirom, who reigned twenty years. It was in his reign that Cyrus became monarch of Persia.

The whole period thus amounts to fifty-four years and three months.^a For it was in the seventh^b year of his reign that Nabuchodonosor began the siege of Tyre, and in the fourteenth year of Hirom's reign that Cyrus the Persian came into power. Thus there is complete agreement, on the subject of the temple, between our own books and those of the Chaldaeans and Tyrians, and the evidence for my assertions as to the antiquity of our race is consistent and incontrovertible. None but the most contentious of critics, I imagine, could fail to be content with the arguments already adduced.

(22) I am, however, it seems, under the further obligation of satisfying the requirements of persons who put no faith in non-Hellenic documents, and maintain that none but Greeks are to be trusted. I must therefore produce a further array of these authors who were acquainted with our nation, and quote the occasional allusions which they make to us in their own works. (D) Greek evidence.

Now, Pythagoras,^c that ancient sage of Samos, who for wisdom and piety is ranked above all the philosophers, evidently not only knew of our institutions, but was even in those distant ages^d an ardent admirer of them. Of the master himself we possess no corrects the total to fifty years three months, to agree with the fifty years of § 154 above.

^b (?) Read "seventeenth."

^c The famous head of the fraternity of Crotona in S. Italy in the 6th century B.C.

^d ἐκ πλείστου elsewhere in Josephus (*A.* xv. 223) has a temporal sense "long since." Whiston, however, renders "to a very great degree," and so Reinach.

authentic work, but his history has been told by many writers. The most distinguished of these is Hermippus,^a always a careful historian. Now, in the first book of his work on Pythagoras, this author states that the philosopher, on the death of one of his disciples, named Calliphon, a native of Crotona, remarked that his pupil's soul was with him night and day, and admonished him not to pass a certain spot, on which an ass had collapsed,^b to abstain from thirst-producing^c water, and to avoid all calumny.^d Then he proceeds as follows :

“ In practising and repeating these precepts he was imitating and appropriating the doctrines of Jews and Thracians.”

In fact, it is actually said^e that that great man introduced many points of Jewish law into his philosophy.

In ancient times various cities were acquainted with the existence of our nation, and to some of these many of our customs have now found their way, and here and there been thought worthy of imitation. This is apparent from a passage in the work of Theophrastus^f on *Laws*, where he says that the laws of the Tyrians prohibit the use of foreign oaths, in enumerating which he includes among others the oath called “Corban.” Now this oath will be found in no other nation except the Jews, and, translated

(ii.) THEOPHRASTUS.

Müller quotes from Diogenes Laertius an allusion to the Pythagorean practice of drinking plain water (λιτὸν ὕδωρ).

^a Cf. Ex. xxii. 28 ; Lev. xix. 16.

^e e.g. by Aristobulus ap. Eus. *P.E.* xiii. 12, 664 A.

^f Pupil and successor of Aristotle as head of the Peripatetic school. His work on *Laws*, recapitulating the laws of various nations, seems to have been designed as a pendant to Aristotle's *Politics*. Another allusion of his to the Jews is quoted by Eusebius, *P.E.* ix. 2, 404 A.

from the Hebrew, one may interpret it as meaning " God's gift.^a "

Nor, again, has our nation been ignored even by Herodotus of Halicarnassus, who has an evident, if not explicit, allusion to it. Speaking of the Colchians in his second book,^b he makes the following statement :

" The Colchians, the Egyptians, and the Ethiopians are the only nations with whom the practice of circumcision is primitive. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine ^c admit that they learnt it from the Egyptians. The Syrians on the banks of the rivers Thermodon and Parthenius,^d and their neighbours the Macrones,^e say that they have adopted it recently from the Colchians. These are the only circumcised peoples in the world, and it is clear that they all imitate the Egyptians. Of the two nations of Egypt and Ethiopia, I cannot say which learnt the practice from the other."

Herodotus thus says that the Palestinian Syrians were circumcised ; but the Jews are the only inhabitants of Palestine who adopt this practice. He must therefore have known this, and his allusion is to them.

Again, Choerilus,^f an ancient poet, mentions our race as taking part in the expedition of Xerxes, king

^c If, as is probable, Herodotus refers to the Philistines, he was mistaken, as they were uncircumcised in Biblical times. Josephus is therefore justified in inferring that he alludes to the Jews.

^a Rivers in Asia Minor.

^e In Pontus.

^f Of Samos, a younger contemporary and friend of Herodotus. A few other fragments of his epic poem on the war of the Greeks and Persians are extant, *e.g.* in Strabo vii. 9. 303.

of Persia, against Greece. After enumerating all the other nations, he finally includes ours in these lines :

“ Closely behind passed over a race of wonderful aspect ;
Strangely upon their lips the tongue of Phoenicia sounded ;
In the Solymian hills by a broad lake their habitation ;
Shorn in a circle, unkempt was the hair on their heads, and above them
Proudly they wore their hides of horse-heads, dried in the hearth-smoke.”

It is obvious, I imagine, to everybody that he is referring to us, because the Solymian hills are in our country and inhabited by us ; there too is the so-called Bituminous Lake, which is broader and more extensive than all the lakes in Syria.^a Here then we have an allusion to us in Choerilus.

Not only did the Greeks know the Jews, but they admired any of their number whom they happened to meet. This statement applies not to the lowest class of Greeks, but to those with the highest reputation for wisdom, and can easily be proved. Clearchus, a disciple of Aristotle, and in the very first rank of peripatetic philosophers, relates, in his first

(v.) ARISTOTLE on the authority of CLEARCHUS

They had “ straight hair,” and “ wore upon their heads the scalps of horses, with the ears and mane attached . . . the ears being made to stand upright ” (*ibid.*). They spoke Phoenician, because “ the Phoenicians, according to their own account, originally dwelt by the Red Sea ” (*ib.* vii. 89)—the “ broad lake ” of the poet. The round tonsure was practised by the neighbouring Arabs (*ib.* iii. 8), but was expressly forbidden to the Jews (Lev. xix. 27 ; *cf.* Jer. ix. 26).

book on Sleep, the following anecdote told of a certain Jew by his master. He puts the words into the mouth of Aristotle himself. I quote the text : ^a

“ ‘ It would take too long to repeat the whole story, but there were features in that man’s character, at once strangely marvellous and philosophical, which merit description. I warn you, Hyperochides,’ he said, ‘ that what I am about to say will seem to you as wonderful as a dream.’ Hyperochides respectfully replied, ‘ That is the very reason why we are all anxious to hear it.’ ‘ Well,’ said Aristotle, ‘ in accordance with the precepts of rhetoric, let us begin by describing his race, in order to keep to the rules of our masters in the art of narration.’ ‘ Tell the story as you please,’ said Hyperochides. ‘ Well,’ he replied, ‘ the man was a Jew of Coele-Syria. These people are descended from the Indian philosophers.^b The philosophers, they say, are in India called Calani,^c in Syria by the territorial name of Jews ; for the district which they inhabit is known as Judaea. Their city has a remarkably odd name : they call it Hierusaleme. Now this man, who was entertained by a large circle of friends and was on his way down from the interior to the coast, not only spoke Greek, but had the soul of a Greek.

^b Clearchus in his work *On Education* traced the descent of the Indian gymnosophists from the Magi, and Diogenes Laertius (proem. 9), who is our authority, adds, “ Some assert that the Jews also are descended from the Magi.” Jews and Brahmans are also associated by Megasthenes (Clem. *Strom.* i. 15). I owe this note to Th. Reinach.

^c Calanus was the name of a gymnosophist who followed Alexander the Great, and burnt himself to death in presence of his army (Plut. *Alex.* 65, etc.).

AGAINST APION, I. 181-185

During my stay in Asia,^a he visited the same places as I did, and came to converse with me and some other scholars, to test our learning. But as one who had been intimate with many cultivated persons, it was rather he who imparted to us something of his own.' "

These are the words of Aristotle as reported by Clearchus, and he went on to speak of the great and astonishing endurance and sobriety displayed by this Jew in his manner of life. Further information can be obtained, if desired, from the book itself; I forbear to quote more than is necessary.

This allusion of Aristotle to us is mentioned parenthetically by Clearchus, who was dealing with another subject. Of a different nature is the evidence of Hecataeus of Abdera,^b at once a philosopher and a highly competent man of affairs, who rose to fame under King Alexander, and was afterwards associated with Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He makes no mere passing allusion to us, but wrote a book entirely about the Jews, from which I propose briefly to touch on some passages. I will begin with fixing his date. He mentions the battle near Gaza between Ptolemy and Demetrius, which, as Castor^c narrates, was fought eleven years after the death of Alexander, in the 117th Olympiad. For under the head of this Olympiad he says :

(vi.)
HECATAEUS.

His book on
the Jews.

312 B.C.

“ In this period Ptolemy, son of Lagus, defeated

Egypt, appears certain. But it is no less certain that apocryphal Jewish productions were fathered upon him. Recent critics (T. Reinach, J. G. Müller) regard the extracts which follow as genuine. All refer to the time of Alexander and the Diadochi and seem above suspicion.

^c Author of work on chronology, probably 2nd cent. B.C.

in a battle at Gaza Demetrius, son of Antigonus, surnamed Poliorcetes."

And all agree that Alexander died in the 114th Olympiad. It is evident, therefore, that our race was flourishing both under Ptolemy and under Alexander. 323 B.C.

Hecataeus goes on to say that after the battle of Gaza Ptolemy became master of Syria, and that many of the inhabitants, hearing of his kindliness and humanity, desired to accompany him to Egypt and to associate themselves with his realm. On Jewish emigration to Alexandria.

"Among these (he says) was Ezechias, a chief priest ^a of the Jews, a man of about sixty-six years of age, highly esteemed by his countrymen, intellectual, and moreover an able speaker and unsurpassed as a man of business. Yet ^b (he adds) the total number of Jewish priests who receive a tithe of the revenue and administer public affairs is about fifteen hundred."

Reverting to Ezechias, he says :

"This man, after obtaining this honour ^b and having been closely in touch with us, assembled some of his friends and read to them [a statement showing] all the advantages [of emigration]; for he had in writing the conditions attaching to their settlement and political status."

In another passage Hecataeus mentions our regard for our laws, and how we deliberately choose and

^b The exact sense of the word *καίροι* in § 188 and of "this honour" in § 189 (the high-priesthood or some special appointment awarded him by Ptolemy Soter?) is not clear: Josephus is probably condensing his authority.

hold it a point of honour to endure anything rather than transgress them.

“ And so (he says), neither the slander of their neighbours and of foreign visitors, to which as a nation they are exposed, nor the frequent outrages of Persian kings and satraps can shake their determination ; for these laws, naked and defenceless, they face tortures and death in its most terrible form, rather than repudiate the faith of their forefathers.”

On the loyalty of Jews to their laws.

Of this obstinacy in defence of their laws he furnishes several instances. He tells how on one occasion Alexander, when he was at Babylon and had undertaken to restore the ruined temple of Bel,^a gave orders to all his soldiers, without distinction, to bring materials for the earthworks ; and how the Jews alone refused to obey, and even submitted to severe chastisement and heavy fines, until the king pardoned them and exempted them from this task. Again, when temples and altars were erected in the country by its invaders, the Jews razed them all to the ground, paying in some cases a fine to the satraps, and in others obtaining pardon. For such conduct, he adds, they deserve admiration. Then he goes on to speak of our vast population, stating that, though many myriads of our race had already been deported to Babylon by the Persians,^b yet after Alexander's death myriads more migrated to Egypt

On their vast population.

^a This enterprise is attested by Arrian, *Exped. Alex.* vii. 17, and Strabo, xvi. 1. 5, 738. I owe these references to Reinach.

^b A mistake of Hecataeus for the Chaldaeans ; a Jewish forger (as the writer here quoted is suspected of being) would not have been guilty of such a confusion.

and Phoenicia in consequence of the disturbed condition of Syria.

The same writer has referred to the extent and beauty of the country which we inhabit in the following words :

On the extent of Judaea.

“ They occupy almost three million *arourae* ^a of the most excellent and fertile soil, productive of every variety of fruits. Such is the extent of Judaea.”

Again, here is his description of Jerusalem itself, the city which we have inhabited from remote ages, of its great beauty and extent, its numerous population, and the temple buildings :

On Jerusalem and the Temple.

“ The Jews have many fortresses and villages in different parts of the country,^b but only one fortified city, which has a circumference of about fifty *stades* ^c and some hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants ; they call it Jerusalem.^d Nearly in the centre of the city stands a stone wall, enclosing an area about five *plethra* ^e long and a hundred ^f cubits broad, approached by a pair of gates. Within this enclosure is a square altar, built of heaped up stones, unhewn and unwrought ; each side is twenty cubits long and the height ten cubits. Beside it stands a great edifice, containing an altar and a lampstand, both made of gold, and weighing two talents ; upon these is a light which is never extinguished by night or day. There is

whose figure for the 2nd cent. B.C. is probably nearest the mark).

^a “ Hierosolyma.”

^e The *plethron* was 100 Greek (about 98 English) feet.

^f Another exaggeration apparently ; 60 cubits was the breadth prescribed by Cyrus (Ezra vi. 3).

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not a single statue or votive offering, no trace of a plant, in the form of a sacred grove or the like. Here priests pass their nights and days performing certain rites of purification, and abstaining altogether from wine while in the temple.”^a

The author further attests the share which the Jews took in the campaigns both of King Alexander and of his successors. One incident on the march, in which a Jewish soldier was concerned, he states that he witnessed himself. I will give the story in his own words :

On
Mosollamus,
the Jewish
archer.

“ When I was on the march towards the Red Sea, among the escort of Jewish cavalry which accompanied us was one named Mosollamus,^b a very intelligent man, robust, and, by common consent, the very best of bowmen, whether Greek or barbarian. This man, observing that a number of men were going to and fro on the route and that the whole force was being held up by a seer who was taking the auspices, inquired why they were halting. The seer pointed out to him the bird he was observing, and told him that if it stayed in that spot it was expedient for them all to halt ; if it stirred and flew forward, to advance ; if backward, then to retire. The Jew, without saying a word, drew his bow, shot and struck the bird, and killed it. The seer and some others were indignant, and heaped curses upon him. ‘ Why so mad, you poor wretches ? ’ he retorted ; and then, taking the bird in his hands, continued, ‘ Pray, how could any sound information about our

^a Lev. x. 9 ; Ezek. xlv. 21 : *cf.* Ap. ii. 108.

^b Hellenized form of Meshullam (Ezra viii. 16).

march be given by this creature, which could not provide for its own safety? Had it been gifted with divination, it would not have come to this spot, for fear of being killed by an arrow of Mosolamus the Jew.' "

But I have given enough evidence from Hecataeus ; (vii.) AGATHARCIDES, any who care to pursue the subject can easily peruse his book. There is another writer whom I shall name without hesitation, although he mentions us only to ridicule our folly, as he regards it—I mean Agatharcides.^a He is telling the story of Stratonice,^b how she deserted her husband Demetrius and came from Macedonia to Syria, and how, when Seleucus disappointed her by refusing to marry her, she created a revolution at Antioch while he was starting on a campaign from Babylon ; and then how, after the king's return and the capture of Antioch, she fled to Seleucia,^c and instead of taking sail immediately, as she might have done, let herself be stopped by a dream, was captured and put to death. After telling this story and deriding the superstition of Stratonice, Agatharcides quotes in illustration a tale told about us. The following are his words : ^d

" The people known as Jews, who inhabit the most strongly fortified of cities, called by the natives Jerusalem,^e have a custom of abstaining from work every seventh day ; on those occasions

On Jewish observance of the Sabbath.

a second marriage, about 239 B.C., she fled for aid to her nephew, Seleucus II (Callinicus). A slightly different account in Justin, xxviii. 1.

^c Seleucia Pieria, the Syrian port near the mouth of the Orontes.

^d Quoted in a condensed form in *A.* xii. 6.

^e " Hierosolyma."

they neither bear arms nor take any agricultural operations in hand, nor engage in any other form of public service, but pray with outstretched hands in the temples until the evening. Consequently, because the inhabitants, instead of protecting their city, persevered in their folly, Ptolemy, son of Lagus, was allowed to enter with his army ; ^a the country was thus given over to a cruel master, and the defect of a practice enjoined by law was exposed. That experience has taught the whole world, except that nation, the lesson not to resort to dreams and traditional fancies about the law, until its difficulties are such as to baffle human reason."

Agatharcides finds such conduct ridiculous ; dispassionate critics will consider it a grand and highly meritorious fact that there are men who consistently care more for the observance of their laws and for their religion than for their own lives and their country's fate.

