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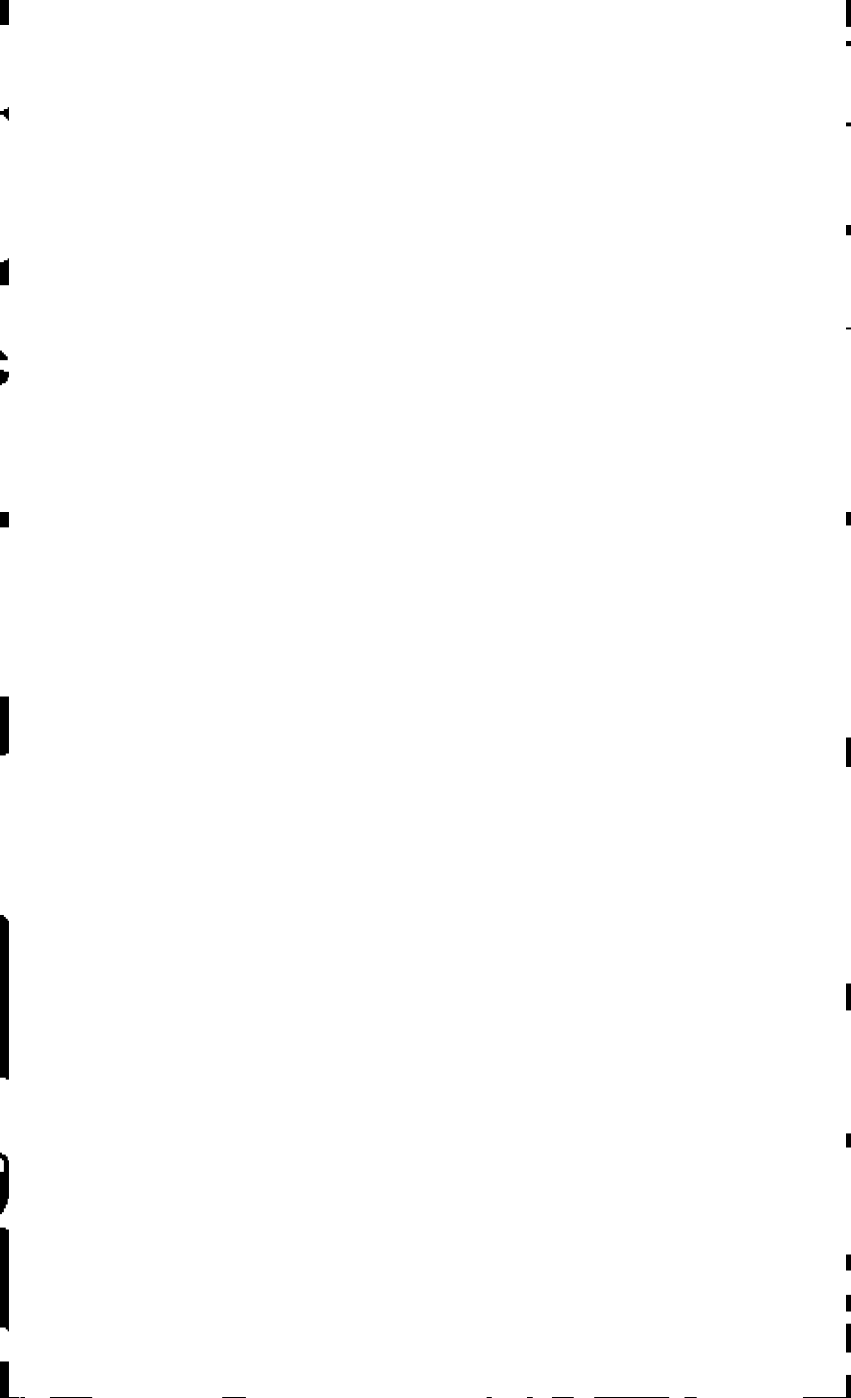
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JOSEPHUS

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JOSEPHUS
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES
BOOKS IV-VI

WITH AN ENGLISH TRANSLATION BY
H. ST. J. THACKERAY
AND RALPH MARCUS



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PREFACE

WHEN Dr. Thackeray died early in the summer of 1930, he had sent to press the text and translation of *Antiquities* Book V. and a portion of Book VI. (to § 140, with explanatory notes extending to §60). The present writer has slightly revised this part, and has supplied a text and annotated translation of the rest of Book VI. and of Books VII. and VIII. No one realizes more fully than the writer himself how difficult it is to come up to the standard of excellence set by Dr. Thackeray in his skilful translation of the works of Josephus included in the earlier volumes of this series. An attempt has been made to adhere to the spirit of his rendering, but some changes in style have been made, chiefly in the direction of a less formal and a more modern idiom. In undertaking to continue the edition the writer has greatly profited by being able to consult a roughly drafted translation of Books VI.-VIII., of which Dr. Thackeray's widow has been kind enough to make a fair copy, and by having before him several notebooks containing Dr. Thackeray's studies of Josephus's style, his use of Greek authors and other useful material, which Mrs. Thackeray has generously placed at his disposal. The writer has also had the great advantage of using the ms. of Dr. Thackeray's *Index Verborum*, on the basis of which he was preparing his Greek Lexicon to

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Josephus, published under the auspices of the Kohut Foundation of the Jewish Institute of Religion. The first fascicle of this Lexicon appeared some time after Dr. Thackeray's death, and a second fascicle, completed by the writer, is expected to appear shortly.

Beside the earlier versions of the *Antiquities* made by Hudson, Weill and Whiston-Shilleto, two recent works have been consulted in preparing the latter part of this volume; these are *Agada und Exegese bei Flavius Josephus* by Salomo Rappaport, Vienna, 1930, and *Legends of the Jews* by Louis Ginzberg (six volumes), Philadelphia, 1909-1928 (abbr. Ginzberg in the footnotes); the latter is an invaluable collection of rabbinic material illustrating the amplification of scriptural narratives and furnishing many instructive parallels to Josephus's treatment of his biblical text. The writer has, in addition, independently examined the text of the Targum (the Aramaic translation of the Bible, used in the early synagogue) and the mediaeval Hebrew commentaries reprinted in the Rabbinic Bible. For the identification of many of the Biblical place-names the writer is indebted to the researches of Professor W. F. Albright and other scholars, whose results have appeared in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research*.

With regard to the Greek text, the writer, like Dr. Thackeray, has attempted to furnish a critical edition on the basis of the apparatus in Niese's *editio maior*, not (as some reviewers of the earlier volumes by Dr. Thackeray have described it) an edition based solely on Niese's text. Whether the text here given is as satisfactory as the excellent
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ones furnished by Niese and by Naber in the Teubner series must be left to the critics to decide. The problems of Josephus's text in these books are very complex, partly because of the twofold ms. tradition, partly because of the use made by the author of a Greek version of Scripture, and the corrections made by Christian copyists in the interest of conformity to the biblical text known to them, and partly because of the apparent revisions made by Josephus's Greek assistants. These difficulties are illustrated by the inconsistent spelling of biblical names of persons and places in the same ms. and the variants in the two families of mss. No editor may reasonably hope to have established, in every case, the forms used by Josephus himself.

The writer has been similarly inconsistent in his rendering of these biblical names. The most commonly known names, such as Hebron, Absalom, etc., are given in the form familiar to English readers, whether or not they accurately reproduce the Greek spelling of Josephus's text; where the name is not quite so well known and where the Greek form differs only slightly from that found in the Authorized Version of Scripture, it is rendered approximately, *e.g.* Abisai (for Abisaios; bibl. Abishai), Achab (for Achabos; bibl. Ahab); in all other cases the hellenized form is simply transliterated, *e.g.* Jebosthos (bibl. Ish-bosheth), Adrazaros (bibl. Hadadezer).

For a discussion of Josephus's use of the Hebrew original of Scripture and of the Greek version known as the Septuagint (abbr. LXX in the footnotes), the reader may consult Dr. Thackeray's *Josephus, the Man and the Historian* (Stroock Lectures at the Jewish Institute of Religion), N.Y., 1929, Lecture IV. It

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will be seen from the discussion there and from the explanatory notes in this volume that Josephus's text often agrees with that group of LXX mss. which represent the so-called Lucianic recension (abbr. Luc. in the footnotes), made at the end of the third century A.D. It is, therefore, evident that this recension is based on a text which existed as early as the time of Josephus. To Dr. Thackeray's comments on Josephus's agreement with the Targum in certain passages against the Hebrew and Greek texts of Scripture, and to the examples of such agreement adduced by Mez (*Die Bibel des Josephus*) and Rappaport, the present writer has added in the footnotes what he ventures to believe are new instances of Josephus's use of an Aramaic translation of Scripture practically identical with the traditional Targum of Jonathan, which has usually been supposed to date from a period almost a century later than Josephus.

R. M.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BIBΛION Δ

(i. 1.) Ἐβραίους δ' ὁ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν βίος ἀηδῆς καὶ χαλεπὸς ὧν ἐπόνει¹ καὶ κωλύοντος τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν Χανααίων πείραν λαμβάνειν· οὐ γὰρ ἠξίουں τοῖς Μωυσέος πειθαρχοῦντες λόγοις ἡρεμεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δίχα τῆς παρ' ἐκείνου προθυμίας κρατήσκειν αὐτοὶ τῶν πολεμίων νομίζοντες κατηγοροῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ πραγματεύεσθαι μένειν αὐτοὺς ἀπόρους ὑπενόουν, ἢ' αἰεὶ τῆς ἐξ αὐτοῦ βοηθείας
2 δέωνται, πολεμεῖν δὲ τοῖς Χανααίοις ὠρμήκεσαν λέγοντες τὸν θεὸν οὐχὶ Μωυσεὶ χαριζόμενον ἐπικουρεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ καὶ κοινῇ κηδόμενον αὐτῶν τοῦ ἔθνους διὰ τοὺς προγόνους ὧν ἐπετρόπευσε καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πρότερόν τε παρασχέειν τὴν ἐλευθερίαν καὶ νῦν βουλομένοις
3 πονεῖν αἰεὶ παρέσεσθαι σύμμαχον· εἶναί τε καὶ καθ' αὐτοὺς ἱκανοὶ κρατεῖν τῶν ἐθνῶν ἔφασκον, καὶ ἀπαλλοτριουῖν αὐτῶν Μωυσῆς ἐθελήσῃ τὸν θεόν· ὅλως τε συμφέρειν αὐτοῖς τὸ αὐτοκράτορσιν εἶναι, καὶ μὴ χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ τῆς παρ' Αἰγυπτίων ἐξελθεῖν ὕβρεως Μωυσῆν τύραννον ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ ζῆν πρὸς τὴν τούτου βούλησιν ἐξαπατωμένους,
4 ὅτι μόνω τὸ θεῖον αὐτῷ προδηλοῖ περὶ τῶν ἡμε-

¹ ἐπίεξε PLS²: ἐπολεῖ Ernesti.

BOOK IV

(i. 1) The Hebrews, however, found life in the desert so unpleasant and hard that it drove them, notwithstanding the prohibition of God, to make an assault on the Canaanites. For they refused to remain inactive in obedience to the words of Moses, and, imagining that even without his support they could by themselves defeat their enemies, they proceeded to accuse and suspect him of scheming to keep them without resources, in order that they might always stand in need of his aid. They were accordingly bent on war with the Canaanites, declaring that it was from no favour for Moses that God succoured them, but because in general He had a care for their race out of regard for their ancestors whom He had taken under His protection. It was thanks to them and to their own valour that He had in the past given them their liberty, and now, would they but exert themselves, He would be ever at their side as their ally. They further asserted that they were strong enough by themselves to defeat these nations, even should Moses desire to alienate God from them. Besides, it was wholly to their advantage to be their own masters, and not, while rejoicing in their deliverance from Egyptian insolence, to tolerate a tyrant in Moses and to live in accordance with his will—"deluded into believing that to him alone does

The Hebrews decide to fight the Canaanites in defiance of Moses. Numb. xiv. 40.

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- τέρων κατὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν, ὡς οὐχ ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς Ἀβράμου γενεᾶς ὄντων, ἀλλ' αἴτιον ἓνα τοῦτον¹ τοῦ θεοῦ παρεσχηκότος εἰς τὸ πάντ' αὐτὸν εἰδέναί τὰ μέλλοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ μανθάνοντα·
- 5 δόξειν τε συνετοὺς εἶναι, εἰ τῆς ἀλαζονείας αὐτοῦ καταγνόντες καὶ τῷ θεῷ πιστεύσαντες κτήσασθαι γῆν ἣν αὐτοῖς ὑπέσχηται θελήσουσιν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τῷ διὰ τὴν αἰτίαν ταύτην ἐπ' ὄνοματι τοῦ θεοῦ
- 6 κωλύοντι προσσχοῖεν. τὴν ἀπορίαν οὖν λογιζόμενοι καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν, ὑφ' ἧς ἔτι ταύτην αὐτοῖς χεῖρω συνέβαινε εἶναι δοκεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Χαναναίους μάχην ἦσαν ὠρμημένοι, τὸν θεὸν προστησάμενοι στρατηγὸν ἀλλ' οὐχὶ τὴν παρὰ τοῦ νομοθέτου συνεργίαν περιμένοντες.
- 7 (2) Ὡς² οὖν ταῦτ' ἄμεινον αὐτοῖς ἔξειν ἔκριναν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπῆλθον, οἱ μὲν οὐ καταπλαγέστες αὐτῶν τὴν ἔφοδον οὐδὲ τὴν πληθὺν γενναίως αὐτοὺς ἐδέξαντο, τῶν δὲ Ἑβραίων ἀποθνήσκουσί τε πολλοὶ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν στράτευμα τῆς φάλαγγος αὐτῶν διαλυθείσης ἀκόσμως διω-
- 8 κόμενον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν συνέφυγε, καὶ τῷ παρ' ἐλπίδας δυστυχῆσαι³ παντάπασιν ἀθυμοῦν οὐδὲν ἔτι χρηστὸν προσεδόκα, λογιζόμενον ὅτι καὶ ταῦτα κατὰ μῆνιν θεοῦ πάθοιεν προεξορμήσαντες ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τῆς ἐκείνου⁴ βουλήσεως.
- 9 (3) Μωυσῆς δὲ τοὺς μὲν οἰκείους ὄρων ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης καταπεπληγότας, φοβούμενος δὲ μὴ θαρσήσαντες ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ οἱ πολέμοι καὶ μειζόνων ὀρεχθέντες ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἔλθοιεν, ἔγνω δεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν ἀπαγαγεῖν πορρωτέρω τῶν Χαναναίων

¹ SP: τούτων rell.

² ἀτυχῆσαι RO.

³ ἕως OL Lat.

⁴ + δίχα SPL (Lat.?).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 4-9

the Deity reveal our destiny from goodwill towards him, as though we were not all of the stock of Abraham, but God had made this one man responsible for knowing all the future, as taught by Him." They would (they said) show themselves sensible if, scorning the arrogance of Moses and in reliance upon God, they were to determine to win this land which He had promised them, without heeding the man who, under this pretext, would, in the name of God, prevent them. And so, reflecting on their distress and on this desert, which made it appear yet worse, they were all eager for battle with the Canaanites, claiming God as their leader and without waiting for any concurrence on the part of their legislator.

(2) Having then decided that this course would be the better for them, they marched against their foes. These, undaunted by their onset or numbers, received them valiantly ; of the Hebrews, many perished and the rest of the army, their line once broken, fled, pursued by the enemy, in disorder to the camp ; and, utterly despondent at this unexpected reverse, they looked for no more good hereafter, concluding that they owed this disaster also to the wrath of God, having rushed precipitately into battle without His assent.

(3) But Moses, seeing his people downhearted at this defeat and fearing that the enemy, emboldened by their victory and ambitious of greater achievements, would march upon them, decided that he ought to lead his army further from the Canaanites

Their
defeat.
Numb.
xiv. 44.

Moses leads
them off
into the
desert.

JOSEPHUS

- 10 εἰς τὴν ἔρημον. καὶ τοῦ πλήθους ἐπιτρέψαντος ἑαυτὸ πάλιν ἐκείνω, συνῆκε γὰρ δίχα τῆς αὐτοῦ προνοίας οὐ δυνασόμενον ἐρρῶσθαι τοῖς πράγμασιν, ἀναστήσας τὸ στράτευμα προῆλθεν εἰς τὴν ἔρημον, ἐνταῦθα νομίζων ἠσυχάσειν αὐτοὺς καὶ μὴ πρότερον τοῖς Χαναναίοις εἰς χεῖρας ἤξειν πρὶν ἢ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν εἰς τοῦτο καιρὸν λάβωσιν.
- 11 (ii. 1) Ὅπερ δὲ τοῖς μεγάλοις συμβαίνει στρατοπέδοις καὶ μάλιστα παρὰ τὰς κακοπραγίας δυσάρκτοις εἶναι καὶ δυσπειθέσι, τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις συνέπεσεν· ἐξήκοντα γὰρ ὄντες μυριάδες καὶ διὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἴσως ἂν μηδ' ἐν ἀγαθοῖς ὑποταγέντες τοῖς κρείττοσι, τότε μᾶλλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας καὶ συμφορᾶς ἐξηγανάκτου καὶ πρὸς
- 12 ἀλλήλους καὶ πρὸς τὸν ἡγεμόνα. στάσις οὖν αὐτοὺς οἷαν¹ ἴσμεν οὔτε παρ' Ἑλλησιν οὔτε παρὰ βαρβάρους γενομένην κατέλαβεν, ὑφ' ἧς ἅπαντας ἀπολέσθαι κινδυνεύσαντας² ἔσωσε Μωυσῆς, οὐ μνησικακῶν ὅτι παρ' ὀλίγον ἦλθε καταλευσθεῖς
- 13 ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν. οὐδ' ὁ θεὸς δὲ ἠμέλησε τοῦ μηδὲν αὐτοὺς παθεῖν τῶν δεινῶν, ἀλλὰ καίπερ εἰς τὸν νομοθέτην αὐτῶν ἐξυβρισάντων καὶ τὰς ἐντολάς, ἃς αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος αὐτοῖς ἐπέστειλεν, ἐρρύσατο τῶν ἐκ τοῦ στασιάζειν αὐτοῖς ἂν γενομένων δεινῶν, εἰ μὴ προενόησε. τὴν τε οὖν στάσιν καὶ ὅσα μετὰ ταύτην³ Μωυσῆς ἐπο-

¹ + οὐκ SPL.

² ed. pr.: ἀπολείπεσθαι κινδ. ἢ ἀπολέσθαι codd.

³ μετ' αὐτήν RO.

^a In Numb. xiv. 25 it is God who instructs Moses to turn back into the wilderness "by the way to the Red Sea"

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 10-13

out into the desert.^a So, the people having once more committed themselves to him—for they understood that without his vigilance they could never prosper in their affairs—he called up the army and advanced into the desert, thinking that there they would be tranquil and would not come to grips with the Canaanites before the opportunity for so doing should be granted them by God.

(ii. 1) However, just as large armies,^b especially in reverses, are wont to become ungovernable and insubordinate, even so it fell out with the Jews. These sixty myriads of men, who, by reason of their numbers, might perchance even in prosperity not have submitted to their superiors, now so much the more, under the stress of want and calamity, became enraged both with each other and with their leader. Thus it was that a sedition, for which we know of no parallel whether among Greeks or barbarians, broke out among them; this sedition brought them all into peril of destruction, from which they were saved by Moses, who bore them no malice for having come near to being stoned to death at their hands. Nor did God himself suffer them altogether to escape a dreadful disaster, but, notwithstanding that they had outraged their lawgiver and the commandments which He himself through Moses had enjoined upon them, He delivered them from those dire consequences which would have ensued from their sedition but for Moses' watchful care. This sedition, along with the measures thereafter taken by Moses, (*i.e.* towards its eastern arm, the Gulf of Akabah); the abortive attack on the Canaanites follows later.

The great
sedition

^b An echo of Thuc. vii. 80 *ὄλον φιλεῖ καὶ πᾶσι στρατοπέδοις μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς μεγίστοις*; with the adjectives following *cf.* *B.J.* ii. 92 *τὸ τε δύσαρκτον καὶ τὸ δυσπειθές.*

JOSEPHUS

λιτεύσατο διηγῆσομαι προδιελθὼν τὴν αἰτίαν ἀφ' ἧς ἐγένετο.

- 14 (2) Κορῆς τις Ἑβραίων ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα καὶ γένει καὶ πλούτῳ διαφέρων ἱκανὸς δ' εἰπεῖν καὶ δήμοις ὁμιλεῖν πιθανώτατος, ὄρων ἐν ὑπερβαλλούσῃ τιμῇ τὸν Μωυσῆν καθεστῶτα χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὑπὸ φθόνου, καὶ γὰρ φυλέτης ὢν ἐτύγχανεν αὐτοῦ καὶ συγγενῆς, ἀχθόμενος ὅτι ταύτης τῆς δόξης δικαιότερον ἂν τῷ¹ πλουτεῖν ἐκείνου μᾶλλον μὴ
- 15 χείρων ὢν κατὰ γένος αὐτὸς ἀπέλαυε. παρά τε τοῖς Λευίταις, φυλέται δ' ἦσαν, καὶ μάλιστα παρά τοῖς συγγενέσι κατεβόα, δεινὸν εἶναι λέγων Μωυσῆν δόξαν αὐτῷ θηρώμενον κατασκευάσαι καὶ κακουργούντα κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἐπὶ προφάσει τοῦ θεοῦ περιορᾶν, παρά τοὺς νόμους μὲν τὰδελφῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην Ἀαρῶνι δόντα, μὴ τῷ κοινῷ δόγματι
- 16 τοῦ πλήθους ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ ψηφισαμένου, τυράννων² δὲ τρόπῳ καταχαριζομένου τὰς τιμὰς οἷς ἂν ἐθελήσῃ· χαλεπώτερον <τ' >³ ἤδη τυγχάνειν τοῦ βιάζεσθαι τὸ λεληθότως ἐξυβρίζειν, ὅτι μὴ μόνον ἄκοντας ἀλλὰ μηδὲ συνιέντας τῆς ἐπιβουλῆς τὴν

¹ ἂν τῷ Dindorf: αὐτῷ codd.

² Niese: τυράννω or τυράννου codd.

³ A τε, which the mss. insert before λεληθότως, has perhaps been misplaced.

^a Gr. Κορῆς; Heb. Korah (= "baldness"), LXX. Κόρε.

^b Tradition enlarges upon the wealth of Korah, which it attributes to his discovery of treasures buried by Joseph in Egypt (see *Jewish Encyclopaedia*). Psalm xlix. (a psalm attributed to "the sons of Korah," his degenerate descendants), and in particular v. 17 (16), "Be not thou afraid when one is made rich," is interpreted by the Midrash as referring to Korah and his company.

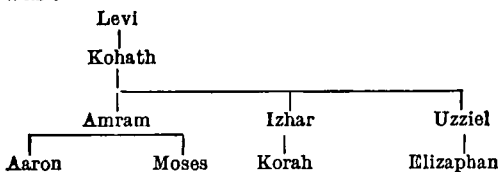
JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 13-16

I shall now recount, having first related the occasion out of which it arose.

(2) Korah,^a one of the most eminent of the Hebrews by reason both of his birth and of his riches,^b a capable speaker and very effective in addressing a crowd, seeing Moses established in the highest honours, was sorely envious; for he was of the same tribe and indeed his kinsman,^c and was aggrieved at the thought that he had a greater right to enjoy all this glory himself, as being richer than Moses without being his inferior in birth. So he proceeded to denounce him among the Levites, who were his tribesmen, and especially among his kinsmen, declaring that it was monstrous to look on at Moses hunting round to create glory for himself and mischievously working to attain this in the pretended name of God. In defiance of the laws he had (he said) given the priesthood to his brother Aaron, not by the common decree of the people but by his own vote, and in despotic fashion was bestowing the honours upon whom he would.^d Graver than open violence was now this clandestine form of outrage, because not only were those whom it robbed of power unwilling victims but even un-

Korah's jealousy: his harangue to his fellow Levites. Numb. xvi. 1.

^c His first cousin. The pedigree (Ex. vi. 16, 18; Numb. xvi. 1) was:



^d According to tradition Korah's main grievance was that the office of "prince" of the Kohathites had been bestowed upon Elizaphan, who belonged to a branch of the family younger than his own (Numb. iii. 30: see pedigree above).

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- 17 ἰσχὺν ἀφαιρεῖται· ὅστις γὰρ αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν ὄντι λαβεῖν ἀξίῳ πείθει τυγχάνειν αὐτὸν καὶ ταῦτα¹ βιάσασθαι μὴ θρασυνόμενος, οἷς δὲ ἄπορον ἐκ τοῦ δικαίου τιμᾶσθαι βίαν μὲν ἀγαθοὶ βουλόμενοι δοκεῖν οὐ προσφέρουσι, τέχνη δ' εἶναι κακουργοῦσι
- 18 δυνατοί. συμφέρειν δὲ τῷ πλήθει τοὺς τοιούτους ἔτι λανθάνειν οἰομένους κολάζειν καὶ μὴ παρελθεῖν εἰς δύναμιν ἑάσαντας φανεροὺς ἔχειν πολεμίους. “τίνα γὰρ καὶ λόγον ἀποδοῦναι δυνάμενος Μωυσῆς Ἄαρῶνι καὶ τοῖς υἱέσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἱερωσύνην
- 19 παρέδωκεν; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἐκ τῆς Λευίτιδος φυλῆς τὴν τιμὴν ὁ θεὸς τιμὴν παρασχέειν ἔκρινεν, ἐγὼ ταύτης δικαιότερος τυγχάνειν, γένει μὲν ὁ αὐτὸς ὢν Μωυσεῖ, πλούτῳ δὲ καὶ ἡλικίᾳ διαφέρων· εἰ δὲ τῇ πρεσβυτάτῃ τῶν φυλῶν, εἰκότως ἂν ἢ Ῥουβήλου τὴν τιμὴν ἔχοι λαμβανόντων αὐτὴν Δαθάμου καὶ Ἀβιράμου καὶ Φαλαοῦ· πρεσβύτατοι γὰρ οὗτοι τῶν ταύτην τὴν φυλὴν νεμομένων καὶ δυνατοὶ χρημάτων περιουσία.”
- 20 (3) Ἐβούλετο μὲν οὖν ταῦτα λέγων ὁ Κορῆς τοῦ κοινοῦ προνοεῖσθαι δοκεῖν, ἔργῳ δὲ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπραγματεύετο τὴν παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους τιμὴν μεταστῆσαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα κακοήθως μετ’
- 21 εὐπρεπείας πρὸς τοὺς φυλέτας ἔλεγε. προϊόντος δ’ εἰς τοὺς πλείονας κατ’ ὀλίγον τοῦ λόγου καὶ τῶν ἀκρωμένων προστιθεμένων ταῖς κατὰ

¹ τότε RO.

^a Reuben (see i. 304 note).

^b Gr. Dathames (most mss.): Bibl. Dathan.

^c Pallu (LXX φαλλοῦς) is mentioned as the second son of Reuben in Ex. vi. 14. But the name Phalaus here probably comes rather from the historian's text of Numb. xvi. 1; that

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 17-21

aware of the plot. For one who is conscious of meriting promotion seeks to obtain it by persuasion, and that without venturing to resort to force; but those who are incapable of obtaining honours by just means, while doubtless they refrain from violence, because they wish to be taken for honest people, scheme by wicked artifice to attain to power. It was expedient for the people, he continued, to punish such persons, while yet they believed themselves undetected, instead of allowing them to advance to power and having them for open enemies. "What reason, pray, could Moses give for having conferred the priesthood upon Aaron and his sons? If God has decided to award this honour to one of the tribe of Levi, I have more right to receive it, being by birth on a level with Moses, in wealth and years his superior. If, on the other hand, it is meant for the oldest of the tribes, naturally that of Rubel^a should have this dignity, to be held by Datham,^b Abiram, and Phalaus^c; for they are the eldest of the members of that tribe, and powerful through abundance of possessions."

(3) Now by these words Korah wished it to appear that he was concerned for the public welfare; in reality, he was but scheming to have the dignity transferred by the people to himself. Thus with specious malice did he address the members of his tribe; his words then spreading gradually among the crowd and those who listened to them crediting^d

Spread of
the
rebellion.

verse in its traditional form (which is thought to be corrupt) mentions along with Dathan and Abiram "On the son of Peleth" (LXX Φαλέθ).

^a Or "assenting to" (in *A.* vi. 287 προστιθεσθαι is a synonym for πιστεῦειν); not, I think, as earlier translators take it, "adding to," "improving upon."

JOSEPHUS

- Ἄαρῶνος διαβολαῖς ἀναπίμπλαται τούτων ἅπας ὁ στρατός. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ συντεταγμένοι τῷ Κορῆ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι τῶν πρώτων ἄνδρες σπεύδοντες ἀφελέσθαι τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸν Μωυσέος 22 ἀδελφὸν καὶ τοῦτον αὐτὸν ἀτιμοῦν. ἀνηρέθιστο δὲ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ βάλλειν τὸν Μωυσῆν ὠρμήκεσαν, εἰς τε ἐκκλησίαν ἀκόσμως μετὰ θορύβου καὶ παραχῆς συνελέγοντο, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ στάντες¹ ἐβόων διώκειν² τὸν τύραννον καὶ τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ δουλείας ἀπηλλάχθαι τὸ πλῆθος, τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ προφάσει βίαια προστάγματα κελεύ- 23 οντος· τὸν γὰρ θεόν, εἶπερ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ τὸν ἱερα- σόμενον³ ἐκλεγόμενος, τὸν ἄξιον ἂν εἰς τὴν τιμὴν παραγαγεῖν,⁴ οὐχὶ τοῖς πολλῶν ὑποδεεστέροις ταύτην φέροντα προσνεῖμαι, κρίνοντά τε παρασχεῖν Ἄαρῶνι ταύτην ἐπὶ τῷ· πλήθει ποιήσασθαι τὴν δόσιν, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐπὶ τὰδελφῷ καταλιπεῖν.
- 24 (4) Μωυσῆς δὲ τὴν Κορέου διαβολὴν ἐκ πολλοῦ προειδὼς καὶ τὸν λαὸν παροξυνόμενον ἰδὼν οὐκ ἔδεισεν, ἀλλὰ θαρρῶν οἷς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων καλῶς ἐβουλευέτο καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν εἰδὼς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν τῆς ἱερωσύνης τυχεῖν, ἀλλ' οὐ 25 κατὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ χάριν, ἤκεν εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν. καὶ πρὸς μὲν τὸ πλῆθος οὐδένα ἐποίησατο λόγον, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Κορῆ βοῶν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐδύνατο, δεξιὸς ὢν καὶ κατὰ τὰλλα καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλεῖν

¹ πάντες ROM Lat.

² M ed. gr.: ἤκειν rell. (exeat Lat.).

³ ἱερωσόμενον codd. (and so § 28).

⁴ Niese: παράγειν codd.

° Traditional detail, not in Scripture.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 21-25

these calumnies upon Aaron, the whole army was soon pervaded with them. Korah's confederates were two hundred and fifty of the leading men, burning to deprive the brother of Moses of the priesthood and to dishonour Moses himself. But the multitude was equally excited and bent on stoning^a Moses; and, trooping to assembly in disorderly wise with tumult and uproar, they stood before the tabernacle of God and shouted: "Away with^b the tyrant and let the people be rid of their bondage to one who, in the pretended name of God, imposes his despotic orders. For God, had it been He who selected him that is to be priest, would have installed the most deserving in this office and would not have conferred and settled it^c upon persons inferior to many of us; and, had He decided to grant it to Aaron, He would have committed the presentation of it to the people, instead of leaving it to his brother."

Numb.
xvi. 2.

(4) But Moses, though he had long since known of the calumnies of Korah and seen the people's growing exasperation, yet was not afraid; no, with the assurance of having taken counsel for affairs aright, and knowing that his brother had obtained the priesthood through God's deliberate choice and not through any favouritism of his own, he came to the assembly. To the multitude he addressed no word, but turning to Korah and shouting with all his might—he who, with all his other talents, was so gifted in

Moses
addresses
the
assembly.
Cf. *ib.* 4-11

^b Literally "pursue" or "prosecute"; most mss. have "let the tyrant come (forth)."

^c The rendering "would not have consented (literally "endured") to settle it" (so Hudson and Weill) seems hardly justifiable: *φέρειν* in that sense takes a participle, not an infinitive. Cf. *φέρων ἔδωκα* below, § 26.