(23) That the omission of some historians to mention our nation was due, not to ignorance, but to envy or some other disingenuous reason, I think I am in a position to prove. Hieronymus,^b who wrote the history of Alexander's successors, was a contemporary of Hecataeus, and, owing to his friendship with King Antigonus,^c became governor of Syria. Yet, whereas Hecataeus devoted a whole book to us, Hieronymus, although he had lived almost within

Malicious:
silence of Hieronymus
etc.

history of the Diadochi from the death of Alexander to that of Pyrrhus was a leading authority on that period. His Syrian appointment is not mentioned elsewhere.

^c Surnamed the One-eyed, c. 381-301 B.C., general of Alexander and after his death monarch of Asia.

our borders, has nowhere mentioned us in his history. So widely different were the views of these two men. One thought us deserving of serious notice ; the eyes of the other, through an ill-natured disposition, were totally blind to the truth. However, our antiquity is sufficiently established by the Egyptian, Chaldaean, and Phoenician records, not to mention the numerous Greek historians. In addition to those already cited, Theophilus, Theodotus, Mnaseas, Aristophanes, Hermogenes, Euhemerus, Conon, Zopyrion,^a and, may be, many more—for my reading has not been exhaustive—have made more than a passing allusion to us. The majority of these authors have misrepresented the facts of our primitive history, because they have not read our sacred books ; but all concur in testifying to our antiquity, and that is the point with which I am at present concerned. Demetrius Phalereus,^b the elder Philo, and Eupolemus^c are exceptional in their approximation to the truth, and [their errors] may be excused on the ground of their inability to follow quite accurately the meaning of our records.

Further
Greek
witnesses.

(24) I have still to deal with one of the topics proposed at the beginning of this work,^d namely, to was probably a Samaritan. Mnaseas is mentioned again in *Ap.* ii. 112 and *A.* i. 94. Aristophanes may be the famous Alexandrian librarian. Euhemerus is celebrated for his rationalistic explanation of Greek mythology.

^b c. 345-283 B.C. ; an Attic orator and afterwards librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy I, credited by pseudo-Aristeas and Josephus (*Ap.* ii. 46) with having been instrumental in obtaining a Greek version of the Pentateuch. But he is here probably confused with another Demetrius, a *Jewish* historian.

^c *Jewish* writers on Biblical subjects of the second cent. B.C. : "the elder Philo" an epic poet, Eupolemus a historian.

^d §§ 4 f.

expose the fictitious nature of the accusations and aspersions cast by certain persons upon our nation, and to convict the authors of them out of their own mouths. That many others have, through the animosity of individuals, met with the same fate, is a fact of which, I imagine, all habitual readers of history are aware. Various authors have attempted to sully the reputation of nations and of the most illustrious cities, and to revile their forms of government. Theopompus ^a attacked Athens, Polycrates ^b Lacedaemon; the author of the *Tripoliticus* ^c (who was certainly not, as some suppose, Theopompus) included Thebes in his strictures; Timaeus ^d in his histories freely abused these and other states besides. These critics are most virulent in their attacks on persons of the highest celebrity, some out of envy and spite, others in the belief that the novelty of their language will procure them notoriety. In this expectation they find fools who do not disappoint them; by men of sound judgement their depravity is severely condemned.

(III.) Calumnies of the anti-Semites.

Similar calumnies on other nations.

(25) The libels upon us originated with the Egyptians. To gratify them, certain authors undertook to distort the facts; they misrepresented the circumstances of the entry of our ancestors into Egypt, and gave an equally false account of their departure. The Egyptians had many reasons for

The Egyptians the originators of these calumnies. Reasons for their malignity.

^b His *Laconica* is mentioned by Athenaeus iv. 139 D; doubtfully identified with a fourth-century Athenian sophist.

^c The "Three states book," also called the "Three-headed book" (*Τρικάρανος*), a pamphlet attacking Athens, Sparta, and Thebes, put out in the name of Theopompus by his enemy Anaximenes of Lampsacus, who so successfully imitated the style of Theopompus as to bring the latter into universal odium (Pausan. vi. 18. 3).

^d Nicknamed *Ἐπιτίμειος*, "fault-finder"; cf. § 16 note.

their hatred and envy. There was the original grievance of the domination of our ancestors over their country,^a and their renewed prosperity when they had left it and returned to their own land. Again, the profound contrast between the two cults ^b created bitter animosity, since our religion is as far removed from that which is in vogue among them as is the nature of God from that of irrational beasts. For it is their national custom to regard animals as gods, and this custom is universal, although there are local differences in the honours paid to them.^c These frivolous and utterly senseless specimens of humanity, accustomed from the first to erroneous ideas about the gods, were incapable of imitating the solemnity of our theology, and the sight of our numerous admirers filled them with envy. Some of them carried their folly and narrow-mindedness so far that they did not hesitate to contradict their ancient chronicles, nay, in the blindness of their passion, they failed to perceive that in what they wrote they actually contradicted themselves.

(26) The first writer, on whom I propose to dwell at some length, is one whose evidence has already served me a little way back ^a to prove our antiquity—I mean Manetho. This author, having promised to translate the history of Egypt from the sacred books, begins by stating that our ancestors entered Egypt in their myriads and subdued the inhabitants, and goes on to admit that they were afterwards driven out of the country, occupied what is now Judaea, founded Jerusalem, and built the temple. So far apparently identifies the Hycsos with the ancestors of the Jews (§ 103).

(i.) Calumnies of
MANETHO

^b Or "nations."

^c Cf. e.g. Juvenal, *Sat.* xv., and *Ap.* ii. 65 below.

^a § 73.

he followed the chronicles ; but at this point, under the pretext of recording fables and current reports about the Jews, he took the liberty of introducing some incredible tales, wishing to represent us as mixed up with a crowd of Egyptian lepers and others, who for various maladies ^a were condemned, as he asserts, to banishment from the country. Inventing ^b a king named Amenophis, an imaginary person, the date of whose reign he consequently did not venture to fix (although he adds the exact years of the other kings whom he mentions), he attaches to him certain legends, having presumably forgotten that he has already stated that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem took place 518 years previously.^c For it was in the reign of Tethmosis ^d that they left, and, according to Manetho, the succeeding reigns covered a period of 393 years ^e down to the two brothers, Sethos and Hermaeus,^f the former of whom, he says, took the name of Aegyptus and the latter that of Danaus.^g Sethos, after expelling Hermaeus, reigned fifty-nine years, and his eldest son Rampses, who succeeded him, sixty-six. Thus after admitting that all those years had elapsed since our forefathers left Egypt, he now interpolates this fictitious Amenophis.

on the
exodus from
Egypt.

Story of
Amenophis
and the
lepers.

(§ 232-250). The identification of the Amenophis under whom the second expulsion took place is doubtful, but Josephus is not justified in calling him "an imaginary person." Manetho has already mentioned three kings of that name (§ 95-97). Josephus, notwithstanding his criticism, clearly, by his calculation of an interval of 518 years (= 393 + 59 + 66, § 231 f.), identified him with a later Amenophis IV. This, according to most commentators, was also the identification of Manetho. Reinach, however, gives reasons to show that Manetho identified him with Amenophis III (§ 97).

^a § 94 ; = Thoummosis, § 88.

^e Cf. § 103.

^f Called Harmais §§ 98 ff.

^g § 102.

This king, he states, wishing to be granted, like Or,^a one of his predecessors on the throne, a vision of the gods, communicated his desire to his namesake, Amenophis, son of Paapis,^b whose wisdom and knowledge of the future were regarded as marks of divinity. This namesake replied that he would be able to see the gods if he purged the entire country of lepers and other polluted persons. Delighted at hearing this, the king collected all the maimed people in Egypt, numbering 80,000, and sent them to work in the stone-quarries^c on the east of the Nile, segregated from the rest of the Egyptians. They included, he adds, some of the learned priests, who were afflicted with leprosy. Then this wise seer Amenophis was seized with a fear that he would draw down the wrath of the gods on himself and the king if the violence done to these men were detected; and he added a prediction that the polluted people would find certain allies who would become masters of Egypt for thirteen years. He did not venture to tell this himself to the king, but left a complete statement in writing, and then put an end to himself. The king was greatly disheartened.

Then Manetho proceeds (I quote his actual words) :

“ When the men in the stone-quarries had probably confused with the god Horus. Herodotus (ii. 42) tells a similar story of Heracles in Egypt desiring a vision of the Theban Zeus (Amun).

^b Apparently a historical person, viz. Amenotbes (or Amenophis), son of Hapi, minister of Amenophis III, whose statue with an inscription was discovered by Mariette (Maspero, *Hist. ancienne*, 1897, ii. 299, 448; quoted by Reinach).

^c Cf. Herod. ii. 8.

tinued long in misery, the king acceded to their request to assign them for habitation and protection the abandoned city of the shepherds, called Auaris, and according to an ancient theological tradition dedicated to Typhon.^a Thither they went, and, having now a place to serve as a base for revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Heliopolis called Osarsiph,^b and swore to obey all his orders. By his first law he ordained that they should not worship the gods nor abstain from the flesh of any of the animals held in special reverence in Egypt, but should kill and consume them all, and that they should have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. After laying down these and a multitude of other laws, absolutely opposed to Egyptian custom, he ordered all hands to repair the city walls and make ready for war with King Amenophis. Then, in concert with other priests and polluted persons like himself, he sent an embassy to the shepherds, who had been expelled by Tethmosis, in the city called Jerusalem, setting out the position of himself and his outraged companions, and inviting them to join in a united expedition against Egypt. He undertook to escort them first to their ancestral home at Auaris, to provide abundant supplies for their multitudes, to fight for them when the moment came, and without difficulty to reduce the country to submission. The shepherds, delighted

^a Cf. §§ 78, 86.

^b Although Osarsiph plays the part of, and is identified with, Moses (§ 250), the name, as Reinach suggests, looks like a transformation of Joseph, the Egyptian Osiris being substituted for the first syllable, incorrectly regarded as derived from the Hebrew JAH.

with the idea, all eagerly set off in a body numbering 200,000 men, and soon reached Auaris.

"The news of their invasion sorely perturbed Amenophis, king of Egypt, who recalled the prediction of Amenophis, son of Paapis. He began by assembling the Egyptians, and, after deliberation with their chiefs, sent for the sacred animals which were held in most reverence in the temples, and instructed the priests in each district to conceal the images of the gods as securely as possible. His five-year-old son Sethos, also called Ramesses after his grandfather Ra(m)pses,^a he entrusted to the care of a ^b friend. He then crossed [the Nile, with] 300,000 of the most efficient warriors of Egypt and met the enemy. Instead, however, of engaging them, he, under the belief that he was about to fight against the gods, turned back and repaired to Memphis. There he picked up Apis and the other sacred animals which he had ordered to be brought thither, and at once, with all his army and the Egyptian population, started up country for Ethiopia, whose king was under obligation to him and at his service. The latter made him welcome and maintained the whole multitude with all the products of the country suitable for human consumption, assigned them cities and villages sufficient for the destined period of thirteen years' banishment from the realm, and moreover ^c

^a The genealogy here given supports Reinach's opinion that the King Amenophis of this story (according to Josephus an imaginary person, § 230)=Amenophis III (*cf.* § 97).

^b Literally, "his"; (?) the king of Ethiopia named later.

^c Or "above all."

stationed an Ethiopian army on the Egyptian frontier to protect King Amenophis and his subjects.

“Such was the condition of affairs in Ethiopia. Meanwhile the Solymites ^a came down ^b with the polluted Egyptians, and treated the inhabitants in so sacrilegious a manner that the regime of the shepherds seemed like a golden age ^c to those who now beheld the impieties of their present enemies. Not only did they set cities and villages on fire, not only did they pillage the temples and mutilate the images of the gods, but, not content with that, they habitually used the very sanctuaries as kitchens for roasting the venerated sacred animals, and forced the priests and prophets to slaughter them and cut their throats, and then turned them out naked. It is said that the priest who gave them a constitution and code of laws was a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph ^d after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, and that when he went over to this people he changed his name and was called Moses.”

(27) Such and much more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, is Egyptian gossip about the Jews. Manetho adds that Amenophis subsequently advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, his son Rampses at the head of another, and that the two attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, killing many of them and pursuing the remainder to the frontiers of Syria. That, with more of a similar kind, is Manetho's account. Before

^a *i.e.* the inhabitants of Hierosolyma (§ 241); *cf.* §§ 173 f. with note.

^b Or “back.”

^c Literally, “gold.”

^d *Cf.* § 238.

proceeding to show the manifest absurdity and untruthfulness of his statements, I will make one preliminary observation, which bears on the replies to be made later on to other authors. Manetho has granted us one fact. He has admitted that our race was not of Egyptian origin, but came into Egypt from elsewhere, conquered it, and afterwards left it. The further facts that we were not, in the sequel, mixed up with Egyptian cripples, and that Moses, the leader of our people, so far from being one of them, lived many generations earlier, I shall now endeavour to prove from Manetho's own statements.

(28) At the outset, the very hypothesis of his fictitious story is ridiculous. King Amenophis, he says, desired to see the gods. What gods? If those established by their law are intended—bull, goat, crocodiles, and dog-faced baboons—he saw them already. Or the celestial gods—how could he have seen them? And why had he this passionate desire? Because, forsooth,^a another king^b before him had seen them. He had^c therefore learnt from his predecessor what they were like and how he saw them; consequently no new method of procedure was required. Again, the seer, by whose help the king hoped to achieve his end, was a sage. How was it then that he failed to foresee the impossibility of attaining it? For it was not realized. And what ground was there for attributing the invisibility of the gods to the presence of mutilated persons or lepers? Impiety excites their wrath, not physical deformities. Then, how could 80,000 lepers and which sounds strange in a Jewish work, recurs (according to the restored text) in *Ap.* ii. 263.

Criticism
of
Manetho's
story. Its
various
absurdities

^b Or (§ 232).

^c Possibly we should insert *αὐτὸν*, "would therefore have learnt."

invalids be collected in practically a single day ^a ? And why did the king neglect the seer's advice ? The latter had bidden him banish the cripples from Egypt, whereas the king put them into the quarries, like one in need of labourers, rather than one who was determined to purge his country. Manetho further states that the seer killed himself, because he foresaw the anger of the gods and the fate in store for Egypt, leaving to the king his prediction in writing. Then how was it that the seer did not divine his own death from the first ? Why did he not at once oppose the king's desire to see the gods ? Was it reasonable to fear misfortunes that were not to happen in his lifetime ? Or what worse fate could have befallen him than the suicide he was in such a hurry to commit ?

But let us consider the most ludicrous item in the whole story. Notwithstanding the warning he had received and his dread of the future, the king even then did not expel from the country the cripples, of whose presence he had been already told to purge Egypt, but instead gave them at their request a city called Auaris, once (according to Manetho) the residence of the shepherds. Here, he continues, they assembled, and chose for their leader one who had formerly been a priest of Heliopolis ; and by him were instructed not to worship the gods nor to abstain from the flesh of the animals revered in Egypt, but to kill and devour them all, and to have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. Then, after binding his followers by oath faithfully to abide by these laws, he fortified

^a This is not mentioned in § 234.

Auaris and declared war on the king. He also, adds Manetho, sent an invitation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem to make an alliance with him, promising them the city of Auaris, as the ancestral home of any recruits from Jerusalem, and as a base from which to become masters of the whole of Egypt. Thereupon, he proceeds, they brought up an army of 200,000 men, and Amenophis, king of Egypt, thinking it wrong to fight against the gods, fled forthwith to Ethiopia, after entrusting Apis and some of the other sacred animals to the custody of the priests. The Jerusalemites then overran the country, destroyed the cities, burnt down the temples, massacred the priests, and in short indulged in every kind of crime and brutality. The priest who gave them a constitution and a code was, according to Manetho, a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, but changed his name to Moses. Thirteen years later—that being the destined period of his exile—Amenophis, says our author, advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, and pursued them, with great slaughter, to the Syrian frontier.

(29) Here again the author is unconscious of the improbability of his fictitious tale. However indignant the lepers and their horde may formerly have been with the king and the others who had, under the seer's directions, so ill-treated them, yet surely on emerging from the stone-quarries and being pre-

² *ed. pr.* : καταβαλλόμενος L.

³ Om. Lat.

sented by him with a city and land, their feelings towards him would have been mollified. Even supposing their hatred of him still persisted, they would have conspired against him alone, and not have declared war on the whole nation, which must obviously have included very many relations of their numerous body. Granted that they decided on war with the Egyptians, they would never have ventured to make war on their gods, nor would they have framed laws directly opposed to the national code under which they had been brought up. However, we must be grateful to Manetho for stating that this violation of the laws originated, not with the immigrants from Jerusalem, but with the Egyptians themselves, and that it was their priests in particular who conceived the idea and administered the oath to the people.