JOSEPHUS

εὐφυής, “ἐμοί,” φησίν, “ὦ Κορῆ, καὶ σὺ καὶ
 τούτων ἕκαστος,” ἀπεδήλου δὲ τοὺς πεντήκοντα καὶ
 διακοσίους ἄνδρας, “τιμῆς ἄξιοι δοκεῖτε, καὶ τὸν
 ὄμιλον δὲ πάντα τῆς ὁμοίας οὐκ ἀποστερῶ τιμῆς,
 κἂν ὑστερῶσιν ὧν ὑμῖν ἐκ πλούτου καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 26 ἀξιώσεως ὑπάρχει. καὶ νῦν Ἀαρῶνι τὴν ἱερωσύνην
 οὐκ ἐπειδὴ πλούτῳ προεῖχε, σὺ γὰρ καὶ ἀμφοτέρους
 ἡμᾶς μεγέθει χρημάτων ὑπερβάλλεις, οὐ μὴν
 οὐδ’ εὐγενείᾳ, κοινὸν γὰρ ἡμῖν τοῦτ’ ἐποίησεν ὁ
 θεὸς τὸν αὐτὸν δούς προπάτορα, οὐδὲ διὰ φιλ-
 αδελφίαν ὃ δικαίως ἂν ἕτερος εἶχε τοῦτο φέρων
 27 ἔδωκα τὰδελφῶ· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ φροντίζων τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων τὴν τιμὴν ἐχαριζόμεν, οὐκ
 ἂν ἐμαυτῷ παρὶς δοῦναι παρέσχον ἑτέρῳ, συγ-
 γενέστερος ὧν ἐμαυτῷ τὰδελφοῦ καὶ πρὸς ἐμαυτὸν
 οἰκειότερον ἢ πρὸς ἐκείνον διακείμενος· καὶ γὰρ
 οὐδὲ¹ συνετὸν ἦν τοῖς κινδύνοις ἐμαυτὸν ὑποτιθέντα
 τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ παρανομεῖν ἄλλῳ τὴν διὰ τούτου²
 28 εὐδαιμονίαν χαρίζεσθαι. ἀλλ’ ἐγὼ τε κρείττων
 ἢ κακουργεῖν, ὃ τε θεὸς οὐκ ἂν περιεΐδεν ἑαυτὸν
 καταφρονούμενον οὐδ’ ὑμᾶς ἀγνοοῦντας ὃ τι καὶ
 ποιῶντες αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθε, ἀλλ’ αὐτὸς ἐπιλεξάμενος
 τὸν ἱερασόμενον αὐτῷ τῆς κατὰ τοῦτ’ αἰτίας ἡμᾶς
 29 ἤλευθέρωσεν. οὐ μὴν ἐξ ἐμῆς χάριτος λαβῶν³
 <Ἀαρῶν>⁴ ἀλλὰ μὴ κατὰ κρίσιν θεοῦ, κατα-
 τίθησιν αὐτὴν εἰς μέσον ἐπιδικάσιμον τοῖς βουλο-

¹ Dindorf: οὔτε codd.

² ed. pr.: λαβεῖν codd.

² ME: τοῦτ’ rell.

⁴ ex Lat.: om. codd.

^a Weill aptly compares the words of Moses in Num. xi. 29 (in the episode of Eldad and Medad, not reported by Josephus), “Would God that all the Lord’s people were prophets!”

moving a crowd—"To my mind, Korah," said he, "not thou alone but each of these men"—indicating the two hundred and fifty—"appears worthy of promotion; nay, this whole concourse I would not deprive of the like honour^a even though they lack what ye derive from wealth and other distinctions. And now, if Aaron has been presented with the priesthood, it is not because he was pre-eminent in wealth, for thou surpassest even the twain of us in magnitude of possessions; nor yet for nobility of birth, for God has made us equal in this respect by giving us the same forefather^b; nor was it from fraternal love that I conferred an honour, which justly another should have had, upon my brother. For even had I disregarded God and the laws in giving away this dignity, I should never have passed over myself and bestowed it upon another, seeing that I am a nearer kinsman to myself than is my brother and more closely attached to my person than to his! Nay, it would not even have been sensible to expose myself to the risks of an unlawful act only to present to another the resultant benefits. No; I on my side am above malpractices, while God would not have brooked such outrage to Himself nor left you ignorant what ye should do to win His favour. But since He himself has chosen him that is to serve as His priest, He has freed us^c from all responsibility in this regard.

"However, Aaron, though far from having received his office through my favour and not by the judgement of God, now lays it down as an open prize to be sued

^b Their common grandfather, Kohath.

^c Or "me" (as often).

JOSEPHUS

μένοις, οὐκ ἔκ τοῦ προκριθεῖς ἤδη τυχεῖν αὐτῆς
 ἀξιῶν ἐπιτραπῆναι καὶ τὸ¹ νῦν αὐτῶ² περὶ αὐτῆς
 30 σπουδάσαι, προτιμῶν <δὲ>³ τοῦ τὸ γέρας ἔχειν
 τὸ μὴ στασιάζοντας ὑμᾶς ὄραν καίτοι κατὰ τὴν
 ὑμετέραν γνώμην αὐτοῦ τυγχάνων· ὁ γὰρ ἔδωκεν
 ὁ θεὸς οὐχ ἡμάρτομεν τοῦτο καὶ βουλομένων ὑμῶν
 31 λαβεῖν νομίζοντες.⁴ ἦν δὲ καὶ τὸ μὴ προσέσθαι
 παρέχοντος ἐκείνου τὴν τιμὴν ἀσεβές, καὶ πάλιν
 ἀξιούν γ⁵ ἔχειν εἰς ἅπαντα χρόνον μὴ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ βεβαιούντος ἡμῖν τοῦ θεοῦ παντά-
 πασιν ἀλόγιστον. κρινεῖ τοίνυν πάλιν αὐτός,
 τίνας βούλεται τὰς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν⁶ αὐτῶ θυσίας
 32 ἐπιτελεῖν καὶ προεστάναι τῆς εὐσεβείας· ἄτοπον
 γὰρ Κορῆν ἐφιέμενον τῆς τιμῆς τὴν ἐξουσίαν
 τοῦ τίνι παράσχη ταύτην ἀφελέσθαι τὸν θεόν.
 τῆς οὖν στάσεως καὶ τῆς διὰ τοῦτο παραχῆς
 παύσασθε, πρῶτ' δὲ ὅσοι τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀντιποιεῖσθε
 κομίζων ἕκαστος θυμιατήριον οἴκοθεν σὺν θυμιά-
 33 μασι καὶ πυρὶ πάριτε. καὶ σὺ δέ, Κορῆ, παρα-
 χώρησον τὴν κρίσιν τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τούτοις
 αὐτοῦ μένε ψηφοφορίαν, ἀλλὰ μὴ σαυτὸν ποίει
 τοῦ θεοῦ κρείττονα, παραγίνου δὲ κριθησόμενος
 οὕτως περὶ τοῦ γέρωσ. ἀνεμέσητον δ' οἶμαι καὶ
 Ἄαρῶνα προσδέξασθαι συγκριθησόμενον, γένους
 34 τὴν ἱερωσύνην πεπραγμένοις δυνάμενον. θυμιά-

¹ SP: τοῦ or τοῦτο rell.

² Text RO: + συγχωρηθῆναι rell.

³ ins. Niese.

⁴ καὶ μὴ βουλ. ὑμῶν λαμβάνοντες RO.

⁵ ἀξιούντ' (ἀξιούντα) codd.

⁶ ἡμῶν SP.

^a Or " now again " ; but Weill is doubtless right in render-

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 29-34

for by any who will. He makes no claim on the ground of his previous selection and present tenure of it to be allowed on this occasion also to compete for it; but rather than keep this privilege he would prefer to see no dissension among you, notwithstanding that he holds it in virtue of your own decision; for that which God gave, we were not wrong in supposing that he received with your goodwill also. Nay, to have refused this honour when proffered by Him would have been impious; as, on the other hand,^a to claim to keep it for ever without having the assured possession of it guaranteed to us by God, would be utterly unreasonable. He, then, it is who shall decide anew, whom He would have to offer Him the sacrifices on your behalf and to preside over the rites of worship; for it were monstrous that Korah, in coveting this honour, should deprive God of the power of deciding to whom He would accord it.

“Cease ye then from this sedition and the turbulence arising therefrom, and at daybreak let all claimants for the priesthood bring each a censer from his home, with incense and fire, and come hither. And do thou too, Korah, leave the judgement to God, await the casting of His vote thereon and make not thyself superior to God, but come to stand thy trial even so concerning this prize. Nor can it, I imagine, cause offence, that Aaron too should be admitted as a competitor, he who is of the same family and beyond all reproach for his actions during his tenure of the priesthood. Ye will then burn your

Numb. xvi.
6, 16.

ing “en revanche,” though the temporal sense occurs just below. It is a Sophoclean use (*El.* 371), and the marks of the “Sophoclean” assistant (see Introduction) are evident in this speech.

JOSEPHUS

σετε¹ οὖν συνελθόντες ἐν φανερώ παντὶ τῷ λαῷ, καὶ θυμιωμένων ὑμῶν οὐπερ ἂν τὴν θυσίαν ἡδίω κρίνειεν ὁ θεός, οὗτος ὑμῖν ἱερεὺς κεχειροτονησεται, τῆς ἐπὶ τὰδελφῷ διαβολῆς ὡς κεχαρισμένου <έμου>² τὴν τιμὴν αὐτῷ ῥύόμενος.”

- 35 (iii. 1) Ταῦτα Μωυσέος εἰπόντος παύεται καὶ τῆς παραχῆς τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν ὑποψίας, ἐπένευσαν³ δὲ τοῖς εἰρημένοις· καὶ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ἐδόκει χρηστὰ τῷ λαῷ. τότε μὲν οὖν διαλύουσι τὸν σύλλογον, τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ συνῆλθον εἰς τὴν ἐκκλησίαν παρατευξόμενοι τῇ θυσίᾳ καὶ τῇ δι' αὐτῆς κρίσει τῶν περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης
- 36 ἀγωνιζομένων. συνέβαινε δ' εἶναι θορυβώδη τὴν ἐκκλησίαν μετεώρου τοῦ πλήθους ὄντος ἐπ' ἐλπίδι τῶν ἐσομένων, καὶ τῶν μὲν εἰς ἡδονὴν λαμβανόντων εἰ Μωυσῆς ἐλεγχθεῖη κακουργῶν, τῶν δὲ φρονίμων εἰ πραγμάτων ἀπαλλαγείησαν καὶ παραχῆς· ἐδε-
 37 μάλλον αὐτοῖς ὁ κόσμος τῆς καταστάσεως· ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὄμιλος φύσει χαίρων τῷ καταβοᾷ τῶν ἐν τέλει καὶ πρὸς ὃ τις εἶποι πρὸς τοῦτο τὴν γνώμην τρέπων ἐθορύβει. πέμψας δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς πρὸς Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην ὑπηρέτας ἐκέλευσεν ἦκειν κατὰ τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ περιμένει τὴν
- 38 ἱερουργίαν. ὡς δ' οὔτε ὑπακούσεσθαι τοῖς ἀγγέλοις ἔφασαν καὶ Μωυσῆν οὐ περιόψεσθαι κατὰ τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκ κακουργίας αὐξανόμενον, ἀκούσας τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ὁ Μωυσῆς ἀκολουθεῖν αὐτῷ τοὺς

¹ O: θυμιάσατε rell.

² ex Lat. ins. Niese.

³ RO: ἐπήνευσαν rell.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 34-38

incense, on assembling here, in the sight of all the people ; and, on your offering your incense, whose-soever sacrifice God shall judge to be most acceptable, he shall be your elected priest, thereby clearing me of the charge of having through favour bestowed this dignity upon a brother."

(iii. 1) After this speech of Moses, the multitude ceased their turbulence and their suspicions of him, and assented to his proposals, which indeed were, as they were thought, excellent for the people. So for the time they dissolved the meeting, but on the morrow they gathered to the assembly to assist at the sacrifice and at the judgement to be passed thereby upon the competitors for the priesthood. It proved indeed a tumultuous assembly, the multitude being all agog in expectation of the issue : some would have taken pleasure in seeing Moses convicted of a crime, others of the sager sort in being delivered from troubles and turbulence, for they feared, if sedition gained ground, a further obliteration of the ordered beauty of their constitution ; while the general mass, with its innate delight in decrying those in authority and its opinion swayed by what anyone said, was in a ferment. Moses sent attendants also to Abiram and Datham,^a bidding them come, as had been agreed, and await the issue of the sacred ceremony. But, since they informed the messengers that they would neither obey nor suffer Moses to wax great at the expense of the whole community by nefarious means, Moscs, on hearing their reply, requested his chief councillors^b to accompany him and

Fresh meeting of the assembly. Numb. xvi. 18.

Moses confronts Dathan and Abiram. *Ib.* 12.

xvi. 25.

^a Bibl. Dathan (§ 19).

^b "The elders of Israel" (Numbers).

JOSEPHUS

- προβούλους ἀξιώσας ἀπήει πρὸς τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην, οὐχ ἡγούμενος εἶναι δεινὸν βαδίζειν πρὸς τοὺς ὑπερ-
 ηφάνησαντας· οἱ δ' οὐδὲν ἀντειπόντες ἠκολούθουν.
- 39 οἱ δὲ περὶ Δαθάμην πυθόμενοι τὸν Μωυσῆν μετὰ
 τῶν ἀξιολόγων τῆς πληθύος πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρα-
 γνόμενον προελθόντες γυναιξὶν ἅμα καὶ τέκνοις
 πρὸ τῶν σκηνῶν ἀπέβλεπον, τί καὶ μέλλοι ποιεῖν
 ὁ Μωυσῆς· ἔτι τε θεράποντες ἦσαν περὶ αὐτούς,
 ὡς εἰ βίαν τιὰ προσφέροι Μωυσῆς ἀμννόμενοι.
- 40 (2) Ὁ δὲ πλησίον γενόμενος τὰς χεῖρας εἰς
 τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνασχῶν γεγωνότερον ἐκβοήσας,
 ὡς ἀκουστὸν πάση τῇ πληθύνι γενέσθαι, “δέσποτα,”
 φησί, “τῶν ἐπ’ οὐρανοῦ τε καὶ γῆς καὶ θαλάσσης·
 σὺ γὰρ ἐμοὶ τῶν ὑπ’ ἐμοῦ πεπραγμένων μάρτυς
 ἀξιολογώτατος, ὡς γνώμη τε σῆ γίνεται τὰ πάντα
 καὶ δρωμένοις¹ μηχανὴν ἐξεπόρισας οἶκτον ἐν
 πᾶσι δεινοῖς Ἑβραίων ποιησάμενος· ἔλθέ μοι
- 41 τούτων ἀκροατῆς τῶν λόγων, σὲ γὰρ οὔτε πρατ-
 τόμενον οὔτε νοηθὲν λαυθάνει, ὥστ’ οὐδὲ φθονήσεις
 μοι τῆς ἀληθείας τὴν τούτων ἀχαριστίαν ἐπί-
 προσθεν θέμενος. τὰ μὲν οὖν πρεσβύτερα τῆς
 ἐμῆς γενέσεως αὐτὸς οἶσθ’ ἀκριβέστερον, οὐκ
 ἀκοῇ μαθὼν ὄψει δὲ τότε αὐτοῖς παρῶν γινομένοις,
 ἃ δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις καίπερ ἐπιστάμενοι σαφῶς ἀδίκως
- 42 ὑπονοοῦσι, τούτων μοι γενοῦ μάρτυς. ἐγὼ βίον
 ἀπράγμονα καταστησάμενος ἀνδραγαθία μὲν ἐμῇ
 σῆ δὲ βουλῇ, καὶ τούτον Ῥαγουήλου μοι τοῦ

¹ δεομένοις Niese : ἀπορουμένοις Naber : emendation needless.

^a So, not (as earlier translators) “deeming it dangerous” :
 cf. *B.J.* iv. 393 δεινὸν ἡγουμένων ὑποτετάχθαι τὸ πρὶν ἰσοτίμῳ.

^b The Arabic version of Numbers adds a similar phrase,
 “ut viderent quid futurum esset” (trans. Walton, *Polyglot*).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 38-42

went off to the faction of Datham, not scorning ^a to go to these insolent rebels ; and the councillors followed him without demur. Datham's company, on learning that Moses was coming to them, attended by the chief notables of the people, came forth with their wives and children before their tents to see what Moses proposed to do.^b Moreover they had their servants ^c around them to defend them, should Moses resort to any act of violence.