Again, how absurd to suppose that, while none of their own relations and friends joined in the revolt and shared the perils of war, these pariahs sent to Jerusalem and obtained recruits from that quarter ! What alliance, what connexion existed previously between them ? On the contrary, these people were enemies, and their customs utterly opposed to their own. Yet, says Manetho, they lent a ready ear to the promise that they should occupy Egypt, as if they were not intimately acquainted with the country from which they had been forcibly expelled ! Had they been in straitened circumstances or unfortunate, they might, conceivably, have undertaken the risk ; but inhabiting, as they did, an opulent city and enjoying the fruits of an extensive country, superior

to Egypt, what inducement could there be to hazard their lives in support of their former foes, those maimed cripples, whom not one even of their own people would tolerate? For of course they did not foresee that the king would take flight. On the contrary, the author himself has told us that the son of Amenophis ^a marched to Pelusium to meet them at the head of 300,000 men. Of his approach the advancing enemy would undoubtedly be aware; how could they possibly conjecture that he would change his mind and flee? After conquering Egypt, our author proceeds, the Jerusalem invaders committed many horrible crimes; and for these he reproaches them, as though he had not brought them on to the scene as enemies, or as if actions when performed by imported foreigners deserved reprobation, which before their arrival were being performed by the native Egyptians, who had sworn to continue the practice. In the sequel, however, Amenophis returned to the charge, won a battle, and drove the enemy back, with slaughter, to Syria. So easy a prey, it appears, is Egypt to invaders from whatever quarter! And yet its former conquerors, though aware that Amenophis was alive, neither fortified the passes between it and Ethiopia, notwithstanding their ample resources for the purpose, nor had the rest of their army in readiness! Amenophis, says our author, pursued them to Syria, killing them all the way, across the sandy desert. But the difficulty of marching an army across the desert, even without a battle, is notorious.

^a Rather, Amenophis himself, the son being only five years old (§ 245); probably written *per incuriam*. Reinach reads "he," regarding "of Amenophis" as a misplaced gloss on "the king" in the previous line.

(30) We have therefore Manetho's authority for saying both that our race was not of Egyptian origin,^a and that there was no mixture of the races. For, presumably, many of the lepers and other sick folk died during that long period of hardship in the quarries, many more in the subsequent battles, and most of all in the final engagement and the rout.^b

(31) It remains for me to say a word to Manetho about Moses. The Egyptians, who regard that man as remarkable, indeed divine, wish to claim him as one of themselves, while making the incredible and calumnious assertion that he was one of the priests expelled from Heliopolis for leprosy. The chronicles, however, prove that he lived 518 years earlier^c and conducted our forefathers out of Egypt into the country which we inhabit to-day. And that he suffered from no physical affliction of this nature is clear from his own statements. In fact, he forbids lepers either to stay in a town or to reside in a village; they must be solitary vagrants, with their clothes rent; anyone who touches or lives under the same roof with them he considers unclean. Moreover, even if the malady is cured and the victim returns to his normal condition, Moses prescribes certain rites of purification—to cleanse himself in a bath of spring-water and to cut off all his hair—and requires him to offer a numerous variety of sacrifices before entering the holy city.^d Yet one would have

Manetho's admissions

Manetho on Moses.

His laws on leprosy could not have been made by a leper.

^a Cf. §§ 75, 104, 252.

^b Reinach supposes that there is a lacuna in this paragraph; as the text stands the argument is not very clear.

^c Cf. § 230. Manetho never mentions Moses in connexion with the expulsion of the Hycsos.

^d For the laws on leprosy, here summarized, see Lev. xiii. (especially 45 f.) and xiv.

expected, on the contrary, a victim of this calamity to have shown some consideration and fellow-feeling for others equally unfortunate. His legislation on these lines was not confined to lepers. The very slightest mutilation of the person was a disqualification for the priesthood, and a priest who in the course of his ministry met with such an accident was deprived of his office.^a Is it likely that he was so foolish as to make, or persons brought together by such misfortunes to approve, laws enacted against themselves, to their own disgrace and injury? One more remark. Manetho's transformation of the name is extremely unconvincing. He was called, he says, Osarsiph. This name bears no relation to that which it replaces. The true name signifies "one saved out of the water"; for water is called by the Egyptians "mōu."^b

The conclusion, I think, is sufficiently obvious. So long as Manetho followed the ancient records, he did not go far wrong; but when he had recourse to unauthenticated legends, he either concocted from them a most improbable story, or else trusted the statements of prejudiced opponents.

(32) The next witness I shall cross-examine is Chaeremon.^c This writer likewise professes to write the history of Egypt, and agrees with Manetho in giving the names of Amenophis and Ramesses to the king and his son. He then proceeds to state that

(ii.) CHAEREMON'S version of the story

^b This etymology, which recurs in *A.* ii. 228 (with the addition that *esēs* = "persons saved") and in Philo, *De vit. Mos.* i. 4. § 17, is now generally abandoned. In *Ex.* ii. 10 the name is derived from Hebr. *mashah*, "draw out."

^c 1st cent. A.D.; Stoic philosopher, librarian of Alexandria, and afterwards tutor of Nero; besides his chief work, the *History of Egypt*, wrote on hieroglyphics, etc.

Isis appeared to Amenophis in his sleep, and reproached him for the destruction of her temple in war-time. The sacred scribe Phritobautes told him that, if he purged Egypt of its contaminated population, he might cease to be alarmed. The king, thereupon, collected 250,000 afflicted persons and banished them from the country. Their leaders were scribes, Moses and another sacred scribe—Joseph!^a Their Egyptian names were Tisithen (for Moses) and Pete-seph (Joseph). The exiles on reaching Pelusium fell in with a body of 380,000 persons, left there by Amenophis, who had refused them permission to cross the Egyptian frontier. With these the exiles concluded an alliance and marched upon Egypt. Amenophis, without waiting for their attack, fled to Ethiopia, leaving his wife pregnant. Concealing herself in some caverns she gave birth to a son named Ramesses, who, on reaching manhood, drove the Jews, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria, and brought home his father Amenophis from Ethiopia.

(33) Such is Chaeremon's account. From these statements the mendacity of both writers is, I think, self-evident. Had they any foundation in fact, such wide discrepancy would be impossible. But consistency with others is not the concern of authors of fiction; they invent according to their fancy. Thus, according to Manetho, the expulsion of the contaminated people originated in the king's desire to

Discrepan-
cies between
Manetho
and
Chaeremon.

^a Or perhaps "and Joseph, the latter also a sacred scribe." But it is doubtful whether any antithesis between "scribe" and "sacred tribe" is intended.

see the gods: Chaeremon invents his own story of the appearance of Isis in a dream. Manetho says that this mode of purification was suggested to the king by Amenophis: Chaeremon mentions Phritobantes. Observe too how nearly their figures coincide in their estimate of the crowd; one speaks of 80,000, the other of 250,000! Again, Manetho begins by throwing the polluted wretches into the quarries, then makes them a present of Auaris for their abode and incites them to war against the rest of the Egyptians, and not until then does he represent them as appealing for aid to Jerusalem. According to Chaeremon's account, they found, on their departure from Egypt, in the neighbourhood of Pelusium, 380,000 persons left there by Amenophis, with whom they retraced their steps and made a raid upon Egypt, resulting in the flight of Amenophis to Ethiopia. But the gem of his narrative is his omission to state who these myriads of soldiers were or whence they came, whether they were native Egyptians or foreign immigrants. He does not even explain why the king would not admit them into Egypt, though his Isis dream about the lepers showed no lack of imagination. With Moses, Chaeremon has associated, as a contemporary and companion in exile, Joseph, who died four generations, that is to say about 170 years, before Moses.^a Again, according

^a The four generations come from Ex. vi. 16-20, some forty-two years being reckoned to a generation. "P [the Priestly editor of the Pentateuch] consistently represents Moses or his contemporaries as being in the *fourth* generation (*cf.* Gen. xv. 16) from one or other of Jacob's sons" (Driver); and yet inconsistently makes the duration of the sojourn in Egypt 430 years (Ex. xii. 40; *cf.* Jos. A. ii. 204, "400 years").

to Manetho, Ramesses, son of Amenophis, fought as a young man in his father's army, and shared his flight and banishment to Ethiopia: according to Chaeremon's version, he was born in a cave after his father's death,^a and subsequently defeated the Jews and drove them out, to the number of about 200,000, into Syria. What reckless levity! First he omitted to state who the 380,000 were; then he tells us nothing of the fate of the 430,000,^b whether they fell in battle or went over to Ramesses. But—most astounding fact of all—it is impossible to discover from him whom he means by the Jews or to which of the two groups he applies this designation, the 250,000 lepers or the 380,000 at Pelusium. However, it would, I think, be foolish to spend more time in refuting authors who refute each other. To have left refutation to others would have shown more decency.

(34) I will next introduce Lysimachus.^c He brings up the same theme as the writers just mentioned, the mendacious story of the lepers and cripples, but surpasses both in the incredibility of his fictions, obviously composed with bitter animus. His account is this:

(iii.) The account of LYSIMACHUS still more improbable.

In the reign of Bocchoris,^d king of Egypt, the Jewish people, who were afflicted with leprosy,

^c Alexandrian writer of uncertain date, but later than Mnaseas (2nd cent. B.C.) whom he quotes. We hear more of him in *Ap.* ii., once (§ 28) as siding with Apion.

^d A Bocchoris of the XXIVth Dynasty (c. 8th cent.) is mentioned by Manetho. That is the date assigned by Apion to the Exodus (*Ap.* ii. 17), and may be that intended by Lysimachus. Josephus, however (*ib.* 16), assigns to Bocchoris a far earlier date; Diodorus also (i. 65) mentions an older Bocchoris. Like Lysimachus, with whose account he shows other parallels, Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 3, places the exodus in the reign of Bocchoris.

scurvy, and other maladies, took refuge in the temples and lived a mendicant existence. The victims of disease being very numerous, a dearth ensued throughout Egypt. King Bocchoris thereupon sent to consult the oracle of Ammon^a about the failure of the crops. The god told him to purge the temples of impure and impious persons, to drive them out of these sanctuaries into the wilderness, to drown those afflicted with leprosy and scurvy, as the sun was indignant that such persons should live, and to purify the temples; then the land would yield her increase. On receiving these oracular instructions, Bocchoris summoned the priests and servitors at the altars, and ordered them to draw up a list of the unclean persons and to deliver them into military charge to be conducted into the wilderness, and to pack the lepers into sheets of lead and sink them in the ocean. The lepers and victims of scurvy having been drowned, the others were collected and exposed in the desert to perish. There they assembled and deliberated on their situation. At nightfall they lit up a bonfire and torches, and mounted guard, and on the following night kept a fast and implored the gods to save them. On the next day a certain Moses advised them to take their courage in their hands and make a straight track until they reached inhabited country, instructing them to show goodwill to no man,^b to

^a So Tac. *Hist.* v. 3, "adito Hammonis oraculo." The famous oracle of Amun in an oasis in the Libyan desert.

^b Cf. *Ap.* ii. 121; Tac. *Hist.* v. 5, "aduersus omnes alios hostile odium."

⁵ *ed. pr.*: -μένους L.

⁶ *om. ed. pr.*

⁷ Niese: εὐνοήσιν L.

offer not the best but the worst advice, and to overthrow any temples and altars of the gods which they found. The rest assenting, they proceeded to put these decisions into practice. They traversed the desert, and after great hardships reached inhabited country : there they maltreated the population, and plundered and set fire to the temples, until they came to the country now called Judaea, where they built a city in which they settled. This town was called Hierosyla ^a because of their sacrilegious propensities. At a later date, when they had risen to power, they altered the name, to avoid the disgraceful imputation, and called the city Hierosolyma and themselves Hierosolymites.

The alleged original name of Jerusalem, Hierosyla.

(35) Lysimachus actually differs from the previous writers in mentioning a king discovered by himself ; he has invented a fresh name, and, neglecting the dream and the Egyptian prophet, has gone to Ammon for an oracle concerning the victims of scurvy and leprosy. When he speaks of a multitude of Jews congregating in the temples, does he under this name refer to the lepers, or were the Jews the only persons afflicted with these diseases ? He says, " the people of the Jews." What sort of people ? Foreigners or natives ? If they were Egyptians, why call them Jews ? If foreigners, why do you not say where they came from ? After the king had drowned many of them in the sea and banished the rest into the wilderness, how came so large a number to survive ? How did they traverse the desert, conquer the

Criticism of the story.

^a *i.e.* " (town) of temple-robbers."

country which we inhabit to-day, found a city, and build a temple of world-wide renown? He should not have been content with mentioning the law-giver's name; he should have told us of his descent and parentage. And what could have induced him to draw up such laws for them about the gods and about the injuries they were to inflict on mankind during their march? If they were Egyptians, they would not so lightly have abandoned their national customs for others; if they came from elsewhere, they certainly had some laws, cherished by the habits of a lifetime. For an oath of eternal enmity against those who had expelled them there was reasonable ground; but that men who, in the straits in which he represents them to have been, needed assistance from every quarter, should declare implacable war on all mankind, indicates extraordinary folly, not on their part, but on the part of the lying historian. He has, further, ventured to assert that they gave their city a name derived from their temple robberies and afterwards modified it. Obviously the name brought their descendants into disgrace and odium, but the actual founders of the city thought to do themselves honour by so naming it! The worthy man, in his intemperate abuse, has not observed that we Jews do not use the same word as the Greeks to express robbery of temples. What more need be said to so impudent a liar?

This book, however, having already run to a suitable length, I propose at this point to begin a second, in which I shall endeavour to supply the remaining portion of my subject.

BOOK II

(1) IN the first volume of this work, my most esteemed Epaphroditus, I demonstrated the antiquity of our race, corroborating my statements by the writings of Phoenicians, Chaldaeans, and Egyptians, besides citing as witnesses numerous Greek historians; I also challenged the statements of Manetho, Chaeremon, and some others. I shall now proceed to refute the rest of the authors who have attacked us. I am doubtful, indeed, whether the remarks of Apion ^a the grammarian deserve serious refutation. Some of these resemble the allegations made by others, some are very indifferent ^b additions of his own; most of them are pure buffoonery, and, to tell the truth, display the gross ignorance of their author, a man of low character and a charlatan to the end of his days. Yet, since most people are so foolish as to find greater attraction in such compositions than in works of a

Refutation
of anti-
Semite
calumnies
continued.
(iv.) APION.

Jewish deputation sent from Alexandria to the Emperor, when he was opposed to Philo, the spokesman of the Alexandrian Jews (*A.* xviii. 257 ff.). An erudite, but ostentatious, writer, he was best known as an interpreter of Homer (*Ap.* ii. 14). He also wrote a History of Egypt in five books, which included references to the Jews (*ib.* 10): whether he wrote a separate work on the Jews is doubtful. His researches earned for him the nickname of *μύχθος* (*labor*), his ostentatious parade that of *cymbalum mundi*, given him by the Emperor Tiberius.

^b Or "frigid."

AGAINST APION, II. 4-10

serious nature, to be charmed by abuse and impatient of praise, I think it incumbent upon me not to pass over without examination even this author, who has written an indictment of us formal enough for a court of law. For I observe, on the other hand, that people in general also have a habit of being intensely delighted when one who has been the first to malign another has his own vices brought home to him. His argument is difficult to summarize and his meaning to grasp. But, so far as the extreme disorder and confusion of his lying statements admit of analysis, one may say that some fall into the same category as those already investigated, relating to the departure of our ancestors from Egypt; others form an indictment of the Jewish residents in Alexandria; while a third class, mixed up with the rest, consists of accusations against our temple rites and our ordinances in general.

(2) That our ancestors neither were Egyptians by race nor were expelled from that country in consequence of contagious diseases or any similar affliction, I think I have already given not merely sufficient, but even superabundant, proof. I propose, however, briefly to mention the details added by Apion. In the third book of his *History of Egypt* he makes the following statement :

“ Moses, as I have heard from old people ^a in Egypt, was a native of Heliopolis, ^b who, being pledged to the customs of his country, erected prayer-houses, open to the air, in the various

(a) On the exodus from Egypt.

On the shrines and sundials erected by Moses of Heliopolis.

^a So Josephus interprets below; possibly Apion meant “the elders” (in official sense).

^b So Manetho, of Osarsiph, *Ap. i.* 238.

AGAINST APION, II. 10-14

precincts ^a of the city, all facing eastwards; such being the orientation also of Heliopolis. In place of obelisks ^b he set up pillars, beneath which was a model of a boat ^c; and the shadow cast on this basin by the statue ^d described a circle corresponding to the course of the sun in the heavens."

Such is the grammarian's amazing statement. Its mendacious character needs no comment; it is exposed by the facts. When Moses built the first tabernacle for God, he neither placed in it himself, nor instructed his successors to make, any graven imagery of this kind. When Solomon, later on, built the temple at Jerusalem, he too refrained from any curiosities of art such as Apion has conceived. He tells us that he heard from "old people" that Moses was a Heliopolitan. Obviously, as a junior, he believed what he was told by men old enough to have known and associated with him! ^e Literary critic as he was, he could not positively have stated what was the birthplace of the poet Homer, ^f or even of Pythagoras, ^g who lived, one may say, but the other day. But when asked about Moses, who preceded them by such a vast number of years, he, on the strength of the old men's report, answers with an assurance which proclaims him a liar.

^e Reinach aptly compares Athen. i. § 29 (p. 161): "Apion the Alexandrian says that he heard from Cteson of Ithaca the nature of the game of draughts played by the suitors (of Penelope)."

^f Cf. the old distich: "Smyrna, Rhodos, Colophon, Salamis, Chios, Argos, Athenae, | Orbis de patria certat, Homere, tua."

^g Variouslly described as a Samian, Tyrrhenian, Syrian (? native of Syros), or Tyrian (Clem. Alex. *Strom.* i. 14, § 62, quoted by Reinach).

AGAINST APION, II. 15-19

On the question of the date which he assigns to the exodus of the lepers, the blind and the lame under Moses' leadership, we shall find, I imagine, this accurate grammarian in perfect agreement with previous writers. Well, Manetho states that the departure of the Jews from Egypt occurred in the reign of Tethmosis, 393 years before the flight of Danaus to Argos^a; Lysimachus says, under King Bocchoris,^b that is to say, 1700 years ago; Molon^c and others fix a date to suit themselves. Apion, however, the surest authority of all, precisely dates the exodus in the seventh Olympiad, and in the first year of that Olympiad, the year in which, according to him, the Phoenicians founded Carthage.^d This mention of Carthage he has doubtless inserted under the belief that it would afford a striking proof of his veracity; he has failed to see that he has thereby brought upon himself his own refutation. For, if the Phoenician chronicles may be trusted, it is there recorded that King Hirom lived more than 150 years before the foundation of Carthage.^e Evidence from those chronicles to this effect has been given earlier in this work, where I showed that Hirom was a friend of Solomon, who built the Temple at Jerusalem, and that he contributed largely towards its construction.^f But Solomon himself built the Temple 612 years after the departure of the Jews from Egypt.^g

On the date
of the
exodus.

752-749 B.C.

and at Rome; Cicero and Julius Caesar were among his pupils. His diatribes on the Jews are frequently mentioned in this book.

^d Also the date of the foundation of Rome.

^e *Ap.* i. 126.

^f *Ib.* 109 f.

^g So Josephus in *A.* xx. 230; elsewhere (*A.* viii. 61) he gives the period as 592 years; the Biblical figure (1 Kings vi. 1) is 480.

AGAINST APION, II. 20-25

After stating that the fugitives numbered 110,000, in which imaginary figure he agrees with Lysimachus,^a he gives an astonishing and plausible explanation of the etymology of the word "sabbath"! On the origin of the word "sabbath."

"After a six days' march," he says, "they developed tumours in the groin, and that was why, after safely reaching the country now called Judaea, they rested on the seventh day, and called that day *sabbaton*, preserving the Egyptian terminology; for disease of the groin in Egypt is called *sabbo*."

One knows not whether to laugh at the nonsense, or rather to be indignant at the impudence, of such language. Clearly all these 110,000 persons were attacked by tumours. But if they were blind and lame and suffering from all kinds of disease, as represented by Apion, they could not have accomplished a single day's march. If, on the contrary, they were capable not only of traversing a vast desert, but of defeating their adversaries in battles in which they all took part, they would not have succumbed in a body to the tumours after six days. For persons on a forced march are not naturally subject to a malady of this kind; myriads of men in armies maintain a regular pace for many days in succession. Nor can one attribute such an accident to chance; that would be the height of absurdity. This astonishing Apion, after stating that they reached Judaea in six days,^b tells us elsewhere that Moses went up into the mountain called Sinai, which lies between Egypt

^a No figure is given in the extract from Lysimachus above (*Ap.* i. chap. 34).

^b Apion does not say this in the extract above (§ 21), though his words lend themselves to such an interpretation.

and Arabia, remained in concealment there for forty days, and then descended and gave the Jews their laws. However could the same body of men stay forty days in a desert and waterless region, and yet cover the whole distance to their destination in six days? The grammarian's distortion of the word "sabbath" betrays either gross impudence or shocking ignorance; there is a wide difference between *sabbo* and *sabbaton*. *Sabbaton* in the Jews' language denotes cessation from all work, while *sabbo* among the Egyptians signifies, as he states, disease of the groin.

(3) Such are some of the novel features which the Egyptian Apion, improving upon other authors, has introduced into the story of Moses and the departure of the Jews from Egypt. That he should lie about our ancestors and assert that they were Egyptians by race is by no means surprising. He told a lie which was the reverse of this one about himself. Born in the Egyptian oasis,^a more Egyptian than them all, as one might say, he disowned his true country and falsely claimed to be an Alexandrian, thereby admitting the ignominy of his race. It is therefore natural that he should call persons whom he detests and wishes to abuse Egyptians. Had he not had the meanest opinion of natives of Egypt, he would never have turned his back on his own nation. Patriots are proud to bear their country's name, and denounce those who lay unjust claim to the title of citizens. In their relation to us, Egyptians are

On the
Egyptian
origin of the
Jewish race.

^a The Great Oasis, in upper Egypt (cf. § 41), west of Thebes.

swayed by one of two feelings : either they feign to be our kinsmen in order to gain prestige, or else they drag us into their ranks to share their bad reputation. The noble Apion's calumny upon us is apparently designed as a sort of return to the Alexandrians for the rights of citizenship which they bestowed upon him. Knowing their hatred of their Jewish neighbours in Alexandria, he has made it his aim to vilify the latter, and has included all the rest of the Jews in his condemnation. In both these attacks he shows himself an impudent liar.

(4) Let us investigate the grave and shocking charges which he has brought against the Jewish residents in Alexandria. "They came," he says, "from Syria and settled by a sea without a harbour, close beside the spot where the waves break on the beach." Well, if fault is to be found with the locality, he is stigmatizing, I do not say his native place, but what he professes to be his native place, Alexandria. For the sea-board forms part of the city, and is, by universal consent, its finest residential quarter.^a If the Jews owed their occupation and subsequent undisturbed tenure of this quarter to force of arms, that is a proof of their valour. In fact, however, it was presented to them as their residence by Alexander, and they obtained privileges on a par with those of the Macedonians.^b (I do not know what Apion would have said if the Jews had been quartered

(b) Apion's accusations against the Jews of Alexandria.

^b From other passages in Josephus it would appear that the Alexandrian Jews owed their separate quarters and their privilege of *ισοπολιτεία* to Ptolemy Soter, rather than to Alexander. Cf. B. ii. 487 f. (a "place of their own" is given by the Diadochi), A. xii. 8 (*ισοπολιτεία* by Ptolemy Soter).

in the neighbourhood not of the palace, but of the necropolis !)^a Down to the present time their local tribe bore the name of "Macedonians." If Apion had read the letters^b of King Alexander and of Ptolemy, son of Lagus, if he had set eyes on the papers of their successors on the throne of Egypt, or the slab^c which stands in Alexandria, recording the rights bestowed upon the Jews by Caesar the Great ; if, I say, he knew these documents and yet had the face to contradict them in what he wrote, he was a knave ; if he had no knowledge of them, an ignorant fool.

His astonishment at the idea of Jews being called Alexandrians betrays similar stupidity. All persons invited to join a colony, however different their nationality, take the name of the founders. It is needless to go outside our race for instances. Our Jewish residents in Antioch are called Antiochenes, having been granted rights of citizenship by its founder, Seleucus.^d Similarly, those at Ephesus and throughout the rest of Ionia bear the same name as the indigenous citizens, a right which they received from Alexander's successors.^e Have not the Romans, in their generosity, imparted their name to well-nigh all mankind, not to individuals only, but to great nations as a whole ? Thus those who were

Their
claim to
Alexandrian
citizenship.

^b Or possibly "orders."

^c Greek *stèle* ; *cf.* *A.* xiv. 188.

^d Seleucus I Nicator, founder of the Seleucid dynasty. *Cf.* *A.* xii. 119 ; the rights of the Antiochene Jews were, when Titus visited the city, inscribed on bronze tables (*B.* vii. 110).

^e More precisely, as stated in *A.* xii. 125, from Antiochus II Theos (262-246 B.C.) ; see Schürer, *G.J.V.* (ed. 3), iii. 81 note.

once Iberians,^a Tyrrhenians, Sabines are now called Romans. If Apion disallows this class of citizenship, let him cease to call himself an Alexandrian. Born, as I have already mentioned,^b in the depths of Egypt, how can he be an Alexandrian, if, as he claims in our case, honorary rights of citizenship are to be ruled out? Indeed, Egyptians are the only people to whom the Romans, now lords of the universe, have refused admission to any citizen rights whatever.^c Yet Apion displays such noble generosity as to claim for himself privileges from which he was debarred, while he undertakes to calumniate those who have fairly obtained them.

For it was not lack of inhabitants to people the city, whose foundation he had so much at heart, that led Alexander to assemble in it a colony of our nation. This privilege he conferred on our people, after careful and thorough scrutiny, as a reward of valour and fidelity. The honour in which he held our nation may be illustrated by the statement of Hecataeus that, in recognition of the consideration and loyalty shown to him by the Jews, he added to their territory the district of Samaria free of tribute.^d Alexander's opinion of the Jews of Alexandria was shared by Ptolemy, son of Lagus. He entrusted the fortresses

Privileges
bestowed
on them by
Alexander
and
successive
Ptolemies.

the citizenship of Alexandria, a privilege rarely accorded (Pliny to Trajan, *Ep.* vi., with Trajan's reply, *Ep.* vii.); (2) that they were ineligible for admission to the Senate. Reinach, *in loc.*; cf. Mommsen, *Provinces*, ii. 241 f.

^a This statement (? of pseudo-Hecataeus) is certainly exaggerated, and perhaps an anachronism. Three small districts of Samaria (not the whole country) were ceded to the Jews, free of tribute, by Demetrius II c. 145 B.C. (1 Macc. xi. 34; cf. x. 30, 38); but the language of 1 Macc. suggests that Demetrius may have been confirming some concession of earlier date.

of Egypt to their keeping,^a confident of their loyalty and bravery as guards ; and, when he was anxious to strengthen his hold upon Cyrene and the other cities of Libya, he sent out a party of Jews to settle there.^b His successor, Ptolemy surnamed Philadelphus, not only surrendered all prisoners of our race within his realm, but was liberal in his presents of money. The highest compliment, however, which he paid us lay in his keen desire to know our laws and to read the books of our sacred scriptures. It is, at any rate, the fact that he sent and requisitioned the services of Jewish deputies to interpret the law to him ; and, to ensure accuracy in transcription, entrusted the task to no ordinary persons. Demetrius of Phalerum,^c with Andreas and Aristetas, the first the most learned man of his time, the others his own bodyguards, were his appointed commissioners.^d Surely he would not have shown such keen interest in our laws and the creed^e of our ancestors, had he despised, instead of holding in the highest admiration, those to whom they are the rule of their lives.

(5) Apion has further ignored the extreme kindness shown to us successively by nearly all the kings of his Macedonian^f ancestors. Thus, Ptolemy III surnamed Euergetes,^g after his conquest of the 247-222
B.C.

^b The Jews of Cyrene in the time of Sulla formed one of the four classes of the inhabitants (Strabo *ap.* Jos. *A.* xiv. 115).

^c *Ap.* i. 218.

^d These statements are derived from the so-called *Letter of Aristetas*, paraphrased by Josephus in *A.* xii. 12 ff.

^e Greek "philosophy."

^f See note 2 opposite.

^g Of his achievements in the Syrian War at the beginning of his reign he left a record at Adule on the coast of the Red Sea (Mahaffy, *Emp. of Ptolemies*, 199) ; for his sacrifices at Jerusalem Josephus is the sole authority.

whole of Syria, instead of sacrificing to the gods of Egypt in thanksgiving for his success, came to Jerusalem, and there, after our manner, offered numerous sacrifices to God, and dedicated votive gifts appropriate to such a victory. Again, Ptolemy Philometor and his consort Cleopatra entrusted the whole of their realm to Jews, and placed their entire army under the command of Jewish generals, Onias ^a and Dositheus. Apion ridicules their names,^b when he ought rather to admire their achievements, and, instead of abusing them, to thank them for saving Alexandria, of which he claims to be a citizen. For, when the Alexandrians were at war with Queen Cleopatra and in imminent danger of annihilation, it was they who negotiated terms and rid them of the horrors of civil war.^c "But," says Apion, "Onias subsequently advanced at the head of a large army against the city, when Thermus,^d the Roman ambassador, was actually on the spot." He was right and perfectly justified in so acting, I venture to say. For, on the death of his brother Ptolemy Philometor, Ptolemy surnamed Physcon left Cyrene with the intention of dethroning Cleopatra and the deceased king's sons, and iniquitously usurping the crown himself. That was why, on Cleopatra's behalf, Onias took up arms against him, refusing to abandon at a crisis his allegiance to the

182-146
B. C.

The Jews
Onias and
Dositheus
made com-
manders-in-
chief.

Cleopatra proclaimed king their young son Ptolemy VIII (Philopator Neos). The brother of the dead king, however, Ptolemy IX (Euergetes II, Physcon), was recalled from Cyrene by the Alexandrians, slew his youthful rival, seized the throne, and married the widowed queen, his sister (Justin, epitome by Trogius Pompeius, xxxviii. 8. 2-4).

^a Doubtless the Lucius Thermus who acted on behalf of Physcon on a previous occasion (Polyb. frag. xxxiii. 5).

AGAINST APION, II. 53-57

throne. Moreover, the justice of his action was signally attested by God. For Ptolemy Physcon, though [not] daring to face the army of Onias, had arrested all the Jews in the city with their wives and children, and exposed them, naked and in chains, to be trampled to death by elephants, the beasts being actually made drunk for the purpose. However, the outcome was the reverse of his intentions. The elephants, without touching the Jews at their feet, rushed at Physcon's friends, and killed a large number of them. Afterwards Ptolemy saw a terrible apparition, which forbade him to injure these people. His favourite concubine (some call her Ithaca, others Irene) adding her entreaty to him not to perpetrate such an enormity, he gave way and repented of his past actions and further designs. That is the origin of the well-known feast which the Jews of Alexandria keep, with good reason, on this day, because of the deliverance so manifestly vouchsafed to them by God.^a Apion, however, whose calumny nothing escapes, ventures to find another charge against the Jews in their war on Physcon, for which they deserve his commendation.

He further alludes to Cleopatra, the last queen of Alexandria,^b apparently reproaching *us* for her ungracious treatment of us. He ought, instead, to have set himself to rebuke that woman, who committed every kind of iniquity and crime against her relatives, her devoted husbands,^c the Romans in

(*cf.* 3 Macc. vi. 36). The independent account of Josephus is the less improbable of the two.

^b 51-30 B.C. For a similar catalogue of her crimes *cf.* *A.* xv. 89 ff.

^c Perhaps "her husbands and even her lovers"; the Latin translator having misunderstood the original (Reinach).

general, and their emperors, her benefactors ; who slew her innocent sister Arsinoe in the temple,^a treacherously assassinated her brother,^b plundered her country's gods and her ancestors' sepulchres^c ; who, owing her throne to the first Caesar, dared to revolt against his son and successor, and, corrupting Antony by sensual passion, made him an enemy to his country and faithless to his friends, robbing some of their royal rank, discharging^d others, and driving them into crime. But what more need be said, when she deserted even him—her husband and the father of their children—in the naval battle,^e and compelled him to surrender his army and imperial title to follow her ? In the end, when Alexandria was captured by Caesar,^f she was reduced to such extremities as to see no hope for herself but in suicide, after the cruelty and treachery which she had practised towards all. If, as Apion asserts, this woman in time of famine refused to give the Jews any rations of corn, is not that, pray, a fact of which we should be proud ?

She, however, met with the punishment which she deserved. We, on our side, have the great Caesar to witness to the loyal support which we rendered him against the Egyptians ;^g we have also the senate and its decrees and the letters of Caesar Augustus which attest our services. Apion ought to have consulted these letters and examined, under their

Privileges
bestowed by
Roman
emperors
on Jews of
Alexandria.

husband and co-regent, believed to have been poisoned by her at Rome c. 44 B.C. ; *cf.* *A.* xv. 89.

^c *Cf.* *A.* xv. 90.

^d Text and meaning doubtful.

^e Of Actium, 31 B.C.

^f Octavius, 30 B.C.