(2) But he, on approaching them, raised his hands to heaven and, in stentorian tones, so as to be heard by all the throng, said : " Lord of all that is in heaven and earth and sea, since thou for my actions art the witness most worthy of belief, how that all things have been done in accordance with thy will and how for their performance thou didst devise a way, taking pity on the Hebrews in all adversities, come and lend thine ear to my words. For from thee no deed nor thought is hid ; thou wilt not then grudge me the revelation of the truth, preferring above it the ingratitude of these men. Truly, the events anterior to my birth thou knowest best thyself, not through hearing of the ear, but through seeing them pass at the time in thy presence ; but of the events thereafter, which, though they know them well, these men so unjustly suspect, of them be thou my witness. I, who had secured for myself a life of ease, through my prowess ^d and at thy will, thanks too to what

Appeal of Moses for the intervention of God. Cf. Numb. xvi. 15, 28.

^c This is J.'s rendering of the Hebrew *taph* " (their) *little ones* " in Num. xvi. 27 : LXX ἀποσκευή (" chattels "), Targum of Onkelos " their families," Vulgate " omnique frequentia."

^d ἀπράγμονα . . . ἀνδραγαθία : an echo of Thuc. ii 63 ἀπραγμοσύνη ἀνδραγαθίζεται.

JOSEPHUS

πενθεροῦ καταλιπόντος, ἀφείς τὴν ἐκείνων ἀπό-
 λαυσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔμαντὸν ἐπέδωκα ταῖς ὑπὲρ
 τούτων ταλαιπωρίαῖς. καὶ πρότερον μὲν ὑπὲρ
 τῆς ἐλευθερίας αὐτῶν, νῦν δ' ὑπὲρ τῆς σωτηρίας
 μεγάλους ὑπέστην πόνους καὶ παντὶ δεινῷ τοῦμὸν
 43 ἀντιτάξας πρόθυμον. νῦν οὖν ἐπεὶ κακουργεῖν
 ὑποπτεύομαι παρ' ἀνδράσιν, οἷς ἐκ τῶν ἐμῶν
 καμάτων ὑπάρχει¹ τὸ περιεῖναι, εἰκότως ἂν αὐτός,
 ὁ τὸ πῦρ ἐκείνὸ μοι φήνας κατὰ τὸ Σιναῖον καὶ
 τῆς σαυτοῦ φωνῆς ἀκροατὴν τότε καταστήσας
 καὶ θεατὴν τεράτων ὅσα μοι παρέσχεν ἰδεῖν ἐκείνος
 ὁ τόπος ποιήσας, ὁ κελεύσας ἐπ' Αἰγύπτου
 σταλῆναι καὶ τὴν σὴν γνώμην τούτοις ἐμφανίσει,
 44 ὁ τὴν Αἰγυπτίων εὐδαιμονίαν σείσας καὶ τῆς ὑπ'
 αὐτοῖς² δουλείας δρασμὸν ἡμῖν παρασχῶν καὶ
 μικροτέραν ἐμοῦ τὴν Φαραώθου ποιήσας ἡγεμονίαν,
 ὁ γῆν ἡμῖν ἀμαθῶς ἔχουσι τῶν ὁδῶν ποιήσας τὸ
 πέλαγος καὶ τὴν ἀνακεκομμένην θάλασσαν τοῖς
 Αἰγυπτίων ἐπικυμήνας ὀλέθροις, ὁ γυμνοῖς οὔσι
 45 τὴν ἐξ ὄπλων ἀσφάλειαν χαρισάμενος, ὁ ποτίμους
 ἡμῖν διεφθαρμένας πηγὰς ρεῦσαι παρασκευάσας
 καὶ τελέως ἀποροῦσιν ἐκ πετρῶν ἐλθεῖν ἡμῖν
 ποτὸν μηχανησάμενος, ὁ τῶν γῆθεν ἀπορουμένους
 εἰς τροφήν διασώσας τοῖς ἀπὸ θαλάσσης, ὁ καὶ
 ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ τροφήν καταπέμψας οὐ πρότερον
 ἱστορηθεῖσαν, ὁ νόμων ἡμῖν ἐπίνοιαν ὑποθέμενος
 46 καὶ διάταξιν πολιτείας· ἐλθέ, δέσποτα τῶν ὅλων,
 δικαστὴς μου καὶ μάρτυς ἀδωροδόκητος, ὡς οὔτε
 δωρεὰν ἐγὼ παρ' Ἑβραίων τινὸς κατὰ τοῦ δικαίου

¹ ὑπῆρχε RO.

² αὐτοὺς RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 42-46

Raguel my father-in-law left me,^a abandoning the enjoyment of those good things, devoted myself to tribulations on behalf of this people. At first for their liberty, and now for their salvation, great are the toils that I have undergone, opposing to every peril all the ardour of my soul. Now therefore, when I am suspected of knavery by men who owe it to my exertions that they are yet alive, well mayest thou thyself—thou who didst show me that fire on Sinai and didst cause me then to listen to thy voice and to behold all those prodigies which I was permitted by that place to see; thou who badest me make speed to Egypt and reveal thy will to this people; who didst shake the prosperity of the Egyptians and grant us escape from the yoke of their bondage, humbling beneath me the dominion of Pharaoh; who, when we knew not whither to go, didst change the deep into dry land and, when the sea had been beaten back, broughtest up its surging billows to the Egyptians' destruction; who to our naked army gavest arms for their protection; who didst cause sweet water to flow for us from polluted springs and in the depth of our distress find means to bring us drink from the rocks ^b; who when the fruits of earth failed us preservedst us with sustenance from the sea,^c aye and from heaven didst send down meat unheard of aforetime ^d; thou who didst put into our minds a scheme of laws and an ordered constitution—O come, Lord of the universe, to judge my cause and to attest, as witness incorruptible, that neither have I accepted a present from a single Hebrew to pervert justice,

Numb.
xvi. 15.

^a *Ant.* ii. 263; or "which Raguel . . . too left me free to enjoy."

^b iii. 35.

^c Quails, iii. 25.

^d Manna, iii. 26.

JOSEPHUS

προσηκάμην οὔτε πλούτῳ κατέκρινα πενίαν νικᾶν δυναμένην οὔτε ἐπὶ βλάβῃ τοῦ κοινοῦ πολιτευσάμενος εἰς ἀλλοτριωτάτας τῶν ἐμῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐπινοίας πάρεμι, ὡς οὐχὶ σοῦ κελεύσαντος Ἀαρῶν

47 δους τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀλλὰ κατ' ἐμὴν χάριν. παράστησον δὲ καὶ νῦν, ὅτι πάντα σῆ προνοία διοικεῖται καὶ μηδὲν αὐτομάτως ἀλλὰ κατὰ βούλησιν βραβευόμενον τὴν σὴν εἰς τέλος ἔρχεται, ὅτι δὲ φροντίζεις τῶν Ἑβραίουσ ὀνησόντων, μετελθὼν Ἀβίραμον καὶ Δαθάμην, οἳ σου καταδικάζουσιν ἀναισθησίαν ὡς ὑπ' ἐμῆς τέχνης νικωμένου.

48 ποιήσεις δὲ φανεράν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δίκην οὔτως μεμνηόντων κατὰ τῆς σῆς δόξης, μὴ κοινῶς ἐκ τοῦ ζῆν αὐτοὺς μεταστήσας μηδ' ὡς ἀποθανόντας κατ' ἀνθρώπινον ἐξεληλυθότας τοῦ βίου φανέντας νόμον, ἀλλὰ χάνοι περὶ αὐτοὺς ἅμα τῇ γενεᾷ

49 καὶ τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἦν πατοῦσι γῆν· τοῦτο γὰρ σῆς ἐπίδειξις ἂν ἰσχύος ἅπασι γένοιτο καὶ διδασκαλία σωφροσύνης δέει τοῦ¹ ταυτὰ πείσεσθαι περὶ σοῦ δοξάζοντας οὐχ ὅσια· εὐρεθείην γὰρ ἂν οὔτως ἀγαθὸς ὑπηρέτης ὦν σὺ προστάσεις.

50 εἰ δ' ἀληθεῖς πεποιήνται τὰς κατ' ἐμοῦ διαβολάς, τοὺς μὲν ἀπαθεῖς ἀπὸ παντὸς φυλάξειας² κακοῦ, ὃν δ' ἐπηρασάμην ὄλεθρον αὐτοῖς τοῦτον ποιήσεις³ ἐμόν· καὶ δίκην εἰσπραξάμενος παρὰ τοῦ τὸν σὸν ἀδικῆσαι θελήσαντος λαὸν τοῦ λοιποῦ βραβεύων ὁμόνοιαν καὶ εἰρήνην σῶζε τὴν πληθὺν ἐπομένην τοῖς σοῖς προστάγμασιν, ἀπαθῆ τηρῶν αὐτὴν καὶ

¹ δέει τοῦ Holwerda: δὲ εἰς τοὺς codd.

² φυλάξεις ROM.

³ ποιήσεις RO.

* Moses here suggests the earthquake to God (in Scripture
24

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 46-50

nor in the interest of wealth condemned poverty that deserved to win, nor, acting to the detriment of the public weal, have allowed thoughts so wholly alien to my conduct to enter my mind, as to give the priesthood to Aaron not by thy command but through my favouritism. Prove now once again that all is directed by thy providence, that nothing befalls fortuitously, but that it is thy will that overrules and brings everything to its end ; prove that thou carest for those who would benefit the Hebrews, by pursuing with vengeance Abiram and Datham, who accuse thee of such insensibility as to have been defeated by artifice of mine. Aye and thou wilt make manifest thy judgement upon them, these mad assailants of thy majesty, by removing them in no common manner out of existence : let it not appear that in perishing they quitted life according to the law of humanity : nay, let there open to engulf them, them and their families and their belongings, the very ground they tread !^a *That* would be for all an exhibition of thy might and a lesson in sobriety, through fear of suffering the like fate for impious imaginations concerning thee ; for thus should I be proved a faithful minister of thy behests. But, if the accusations which they have made against me be true, then mayest thou keep these men free from all harm, and that destruction which I have imprecated on them bring thou upon me. And, having exacted justice from him that would have wronged thy people, henceforward, awarding harmony and peace, save thou this multitude that followeth thy commandments, preserving them unscathed and exempt from

Numb.
xvi. 29 f.

his words are addressed to the people), as at the Red Sea he had suggested three alternative expedients (ii. 337).

JOSEPHUS

ἀκοινώνητον τῆς τῶν ἡμαρτηκότων κολάσεως· σὺ γὰρ αὐτὸς οἶσθα, ὡς οὐ δίκαιον ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐκείνων κακίας κοινῇ πάντας Ἰσραηλίτας τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνειν.¹”

- 51 (3) Ταῦτ' εἰπόντος καὶ δακρύνοντος σείεται μὲν αἰφνίδιον ἢ γῆ, σάλου δ' ἐπ'² αὐτῆς κινηθέντος ὡσπερ ἐξ ἀνέμου βίας σαλευομένου κύματος πᾶς μὲν ἔδεισεν ὁ λαός, πατάγου δὲ καὶ σκληροῦ ῥαγέντος ἤχου κατὰ τὰς ἐκείνων σκηναὶς συνίζησεν ἢ γῆ καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα φίλα τούτοις ἦν ὑπήνεγκεν
52 εἰς αὐτήν. ἠφανισμένων δ' οὕτως, ὡς μηδὲ φθῆναι³ τινὰς γνῶναι, συνῆει τε πάλιν τῆς γῆς τὸ περὶ ἐκείνοις κεχηγὸς καὶ καθίστατο, ὡς μηδ' εἰ πάθοι τι τῶν προειρημένων φανερόν εἶναι τοῖς ὀρώσι. καὶ οἱ μὲν οὕτως ἀπώλοντο ἐπίδειξις
53 τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἰσχύος γενόμενοι· ὀδύρατο δ' ἄν τις οὐ μόνον τῆς συμφορᾶς αὐτοῦς καὶ καθ' αὐτήν οὕσης ἀξίας οἴκτου, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ τοιαῦτα παθόντων ἐφήσθησαν οἱ συγγενεῖς· τῶν γὰρ συντεταγμένων ἐκλαθόμενοι πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν τοῦ συμβεβηκότος ἐβεβαίουν τὴν κρίσιν, καὶ νομίζοντες ὡς ἀλιτηρίου ἀπολωλέναι τοὺς περὶ Δαθάμην οὐδ' ἔλυποῦντο.
- 54 (4) Μωυσῆς δ' ἐκάλει τοὺς περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης ἀμιλλωμένους διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερέων δοκιμασίαν, ἵν' οὐ προσδέξεται τὴν θυσίαν ὁ θεὸς ἥδιον ἐκεῖνος⁴

¹ ἐκτινύναι M.

² RO: ἀπ' rell.

³ Cocceii: ὀφθῆναι or φανῆναι codd.

⁴ om. RO.

^a Or possibly (neuter) “their confederacy,” the compact between the two parties. Critics have long recognized that in the Biblical narrative two distinct stories have been welded together: (1) a revolt against the civil authority of Moses, 26

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 50-54

the punishment of them that have sinned. For thou thyself knowest that it were not just that for their iniquity all Israel together should pay the penalty."

(3) So spake he, weeping withal, when suddenly the earth shook, a tremor moved over its surface as when a wave is tossed by the violence of the wind, and all the people were afraid; then a crash and a burst of booming sound, and over against the tents of those men the earth subsided and swept all that was precious to them down into its bosom. The victims being obliterated so swiftly that some were even unaware of their fate, the ground that had opened around them closed up again and settled down, so that there was nothing to show the on-lookers that it had actually suffered any such convulsion. Thus they perished, furnishing an exhibition of God's mighty power. Yet one might commiserate them, not only for a catastrophe by itself alone meriting compassion, but because moreover their kinsfolk rejoiced over their awful fate. For, oblivious of their confederates,^a at the sight of what had befallen they ratified the sentence, and, judging that Datham and his followers had perished as miscreants, they refrained even from grief.^b

Dathan's
company
engulfed by
earthquake.
Numb.
xvi. 31.

(4) But ^c Moses summoned the rival claimants for the priesthood to proceed to the scrutiny for that office, to the end that he whose sacrifice should be received with most favour by God should be declared

Korah's
company
consumed
by celestial
fire. *Ib.* 2,
18.

led by Dathan and Abiram, (2) a revolt of representatives of the whole people, led by Korah, against the Levites.

^b Addition to Scripture.

^c Peculiarities in this section, noted below, indicate the reappearance of the "Thucydidean" assistant (see Introduction). There is some lack of coherence with what has preceded.

JOSEPHUS

ἦ¹ κεχειροτονημένος. συνελθόντων δὲ πεντήκοντα καὶ διακοσίων ἀνδρῶν, οἳ καὶ διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὴν ἐτιμῶντο παρὰ τῷ λαῷ καὶ διὰ τὴν αὐτῶν, ἣ κακείνους ὑπερεβάλλοντο, προῆλθον καὶ Ἀαρῶν καὶ Κορῆς, καὶ πρὸ τῆς σκηνῆς πάντες καθήγγισαν ἐπὶ τοῖς θυμιατηρίοις ὅποσα κομίζοντες ἔτυχον.

55 ἐξέλαμψε δὲ πῦρ τοσοῦτον ὅσον οὔτε² χειροποιήτων ἱστορήσέ τις οὔτε γῆθεν ἀναδοθὲν κατὰ ὑποδρομὴν καύματος οὔτε κατὰ βίαν πνευμάτων ὕλης πρὸς αὐτὴν³ παρατριβείσης αὐτομάτως ἐξεκρούσθη, ἀλλ' ὅποῖον <ἄν>⁴ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἀφθείη λαμπρὸν καὶ

56 φλογωδέστατον· ὑφ' οὗ πάντες, οἳ τε διακόσιοι καὶ πεντήκοντα καὶ Κορῆς, ἄξαντος ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐφθάρσαν, ὡς καὶ τὰ σώματα αὐτῶν ἀφανῆ γεγονέναι. περισώζεται δὲ μόνος Ἀαρῶν μηδὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς βλαβεῖς τῷ τὸν θεὸν εἶναι τὸν

57 οὗς ἔδει καίειν ἀπεσταλκότα. Μωυσῆς δὲ τούτων ἀπολομένων βουλόμενος τὴν τιμωρίαν αὐτῶν μνήμη παραδοθῆναι καὶ τοὺς αὐτίς ἐσομένους αὐτὴν μαθεῖν, ἐκέλευσεν Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν Ἀαρῶνος

¹ ML: εἴη rell.