^g The Jewish contingent under Antipater served with Julius Caesar in his war with Alexandria after the death of Pompey, 47 B.C. ; *B.* i. 187 ff. ; *A.* xiv. 127 ff.

respective heads, the testimonials given under Alexander and under all the Ptolemies, with those emanating from the senate and the most distinguished Roman emperors.^a If Germanicus was unable to distribute corn to all the inhabitants of Alexandria,^b that merely proves a barren year and a dearth of corn, and cannot be made an accusation against the Jews. For the opinion which all the emperors have held of the Jewish residents in Alexandria is notorious. The administration of the corn supplies has, indeed, been withdrawn from them, as from the rest of the Alexandrians; but the most signal mark of the confidence reposed in them by the former kings, I mean the charge of the river^c and of the entire province (?), has been preserved to them by the emperors, who regarded them as not unworthy of such a trust.

(6) "But," Apion persists, "why, then, if they are citizens, do they not worship the same gods as the Alexandrians?" To which I reply: "Why do you, on your side, though Egyptians, wage with one another bitter and implacable war on the subject of religion?"^d Indeed, is not the reason why we refuse to call you all Egyptians, or even collectively men, because you worship and breed with so much care animals that are hostile to humanity? We, on the other hand, obviously form a single and united race.^e Wide, however, as may be these differences of opinion among your natives of Egypt, why should you be surprised at the allegiance to their original religious laws of a people who came to Alexandria from another country?

Jewish
refusal to
worship
Egyptian
gods.

^e The text and meaning of this section are doubtful.

He further accuses us of fomenting sedition. But, if it be granted that he is justified in bringing this accusation against the Jews of Alexandria, why then does he make a grievance against the Jews at large of the notorious concord of our race? Moreover, the real promoters of sedition, as anyone can discover, have been citizens of Alexandria of the type of Apion. The Greeks and Macedonians, so long as the citizenship was confined to them, never rose against us, but left us free to enjoy our ancient worship. But when, owing to the prevailing disorders, their numbers were swelled by a host of Egyptians, sedition became chronic. Our race, on the contrary, remained unadulterated. It is they, then, who originated these disturbances, because the populace, possessing neither the Macedonian's strength of character nor the Greek's sagacity, universally adopted the evil habits of the Egyptians and indulged their long-standing hatred of us.

The reproach which they dare to cast at us is applicable, on the contrary, to them. The majority of them hold their position as citizens of Alexandria under no regular title; yet they call those who notoriously obtained this privilege from the proper authorities "aliens"! Not a single king, it appears, not a single emperor in our times, ever conferred citizen rights upon Egyptians.^a We, on the contrary, owe our position in the city to Alexander, our privileges were extended by the kings, and those privileges the Romans have been pleased to safeguard for all time.

Apion has consequently attempted to denounce

^a Cf. § 41 with note.

us on the ground that we do not erect statues of the emperors. As if they were ignorant of the fact or needed Apion to defend them! ^a He should rather have admired the magnanimity and moderation of the Romans in not requiring their subjects to violate their national laws, and being content to accept such honours as the religious and legal obligations of the donors permit them to pay. They are not grateful for honours conferred under compulsion and constraint. The Greeks, with some other nations, think it right to make statues: they delight in depicting the portraits of parents, wives, and children; some even obtain likenesses of persons totally unconnected with them, others do the same for favourite slaves. What wonder, then, to find them rendering this honour to their emperors and masters as well? On the other hand, our legislator, not in order to put, as it were, a prophetic veto upon honours paid to the Roman authority, but out of contempt for a practice profitable to neither God nor man, forbade the making of images, alike of any living creature, and much more of God, who, as is shown later on, ^b is not a creature. He did not, however, forbid the payment of homage of another sort, secondary to that paid to God, to worthy men; such honours we do confer upon the emperors and the people of Rome. For them we offer perpetual sacrifices; and not only do we perform these ceremonies daily, ^c at the expense of the whole Jewish community, ^d but, while we offer no other victims in our corporate capacity, even

We do not erect statues of the emperors, but pay them peculiar honours.

^c *Twice* daily, according to *B. ii. 197*.

^d From Philo, *Leg. ad Caium*, § 157, it appears that these sacrifices were originally instituted by the emperor *at his own expense*. Cf. Schürer, *G.J.V.*, ed. 3, ii. 303 (E.T. div. ii. vol. i. 303).

for the [imperial] family,^a we jointly accord to the emperors alone this signal honour which we pay to no other individual. I have now given, I think, a comprehensive and sufficient reply to Apion's remarks on the subject of Alexandria.

(7) I am no less amazed at the proceedings of the authors who supplied him with his materials, I mean Posidonius^b and Apollonius Molon.^c On the one hand they charge us with not worshipping the same gods as other people; on the other, they tell lies and invent absurd calumnies about our temple, without showing any consciousness of impiety. Yet to high-minded men^d nothing is more disgraceful than a lie, of any description, but above all on the subject of a temple of world-wide fame and commanding sanctity.

Within this sanctuary Apion has the effrontery to assert that the Jews kept an ass's head,^e worshipping that animal and deeming it worthy of the deepest reverence; the fact was disclosed, he maintains, on the occasion of the spoliation of the temple by Antiochus Epiphanes,^f when the head, made of gold and worth a high price, was discovered. On this I will first remark that, even if we did possess any such object, an Egyptian should be the last person to reproach us; for an ass is no worse than the cats^g (?), he-goats, and other creatures which in his wilderness, whence the Jews *effigiem animalis quo monstrante errorem sitimque depulerant penetralsi sacravere*. Diodorus (xxxiv. frag.) states that Ant. Epiphanes found in the temple a statue of a bearded man (= Moses) seated on an ass. The charge of ass-worship was afterwards transferred to the Christians (Tertull. *Apol.* 16).

^f Cf. *A.* xii. v. 4 (where no mention is made of the ass's head).

^g *furonibus* (word elsewhere unknown).

(c) Calumnies about the temple ritual.

Ridiculous story of the worship of an ass's head.

c. 170 B.C.

country rank as gods. Next, how did it escape him that the facts convict him of telling an incredible lie? Throughout our history we have kept the same laws, to which we are eternally faithful. Yet, notwithstanding the various calamities which our city, like others, has undergone, when the temple was occupied by successive conquerors, [Antiochus] the Pious, Pompey the Great, Licinius Crassus,^a and most recently Titus Caesar, they found there nothing of the kind, but the purest type of religion, the secrets of which we may not reveal to aliens.^b That the raid of Antiochus [Epiphanes] on the temple was iniquitous, that it was impecuniosity which drove him to invade it, when he was not an open enemy, that he attacked us, his allies and friends, and that he found there nothing to deserve ridicule; these facts are attested by many sober historians. Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolas of Damascus, Timagenes,^c Castor the chronicler,^d and Apollodorus^e all assert that it was impecuniosity which induced Antiochus, in violation of his treaties with the Jews, to plunder the temple with its stores of gold and silver. There is the evidence which Apion should have considered, had he not himself been gifted with the mind of an ass and the impudence of the dog, which his countrymen are wont to worship. An outsider can make no sense of his lies.^f We Jews attribute no honour or virtue to asses, such as is that case translate: "of which we have no secrets to conceal from aliens."

^a Historian of 1st cent. B.C.; Josephus knew his work at second hand through Strabo.

^d *Ap.* i. 184.

^e 2nd cent. B.C.; author of *Chronica* and of the best ancient work on Greek mythology.

^f Meaning doubtful; I take *extrinsecus* as = <τῷ> ἐξωθεν.

ascribed to crocodiles and asps by Egyptians, who regard persons bitten by a viper or mauled by a crocodile as blessed souls found worthy of God. With us, as with other sensible people, asses are beasts that carry loads on their backs, and if they invade our threshing-floors and eat the corn, or stop short on the road, they are soundly beaten, as humble ministers for labour and agriculture. Either Apion was the greatest blockhead as a writer of fiction, or, to say the least, he could draw no just conclusion from such facts as he had to start from ;^a for every one of his calumnies upon us is a failure.

(8) He adds a second story, of Greek origin,^b which is a malicious slander upon us from beginning to end. On this it will suffice to remark that persons who venture upon religious topics ought to be aware that there is less profanity in violating the precincts of a temple than in calumniating its priests. But these authors are more concerned to uphold a sacrilegious king than to give a fair and veracious description of our rites and temple. In their anxiety to defend Antiochus and to cover up the perfidy and sacrilege practised upon our nation under pressure of an empty exchequer, they have further invented, to discredit us, the fictitious story which follows. Apion, who is here the spokesman of others, asserts that :—

Another calumnious story: the annual murder of a Greek.

Antiochus found in the temple a couch, on which a man was reclining, with a table before him laden with a banquet of fish of the sea, beasts of the earth, and birds of the air, at which the poor fellow^c was gazing in stupefaction. The king's entry was instantly hailed by him with adoration, as about to procure him profound relief; falling at the

king's knees, he stretched out his right hand and implored him to set him free. The king reassured him and bade him tell him who he was, why he was living there, what was the meaning of his abundant fare. Thereupon, with sighs and tears, the man, in a pitiful tone, told the tale of his distress. He said that he was a Greek and that, while travelling about the province for his livelihood, he was suddenly kidnapped by men of a foreign race and conveyed to the temple; there he was shut up and seen by nobody, but was fattened on feasts of the most lavish description. At first these unlooked for attentions deceived him and caused him pleasure; suspicion followed, then consternation. Finally, on consulting the attendants who waited upon him, he heard of the unutterable law of the Jews, for the sake of which he was being fed. The practice was repeated annually at a fixed season. They would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh,^a and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks. The remains of their victim were then thrown into a pit. The man (Apion continues) stated that he had now but a few days left to live, and implored the king, out of respect for the gods of Greece, to defeat this Jewish plot upon his life-blood and to deliver him from his miserable predicament.

A tale of this kind is not merely packed with all the horrors of a tragedy; it is also replete with the

^a Lat. *uiscera*: i.e. all except skin, bones and blood.

cruelty of impudence. It does not, for all that, acquit Antiochus of sacrilege, as its obsequious authors imagined. He suspected nothing of the sort when he invaded the temple; the discovery admittedly surprised him. His iniquity, impiety, and godlessness were, therefore, none the less gratuitous, however many lies may be told about him. These reveal their character on their face. Greeks, as is well known, are not the only people with whom our laws come into conflict; those principally so affected are Egyptians and many others. Is there one of these nations whose citizens have not happened at some time or other to visit our country? Why should Greeks be the only objects of our periodically repeated conspiracy and bloodthirsty assault? Again, how is it conceivable that all Jews should assemble to partake of these victims, and that the flesh of one should suffice for so many thousand participants, as Apion asserts? ^a Why in the world after discovering this man, whoever he was (his name is not given in the story), did not the king convey him in triumph to his country, when by so doing he might have gained a reputation for piety and rare devotion to the Greeks, and encountered Jewish hatred with the powerful support of public opinion? But I refrain to pursue these inquiries; fools must be refuted, not by argument, but by facts.

Its
ridiculous
character.

/ All who ever saw our temple are aware of the general design of the building, and the inviolable barriers which preserved its sanctity. It had four surrounding courts, each with its special statutory restrictions. The outer court was open to all, foreigners included; women during their impurity

The
inviolable
laws of the
temple
ritual.
The temple
courts.

^a Not as reported above.

were alone refused admission. To the second court all Jews were admitted and, when uncontaminated by any defilement, their wives ; to the third male Jews, if clean and purified ; to the fourth the priests robed in their priestly vestments. The sanctuary was entered only by the high-priests, clad in the raiment peculiar to themselves. So careful is the provision for all the details of the service, that the priests' entry is timed to certain hours. Their duty was to enter in the morning, when the temple was opened, and to offer the customary sacrifices,^a and again at mid-day, until the temple was closed. One further point : no vessel whatever might be carried into the temple,^b the only objects in which were an altar, a table, a censer, and a lampstand,^c all mentioned in the Law. There was nothing more ; no unmentionable mysteries took place, no repast was served within the building. The foregoing statements are attested by the whole community, and conclusively proved by the order of procedure. For, although there are four priestly tribes,^d each comprising upwards of five thousand members, these officiate by rotation for a fixed period of days ; when the term of one party ends, others come to offer the sacrifices in their place, and assembling at mid-day in the temple, take over from the outgoing ministers the keys of the building and all its vessels, duly numbered. Nothing of the nature of food or drink is brought within the temple ; objects of this kind may not even be offered on

(Ezra ii. 36 ; Neh. vii. 39). Elsewhere Josephus mentions only the division into twenty-four courses (*Vita*, 2 ; *cf.* *A.* vii. 365 f.), which was normal from the time of the Chronicler (1 Chron. xxiv. 7) onwards.

the altar, save those which are prepared for the sacrifices.

Are we then left to conclude that Apion put out this incredible story without any investigation of these facts? But that is disgraceful; as a learned doctor, did he not profess to present an accurate historical picture? No; he knew the pious rites of our temple, but passed them over when he concocted this story of a kidnapped Greek, an unmentionable banquet of the richest and most sumptuous fare, and slaves entering precincts to which even the highest Jewish nobles are not admitted, unless they are priests. Here, then, we have rank impiety at its worst, and a gratuitous lie, designed to mislead persons who do not trouble to investigate the facts. For the one aim of the inventors of the unspeakable horrors to which I have alluded is to bring us into odium.

(9) This model of piety derides us again in a story which he attributes to Mnaseas.^a The latter, according to Apion, relates that:—

in the course of a long war between the Jews and the Idumaeans, an inhabitant of an Idumæan city, called Dorii,^b who worshipped Apollo and bore (so we are told) the name of Zabidus, came out to the Jews and promised to deliver into their hands Apollo, the god of his city, who would visit our temple if they all took their departure. The Jews all believed him; whereupon Zabidus constructed an apparatus of wood, inserted in it three rows of lamps, and put it over his person. Thus arrayed he walked about, presenting the appear-

A third ridiculous story: theft of the ass's head by an Idumæan dressed as Apollo.

^b Dor or Dora on the coast of Palestine, some ten miles north of Caesarea, south of Mt. Carmel.

ance to distant onlookers of stars perambulating the earth. Astounded at this amazing spectacle, the Jews kept their distance, in perfect silence. Meanwhile, Zabidus stealthily passed into the sanctuary, snatched up the golden head of the pack-ass (as he facetiously calls it), and made off post-haste to Dora.

May we not, on our side, suggest that Apion is overloading the pack-ass, that is to say himself, with a crushing pack of nonsense and lies? He writes of places which do not exist, and shifts the position on the map of cities of which he knows nothing. Idumaea, in the latitude of Gaza, is conterminous with our territory. It has no city called Dora. There is a town of that name in Phoenicia, near Mount Carmel, but that has nothing in common with Apion's ridiculous story, being at a distance of four days' march from Idumaea. Again, how can he continue to accuse us of not having the same gods as the rest of the world, if our forefathers were so easily induced to believe that Apollo would visit them, and imagined that they saw him walking with a train of stars upon the earth? Obviously they had never before seen a lamp, these people whose festivals are such a blaze of illumination! ^a Not one of all those myriads encountered him as he paraded the country! He found the walls unguarded in war-time! I refrain from further comment, merely remarking that the gates of the sanctuary were sixty

^a In particular the Feast of Tabernacles (see the vivid description of the all-night illumination in the Mishnah, *Sukkah*, v. 2-4) and the Feast of Dedication, popularly known as the "Feast of Lights," *A.* xii. 325. Cf. § 282 below.

³ So Lat.: Δῶπιν L.

⁴ Niese: Ἰουδαίας L.

cubits high and twenty broad,^a all gilded and almost entirely covered with plates of wrought gold^b; it took no fewer than 200^c men to close them every day, and it was forbidden to leave them open. Our lamp-carrier, I presume, had no difficulty in opening them by himself and making off with the pack-ass's head. But did he return it to us, or was it Apion who recovered and reinstated it in the temple for Antiochus to find, in order to provide him with a second good story?

(10) Then^d he attributes to us an imaginary oath, and would have it appear that we swear by the God who made heaven and earth and sea to show no goodwill to a single alien, above all to Greeks. Having once started false accusations, he should have said, "show no goodwill to a single alien, above all to Egyptians"; for then this reference to the oath would have been in keeping with his original fiction, if, as we are given to understand, the cause of the expulsion of our forefathers by their Egyptian "kinsmen" was not their malice, but their misfortunes. From the Greeks we are severed more by our geographical position than by our institutions, with the result that we neither hate nor envy them. On the contrary, many of them have agreed to adopt our laws; of whom some have remained faithful, while others, lacking the necessary endurance, have again seceded.^e Of these not one has ever said that

Alleged
Jewish oath
of hostility
to Greeks,
etc.

corrects the figure here to twenty; but Josephus may mean that separate gangs of twenty men each were employed to close the ten gates of the temple.