² Dindorf: οὐδὲ codd.

³ Bekker: αὐτὸ codd.

⁴ ins. Bekker.

^a There is no indication that they have already been mentioned (§ 21).

^b "Princes of the congregation, called to the assembly (LXX *σύνκλητοι βουλῆς*), men of renown," Numb. xvi. 2.

^c In the conflate Biblical narrative Korah appears to share the fate of Dathan and Abiram (xvi. 27, and expressly in xxvi. 10). In Josephus he is burnt with the 250. The nature of his end was in fact the subject of Rabbinic controversy (Talmud, *Sanhedrin*, 110a, quoted by Weill).

^d The use of *ὅποσος* for *ὅσος* is a distinctive mark of the

elected. Then assembled two hundred and fifty men,^a held in high esteem by the people alike for the merits of their ancestors and for their own, in which they even surpassed their sires ^b ; Aaron and Korah ^c advanced likewise, and the whole company in front of the tabernacle burnt incense on all those censers which ^d they had brought with them. And suddenly there blazed forth a fire, the like of which had never in the record of history been made by the hand of man, nor was ever ejected from the earth through subterranean current of heat, nor yet spontaneously broke out in the woods from the violence of the wind and mutual attrition,^e but such a flame as might be kindled at the bidding of God, brilliant and of the fiercest heat. Beneath this blaze, which leapt out upon them, all those two hundred and fifty, along with Korah, were consumed, insomuch that all trace of their bodies disappeared. Aaron alone survived, in no wise injured by the fire, because it was God who had sent it to burn up those whose burning was requisite. Moreover Moses, after the destruction of these men, wishing their penalty to be commemorated and future generations to learn thereof, ordered Eleazar, the son of Aaron, to deposit

Numb.
xvi. 35.

xvi. 36
(xvii. 1
Heb.).

“ Thucydidean ” assistant responsible for *Ant.* xvii - xix ; there are 100 instances of it in those books and only four, including this one, elsewhere.

^a A description based on, and intended to outdo, that of the Plataean bonfire in *Thuc.* ii. 77 : “ A flame arose of which the like had never before been made by the hand of man ; I am not speaking of fires in the mountains, when the woods have spontaneously blazed up from the action of the wind and mutual attrition ” (*Jowett*). With this is combined an apparent allusion to the great eruption of Vesuvius which in A.D. 79 buried Pompeii and Herculaneum, and which is expressly mentioned in *A.* xx. 144.

- υἱὸν τὰ θυματήρια αὐτῶν παρὰ τὸν χάλκεον
 58 καταθέσθαι βωμόν, ὡς ἂν ὑπόμνησις εἴη τοῖς
 αὐθις ὧν ἔπαθον [καί]¹ ὅτι τὴν ἰσχὺν τοῦ θεοῦ
 νομίσειαν ἀπατᾶσθαι δύνασθαι. καὶ Ἀαρὼν μὲν
 οὐκέτι τῇ Μωυσέος χάριτι τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην
 ἔχειν δοκῶν, ἀλλὰ τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κρίσει φανερᾶ
 γενομένη, μετὰ τῶν υἱῶν ἤδη βεβαίως ἀπέλαυε
 τῆς τιμῆς.
- 59 (iv. 1.) Τὴν μέντοι στάσιμ οὐδ' οὕτως συνέβη
 παύσασθαι, πολλῶ δὲ μᾶλλον αὔξειν καὶ φύεσθαι
 χαλεπωτέραν· ἐλάμβανε δὲ² τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον
 προκοπῆς αἰτίαν, ὑφ' ἧς οὐδέποτε λήξειν τὸ
 60 δεινὸν ἦν εἰκὸς ἀλλ' εἰς χρόνον παραμενεῖν. οἱ
 γὰρ ἄνθρωποι πεπιστευκότες ἤδη μηδὲν γίνεσθαι
 δίχα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ προνοίας οὐκ ἐβούλοντο ταῦτα
 χωρὶς τῆς εἰς Μωυσῆν χάριτος τοῦ θεοῦ πεπράχθαι,
 κατηγοροῦν δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν ὀργὴν τοῦ θεοῦ γενέσθαι³
 τοσαύτην οὐχ οὕτω διὰ τὴν τῶν κολασθέντων
 61 ἀδικίαν, ὡς Μωυσέος πραγματευσαμένου· καὶ τοὺς
 μὲν διεφθάρθαι μηδὲν ἐξαμαρτόντας ἢ ὅτι περὶ
 τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ θρησκείαν ἐσπουδάκεσαν, τὸν δὲ
 τοιούτων⁴ ἀνδρῶν ὀλέθρῳ καὶ πάντων ἀρίστων
 ἐζημιωκότα τὸν λαὸν πρὸς τῷ μηδεμίαν ὑποσχεῖν
 δίκην ἔτι καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀναμφίλεκτον τᾶδελεφῶ
 62 παρασχεῖν· οὐδένα γὰρ ἔτι αὐτῆς ἄλλον ἀντι-
 ποιήσεσθαι⁵ καὶ τοὺς πρώτους ὀρώντα κακῶς
 ἀπολωλότας. ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ παρὰ τῶν οἰκείων

¹ om. Lat.² om. δὲ RO: χαλεπωτέραν <τ'> ἐλάμβανε Niese.³ Bekker: γίνεσθαι codd.⁴ τοσοῦτων Niese.⁵ ἀντιποιήσασθαι codd.

their censers beside the brazen altar,^a as a reminder to posterity of the fate which had befallen them for imagining that it was possible for deceit to be practised on the power of God. And Aaron, being no longer believed to owe his high-priesthood to the favour of Moses, but to the judgement of God thus clearly manifested, had now, along with his sons, the assured enjoyment of this dignity.

(iv. 1) Not even so, however, was the sedition brought to an end, nay it assumed far larger proportions and grew more grievous; indeed it found an occasion for proceeding from bad to worse such that the trouble seemed likely never to cease but to become chronic. For those people, though convinced at length that nothing befell without God's providence, yet refused to believe that His favour for Moses had played no part in what had passed; and they now laid it to his charge that the severity of God's wrath was due not so much to the iniquity of those who had been punished as to the machinations of Moses. The victims, so they said, had perished for no other crime save the zeal that they had displayed for God's worship; while he who had chastised^b the people by the destruction of such worthies, the noblest of them all, besides undergoing no punishment, had further conferred on his brother undisputed possession of the priesthood; since none else would hereafter claim it, seeing that the very first to do so had come to a miserable end. Furthermore, the relatives of the victims made constant

Continu-
ance of
sedition.

Numb.
xvi. 41
(xvii. 6
Heb.).

περίθεμα) of the altar," Numb. xvi. 38. For περίθεμα Josephus perhaps read παράθεμα; the two words appear as variant readings in Ex. xxxviii. 24 LXX, in a similar connexion.

^b Literally "mulcted," with the collateral idea of "crippled."

JOSEPHUS

τοῖς διεφθαρμένοις δέησις ἐγένετο πολλή τοῦ
πλήθους μειῶσαί τι τῆς Μωυσέος μεγαλαυχίας·
ἀσφαλές γάρ αὐτοῖς τοῦτ' εἶναι.

- 63 (2) Μωυσῆς δέ, καὶ γὰρ ἐκ πολλοῦ συνιστάμενον
ἤκροατο τὸν θόρυβον, δείσας μή τι νεωτερίσῃσι
πάλιν καὶ γένηταί τι μέγα καὶ χαλεπόν, συνήγαγε
τὸ πλῆθος εἰς ἐκκλησίαν [καί]¹ περὶ μὲν ὧν ἤκροατο
εἰς ἀπολογίαν οὐ καθιστάμενος, ἵνα μὴ παροξύνῃ
τὸ πλῆθος, αὐτὸ δὲ μόνον τοῖς φυλάρχοις προ-
ειπῶν κομίζειν τὰ τῶν φυλῶν ὀνόματα βακτηρίαις
64 ἐπιγεγραμμένα· λήψεσθαι γὰρ ἐκείνον τὴν ἱερω-
σύνην, οὐπὲρ ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἐπισημήνη τῇ βακτηρίᾳ.
δόξαν οὖν κομίζουσιν οἱ τε ἄλλοι καὶ Ἀαρῶν
ἐπιγράψας Λευῖτην² ἐν τῇ βακτηρίᾳ, καὶ ταύτας
Μωυσῆς ἐν τῇ σκηνῇ τοῦ θεοῦ κατατίθεισι. τῇ
δὲ ἐπιούσῃ προεκόμισε τὰς βακτηρίας· γνώριμοι
δ' ἦσαν κατασημαμένων αὐτὰς τῶν τε ἀνδρῶν
65 οἵπὲρ ἐκόμιζον καὶ τοῦ πλήθους. καὶ τὰς μὲν
ἄλλας ἐφ' οὐπὲρ αὐτὰς σχήματος Μωυσῆς παρ-
έλαβεν ἐπὶ τούτου μεμενηκυίας ἔβλεπον, ἐκ δὲ
τῆς Ἀαρῶνος βλαστούς τε καὶ κλάδους ἀναφύοντας
ἑώρων καὶ καρπὸν ὠραῖον, ἀμύγδαλα δ' ἦν, ἐκ
τοιούτου ξύλου τῆς βακτηρίας κατεσκευασμένης.
66 ἐκπλαγέντες δ' ἐπὶ τῷ παραλόγῳ τῆς θέας, εἰ
καὶ τισι διὰ μίσους ἦν ὁ Μωυσῆς καὶ Ἀαρῶν,
ἀφέντες τοῦτο θαυμάζειν ἤρξαντο τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ
περὶ αὐτῶν κρίσιν καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπευφημοῦντες
τοῖς δεδογμένοις τῷ θεῷ συνεχώρουν Ἀαρῶνι

¹ om. edd.

² Λευῖτιν Niese.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 62-66

petition to the people to abate somewhat of Moses' arrogance, as this would make for their security.

(2) But^a Moses, who long since had given ear to the troubles brewing, dreading some fresh revolution with some grave and grievous result, convened the people in assembly; where, without embarking on any defence concerning the complaints which had come to his ears, for fear of exasperating the people, he merely directed the tribal chiefs to bring with them staves with the names of their tribes inscribed thereon, adding that the priesthood should be awarded to him upon whose staff God should set his mark. This being approved, they all brought them, including Aaron, who had inscribed "Levite"^b upon his staff, and Moses laid them up in the tabernacle of God. On the morrow he produced the staves, which were clearly recognizable, having been marked both by the men who had brought them and by the people. All the rest were then seen to have remained in the state in which they were when Moses received them; but from that of Aaron shoots and twigs had sprouted, so they beheld, and ripe fruit, to wit almonds, for it was of the wood of that tree that his staff was formed. Amazed at this extraordinary spectacle, any who bore malice against Moses and Aaron now renounced it and began to marvel at God's sentence concerning them; and henceforth, applauding the divine decrees, they

The budding
of Aaron's
rod quells
the rebels.
Numb.
xvii. 1
(16 Heb.).

^a Josephus omits the incident of the plague, causing the death of 14,700 persons, occasioned by these further murmurings (Numb. xvi. 41-50).

^b Or (with Niese's text) "(tribe) of Levi"; according to Numb. xvii. 3 it was Aaron's name that was inscribed on the staff.

JOSEPHUS

καλῶς ἔχειν τὴν ἀρχιερωσύνην. καὶ ὁ μὲν τρὶς αὐτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ χειροτονήσαντος βεβαίως εἶχε τὴν τιμὴν, ἣ δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων στάσις πολὺν ἀκμάσασα χρόνον τοῦτον ἐπαύθη τὸν τρόπον.

- 67 (3) Μωυσῆς δ', ἐπεὶ πολέμου καὶ στρατείας ἡ τῶν Λευιτῶν ἀφείτο φυλὴ θεραπεύουσα¹ τὸν θεόν, ἵνα μὴ δι' ἀπορίαν μηδὲ ζήτησιν τῶν εἰς τὸν βίον ἀναγκαίων ἀμελοῖεν τοῦ ἱεροῦ, κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν Χανααίαν κτησαμένους τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐκέλευε κατανεῖμαι τοῖς Λευίταις ὀκτῶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα πόλεις ἀγαθὰς καὶ καλὰς τῆς τε πρὸ αὐτῶν γῆς περιγράψαντας εἰς δισχιλίους
- 68 πῆχεις ἀπὸ τῶν τειχῶν αὐτοῖς ἀνεῖναι. πρὸς τούτοις δὲ καὶ τὸν λαὸν διέταξε² τῶν ἐπετείων καρπῶν δεκάτην αὐτοῖς τε τοῖς Λευίταις καὶ ἱερεῦσιν τελεῖν. καὶ ἃ μὲν ἡ φυλὴ παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους λαμβάνει ταῦτ' ἐστίν· ἀναγκαῖον δ' ἡγησάμην ἃ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἴδια³ παρὰ πάντων γίνεται δηλῶσαι.
- 69 (4) Τῶν μὲν τεσσαράκοντα καὶ ὀκτῶ πόλεων τρισκαίδεκα παραχωρῆσαι τοὺς Λευίτας αὐτοῖς προσέταξε καὶ τῆς δεκάτης, ἧς παρὰ τοῦ λαοῦ κατ' ἔτος λαμβάνουσι, δεκάτην αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν.
- 70 ἔτι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς τὸν λαὸν δίκαιον τῷ θεῷ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς φυομένων καρπῶν ἐπιφέρειν, καὶ

¹ ex Lat. Bernard: θεραπεύουσα codd.

² Niese: ἐξέταξε (ἐξέταξε RO) codd. ³ ἴδια O (Niese).

^a Or, perhaps, "conceded Aaron's honourable right to the priesthood."

^b The "Sophoclean" assistant, like his favourite poet, has a partiality for the lucky number (see Introduction). Here probably he breaks off and in the following sections Josephus the priest seems to take up the pen himself.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 66-70

allowed Aaron to hold the priesthood with honour.^a So he, having thrice^b been elected by God, was now firmly established in his office, and the sedition of the Hebrews, so long rampant, was thus terminated.

(3) Now, since the tribe of Levi had been exempted from war and military service to devote itself to the service of God, Moses, from fear that through indigence and the quest of the necessaries of life they should neglect the temple,^c commanded the Hebrews, when by the will of God they should have conquered Canaan, to assign to the Levites forty-eight cities, goodly and fair, and of the land without these cities to mark off and make over to them a portion extending to two thousand^d cubits from the ramparts. Furthermore he ordained that the people should pay a tithe of the annual produce of the ground to the Levites along with the priests.^e That is what this tribe receives from the community; but I think it necessary to explain what contributions are made by all to the priests for themselves alone.

Levitical cities and tithes. Numb. xviii. 2.

xxxv. 1.

xviii. 21.

(4) In the first place, of those forty-eight cities he enjoined the Levites to cede thirteen to the priests,^f and of the tithe which they annually received from the people to deduct a tithe for them. Moreover, the people are required to offer to God first-fruits of all the produce of the soil, and again of those quad-

The priests dues.

Ib. 26.

Ib. 12 f.

Ib. 15.

^c *i.e.* of after times; or perhaps "the sacred ministry" (Weill).

^d So LXX, Numb. xxxv. 4; Hebrew, "a thousand," which is difficult to reconcile with the next verse.

^e See further, §§ 205, 240 ff.

^f Not in the Pentateuch; but see Josh. xxi. 4-19, where the thirteen cities given to the priests are enumerated.