^a Reinach transfers this paragraph (§§ 121-124), which opens abruptly, to the end of § 99 above, where it seems more in place. Cf. Tac. *Hist.* v. 5, "adversus omnes alios hostile odium."

^e Cf. §§ 280 ff. below.

he had heard the oath in question pronounced by any of us. Apion is apparently the only man who has heard it, for the good reason that he invented it.

(11) In the argument to which I now proceed Apion's extraordinary sagacity is most astonishing. A clear proof, according to him, that our laws are unjust and our religious ceremonies erroneous is that we are not masters of an empire, but rather the slaves, first of one nation, then of another, and that calamity has more than once befallen our city. As if his fellow-countrymen from time immemorial had been the masters of a sovereign state, and had never known what it was to serve the Romans! On Roman lips such a lofty claim might be tolerated. For the rest of the world, there is not a man who would not admit that this argument of Apion closely touches himself. It has been the lot of few, by waiting on opportunity, to gain an empire, and even they have, through the vicissitudes of fortune, been reduced once more to servitude beneath a foreign yoke; most races have frequently had to submit to others. The Egyptians alone, so it seems, because the gods, according to their account, took refuge in their country and saved themselves by assuming the forms of wild animals,^a gained the exceptional privilege of never being the slaves of any of the conquerors of Asia or Europe—the Egyptians, who have never, since the world began, had a day of liberty, even from their domestic masters! For the rough handling which they received from the Persians, who not once but on many occasions sacked

Anti-Semitic argument drawn from Jewish misfortunes.

^a Cf. Ovid, *Metamorph.* v. 321-331.

⁷ Niese: μεγαλοψυχίας L.

their cities, razed their temples, and slaughtered the creatures they took for gods, I will not reproach them. I must not imitate the ignorance of Apion, who never thought of the misfortunes of the Athenians or the Lacedaemonians, the latter, by common consent, the bravest, the former the most pious,^a of the Greeks. I pass over the calamities in the lives of monarchs (like Croesus) renowned for piety. I pass over the burning of the acropolis of Athens,^b the temple of Ephesus,^c that of Delphi,^d and myriads more; no one ever reproached the victims, rather than the perpetrators, for these atrocities. It was left for Apion to bring this novel type of accusation against us, quite forgetting the disasters of his own Egypt. Its mythical king Sesostris has doubtless blinded him.^e

For our part, might we not quote our kings, David and Solomon, who subjugated many nations? But let us pass them over and merely refer to a notorious fact, ignored by Apion: that is, that the Egyptians were the slaves and veritable menials, first of the Persians, and then of the Macedonians, the next rulers of Asia; while we were not merely independent, but had dominion over the surrounding states for about 120 years^f up to the time of Pompey the Great. And when war had been declared by the Romans on all the monarchs in the world, our kings

^a The older temple was *accidentally* burnt down c. 548-547 B.C.; Josephus refers to some later occasion of incendiarism.

^e Both Sesostris and his son (Herod. ii. 111) are said to have been struck blind.

^f A slightly exaggerated estimate of the period from the Maccabæan insurrection to Pompey's entry into Jerusalem (168-63 B.C.); eighty years, from c. 143 B.C. (1 Macc. xiii. 41), would have been more accurate.

alone, by reason of their fidelity, remained their allies and friends.

(12) "But" (urges Apion) we "have not produced any geniuses, for example, inventors in arts and crafts or eminent sages."^a He enumerates Socrates, Zeno, Cleanthes,^b and others of that calibre; and then—most astounding master-stroke—adds his own name to the list, and felicitates Alexandria on possessing such a citizen! Indeed he needed this testimonial from himself; for the rest of the world took him for a low charlatan, whose life was as dissolute as his language, insomuch that Alexandria might fairly be pitied if she prided herself upon *him*. Our own famous men, who are entitled to rank with the highest, are familiar to readers of my *Antiquities*.

Argument that Jews have produced no men of genius.

(13) The remaining counts in his indictment had better perhaps have remained unanswered, so that Apion might be left to act as his own and his countrymen's accuser. He denounces us for sacrificing domestic animals and for not eating pork, and he derides the practice of circumcision. Well, the custom of slaughtering domestic animals we share with the rest of mankind; and Apion, by criticizing those who practise it, betrays his Egyptian birth. No Greek or Macedonian would have been moved to indignation. Their nations, indeed, vow sacrifices of hecatombs to the gods,^c and make a feast off the victims; yet this has not had the result, apprehended by Apion, of leav-

Other indictments: animal sacrifices, abstention from pork, circumcision.

^a A charge repeated by Apollonius Molon, § 148 below.

^b Cleanthes in 263 B.C. succeeded Zeno as head of the Stoic school, founded by the latter.

^c Cf. Hom. *Od.* xvii. 50.

ing the world without cattle. If, on the other hand, mankind had adopted Egyptian customs, the world would have been left without human beings, and been overrun with those wildest of beasts, which they sedulously rear in the belief that they are gods. Again, had Apion been asked who, in his opinion, were the wisest and most god-fearing of all the Egyptians, he would undoubtedly have made the admission, "the priests"; for they, as is said, originally received two commissions from royalty: divine worship and the charge of learning. But all those priests are circumcised, and all abstain from swine's flesh.^a Even among the rest of the Egyptians there is not a man who sacrifices a pig to the gods. Was, then, Apion's mind blinded when, in the interest of the Egyptians, he undertook to revile us and actually condemned them? For not only do they practise the customs which he abuses, but, as Herodotus has informed us,^b they have taught others to adopt circumcision.

I cannot, therefore, but regard the penalty which Apion paid for maligning his country's laws as just and appropriate. An ulcer on his person rendered circumcision essential; the operation brought no relief, gangrene set in, and he died in terrible tortures. A wise man's duty is to be scrupulously faithful to the religious laws of his country, and to refrain from abuse of those of others. Apion was a defaulter to his country's laws and told lies about ours. Such was his end, and here let me bring my remarks [upon him] to a close. Apion's end.

^a On the Egyptians' practice of circumcision see Herod. ii. 37, 104; on their abstinence from pork, except on certain occasions, *ib.* ii. 47.

^b Herod. ii. 104 (quoted in *Ap.* i. 169).

(14) Seeing, however, that Apollonius Molon, (v.) Proposed method of refuting Molon, etc., by an account of the Jewish constitution. Lysimachus, and others, partly from ignorance, mainly from ill will, have made reflections, which are neither just nor true, upon our lawgiver Moses and his code, maligning the one as a charlatan and impostor, and asserting that from the other we receive lessons in vice and none in virtue, I desire to give, to the best of my ability, a brief account of our constitution as a whole and of its details. From this, I think, it will be apparent that we possess a code excellently designed to promote piety, friendly relations with each other, and humanity towards the world at large, besides justice, hardihood, and contempt of death. And I beg any into whose hands these pages may fall to read them without bias.^a My object is not to compose a panegyric upon our nation ; but I consider that, in reply to the numerous false accusations which are brought against us, the fairest defence which we can offer is to be found in the laws which govern our daily life. I adopt this line the more readily because Apollonius, unlike Apion, has not grouped his accusations together, but scattered them here and there all over his work, reviling us in one place as atheists and misanthropes, in another reproaching us as cowards, whereas elsewhere, on the contrary, he accuses us of temerity and reckless madness. He adds that we are the most witless of all barbarians, and are consequently the only people who have contributed no useful invention to civilization. All this tirade will, I think, be clearly refuted, if it be shown that the precepts

^a Or "jealousy."

¹ ἐπεὶ δὲ Dindorf after Lat. : ἐπειδὴ L.

² διὰ . . συγγραφῆς ed. pr. : δὴ εἰπας L. Text doubtful.

of our laws, punctiliously practised in our lives, are in direct conflict with the above description. If I may be forced to allude to legislation of a contrary nature in vogue elsewhere, the blame must rest with those who claim that our laws are, by comparison, inferior to their own. These critics will, I think, have no excuse in future for denying either that we possess these laws, the most salient of which I propose to cite, or that we are the most law-abiding of all the nations.

(15) Resuming, then, after this slight digression, I would begin with the remark that persons who have espoused the cause of order and law—one law for all—and been the first to introduce them, may fairly be admitted to be more civilized and virtuously disposed than those who lead lawless and disorderly lives. In fact, each nation endeavours to trace its own institutions back to the remotest date, in order to create the impression that, far from imitating others, it has been the one to set its neighbours an example of orderly life under law. That being so, the virtue of a legislator is to have insight to see what is best, and to win over to the laws which he introduces those who are to live under them; the virtue of the masses is loyally to abide by the laws adopted and, in prosperity or in adversity, to make no change in them.

Law versus lawlessness.

Now, I maintain that our legislator is the most ancient of all legislators in the records of the whole world. Compared with him, your Lycurguses and Solons, and Zaleucus, who gave the Locrians their laws, and all who are held in such high esteem by

Moses the most ancient of legislators.
c. 800 B.C.
638-558 B.C.
c. 660 B.C.

the Greeks appear to have been born but yesterday. Why, the very word "law" was unknown in ancient Greece. Witness Homer, who nowhere employs it in his poems.^a In fact, there was no such thing in his day; the masses were governed by maxims not clearly defined and by the orders of royalty, and continued long afterwards the use of unwritten customs, many of which were from time to time altered to suit particular circumstances. On the other hand, our legislator, who lived in the remotest past (that, I presume, is admitted even by our most unscrupulous detractors),^b proved himself the people's best guide and counsellor; and after framing a code to embrace the whole conduct of their life, induced them to accept it, and secured, on the firmest footing, its observance for all time.

(16) Let us consider his first magnificent achievement. When our ancestors decided to leave Egypt and return to their native land, it was he who took command of all those myriads and brought them safely through a host of formidable difficulties. For they had to traverse a vast, waterless and sandy desert, to defeat their enemies, and to protect their wives, their children and their chattels while engaged in battle. Throughout all this he proved the best of generals, the sagest of counsellors, and the most conscientious of guardians. He succeeded in making the whole people dependent upon himself, and,

The work of Moses as general and as religious educator.

^a The word *νόμος* appears first in Hesiod; older terms were *θέμιστες* (Homer) and *θεσμοί*, "ordinances."

^b Apion, however, brought his date down to the eighth century (§ 17).

having secured their obedience in all things, he did not use his influence for any personal aggrandizement. No ; at the very moment when leading men assume absolute and despotic power and accustom their subjects to a life of extreme lawlessness, he, on the contrary, having reached that commanding position, considered it incumbent on him to live piously and to provide for his people an abundance of good laws, in the belief that this was the best means of displaying his own virtue and of ensuring the lasting welfare of those who had made him their leader. With such noble aspirations and such a record of successful achievements, he had good reason for thinking that he had God for his guide and counsellor. Having first persuaded himself that God's will governed all his actions and all his thoughts, he regarded it as his primary duty to impress that idea upon the community ; for to those who believe that their lives are under the eye of God all sin is intolerable. Such was our legislator ; no charlatan or impostor, as slanderers unjustly call him, but one such as the Greeks boast of having had in Minos^a and later legislators. For among these some attributed their laws to Zeus, others traced them to Apollo and his oracle at Delphi,^b either believing this to be the fact, or hoping in this way to facilitate their acceptance. But the question, who was the most successful legislator, and who attained to the truest conception of God, may be answered

^a Reputed king and legislator of Crete.

^b " Some," *e.g.* Minos ; " others," *e.g.* Lycurgus.

⁷ μετ' αὐτὸν *ed. pr.* with Lat. : μετὰ ταῦτα L.

⁸ Text emended by Niese ; that of the ms. is corrupt and glossed.

⁹ τῆς δικαιοσύνης Eus. : τὸς ὁ δικαιοτάτα L Lat.

by contrasting the laws themselves with those of others, and to these I must now turn.

There is endless variety in the details of the customs and laws which prevail in the world at large. To give but a summary enumeration: some peoples have entrusted the supreme political power to monarchies, others to oligarchies, yet others to the masses. Our lawgiver, however, was attracted by none of these forms of polity, but gave to his constitution the form of what—if a forced expression be permitted—may be termed a “theocracy,”^a placing all sovereignty and authority in the hands of God. To Him he persuaded all to look, as the author of all blessings, both those which are common to all mankind, and those which they had won for themselves by prayer in the crises of their history. He convinced them that no single action, no secret thought, could be hid from Him. He represented Him as One, uncreated^b and immutable to all eternity; in beauty surpassing all mortal thought,^c made known to us by His power, although the nature of His real being^d passes knowledge.

His constitution a “theocracy.”

That the wisest of the Greeks learnt to adopt these conceptions of God from principles with which Moses supplied them,^e I am not now concerned to urge; but they have borne abundant witness to the excellence of these doctrines, and to their consonance with the nature and majesty of God. In fact, Pythagoras, Anaxagoras, Plato, the Stoics who succeeded him, and indeed nearly all the philosophers appear to have

A religion for the many, not (like Greek philosophy) for the few.

^b Not born like the Greek gods (see § 240 below).

^c Or “form”; *cf.* § 190.

^d Or “essence.”

^e This theory, first propounded by Aristobulus (2nd cent. B.C.), was adopted by Philo and later writers.

held similar views concerning the nature of God. These, however, addressed their philosophy to the few, and did not venture to divulge their true beliefs to the masses who had their own preconceived opinions ; whereas our lawgiver, by making practice square with precept, not only convinced his own contemporaries, but so firmly implanted this belief concerning God in their descendants to all future generations that it cannot be moved. The cause of his success was that the very nature of his legislation made it [always] far more useful than any other ; for he did not make religion a department of virtue, but the various virtues—I mean, justice, temperance, fortitude, and mutual harmony in all things between the members of the community ^a—departments of religion. Religion governs all our actions and occupations and speech ; none of these things did our lawgiver leave unexamined or indeterminate.

All schemes of education and moral training fall into two categories ; instruction is imparted in the one case by precept, in the other by practical exercising of the character. All other legislators, differing in their opinions, selected the particular method which each preferred and neglected the other. Thus the Lacedaemonians and Cretans employed practical, not verbal, training ; whereas the Athenians and nearly all the rest of the Greeks made laws enjoining what actions might or might not be performed, but neglected to familiarize the people with them by putting them into practice.

Moses
combined
precept and
practice.

(17) Our legislator, on the other hand, took great

^a The four cardinal virtues of the Platonic School, except that Harmony (*συμφωνία*) here replaces the usual Wisdom (*φρόνησις*).

care to combine both systems.^a He did not leave practical training in morals inarticulate^b; nor did he permit the letter of the law to remain inoperative. Starting from the very beginning with the food of which we partake from infancy and the private life^c of the home, he left nothing, however insignificant, to the discretion and caprice of the individual. What meats a man should abstain from, and what he may enjoy; with what persons he should associate; what period should be devoted respectively to strenuous labour and to rest—for all this our leader made the Law the standard and rule, that we might live under it as under a father and master,^d and be guilty of no sin through wilfulness or ignorance.

For ignorance he left no pretext. He appointed the Law to be the most excellent and necessary form of instruction, ordaining, not that it should be heard once for all or twice or on several occasions, but that every week men should desert their other occupations and assemble to listen to the Law and to obtain a thorough and accurate knowledge of it,^e a practice which all other legislators seem to have neglected.

(18) Indeed, most men, so far from living in accordance with their own laws, hardly know what they are. Only when they have done wrong do they learn from others that they have transgressed the law. Even those of them who hold the highest and most important offices admit their ignorance; for

^a Cf. Gal. iii. 24 for the law as "tutor" (παιδαγωγός).

^e Josephus follows the Rabbinical tradition (Talm. Jer. *Megilla*, iv. 1), which ascribed to Moses the introduction of the custom of public reading of the Law on Sabbaths and festivals. Cf. *A.* xvi. 43; Philo, *De opif. mund.* § 128 (Cohn); and Dr. Büchler's art. in *J.Q.R.* v. 427 (1893). Deut. xxxi. 10 provides merely for a septennial reading.

All Jews
know their
Law.

they employ professional legal experts as assessors and leave them in charge of the administration of affairs.^a But, should anyone of our nation be questioned about the laws, he would repeat them all more readily than his own name. The result, then, of our thorough grounding in the laws from the first dawn of intelligence is that we have them, as it were, engraven on our souls. A transgressor is a rarity; evasion of punishment by excuses an impossibility.

(19) To this cause above all we owe our admirable harmony. Unity and identity of religious belief, perfect uniformity in habits and customs, produce a very beautiful concord in human character. Among us alone will be heard no contradictory statements about God, such as are common among other nations, not only on the lips of ordinary individuals under the impulse of some passing mood, but even boldly propounded by philosophers; some putting forward crushing arguments against the very existence of God,^b others depriving Him of His providential care for mankind.^c Among us alone will be seen no difference in the conduct of our lives. With us all act alike, all profess the same doctrine about God, one which is in harmony with our Law and affirms that all things are under His eye. Even our women-folk and dependants would tell you that piety must be the motive of all our occupations in life.