JOSEPHUS

- τῶν τετραπόδων δὲ τῶν εἰς τὰς θυσίας νενομισμένων τὸ γεννηθὲν πρῶτον, ἂν ἄρσεν ἦ, καταθῆσαι παρασχεῖν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν, ὥστε αὐτοὺς πανοικί
- 71 σιτεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει. τῶν δ' οὐ νενομισμένων ἐσθίειν παρ' αὐτοῖς κατὰ τοὺς πατρίους νόμους τοὺς δεσπότας [τῶν τικτομένων]¹ σίκλον καὶ ἥμισυ αὐτοῖς ἀναφέρειν, ἀνθρώπου δὲ πρωτοτόκου πέντε σίκλους, εἶναι δὲ ἀπαρχὰς αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς τῶν προβάτων κουρᾶς, τοὺς τε πέττοντας τὸν σῖτον καὶ ἀρτοποιουμένους τῶν πεμμάτων αὐτοῖς τινα
- 72 χορηγεῖν. ὅσοι δ' ἂν αὐτοὺς καθιερώσιν εὐχὴν πεποιημένοι, ναζιραῖοι δὲ οὗτοι καλοῦνται, κομῶντες καὶ οἶνον οὐ προσφερόμενοι, τούτους δὲ ὅταν τὰς τρίχας ἀφιερώσιν ἐπὶ θυσία τε δρῶσι
- 73 τὰς κουρὰς νέμεσθαι πρὸς τοὺς ἱερέας. καὶ οἱ κορβᾶν αὐτοὺς ὀνομάσαντες τῷ θεῷ, δῶρον δὲ τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ Ἑλλήνων γλώτταν, βουλομένους ἀφίεσθαι τῆς λειτουργίας τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καταβάλλειν ἀργύριον, γυναῖκα μὲν τριάκοντα σίκλους ἄνδρα δὲ πεντήκοντα. ὅσοι δὲ ἂν ἐνδεέστερα τῶν ὠρισμένων ἔχωσι χρημάτων² τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξεῖναι περὶ τούτων ὡς βούλονται δο-
- 74 κιμάσαι. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς κατ' οἶκον θύουσιν εὐωχίας ἕνεκα τῆς αὐτῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ θρησκείας ἀνάγκην κομίζειν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἔνυστρον τε καὶ

¹ om. RO.

² χρήματα Bekker.

^a To be erected hereafter (§ 200).

^b So generally "the firstling of unclean beasts shalt thou redeem" (Numb. xviii. 15); early tradition (see Weill) limited this to "the firstling of an ass" (Ex. xxxiv. 20).

^c Amount not in Scripture, but has Rabbinical authority (Weill).

rupeds which the law sanctions as sacrifices they are to present the firstborn, if a male, to the priests for sacrifice, to be consumed by them with their families in the holy city.^a In the case of creatures^b which they are forbidden to eat in compliance with their ancestral laws, the owners thereof must pay to the priests a shekel and a half,^c and for the firstborn of man five shekels.^d To them too fall first-fruits of the shearing of the sheep; and when the corn is baked and made into bread, some of these cakes must be supplied to them. All who consecrate themselves in fulfilment of a vow—Nazirites as they are called, people who grow long hair and abstain from wine—these too, when they dedicate their hair and offer it in sacrifice assign their shorn locks to the priests.^e Again, those who describe themselves as “Corban”^f to God—meaning what Greeks would call “a gift”—when desirous to be relieved of this obligation must pay down to the priests a fixed sum, amounting for a woman to thirty shekels, for a man to fifty^g; for those whose means are insufficient to pay the appointed sum, the priests are at liberty to decide as they choose. Furthermore, any persons slaughtering animals at their homes for their own good cheer and not for the ritual are bound to bring to the priests the maw, the breast, and the right

Numb.
xviii. 16.
Deut.
xviii. 4.
Numb.
xv. 20 ff.
Ib. vi. 2.

Lev. xxvii.
1-8.

Deut. xviii.
3 with
Lev. vii.
31 ff.
Cf. Numb.
xviii. 18.

^a In Numbers this sum applies to the firstborn of unclean beasts also.

^e According to Numb. vi. 18 the Nazirite throws his hair on to the sacrificial fire.

^f *korbān*, an “offering,” “oblation”; translated, as here, by *δῶρον* in Mark vii. 11, by Josephus again in *Ap.* i. 167 (where it denotes an oath) by *δῶρον θεοῦ*.

^g Special terms for minors and superannuated (Lev. xxvii. 5-7) are here omitted.

JOSEPHUS

χελύνιον καὶ τὸν δεξιὸν βραχίονα τοῦ θύματος.
 καὶ τοῖς μὲν ἱερεῦσι Μωυσῆς τοσαύτην, παρέξ
 ὧν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρτημάτων θύων ὁ λαὸς δίδωσιν
 αὐτοῖς, ὡς ἐν τῇ πρὸ ταύτης βίβλῳ δεδηλώκαμεν,
 75 εὐπορίαν ἐπενόησε. πάντων δὲ τῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσι
 τελουμένων κοινωνεῖν διέταξε καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας
 καὶ θυγατέρας καὶ γυναῖκας ἔξω τῶν ὑπὲρ ἀμαρ-
 τημάτων ἐπιφερομένων θυσιῶν· ταύτας γὰρ ἐν
 τῷ ἱερῷ μόνοι δαπανῶσιν οἱ ἄρρενες τῶν ἱερέων
 αὐθημερόν.

76 (5) Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα μετὰ τὴν στάσιν Μωυσῆς
 διέταξεν, ἄρας μετὰ πάσης τῆς στρατιᾶς ἐπὶ τοὺς
 τῆς Ἰδουμαίας ὄρους ἦλθε καὶ πρέσβεις πρὸς τὸν
 βασιλέα τῶν Ἰδουμαίων πέμψας ἡξίου δίοδον
 αὐτῷ παρασχεῖν, πίστεις ἄς αὐτὸς ἐθέλοι λαβεῖν
 ὑπὲρ τοῦ μηδὲν ἀδικηθήσεσθαι δώσειν ὁμολογῶν,
 ἀγορὰν τε τῷ στρατῷ χορηγήσαι κἂν¹ τιμὴν τοῦ
 77 ὕδατος αὐτοὺς κελεύσειε² καταβαλεῖν. ὁ δ' οἷς
 ἐπρεσβεύσατο Μωυσῆς οὐκ ἀρεσκόμενος οὐδὲ
 συγχωρῶν τὴν δίοδον ἔνοπλον τὴν στρατιὰν
 ἀγαγὼν προαπήντα τῷ Μωυσεῖ, κωλύσων αὐτοὺς
 εἰ τολμήσαιεν βία περαιούσθαι. καὶ Μωυσῆς,
 ἄρχειν γὰρ μάχης οὐ συνεβούλευσεν ὁ θεὸς χρω-
 μένω, τὴν δύναμιν ὑπανῆγε διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου
 ἐκπεριῶν.

¹ ed. pr.: καὶ codd.

² ML: κελεύσαι RO, εἰ κελεύσειε SP.

^a Or "shoulder"; Greek "arm."

^b The Law contains two contradictory statements concerning the portions of the victim assigned to the priests *at the ordinary sacrifices*: (1) Deut. xviii. 3 naming "the shoulder, the two cheeks and the maw" (*i.e.* the fourth stomach of ruminants), and (2) Lev. vii. 31 f. naming "the breast" and

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 74-77

leg^a of the victim.^b Such is the ample provision designed by Moses for the priests, beside what is given them by the people from their sin-offerings, as we have mentioned in the preceding book.^c Moreover, in all these dues payable to the priests, he ordained that their servants, daughters, and wives should also participate, with the exception of the sacrifices offered for sins: these are for the males only of the priestly families, being consumed by them in the temple on the selfsame day.

Cf. Numb.
xviii. 11.

Cf. Lev. vi.
26 (19),
Numb.
xviii. 10.

(5) When Moses had drawn up these regulations after the sedition, he set out with his whole army and came to the frontiers of Idumaea; then, sending envoys to the king of the Idumaeans, he requested him to grant him passage, promising to give whatever guarantees he might desire to ensure himself against injury, asking him to open a market for his army, and even undertaking to pay a price for water should he order them to do so.^d But the king was ill pleased with this message of Moses, refused him passage, and led forth his armed troops to encounter Moses and check these people should they essay to cross his territory by force. And Moses, since upon his inquiry God did not counsel him to open battle, withdrew his forces to pursue a circuitous route through the desert.

The king of
Edom
refuses
passage
through his
realm.
Ib. xx. 14.

“the right thigh” (leg). The two passages doubtless represent regulations in force at different periods. But to remove the discrepancy Jewish tradition interpreted the Deuteronomy passage as referring not to the sacrifices but to animals slaughtered at home; so Philo, *De spec. leg.* i. 3 § 147 ἀπὸ τῶν ἔξω τοῦ βωμοῦ θυομένων ἐνεκα κρεωφαγίας, and Mishnah, *Hullin* 10. 1 (quoted by Driver *in loc.*). Josephus presents a mixture of the two lists.

^c iii. 230-232, etc.

^d Text a little uncertain.

JOSEPHUS

- 78 (6) Τότε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν αὐτοῦ Μαριάμμη
τελευτῆ τοῦ βίου καταλαμβάνει τεσσαρακοστὸν
ἔτος πεπληρωκυῖαν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλιπε
μηνὸς δὲ Ξανθικοῦ νομηνία κατὰ σελήνην.
θάπτουσι δ' αὐτὴν δημοσίᾳ πολυτελῶς ὑπὲρ τινος
ὄρους, ὃ καλοῦσι Σείν, καὶ πενθήσαντα ἐπὶ τριά-
κοντα ἡμέρας τὸν λαὸν ἐκάθηρε Μωυσῆς τούτω
- 79 τῷ τρόπῳ· μόσχον θήλειαν, ἀρότρου μὲν καὶ γε-
ωργίας ἄπειρον ὀλόκληρον δέ, ξανθὴν πᾶσαν,
μικρὸν ἄπωθεν τοῦ στρατοπέδου προαγαγὼν εἰς
χωρίον καθαρώτατον ὃ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔθνε τε καὶ τοῦ
αἵματος ἐπτάκις ἔρραине τῷ δακτύλῳ ἀντικρὺ
- 80 τῆς σκηνῆς τοῦ θεοῦ. ἔπειτα καιομένης ὡς εἶχεν
ὄλης τῆς δαμάλιδος σὺν τῇ δορᾷ καὶ τοῖς ἐντὸς
ξύλον κέδρινον εἰς μέσον ἐμβάλλουσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ
ὑσσωπον καὶ φοινικτὸν ἔριον· συναγαγὼν δ' αὐτῆς
ἅπασαν τὴν τέφραν ἀγνὸς ἀνὴρ κατατίθησιν εἰς
- 81 χωρίον καθαρώτατον. τοὺς οὖν ἀπὸ νεκροῦ με-
μιασμένους, τῆς τέφρας ὀλίγον εἰς πηγὴν ἐνιέντες
καὶ ὑσσωπον βαπτίσαντές [τε καὶ τῆς τέφρας
ταύτης εἰς πηγὴν],¹ ἔρραινον τρίτη τε καὶ ἐβδόμη
τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ καθαροὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἦσαν. τοῦτο
δὲ καὶ κατελθοῦσιν εἰς τὰς κληρουχίας προσέταξε,
ποιεῖν.

¹ om. Bekker.

^a *Alias* on the 1st of Nisan (*A. i.* 81). Numbers (xx. 1) mentions "the first month," but neither the year nor the day; other Jewish authorities, *e.g.* the Palestinian Targum, name the 10th of Nisan.

^b Numbers mentions "the wilderness of Zin," and Kadesh, situated within it, as the burial-place of Miriam. The reading "mountain" for "wilderness" occurs in one Egyptian (Bohairic) version made from the LXX, but there it is probably due to a confusion, found in that and other authorities, between "Sin" and "Sinai."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 78-81

(6) And now it was that death overtook his sister Mariamme, who had completed her fortieth year since she left Egypt, on the new moon, by lunar reckoning, of the month Xanthicus.^a They buried her at the public expense in state on a mountain which they call Sin^b; and when the people had mourned for her thirty days, they were purified by Moses on this wise.^c A heifer, yet ignorant of the plough and of husbandry, without blemish and entirely red, was conducted by the high priest a little way outside the camp to a place of spotless purity,^d where he sacrificed it and sprinkled with his finger drops of its blood seven times in the direction of the tabernacle of God. Next, the heifer was burnt whole, just as it was, including its skin and entrails, and into the midst of the blaze they cast cedar-wood and hyssop and crimson^e wool. Its ashes were then all collected by a holy^f man, who deposited them in a place of spotless purity. When, therefore, any had been polluted by contact with a corpse, they put a little of these ashes in running water, dipped hyssop into the stream, and sprinkled such persons therewith on the third and on the seventh day, and thenceforth they were clean. This ceremony Moses charged them to continue when they had entered upon their allotted territories.

Death of Miriam. Institution of ceremony of the Red Heifer. Numb. xx. 1.

Ib. xix. 1.

Ib. xix. 11 f., 18 f.

^a In Scripture the law of the Red Heifer (relating to pollution from contact with a corpse) immediately *precedes* the death of Miriam, but without any express connexion with it; tradition has traced a connexion between the contiguous chapters, Numb. xix and xx.

^d This phrase on its first occurrence (see § 80) is not in the Hebrew, but the LXX has *εἰς τόπον καθαρὸν* (Numb. xix. 3).

^e Or "red": Bibl. "scarlet."

^f *i.e.* ceremonially clean.

JOSEPHUS

- 82 (7) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ πένθει τῆς ἀδελφῆς τοῦ στρατηγοῦ κάθαρσιν τοιαύτην γενομένην ἀπήγε τὴν δύναμιν διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου, καὶ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἔλθων εἰς χωρίον, ὃ μητρόπολιν αὐτῶν Ἀραβες νενομίκασι, πρότερον μὲν Ἀρκην¹ λεγομένην
- 83 Πέτραν δὲ νῦν ὀνομαζομένην, ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλοῦ περιέχοντος ὄρους αὐτὸ ἀναβάς Ἀαρὼν ἐπ' αὐτό, Μωυσέος αὐτῷ δεδηλωκότος ὅτι μέλλοι τελευτᾶν, ἅπαντος τοῦ στρατεύματος ὄρωντος, κατάντες γὰρ ἦν τὸ χωρίον, ἀποδύεται τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ παραδοὺς αὐτὴν Ἐλεαζάρῳ τῷ παιδί, πρὸς ὃν διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ἢ ἀρχιερωσύνη παραγίνεται, θνήσκει τοῦ πλήθους εἰς αὐτὸν ἀφ-
- 84 ορώντος, τῷ μὲν αὐτῷ τελευτήσας ἔτει, ᾧ καὶ τὴν ἀδελφὴν ἀπέβαλε, βιοὺς δὲ ἔτη τὰ πάντα τρία πρὸς τοῖς εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν. ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ σελήνην νομηνία μηνὸς ὄντος τοῦ παρὰ μὲν Ἀθηναίοις Ἑκατομβαιῶνος καλουμένου Λῶου δὲ παρὰ Μακεδόσιν, Ἀββὰ² δὲ παρ' Ἑβραίοις.
- 85 (v. 1) Πένθος δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τοῦ λαοῦ τριακονθήμερον ἄγοντος, ἐπεὶ τοῦτ' ἐλώφησεν, ἀναλαβὼν ἐκεῖθεν Μωυσῆς τὸν στρατὸν παρῆν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἀρνῶνα, ὃς ἐκ τῶν τῆς Ἀραβίας ὄρων ὠρμημένος³ καὶ διὰ πάσης ἐρήμου ρέων εἰς τὴν

¹ Ἀρκέμ Eus.: Ἀρεκέμην Bernard.

² Bernard: σαβ(β)ὰ, σαβὰτ (sebath Lat.) codd.

³ RO: ὀρμώμενος rell.

^a Not mentioned in Numbers, which, however, names the mountain which Aaron ascended, viz. Mount Hor. Since later on (§ 161) Josephus identifies Petra with Ῥεκέμη, deriving that name from its king Rekem, probably Ἀρκην is here corrupt and we should read Ἀρεκέμην. When Josephus wrote, Petra was the capital of the powerful Nabataean kingdom.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 82-85

(7) After a purification held in such wise in consequence of the mourning for the sister of their chief, he led his forces away through the desert and came to a place in Arabia which the Arabs have deemed their metropolis, formerly called Arce,^a to-day named Petra. There Aaron ascended a lofty mountain range that encloses the spot, Moses having revealed to him that he was about to die, and, in the sight of the whole army—for the ground was steep—he divested himself of his high priestly robes and, after delivering them to Eleazar his son, upon whom by right of age the high priesthood descended, he died with the eyes of the multitude upon him. He ended his days in the same year in which he had lost his sister, having lived in all one hundred and twenty-three years. He died on the opening day, by lunar reckoning, of the month called by the Athenians Hecatombaeon, by the Macedonians Lous, and by the Hebrews Abba.^b

Death of
Aaron.
Numb.
xx. 22.

Ib. xxxiii.
38.

(v. 1) For thirty days ^c the people mourned for him, and, when this mourning was ended, Moses, marching his army thence, arrived at the river Arnon, which, springing from the mountains of Arabia and traversing an absolute desert, plunges into the lake Asphal-

Sihon,
king of the
Amorites,
refuses
passage.
Ib. xxi. 13.

^b Aram. *abba*, Hebr. *ab*, the fifth month of the Hebrew year (c. July-August): "Aaron . . . died in the fortieth year [after the exodus] . . . in the fifth month, on the first day of the month" (Numb. *l.c.*). "Abba" is, however, an emendation; and it is possible that the ms. reading *σαβάρ* (Lat. *sebat*) should stand, and that Josephus followed another tradition, dating the event six months later, on the 1st of *Shebat*.

^c Numb. xx. 29. Josephus here omits (1) the victory at Hormah (incorporated perhaps in the victory over Sihon described below), and (2) the story of the brazen serpent.

JOSEPHUS

- Ἄσφαλτῖτιν λίμνην ἐκδίδωσιν ὀρίζων τὴν τε Μωαβῖτιν καὶ Ἀμορῖτιν. γῆ δ' αὕτη καρποφόρος καὶ πλήθος ἀνθρώπων¹ τοῖς παρ' αὐτῆς ἀγαθοῖς
- 86 ἱκανῆ τρέφειν. πρὸς οὖν Σιχῶνα τὸν βασιλεύοντα τῆς χώρας ταύτης ἀπέστειλε Μωυσῆς τῷ στρατῷ δίοδον αἰτῶν ἐφ' αἷς ἂν θελήσειε πίστευσιν, ὥστε μηδὲν ἀδικηθῆναι μήτε τὴν γῆν μήτε τοὺς ἐν-οικοῦντας, ὧν Σιχῶν ἐκράτει, τοῖς τε κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν χρῆσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἐκείνων λυσιτελέσ, εἰ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ αὐτοῖς πιπράσκειν ἐθέλοιεν. Σιχῶν δ' ἀρνούμενος ὀπλίζει τὸν οἰκεῖον στρατὸν καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους διαβαίνειν τὸν Ἀρνῶνα κωλύειν ἐτοιμότητος ἦν.
- 87 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὄρων πολεμίως αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἀμοραῖον διακείμενον οὔτε περιφρονούμενος ἀνέχεσθαι δεῖν ἔγνω καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους τῆς ἀπραξίας καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτὴν ἀπορίας, ὑφ' ἧς στασιάσαι τε πρότερον αὐτοῖς συνέπεσε καὶ τότε δυσκόλως εἶχον, ἀπαλλάξαι διαγνοὺς ἤρετο τὸν
- 88 θεόν, εἰ πολεμεῖν αὐτῷ δίδωσι. τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ καὶ νίκην ἀποσημήναντος² αὐτὸς θαρσαλέως εἶχε πρὸς τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ τοὺς στρατιώτας παρῶρμα, νῦν αὐτοὺς ἀξιῶν τῆς τοῦ πολεμεῖν ἡδονῆς ἀπολαύειν, ὅτ' αὐτῇ συγχωρεῖ χρῆσθαι τὸ θεῖον. οἱ δ' ἧς ἐπόθουν ἐξουσίας λαβόμενοι καὶ τὰς πανοπλίας
- 89 ἀναλαβόντες εὐθέως ἐχώρουν εἰς τὸ ἔργον. ὁ δὲ Ἀμοραῖος οὐκέτ' ἦν ἐπιόντων ὁμοιος αὐτῷ, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς τε κατεπλάγη τοὺς Ἑβραίους καὶ ἡ δύναμις αὐτοῦ παρέχουσα θάπτον αὐτὴν εὐψυχον εἶναι δοκεῖν τότ' ἀπηλέγχθη πεφοβημένη. τὴν

¹ + ἴσον OML.

² ἐπισημήναντος RO.

titis,^a forming the boundary between the Moabite and Amorite countries. The latter region is fertile and capable of supporting with its riches an host of men. Moses accordingly sent an embassy to Sihon, the sovereign of this country, soliciting passage for his army upon such guarantees as he might choose to impose, so as to ensure that no injury should be done either to the land or to its inhabitants, whom Sihon governed, and offering to purchase provisions to the advantage of the Amorites, including even water, should they choose to sell it to them. But Sihon refused, armed his troops, and was fully prepared to stop the Hebrews from crossing the Arnon.

Numb.
xxi. 21.

(2) Moses, seeing this hostile attitude of the Amorite, determined that he ought not to brook this affront, and, since he withal resolved to deliver the Hebrews from that inactivity and consequent indigence, which had produced their previous mutiny and their present discontent, he inquired of God whether He authorized him to fight. When, therefore, God even betokened victory, he was himself encouraged for the contest and roused the ardour of his soldiers, urging them now to gratify their lust of battle, now when they had the sanction of the Deity to indulge it. And they, having won that concession for which they craved, put all their armour on and proceeded straight into action. The Amorite, faced by their advance, was a different man, himself viewing the Hebrews with dismay, while his army, which had of late ^b made such a show of spirit, now proved positively afraid. Thus, without waiting to

Defeat
of the
Amorites
and con-
quest of
their
country.
Ib. 24.

^a The "Bituminous" lake—the Dead Sea.

^b For *θαττον = προτερον* cf. *A.* v. 171 (and so frequently *ταχιον*, *A.* i. 98, etc.); but the word here may connote "too hastily."

JOSEPHUS

πρώτην οὖν σύνοδον οὐχ ὑπομείναντες ἀντιστήναι
 καὶ δέξασθαι τοὺς Ἑβραίους τρέπονται, τοῦτο
 ἑαυτοῖς σωτηρίαν ὑπολαβόντες ἢ τὸ μάχεσθαι
 90 παρέξειν· ἐθάρρουν γὰρ ταῖς πόλεσιν οὐσαι
 ὄχυραῖς. παρ' ὧν οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ὄφελος ἦν εἰς
 ταύτας συνδιωχθεῖσιν· Ἑβραῖοι γὰρ ὡς ἐνδόντας
 αὐτοὺς εὐθύς εἶδον, ἐνέκειντο καὶ παραλύσαντες
 91 αὐτῶν τὸν κόσμον εἰς φόβον κατέστησαν. καὶ
 οἱ μὲν ἀπορραγέντες ἔφευγον ἐπὶ τῶν πόλεων, οἱ
 δὲ πρὸς τὴν δίωξιν οὐκ ἔκαμνον, ἀλλ' οἷς προ-
 πεπονήκεσαν προσεπιταλαιπωρῆσαι προσθέμενοι,¹
 καὶ σφενδονᾶν τε ἄριστοι τυγχάνοντες καὶ πᾶσι
 τοῖς ἐκηβόλοις δεξιοὶ χρῆσθαι, καὶ διὰ τὴν ὄπλισιν
 οὐσαν εὐσταλῇ κοῦφοι πρὸς τὸ διώκειν ὄντες
 μετέθεον τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς πορρωτάτω
 συλληφθῆναι γεγονότας ταῖς σφενδόταις καὶ τοῖς
 92 τοξεύμασι κατελάμβανον. φόνος τε οὖν γίνεται
 πολὺς καὶ τραύμασιν ἐπόνουν οἱ διαφεύγοντες,
 ἔκαμνον δὲ² ἐπὶ δίψει μᾶλλον ἢ τινι τῶν πολεμικῶν·
 καὶ γὰρ ὥρα θέρους ἦν· καὶ ἐπιθυμία τοῦ πιεῖν
 ἐπὶ ποταμὸν τοὺς πλείους καταραχθέντας, καὶ
 ὅσον συνεστραμμένον ἔφευγε, περιστάντες ἔβαλλον
 καὶ πάντας αὐτοὺς ἀκοντίζοντες ἅμα καὶ τοξεύοντες
 93 διέφθειραν. ἀποθνήσκει δ' αὐτῶν καὶ Σιχῶν ὁ
 βασιλεὺς. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ νεκροὺς ἐσκύλευον καὶ
 λείαν ἔλαβον καὶ πολλὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἐκ τῆς
 γῆς εἶχον μεστῆς ἔτι τῶν καρπῶν ὑπαρχούσης,

¹ προσθέμενοι (Bekker, Niese) is a needless emendation.

² τε RO.

^a Triple alliteration in the Greek. If the "Sophoclean" assistant is here at work, he had warrant for this in his model,

withstand the first shock and receive the Hebrews, they turned their backs, deeming that flight would afford them better safety than a fight; for they relied on their cities with strong fortifications. These, however, profited them naught when they were pursued thither. For the Hebrews, on seeing them at once give way, pressed hard upon them and, throwing their ranks into disorder, reduced them to panic. So, breaking from the ranks, they fled for the cities; while the others showed no slackness for the pursuit, but, crowning their previous pains with perseverance,^a being at once excellent slingers and experts in the use of all long-range missiles, and withal through their light equipment ^b swift to pursue, they were on their enemies' heels, while those who were now much too far to be captured they reached with their slings and arrows. So there was great carnage and the fugitives suffered sorely from wounds. But they succumbed more to thirst than to any engines of war; for it was the height of summer, and in their craving for drink the greater number, indeed all who had kept together in the rout, dashed down into a river, where their pursuers, surrounding and pelting them at once with javelins and arrows, destroyed them all.^c Sihon their king was among the slain. The Hebrews then rifled the corpses and took the spoil, obtaining also abundance of the produce of the land, which was still laden with *e.g.* Soph. O.C. 589 κείνοι κομίζειν κείσε, 804 f. φύσας φανεῖ φρένας, 1140 τεκνοῖσι τερφθεῖς τοῖσδε.

^b After Thuc. iii. 22 εὐσταλεῖς τῇ ὀπλίσει.

^c This spirited scene is drawn from the famous account of the retreat of the Athenians from Syracuse, the river being the Sicilian Assinaros (Thuc. vii. 83 f.); while the phrase ὅσον συνεστραμμένον recalls Plataea (*ib.* ii. 4)! Here clearly the "Thucydidean" assistant lends his aid.

JOSEPHUS

94 καὶ διεξήκει πᾶσαν¹ ἀδεῶς τὸ στράτευμα προνομῆ
 χρώμενον, ἀλισκομένων καὶ τῶν πόλεων· οὐδὲν
 γὰρ παρὰ τούτων ἦν ἐμπόδιον τοῦ μαχίμου παντὸς
 ἀπολωλότος. Ἀμοραίους μὲν οὖν τοιοῦτο πάθος
 κατέλαβεν οὔτε φρονῆσαι δεινούς οὔτε ἀγαθοὺς
 κατὰ τὸ ἔργον γεγονότας, Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τὴν ἐκείνων
 95 παρελάμβανον. ἔστι δὲ χωρίον, ὃ τριῶν μεταξὺ
 ποταμῶν κείμενον ὁμοίον τι νήσῳ τὴν φύσιν
 ὑπάρχει, τοῦ μὲν Ἀρνῶνος ἀπὸ μεσημβρίας ὀρί-
 ζοντος αὐτό, Ἰοβάκου δὲ τὴν ἀρκτῶαν αὐτοῦ
 πλευρὰν περιγράφοντος, ὃς εἰς τὸν Ἰόρδανον
 ποταμὸν ἐκβάλλων ἐκείνῳ καὶ τοῦ ὀνόματος²
 μεταδίδωσι· τὰ μέντοι γε πρὸς τῇ δύσει τοῦ χωρίου
 περίεσιν αὐτὴν Ἰόρδανος.

96 (3) Οὕτως οὖν ἐχόντων τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπι-
 τίθεται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις Ὠγῆς ὁ τῆς Γαλαθηνῆς
 καὶ Γαυλανίτιδος βασιλεὺς στρατὸν ἄγων, καὶ
 σπεύδων μὲν ὡς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν τὴν Σιχῶνος,
 φίλου τυγχάνοντος, εὐρῶν δὲ ἐκείνον ἤδη προ-
 απολωλότα καὶ οὕτως ἔγνω τοῖς Ἑβραίοις εἰς
 μάχην ἐλθεῖν περιέσεσθαί τε νομίζων καὶ τῆς
 97 ἀρετῆς αὐτῶν διάπειραν βουλόμενος λαβεῖν· δι-
 αμαρτῶν δὲ τῆς ἐλπίδος αὐτός τε ἀποθνήσκει
 κατὰ τὴν μάχην καὶ σύμπας ὁ στρατὸς αὐτοῦ
 διαφθείρεται. Μωυσῆς δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν Ἰόβακον
 περαιωσάμενος διεξήκει τῆς Ὠγου βασιλείας τὰς
 τε πόλεις καταστρεφόμενος καὶ κτείνων πάντας
 τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας, οἳ καὶ πλούτῳ διέφερον πάντων

¹ Bekker: πᾶσιν codd.

² νάματος Naber.

^a Bibl. Jabbok (Ἰαβόκ).

^b Cf. i. 177, where Josephus seems to imply that the Jordan derived its second syllable from "Dan, one of its two

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 94-97

the crops and was, without fear of molestation, traversed in every direction by the troops for foraging purposes; the cities too were captured, for these presented no obstacle now that all combatants had perished. Such was the catastrophe that overtook the Amorites, who had shown neither skill in counsel nor valour in action; and the Hebrews took possession of their land. It is a region situated between three rivers, which give it something of the nature of an island: the Arnon forming its southern boundary, its northern flank being circumscribed by the Jobak,^a which pours into the river Jordan and gives that stream a portion of its name,^b while the western area of the district is compassed by the Jordan.

(3) Such was the position of affairs when there came to attack the Israelites Og, the king of Galadene and Gaulanitis,^c at the head of an army, and hastening, as he believed, to the support of his friend Sihon; yet, though he found that he had already perished, he none the less resolved to give battle to the Hebrews, confident of success and fain to make trial of their valour. But, disappointed in this hope, he met his own end in the battle and his whole army was annihilated. Moses then, crossing the river Jobak, overran the realm of Og, subduing the cities and killing all the inhabitants, who surpassed in riches all the occupants of those inland parts, thanks

Defeat of
Og. Numb.
xxi. 33 :
Deut. iii. 1.

sources": here he suggests that it owes the first syllable (or rather the first two letters) to its tributary the Jo-bak as he calls it. According to the widely accepted etymology, Jordan means "the descender."

^c Bibl. "king of Bashan"; Josephus substitutes names of his own day, which do not exactly correspond to the ancient Bashan. Gilead (Galadene) was a distinct district to the south of it.

JOSEPHUS

τῶν ἐκείνη ἡπειρωτῶν δι' ἀρετὴν γῆς καὶ πλήθος
 98 χρημάτων. Ὡγης δὲ μέγεθός τε καὶ κάλλος
 ἦν οἷον ὀλίγοις¹ σφόδρα, ἦν δὲ καὶ κατὰ χεῖρα
 γενναῖος ἀνὴρ, ὡς ἴσα τὰ τῶν ἔργων εἶναι τοῖς
 τοῦ μεγέθους καὶ τῆς εὐπρεπείας πλεονεκτήμασι.
 τὴν δ' ἰσχὺν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ μέγεθος ἔτεκμηριώσαντο
 κλίνην αὐτοῦ λαβόντες ἐν Ῥαβαθᾶ πόλει τῶν
 βασιλείων τῆς Ἀμμανίτιδος, τῇ μὲν κατασκευῇ
 σιδηρέαν,² τεσσάρων δὲ πηχῶν τὸ εὖρος, μήκει
 99 δὲ τοῦ διπλασίου ἐνὶ πήχει μείζονα. τούτου
 τοίνυν πταίσαντος οὐκ εἰς τὸ παρὸν μόνον τοῖς
 Ἑβραίοις ἐπέδωκε τὰ πράγματα, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς
 τὸ μέλλον ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς αἴτιος ἀποθανῶν ὑπῆρξε·
 καὶ γὰρ πόλεις ἐξήκοντα λαμπρῶς πάνυ τετει-
 χισμένας ὑποτελεῖς ἐκείνῳ παρέλαβον καὶ λείαν
 πολλὴν ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ πάντες εὐπόρησαν.