Harmony
resulting
from unity
of creed.

(20) This, in fact, is the origin of the reproach brought against us by some critics^d of our having

^a Assessors (πάρηδροι) were attached to the Athenian archons; Roman provincial governors had legal advisers.

^b Sceptics such as Pyrrhon and his disciple Timon.

^c *e.g.* the Epicureans.

^d Cf. §§ 135, 148.

produced no inventors in crafts or literature. In the eyes of the world at large there is something fine in breaking away from all inherited customs ; those who have the temerity to defy them are credited with the possession of consummate ability. To us, on the other hand, the only wisdom, the only virtue, consists in refraining absolutely from every action, from every thought that is contrary to the laws originally laid down. This may fairly be claimed as a proof of their excellent draftsmanship ; codes which are not of this character are proved by experience to need amendment.

(21) For us, with our conviction that the original institution of the Law was in accordance with the will of God, it would be rank impiety not to observe it. What could one alter in it ? What more beautiful one could have been discovered ? What improvement imported from elsewhere ? Would you change the entire character of the constitution ? Could there be a finer or more equitable polity than one which sets God at the head of the universe, which assigns the administration of its highest affairs to the whole body of priests, and entrusts to the supreme high-priest the direction of the other priests ? These men, moreover, owed their original promotion by the legislator to their high office, not to any superiority in wealth or other accidental advantages. No ; of all his companions, the men to whom he entrusted the ordering of divine worship as their first charge were those who were pre-eminently gifted with persuasive eloquence and discretion. But this charge further embraced a strict superintendence of the Law and of the pursuits of everyday life ; for the appointed duties of the priests included general supervision, the

Our stability explains our alleged lack of inventive-ness.

Our theocratic constitution could not be improved.

trial of cases of litigation, and the punishment of condemned persons.^a

(22) Could there be a more saintly government than that? Could God be more worthily honoured than by such a scheme, under which religion is the end and aim of the training of the entire community, the priests are entrusted with the special charge of it, and the whole administration of the state resembles some sacred ceremony^b? Practices which, under the name of mysteries and rites of initiation, other nations are unable to observe for but a few days, we maintain with delight and unflinching determination all our lives.

What, then, are the precepts and prohibitions of our Law? They are simple and familiar. At their head stands one of which God is the theme. The universe is in God's hands; perfect and blessed, self-sufficing and sufficing for all, He is the beginning, the middle, and the end of all things.^c By His works and bounties He is plainly seen, indeed more manifest than ought else; but His form and magnitude surpass our powers of description. No materials, however costly, are fit to make an image of Him; no art has skill to conceive and represent it. The like of Him we have never seen, we do not imagine, and it is impious to conjecture. We behold His

The first commandment. The Jewish conception of God.

^b Or "rite of initiation."

^c For "the beginning and the end" cf. Apoc. i. 8, xxi. 6. For "the middle" Reinach quotes a rabbinical tradition (Talm. Jer. *Sanhed.* 18a) that God is represented by the word for "truth" (אמת), because it consists of the first, "middle" (incorrect), and last letter of the Hebrew alphabet, but suspects that the three letters (Aleph, Mem, Taw) are really a transcription of the initials of the Greek words ἀρχή, μέσον, τέλος.

works : the light, the heaven, the earth, the sun, the waters, the reproductive creatures, the sprouting crops. These God created, not with hands, not with toil, not with assistants of whom He had no need ; ^a He willed it so, and forthwith they were made in all their beauty.^b Him must we worship by the practice of virtue ; for that is the most saintly manner of worshipping God.

(23) We have ^c but one temple for the one God (for like ever loveth like),^d common to all as God is common to all. The priests are continually engaged in His worship, under the leadership of him who for the time is head of the line. With his colleagues he will sacrifice to God, safeguard the laws, adjudicate in cases of dispute, punish those convicted of crime.^e Any who disobey him will pay the penalty as for impiety towards God Himself. Our sacrifices are not occasions for drunken self-indulgence—such practices are abhorrent to God—but for sobriety.^f At these sacrifices prayers for the welfare of the community must take precedence of those for ourselves ; for we are born for fellowship, and he who sets its claims above his private interests is specially acceptable to God. We should beseech God not to give us blessings, for He has given them spontane-

The temple
and the
cult.

^c The Greek has no verb here ; the present and future tenses in §§ 193-5 are noteworthy in a work written after A.D. 70, which brought the temple cult to an end.

^d Cf. Aristot. *Eth.* ix. 3. 3 (" like is dear to like ") ; Sirach xiii. 15 (19).

^e Cf. § 187.

^f So Eusebius. Cod. L, which throughout this portion has interpolations, reads " and would be an excuse for insolence and extravagance—but sober, orderly, noble (perhaps read ' simple '), in order that we may show special sobriety when sacrificing."

ously and put them at the disposal of all, but for capacity to receive, and, having received, to keep them. In view of the sacrifices the Law has prescribed purifications for various occasions: after a funeral, after child-birth, after conjugal union, and many others.^a

(24) What are our marriage laws? The Law recognizes no sexual connexions, except the natural union of man and wife, and that only for the procreation of children.^b Sodomy it abhors, and punishes any guilty of such assault with death.^c It commands us, in taking a wife, not to be influenced by dowry, not to carry off a woman by force, nor yet to win her by guile and deceit, but to sue from him who is authorized to give her away the hand of one who is not ineligible on account of nearness of kin.^d The woman, says the Law, is in all things inferior to the man.^e Let her accordingly be submissive, not for her humiliation, but that she may be directed; for the authority has been given by God to the man. The husband must have union with his wife alone; it is impious to assault the wife of another. For any guilty of this crime the penalty of death is inexorable, whether he violates a virgin betrothed to another or seduces a married woman.^f The Law orders all the offspring to be brought up, and forbids women either

Laws
relating to
marriage.

Such is our doctrine, and the Law is to the same effect, concerning God and His worship."

^b Restriction not specified in the Pentateuch, but implied by the Talmud (passages cited by Reinach). Cf. the practice of one order of Essenes, *B. ii.* 161.

^c Lev. xx. 13; xviii. 22 with 29.

^d For the forbidden marriages of near of kin Lev. xviii. 6 ff.; the other injunctions in this sentence rest on tradition.

^e Gen. iii. 16.

^f Lev. xx. 10; Deut. xxii. 22-27.

to cause abortion or to make away with the foetus ; a woman convicted of this is regarded as an infanticide, because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race.^a For the same reason none who has intercourse with a woman who is with child can be considered pure. Even after the legitimate relations of husband and wife ablutions are required.^b For the Law regards this act as involving a partition of the soul [part of it going] into another place^c ; for it suffers both when being implanted in bodies,^d and again when severed from them by death. That is why the Law has enjoined purifications in all such cases.

(25) Again the Law does not allow the birth of our children to be made occasions for festivity and an excuse for drinking to excess.^e It enjoins sobriety in their upbringing from the very first. It orders that they shall be taught to read, and shall learn both the laws and the deeds of their forefathers,^f in order that they may imitate the latter, and, being grounded in the former, may neither transgress nor have any excuse for being ignorant of them. Education of children.

(26) The pious rites which it provides for the dead do not consist of costly obsequies or the erection of conspicuous monuments.^g The funeral ceremony is to be undertaken by the nearest relatives, and all who pass while a burial is proceeding must join the procession and share the mourning of the family.^g Funeral ceremonies.

from the father." I am indebted for this explanation of an obscure passage to Dr. T. E. Page.

^a An Essene (and Platonic) view ; *cf.* *B.* ii. 154 f.

^e The Talmud, however, recognizes family feasts at birth and circumcision (Reinach). ^f Deut. vi. 7, xi. 19.

^g Talmudic regulations, not in the Law. For sharing in mourning *cf.* Sir. vii. 34.

After the funeral the house and its inmates must be purified ^a [in order that anyone guilty of murder may be very far from thinking himself pure].

(27) Honour to parents the Law ranks second only to honour to God,^b and if a son does not respond to the benefits received from them—for the slightest failure in his duty towards them—it hands him over to be stoned.^c It requires respect to be paid by the young to all their elders,^d because God is the most Ancient of all.^e It allows us to conceal nothing from our friends, for there is no friendship without absolute confidence;^f in the event of subsequent estrangement, it forbids the disclosure of secrets. A judge who accepts bribes suffers capital punishment.^g He who refuses to a suppliant the aid which he has power to give is accountable to justice.^h None may appropriate goods which he did not place on deposit,ⁱ lay hands on any of his neighbour's property,^j or receive interest.^k These and many similar regulations are the ties which bind us together.

Honour of
parents and
other
regulations.

(28) The consideration given by our legislator to the equitable treatment of aliens also merits attention. It will be seen that he took the best of all possible measures at once to secure our own customs from corruption, and to throw them open ungrudgingly to any who elect to share them. To all who desire to come and live under the same laws with us, he gives a gracious welcome, holding that it is not

Attitude to
aliens.

^a Ex. xxiii. 8; Deut. xvi. 19, xxvii. 25; but capital punishment is nowhere mentioned.

^b Deut. xv. 7 ff. (as a moral precept only).

^c Cf. Lev. vi. 2.

^d Ex. xx. 15, etc.

^e *Ib.* xxii. 25; Lev. xxv. 36 f.; Deut. xxiii. 20 (except from a foreigner).

family ties alone which constitute relationship, but agreement in the principles of conduct.^a On the other hand, it was not his pleasure that casual visitors should be admitted to the intimacies of our daily life.^b

(29) The duty of sharing with others was inculcated by our legislator in other matters. We must furnish fire, water, food to all who ask for them, point out the road,^c not leave a corpse unburied,^d show consideration even to declared enemies. He does not allow us to burn up their country^e or to cut down their fruit trees,^f and forbids even the spoiling of fallen combatants;^g he has taken measures to prevent outrage to prisoners of war, especially women.^g So thorough a lesson has he given us in gentleness and humanity that he does not overlook even the brute beasts, authorizing their use only in accordance with the Law, and forbidding all other employment of them.^h Creatures which take refuge in our houses like suppliants we are forbidden to kill.^e He would not suffer us to take the parent birds with their young,ⁱ and bade us even in an enemy's country to spare and not to kill the beasts employed in labour.^e Thus, in every particular, he had an eye to mercy, using the laws I have mentioned to enforce the lesson, and drawing up for transgressors other penal laws admitting of no excuse.

Humanity
of the Law.

(30) The penalty for most offences against the Law is death: for adultery,^j for violating an unmarried mentioned in Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv. 103 f. ("non monstrare uias," etc.).

Penalties.

^a Cf. Deut. xxi. 23; Tobit i. 17 ff.

^e Not in the Law.

^f Deut. xx. 19.

^g *Ib.* xxi. 10 ff.

^h *i.e.* on the Sabbath, *ib.* v. 14.

ⁱ *Ib.* xxii. 6.

^j Lev. xx. 10.

woman,^a for outrage upon a male,^b for consent of one so tempted to such abuse. The Law is no less inexorable for slaves. Even fraud in such matters as weights or measures, or injustice and deceit in trade, or purloining another man's property, or laying hands on what one did not deposit—all such crimes have punishments^c attached to them which are not on the same scale as with other nations, but more severe. For example, the mere intention of doing wrong to one's parents or of impiety against God is followed by instant death.^d

For those, on the other hand, who live in accordance with our laws the prize is not silver or gold, no crown of wild olive^e or of parsley^f with any such public mark of distinction.^g No; each individual, relying on the witness of his own conscience and the lawgiver's prophecy, confirmed by the sure testimony of God, is firmly persuaded that to those who observe the laws and, if they must needs die for them, willingly meet death, God has granted a renewed existence and in the revolution of the ages the gift of a better life.^h I should have hesitated to write thus, had not the facts made all men aware that many of our countrymen have on many occasions ere now preferred to brave all manner of suffering rather than to utter a single word against the Law.ⁱ

The reward
of a future
life.

(31) Now suppose that our nation had not happened

^f As in the Isthmian and Nemean games.

^g Greek "public proclamation."

^h Here, as in his speech at Jotapata (*B.* iii. 374), Josephus gives expression to the belief, which he held as a Pharisee, in a future life; in the latter passage he uses the full phrase ἐκ περιτροπῆς αἰώνων, which explains ἐκ περιτροπῆς here. For the Pharisaic belief cf. *A.* xviii. 14.

ⁱ Cf. *Ap.* i. 43, ii. 233; *B.* ii. 152 f. (of Essene martyrs).

to be known to all the world and our voluntary obedience to our laws were not a patent fact, and suppose that some one had delivered a lecture to the Greeks which he admitted to be the outcome of his own imagination, or asserted that somewhere outside the known world he had met with people who held such sublime ideas about God and had for ages continued steadily faithful to such laws as ours; his words would, I imagine, astonish all his hearers, in view of the constant vicissitudes in their own past history. In fact, those who have attempted to draft a constitution and code on any such lines are accused of inventing something miraculous, based, according to their critics, on impossible premisses. I pass over other philosophers who have handled such topics in their writings. I need name only Plato, who, admired, as he is, by the Greeks for his outstanding dignity of character, and as one who in oratorical power and persuasive eloquence outmatched all other philosophers, is yet continually being, I may almost say, scoffed at and held up to ridicule by those who claim to be expert statesmen. And yet, on examination, his laws will be found to be frequently ^a easier than ours, and more closely approximating to the practice of the masses. Plato himself admits that it is hazardous to divulge the truth about God to the ignorant mob.^b

We put into practice what Greeks regard as visionary ideals.

Current criticism of Plato's *Republic*.

There are, however, men who regard Plato's dialogues as futile,^c brilliant but very fanciful compositions, and the legislator for whom they have the

We are more law-abiding than the Spartans.

^a Or (reading *συχνῶς*) "far."

^b Plato, *Tim.* 28 c: "When we have found him [viz. the maker of the universe], to speak of his nature to all men is impossible."

^c Greek "empty."

highest admiration is Lycurgus ; the praises of Sparta are sung by all the world, because she remained for so long faithful to his laws. Be it, then, conceded that obedience to law is a proof of virtue ; but let the admirers of the Lacedaemonians set the duration of that state over against the period of upwards of two thousand years of our constitution.^a Let them further reflect that the Lacedaemonians thought good strictly to observe their laws only so long as they retained their liberty and independence, but when they met with reverses of fortune forgot well-nigh all of them. We, on the contrary, notwithstanding the countless calamities in which changes of rulers in Asia have involved us, never even in the direst extremity proved traitors to our laws ; and we respect them not from any motive of sloth or luxury. A little consideration will show that they impose on us ordeals and labours far more severe than the endurance commonly believed to have been required of the Lacedaemonians. Those men neither tilled the ground nor toiled at crafts, but, exempt from all business, passed their life in the city, sleek of person and cultivating beauty by physical training ; for all the necessities of life they had others to wait on them, by whom their food was prepared and served to them ; and the sole aim for which they were prepared to do and suffer everything was the noble and humane object of defeating all against whom they took the field. Even in this, I may remark in passing, they were unsuccessful. The fact is that not isolated individuals only, but large numbers have frequently, in defiance of the injunctions of their

^a *i.e.* from Moses to Titus.

law, surrendered in a body with their arms to the enemy.^a

(32) Has anyone ever heard of a case of our people, Our heroic
endurance. not, I mean, in such large numbers, but merely two or three, proving traitors to their laws or afraid of death? I do not refer to that easiest of deaths, on the battlefield, but death accompanied by physical torture, which is thought to be the hardest of all. To such a death we are, in my belief, exposed by some of our conquerors, not from hatred of those at their mercy, but from a curiosity to witness the astonishing spectacle of men who believe that the only evil which can befall them is to be compelled to do any act or utter any word contrary to their laws. There should be nothing astonishing in our facing death on behalf of our laws with a courage which no other nation can equal. For even those practices of ours which seem the easiest others find difficult to tolerate: I mean personal service, simple diet, discipline which leaves no room for freak or individual caprice in matters of meat and drink, or in the sexual relations, or in extravagance, or again the abstention from work at rigidly fixed periods.^b No; the men who march out to meet the sword and charge and rout the enemy could not face regulations about everyday life. On the other hand, our willing obedience to the law in these matters results in the heroism which we display in the face of death.

(33) For all that, the Lysimachuses and Molons and other writers of that class, reprobate sophists

^a *e.g.* at Sphacteria (Thuc. iv. 38).

^b *i.e.* the Sabbaths.

³ Hudson: ὑποτεθυμηκῶς *ed. pr.* (-κεν L).

and deceivers of youth, rail at us as the very vilest of mankind. Gladly would I have avoided an investigation of the institutions of other nations; for it is our traditional custom to observe our own laws and to refrain from criticism of those of aliens. Our legislator has expressly forbidden us to deride or blaspheme the gods recognized by others, out of respect for the very word "God."^a But since our accusers expect to confute us by a comparison of the rival religions, it is impossible to remain silent. I speak with the more assurance because the statement which I am about to make is no invention of my own for the occasion, but has been made by many writers of the highest reputation.

Criticism of the religion of the Greeks.

Who, in fact, is there among the admired sages of Greece who has not censured their most famous poets and their most trusted legislators for sowing in the minds of the masses the first seeds of such notions about the gods? They represent them to be as numerous as they choose, born of one another and engendered in all manner of ways. They assign them different localities and habits, like animal species, some living under ground,^b others in the sea,^c the oldest of all being chained in Tartarus.^d Those to whom they have allotted heaven have set over them one who is nominally Father, but in reality a tyrant and despot; with the result that his wife and brother and the daughter, whom he begot from his

Their gross and immoral ideas about the gods.

^a Ex. xxii. 28 ("Thou shalt not revile God"), as interpreted by the LXX (θεοὺς οὐ κακολογῆσεις), by Josephus again in *A.* iv. 207, and by Philo (with the same idea of hallowing the Name), *Vita Mos.* ii. (26) 205; *De spec. leg.* i. (7) 53 Cohn.

^b Hades, Persephone, etc.

^c Poseidon, Amphitrite, Proteus.

^d The Titans.

own head,^a conspire against him, to arrest and imprison him, just as he himself had treated his own father.

(34) Justly do these tales merit the severe censure which they receive from their intellectual leaders. Moreover, they ridicule the belief that some gods are beardless striplings, others old and bearded ;^b that some are appointed to trades, this one being a smith,^c that goddess a weaver,^d a third a warrior who fights along with men,^e others lute-players^f or devoted to archery ;^g and again that they are divided into factions and quarrel about men, in so much that they not only come to blows with each other, but actually lament over and suffer from wounds inflicted by mortals.^h But—and here outrageousness reaches its climax—is it not monstrous to attribute those licentious unions and amours to well-nigh all the deities of both sexes ? Furthermore, the noblest and chief of them all, the Father himself, after seducing womenⁱ and rendering them pregnant, leaves them to be imprisoned or drowned in the sea ; and is so completely at the mercy of Destiny that he cannot either rescue his own offspring or restrain his tears at their death. Fine doings are these, and others that follow, such as adultery in heaven, with the gods as such shameless onlookers that some of them confessed that they envied the united pair.^j And well they might, when even the eldest of them,

^b "Iovem semper barbatus, Apollinem semper imberbem," Cic. *De nat. deor.* i. 30 (83).

^c Hephaestus.

^d Athene, Hom. *Iliad*, xiv. 178 f.

^e Ares.

^f Apollo.

^g Apollo and Artemis.

^h Hom. *Iliad* v. 335 ff., 375 ff.

ⁱ e.g. Danaë, Io, Leto, Semele.

^j Cf. Hom. *Od.* v. 118 ff.

the king, could not restrain his passion for his consort long enough to permit of withdrawal to his chamber.^a Then there are the gods in bondage to men, hired now as builders,^b now as shepherds^c; and others chained, like criminals, in a prison of brass.^d What man in his senses would not be stirred to reprimand the inventors of such fables and to condemn the consummate folly of those who believed them? They have even deified Terror and Fear,^e nay, Frenzy and Deceit (which of the worst passions have they not transfigured into the nature and form of a god?), and have induced cities to offer sacrifices to the more respectable^f members of this pantheon. Thus they have been absolutely compelled to regard some of the gods as givers of blessings and to call others "(gods) to be averted."^g They then rid themselves of the latter, as they would of the worst scoundrels of humanity, by means of favours and presents, expecting to be visited by some serious mischief if they fail to pay them their price.

(35) Now, what is the cause of such irregular and erroneous conceptions of the deity? For my part, I trace it to the ignorance of the true nature of God with which their legislators entered on their task, and to their failure to formulate even such correct knowledge of it as they were able to attain and to make the rest of their constitution conform to it. Instead, as if this were the most trifling of details, they allowed

^a Apollo, *ib.* 448 f.

^d The Titans.

^e Deimos and Phobos, attendants of Ares, *Iliad* xv. 119.

^f Or "auspicious."

^g Greek ἀποτροπαίους, *i.e.* *avertentes*, "averters of evil." Josephus, as is clear from the context, gives it a passive meaning, "whose evil influence is to be averted."

Cause of these immoral ideas: neglect of religion by the legislators

the poets to introduce what gods they chose, subject to all the passions, and the orators to pass decrees for entering the name of any suitable foreign god on the burgess-roll. Painters also and sculptors were given great licence in this matter by the Greeks, each designing a figure of his own imagination, one moulding it of clay, another using paints. The artists who are the most admired of all use ivory and gold as the material for the novelties which they are constantly producing.^a And now the gods who once flourished with honours are grown old,^a that is the kinder way of putting it; and others, newly introduced, are the objects of worship.^a Some temples are left to desolation, others are but now being erected, according to individual caprice; whereas they ought, on the contrary, to have preserved immutably their belief in God and the honour which they rendered to Him.

(36) Apollonius Molon was but one of the crazy fools. The genuine exponents of Greek philosophy were well aware of all that I have said, nor were they ignorant of the worthless^b shifts to which the allegorists have resort. That was why they rightly despised them and agreed with us in forming a true and befitting conception of God. From this standpoint Plato declares that no poet ought to be admitted

and licence given to poets and artists.

Analogies between the laws of Plato and those of the Jews.

^a The ms. at these points adds the following glosses: "Some temples are completely desolate; the most celebrated are being renovated, with all manner of purifications"; "and those who flourished after them have been relegated to a secondary position": "so that, as (?) we said before in a digression, the sites are left desolate."

^b Greek "frigid."

² τῶν ἀνθ. L: αὐτῶν Lat.

³ + τοίνυν L (om. *ed. pr.*).

to the republic, and dismisses even Homer in laudatory terms, after crowning and anointing him with unguents, in order to prevent him from obscuring by his fables the correct doctrine about God.^a In two points, in particular, Plato followed the example of our legislator.^b He prescribed as the primary duty of the citizens a study of their laws, which they must all learn word for word by heart. Again, he took precautions to prevent foreigners from mixing with them at random, and to keep the state pure and confined to law-abiding citizens.^c Of these facts Apollonius Molon took no account when he condemned us for refusing admission to persons with other preconceived ideas about God, and for declining to associate with those who have chosen to adopt a different mode of life. Yet even this habit is not peculiar to us; it is common to all, and shared not only by Greeks, but by Greeks of the highest reputation. The Lacedaemonians made a practice of expelling foreigners and would not allow their own citizens to travel abroad, in both cases apprehensive of their laws being corrupted. *They* might perhaps be justly reproached for discourtesy, because they accorded to no one the rights either of citizenship or of residence among them. We, on the contrary, while we have no desire to emulate the customs of others, yet gladly welcome any who wish to share our own. That, I think, may be taken as a proof both of humanity and magnanimity.

The
expulsion
of foreigners
by the
Spartans.

(37) Of the Lacedaemonians I will say no more. But the Athenians, who considered their city open

^a Plato, *Rep.* iii. 398 A; and on poets generally *ib.* ii. *sub fin.*

^b Cf. Aristobulus *ap.* Eus. *P.E.* xiii. 12.

^c Plato, *Legg.*, esp. xii. 949 E ff.

to all comers—what was their attitude in this matter ? Apollonius was ignorant of this, and of the inexorable penalty which they inflicted on any who uttered a single word about the gods contrary to their laws. On what other ground was Socrates put to death ? He never sought to betray his city to the enemy, he robbed no temple. No ; because he used to swear strange oaths ^a and give out (in jest, surely, ^b as some say) that he received communications from a spirit, ^c he was therefore condemned to die by drinking hemlock. His accuser ^d brought a further charge against him of corrupting young men, ^e because he stimulated them to hold the constitution and laws of their country in contempt. Such was the punishment of Socrates, a citizen of Athens. Anaxagoras ^f was a native of Clazomenae, but because he maintained that the sun, which the Athenians held to be a god, was an incandescent mass, he escaped by a few votes only from being condemned by them to death. They offered a talent for the head of Diagoras of Melos, ^g because he was reported to have jeered at their mysteries. Protagoras, ^h had he not promptly fled, would have been arrested and put to death, because of a statement about the gods in his writings which appeared to conflict with Athenian tenets. Can one wonder at their attitude towards men of such authority when they did not spare even women ? They put Ninus the priestess to death, because

Impiety
severely
punished
by the
Athenians

^f Circa 499-427 ; he owed his escape to the influence of Pericles.

^g A contemporary of Anaxagoras and known in antiquity as "the atheist."

^h Of Abdera, 5th cent. B.C. The book on which he was impeached began with the words : "Respecting the gods, I am unable to know whether they exist or do not exist."

some one accused her of initiating people into the mysteries of foreign gods ; this was forbidden by their law, and the penalty decreed for any who introduced a foreign god was death. Those who had such a law evidently did not believe that the gods of other nations were gods ; else they would not have denied themselves the advantage of increasing the number of their own.

So much may be said to the credit of the Athenians. But even Scythians, who delight in murdering people and are little better than wild beasts, nevertheless think it their duty to uphold their national customs ; and Anacharsis,^a whose wisdom won the admiration of the Greeks, was on his return put to death by his compatriots, because he appeared to have come back infected with Greek habits. In Persia, also, numerous instances will be found of persons being executed for the same reason. Apollonius, however, had an affection for the laws of the Persians and a high opinion of the people ; evidently because Greece had a taste of their courage and the benefit of their agreement with herself in religious beliefs ! The latter she experienced when she saw her temples burnt to the ground, their courage in her bare escape from subjection to their yoke. Apollonius actually imitated all the Persian practices, outraging his neighbours' wives and castrating their children.^b

With us such maltreatment even of a brute beast is made a capital crime.^c And from these laws of ours nothing has had power to deflect us, neither fear of our masters, nor envy of the institutions esteemed by other nations. We have trained our courage, not

and even by
Scythians
and
Persians.

Our loyalty
to our laws.

^a An exaggeration of the law in Lev. xxii. 24 (Deut. xxiii. 1) ; *cf.* *A.* iv. 290 f.

with a view to waging war for self-aggrandizement, but in order to preserve our laws. To defeat in any other form we patiently submit, but when pressure is put upon us to alter our statutes, then we deliberately fight, even against tremendous odds, and hold out under reverses to the last extremity. And why should we envy other nations their laws when we see that even their authors do not observe them? The Lacedaemonians were, of course, bound in the end to condemn their unsociable constitution and their contempt for marriage, and the people of Elis and Thebes the unnatural vice so rampant among them. At any rate, if they have not in fact altogether abandoned them, they no longer openly avow practices which once they considered very excellent and expedient. But they go further than this, and repudiate their laws on the subject of these unions—laws which at one time carried such weight with the Greeks that they actually attributed to the gods the practice of sodomy and, on the same principle, the marriage of brother and sister, thus inventing an excuse for the monstrous and unnatural pleasures in which they themselves indulged.

(38) In the present work I pass over the various penalties, and all the modes of compounding for them which the majority of legislators provided in their codes at the outset for offenders—accepting fines in case of adultery, marriage in that of immorality—and, in matters of impiety, all the subterfuges which they left open for denying the facts, if anyone took the trouble to open an inquiry. Nowadays, indeed, violation of the laws has with most nations become a fine art. Not so with us. Robbed though

Other
nations
evade and
violate
their
laws.

we be of wealth, of cities, of all good things, our Law at least remains immortal ; ^a and there is not a Jew so distant from his country, so much in awe of a cruel despot, but has more fear of the Law than of him. If, then, our attachment to our laws is due to their excellence, let it be granted that they are excellent. If, on the contrary, it be thought that the laws to which we are so loyal are bad, what punishment could be too great for persons who transgress those which are better ?

Now, since Time is reckoned in all cases the surest test of worth,^b I would call Time to witness to the excellence of our lawgiver and of the revelation concerning God which he has transmitted to us. An infinity of time has passed since Moses, if one compares the age in which he lived with those of other legislators ; yet it will be found (39) that throughout the whole of that period not merely have our laws stood the test of our own use, but they have to an ever increasing extent excited the emulation of the world at large.

Our laws have stood the test of time and been widely imitated.

Our earliest imitators were the Greek philosophers, who, though ostensibly observing the laws of their own countries, yet in their conduct and philosophy were Moses' disciples,^c holding similar views about God, and advocating the simple life and friendly communion between man and man. But that is not all. The masses have long since shown a keen desire to adopt our religious observances ; and there is not

^a Cf. in a contemporary work Bar. iv. 1 : " the law that endureth for ever."

^b Cf. Soph. *Ajax* 646 ff. " All things the long and countless years of Time first draw from darkness, then bury from light," etc. (a play of which there are other reminiscences in Josephus).

^c Cf. §§ 168, 257.

one city, Greek or barbarian, nor a single nation, to which our custom of abstaining from work on the seventh day ^a has not spread, and where the fasts and the lighting of lamps ^b and many of our prohibitions in the matter of food are not observed. Moreover, they attempt to imitate our unanimity, our liberal charities, our devoted labour in the crafts, our endurance under persecution on behalf of our laws. The greatest miracle of all is that our Law holds out no seductive bait of sensual pleasure,^c but has exercised this influence through its own inherent merits ; and, as God permeates the universe, so the Law has found its way among all mankind. Let each man reflect for himself on his own country and his own household, and he will not disbelieve what I say. It follows, then, that our accusers must either condemn the whole world for deliberate malice in being so eager to adopt the bad laws of a foreign country in preference to the good laws of their own, or else give up their grudge against us. In honouring our own legislator and putting our trust in his prophetic utterances concerning God, we do not make any arrogant claim justifying such odium. Indeed, were we not ourselves aware of the excellence of our laws, assuredly we should have been impelled to pride ourselves upon them by the multitude of their admirers.

(40) I have given an exact account of our laws and constitution in my previous work on our *Antiquities*. Recapitulation.

^a Aristobulus finds traces of the Sabbath even in Homer and Hesiod ! (Eus. *P.E.* xiii. 12).

^b *Cf.* § 118.

^c *Cf.* § 217.

Here I have alluded to them only so far as was necessary for my purpose, which was neither to find fault with the institutions of other nations nor to extol our own, but to prove that the authors who have maligned us have made a barefaced attack on truth itself. I have, I think, in the present work adequately fulfilled the promise made at the outset.^a I have shown that our race goes back to a remote antiquity, whereas our accusers assert that it is quite modern. I have produced numerous ancient witnesses, who mention us in their works, whereas they confidently affirm that there is none. They further maintained that our ancestors were Egyptians; it has been shown that they migrated to Egypt from elsewhere. They falsely asserted that the Jews were expelled from that country as physical wrecks^b; it has been made clear that they returned to their native land of deliberate choice, and thanks to their exceptional physical strength. They reviled our legislator as an insignificant personage; his sterling merits have found a witness of old in God, and, after God, in Time.

(41) Upon the laws it was unnecessary to expatiate. A glance at them showed that they teach not impiety, but the most genuine piety; that they invite men not to hate their fellows, but to share their possessions; that they are the foes of injustice and scrupulous for justice, banish sloth and extravagance, and teach men to be self-dependent and to work with a will; that they deter them from war for the sake of conquest, but render them valiant defenders of the laws themselves; inexorable in punishment,

Encomium
on the
Jewish laws.

^a *Ap.* i. 2 ff.

^b Or "for bodily impurity."

not to be duped by studied words,^a always supported by actions. For actions are our invariable testimonials, plainer than any documents. I would therefore boldly maintain that we have introduced to the rest of the world a very large number of very beautiful ideas. What greater beauty than inviolable piety? What higher justice than obedience to the laws? What more beneficial than to be in harmony with one another, to be a prey neither to disunion in adversity, nor to arrogance and faction in prosperity; in war to despise death, in peace to devote oneself to crafts or agriculture; and to be convinced that everything in the whole universe is under the eye and direction of God? Had these precepts been either committed to writing or more consistently observed by others before us, we should have owed them a debt of gratitude as their disciples. If, however, it is seen that no one observes them better than ourselves, and if we have shown that we were the first to discover them, then the Apions and Molons and all who delight in lies and abuse may be left to their own confusion.

To you, Epaphroditus, who are a devoted lover of truth, and for your sake^b to any who, like you, may wish to know the facts about our race, I beg to dedicate this and the preceding book. Dedication.

^a Or "unsophisticated in oratorical display."

^b *διὰ σέ*, "for your sake," but half suggesting "through your kind offices" (*διὰ σοῦ*) in helping to advertise the work.