100 (vi. 1) Μωυσῆς μὲν οὖν στρατοπεδεύει κατ-
 αγαγῶν³ τὴν δύναμιν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ κατὰ τὸ
 μέγα πεδῖον Ἱεριχοῦντος ἀντικρῦ, πόλις δ' ἐστὶν
 εὐδαίμων αὕτη φοινικᾶς τε φέρειν ἀγαθὴ καὶ
 βάλαμον νεμομένη. ἤρχοντο δὲ φρονεῖν ἐφ'
 ἑαυτοῖς μέγα Ἰσραηλῖται καὶ τὴν πρὸς τοὺς
 101 πολέμους ἐπιθυμίαν ὑπερέτεινον. καὶ Μωυσῆς
 ὀλίγων ἡμερῶν θύσας χαριστήρια πρῶτον τῷ
 θεῷ καὶ τὸν λαὸν εὐωχῆσας μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 ἐξέπεμψε δηῶσον τὴν Μαδιανιτῶν γῆν καὶ τὰς
 πατρίδας αὐτῶν ἐκπολιορκῆσον. τοῦ δ' ἐκπο-
 λεμηθῆναι πρὸς αὐτοὺς αἰτίαν ἔλαβε τοιαύτην.

102 (2) Βάλακος ὁ τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλεὺς φιλίας
 αὐτῷ πατρῴας οὔσης καὶ συμμαχίας πρὸς Μα-

¹ οἷος ὀλίγοι RO.

² σιδηρέην codd.

³ Niese: καὶ ἀγαγῶν codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 97-102

to the excellence of the soil and an abundance of commodities. Og himself had a stature and beauty such as few could boast; he was withal a man of a doughty arm, so that his exploits were on a par with his superior gifts of height and a handsome presence. Of his strength and stature they had evidence on capturing his bedstead in Rabatha,^a the capital of the Ammonite country: this was constructed of iron and was four cubits broad and double as much, with a cubit over, in length. With this giant's fall not merely was there an instant amelioration in the Hebrews' fortunes, but for the future too his death proved a source of benefits^b; for withal they captured sixty cities, magnificently fortified, that had owned his sway, and, individually and collectively, all reaped an ample booty.

Deut. iii. 11.

Ib. 4 f.

(vi. 1) So Moses led his forces down towards the Jordan and encamped on the great plain^c over against Jericho; this is a prosperous city, prolific of palm-trees and a nursery of balsam. The Israelites were now beginning to have a high opinion of themselves and becoming intensely keen in their ardour for battle. And Moses, after spending a few days first in sacrificing thank-offerings to God, and then in feasting the people, sent out a division of his troops to ravage the land of the Midianites^d and to carry their cities by storm. For hostilities against this people, however, he had received provocation on this wise.

The camp opposite Jericho. Numb. xxii. 1.

(2) Balak, the king of the Moabites, who was linked by an ancestral amity and alliance to the

Embassy of Balak to the Midianites and Balaam. Ib. 2.

^a Bibl. "Rabbah," Aramaic "Rabbath."

^b Cf. iii. 56.

^c The *Ghōr* (= "Rift") or Jordan valley, *B.J.* iv. 455.

^d So Josephus throughout: Bibl. Midian(ites), LXX Μαδιάμ.

JOSEPHUS

- διανίτας, ἐπεὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τοσοῦτον φυο-
 μένους ἑώρα καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ πραγμάτων
 λίαν εὐλαβεῖτο, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ πέπυστο γῆν ἄλλην
 <οὐ>¹ πολυπραγμονεῖν τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπηγορευ-
 κότος τοῦ θεοῦ κτησαμένους τὴν Χαναanaίων,²
 θάπτον ἢ φρονιμώτερον ἐγχειρεῖν ἔγνω τοῖς
 103 λόγοις.³ καὶ πολεμεῖν μὲν ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐπραγίαις
 θρασυτέροις τε⁴ ὑπὸ τῆς κακοπραγίας κατ-
 ειλημμένοις οὐκ ἔκρινε, κωλυσαὶ δ' εἰ δύναίτο
 γενέσθαι μεγάλους λογιζόμενος πρεσβεῦσαι πρὸς
 104 Μαδιανίτας ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. οἱ δέ, ἦν γάρ τις ἀπὸ
 Εὐφράτου Βάλαμος μάντις ἄριστος τῶν τότε καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐπιτηδείως ἔχων, πέμπουσι μετὰ
 τῶν Βαλάκου πρέσβειων ἄνδρας τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς
 ἀξιολόγων παρακαλέσοντας τὸν μάντιν ἔλθειν,
 ὅπως ἂν ἐπ' ἐξωλεία τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀρὰς
 105 ποιήσῃται. παραγενομένους δὲ τοὺς πρέσβεις
 δέχεται ξενία φιλοφρόνως καὶ δειπνίσας ἀνέκρινε
 τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διάνοιαν, τίς αὕτη ἐστὶν ἐφ' οἷς
 Μαδιανίται παρακαλοῦσι. τοῦ δ' ἐμποδῶν στάν-
 τος ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τοὺς πρέσβεις, προθυμίαν
 μὲν καὶ σπουδὴν τὴν ἰδίαν ἐμφανίζων αὐτοῖς εἰς
 ἃ δέονται τυχεῖν, τὸν δὲ θεὸν ἀντιλέγειν αὐτοῦ
 τῇ προαιρέσει δηλῶν, ὃς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον κλέος
 δι' ἀλήθειαν καὶ τὴν ταύτης πρόρρησιν ἀγάγοι·
 106 τὸν γὰρ στρατόν, ᾧ καταρασόμενον αὐτὸν ἔλθειν
 παρακαλοῦσι, δι' εὐνοίας εἶναι τῷ θεῷ συν-

¹ ἄλλω (sic) R: ἄλλην rell.

³ τοῖς ὁλοῖς Herwerden.

² + καὶ ed. pr. (Lat.).

⁴ Text doubtful.

^a "to try an assault of a verbal nature" (i.e. through imprecations), or possibly "to essay parley (with his friends)."

Madianites, on seeing the Israelites growing so great, became gravely concerned for his own interests. For he had not learned that the Hebrews were not for interfering with other countries, God having forbidden them so to do, upon their conquest of the land of Canaan, and with more haste than discretion he resolved to essay what words could do.^a To fight with men fresh from success and who were found to be only the more emboldened by reverse was not to his mind; but with intent to check their aggrandizement, if he could, he decided to send an embassy to the Madianites concerning them. And these, forasmuch as there was a certain Balaam hailing from the Euphrates,^b the best diviner of his day and on friendly terms with them, sent, along with the ambassadors of Balak, some of their own notables to entreat the seer to come and deliver curses for the extermination of the Israelites. When these envoys arrived Balaam received them with cordial hospitality and, after giving them supper, inquired of God what was His mind touching this invitation of the Madianites. Meeting with opposition from Him, he returned to the envoys and, making plain to them his own readiness and zeal to comply with their request,^c he explained that God gainsaid his purpose, even that God who had brought him to his high renown for truth's sake and for the prediction thereof. For (he continued) that army, which they invited him to come and curse, was in favour with

There is no need to alter *λόγους*: the phrase recurs in *B.J.* vii. 340 *ἐνεχειρει λόγους* "essayed a flight of oratory."

^b In Numb. xxii. 5 Balak sends messengers to Balaam "to Pethor which is by the river," *i.e.* (as Josephus and the Targum interpret) the Euphrates.

^c So the Midrash (Weill).

JOSEPHUS

εβούλευέ τε διὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν χωρεῖν παρ' αὐτοὺς τὴν ἔχθραν τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καταλυσαμένους. καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσε.

- 107 (3) Μαδιανῖται δὲ Βαλάκου σφόδρα ἐγκειμένου καὶ δέησιν λιπαρὰν προσφέροντος πάλιν πέμπουσι πρὸς τὸν Βάλαμον. κακείνος βουλόμενος χαρίζεσθαι τι τοῖς ἀνδράσιν ἀνήρετο τὸν θεόν, ὁ δὲ καὶ τῆς πείρας δυσχεράνας κελεύει μηδὲν ἀντιλέγειν τοῖς πρέσβεσιν. ὁ δ' οὐχ ὑπολαβὼν ἀπάτη ταῦτα τὸν θεὸν κεκελευκέναι συναπήει
- 108 τοῖς πρέσβεσι. κατὰ δὲ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀγγέλου θείου προσβαλόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ τι στενὸν χωρίον περιειλημμένον αἵμασιαιῖς διπλαῖς ἢ ὄνος, ἐφ' ἧς ὁ Βάλαμος ὠχέιτο, συνείσα τοῦ θείου πνεύματος ὑπαντῶντος ἀπέκλινε τὸν Βάλαμον πρὸς τὸν ἕτερον τῶν τριγῶν ἀναισθήτως ἔχουσα τῶν πληγῶν, ἃς ὁ Βάλαμος ἐπέφερεν αὐτῇ κακοπαθῶν
- 109 τῇ θλίψει τῇ πρὸς τὸν τριγχόν. ὡς δ' ἐγκειμένου τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἢ ὄνος τυπτομένη ὠκλασε, κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην ἀφείσα¹ κατεμέμφετο τὸν Βάλαμον ὡς ἄδικον ἐπὶ ταῖς πρότερον διακονίαις μηδὲν ἔχοντα ἐγκαλεῖν αὐτῇ πληγὰς ἐπιφέρειν, μὴ συνιείς ὅτι νῦν κατὰ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οἷς αὐτὸς ἔσπευσεν ὑπηρετεῖν εἴργεται.
- 110 ταραττομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ διὰ τὴν τῆς ὄνου φωνὴν ἀνθρωπίνην οὖσαν ἐπιφανείς καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος ἐναργῆς ἐνεκάλει τῶν πληγῶν, ὡς οὐχὶ τοῦ κτήνους ὄντος αἰτίου, τὴν δὲ ὁδὸν αὐτοῦ διακωλύοντος παρὰ
- 111 γνώμην τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην. καταδείσας δ' ὁ

¹ RO: λαβοῦσα rell.

^a Or "breath," "afflatus."

God; he therefore counselled them to depart to their people and renounce that hatred which they bore to the Israelites. Having spoken thus he took leave of the embassy.

(3) But the Madianites, at the urgent instance and persistent entreaties of Balak, sent once again to Balaam. And he, fain to give these men some gratification, consulted God anew; whereat God, indignant that he should even tempt Him thus, bade him in no wise to gainsay the envoys. So he, not dreaming that it was to delude him that God had given this order, set off with the envoys. But on the road an angel of God confronted him in a narrow place, enclosed by stone walls on either side, and the ass whereon Balaam rode, conscious of the divine spirit^a approaching her, turning aside thrust Balaam against one of these fences, insensible to the blows with which the seer belaboured her, in his pain at being crushed against the wall. But when, on the angel's nearer approach, the ass sank down beneath the blows, she, so God willed, broke out in^b human speech and reproached Balaam for the injustice wherewith, though he had no cause to complain of her past ministries, he thus belaboured her, failing to understand that to-day it was God's purpose that debarred her from serving him on the mission whereon he sped. Then, while he was aghast at hearing his ass thus speak with human voice, the angel himself appeared in visible form and reproached him for his blows, in that the beast was not to blame: it was he himself, he said, who was obstructing a journey undertaken in defiance of the will of God. Terrified,

Second
embassy:
Balaam's
journey and
his ass.
Numb
xxii. 15.

^b Or, according to another reading, "received," "was given."

JOSEPHUS

Βάλαμος οἶός τε ἦν ἀναστρέφειν, ἀλλ' ὁ θεὸς αὐτὸν χωρεῖν τὴν προκειμένην παρώρμησε προστάξας ὅτι περ ἂν αὐτὸς κατὰ νοῦν αὐτῷ ποιήσειε τοῦτο σημαίνειν.

- 112 (4) Καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος ἤκει πρὸς Βάλακον. δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐκπρεπῶς ἡξίου προαχθεὶς ἐπὶ τι τῶν ὀρῶν σκέψασθαι, πῶς τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἔχοι στρατόπεδον. Βάλακος δ' αὐτὸς ἀφικνεῖται τὸν μάντιν σὺν βασιλικῇ θεραπείᾳ φιλοτίμως ἀγόμενος εἰς ὄρος, ὅπερ ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς αὐτῶν ἔκειτο τοῦ
- 113 στρατοπέδου σταδίου ἀπέχον ἐξήκοντα. κατιδὼν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐκείνος βωμούς τε ἐκέλευσεν ἐπτά δείμασθαι τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοσοῦτους ταύρους καὶ κριοὺς παραστήσαι· ὑπουργήσαντος δὲ διὰ ταχέων τοῦ βασιλέως ὀλοκαυτεῖ τυθέντας, ὡς
- 114 <τ' ἄ>τροπον¹ εἶδε σημαينوμένην, “ὁ λεῶς,” φησὶν, “οὗτος εὐδαιμών, ᾧ ὁ θεὸς δίδωσι μυρίων κτηῆσιν ἀγαθῶν καὶ σύμμαχον εἰς ἅπαντα καὶ ἡγεμόνα τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πρόνοιαν ἐπένευσεν. ὡς οὐδέν ἐστιν ἀνθρώπειον² γένος, οὐ μὴ κατ' ἀρετὴν καὶ ζήλωσιν ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἀρίστων καὶ καθαρῶν πονηρίας ὑμεῖς ἀμείνους κριθήσεσθε καὶ παισὶ βελτίοσιν αὐτῶν ταῦτα καταλείψετε, θεοῦ μόνους ὑμᾶς ἀνθρώπους³ ἐφορῶντος καὶ ὅθεν ἂν γένοισθε πάντων εὐδαιμονέστεροι τῶν ὑπὸ τὸν ἥλιον
- 115 ἐκπορίζοντος. γῆν τε οὖν ἐφ' ἣν ὑμᾶς αὐτὸς ἔστειλε καθέξετε δουλεύουσιν⁴ αἰεὶ παισὶν ὑμε-

¹ conj. : τρόπον RO, τροπήν rell.

² ἀνθρώπινον RO. ³ ἀνθρώπων Niese.

⁴ ex Lat. : δουλεύουσιν codd.

^a Distance unspecified in Scripture.

Balaam was prepared to turn back ; God, however, exhorted him to pursue his intended way, while enjoining upon him to announce just whatsoever He himself should put into his heart.

(4) Charged with these behests from God he came to Balak. After a magnificent reception from the king, he desired to be conducted to one of the mountains, to inspect the disposition of the Hebrews' camp. Balak thereupon went himself, escorting the seer with all the honours of a royal retinue to a mountain lying over their heads and sixty furlongs distant from the camp.^a Having seen the Hebrews beneath, he bade the king to have seven altars built and as many bulls and rams brought forward. The king having promptly ministered to his wishes, he burnt the slaughtered victims whole ; and when he saw the indications of inflexible Fate,^b " Happy," said he, " is this people, to whom God grants possession of blessings untold and has vouchsafed as their perpetual ally and guide His own providence. For there is not a race on earth which ye shall not, through your virtue and your passion for pursuits most noble and pure of crime, be accounted to excel, and to children yet better than yourselves shall ye bequeath this heritage, God having regard for none among men but you and lavishing on you the means whereby ye may become the happiest of all peoples beneath the sun. That land, then, to which He himself hath sent you, ye shall surely occupy : it

Balaam predicts Israel's future greatness. Numb. xxii. 35.

Ib. xxiii. 1.

^b My conjecture *ἀτροπον* (Atropos, the divinity of inflexible fate) yields the required sense and accounts for both readings of the mss. ; first the *ἀ* was dropped, and then the feminine part. *σημαινομένην* caused the conversion of *τρόπον* into *τροπήν* (which Wcill adopts, rendering " comme il y vit le signe d'une fuite ").

JOSEPHUS

- τέροις, καὶ τοῦ περὶ αὐτῶν κλέους ἐμπλησθήσεται
 πᾶσα ἡ γῆ καὶ θάλασσα, ἀρκέσετε δὲ τῷ κόσμῳ
 παρασχεῖν ἐκάστη γῆ τῶν ἀφ' ὑμετέρου γένους
 116 οἰκήτορας. θαυμάζετε οὖν, ᾧ μακάριος¹ στρατός,
 ὅτι τοσοῦτος ἐξ ἑνὸς πατρὸς γεγονάτε;² ἀλλὰ
 τὸν νῦν ὑμῶν ὀλίγον ἡ Χαναναίων χωρήσει γῆ,
 τὴν δ' οἰκουμένην οἰκητήριον δι' αἰῶνος ἴστε
 προκειμένην ὑμῖν, καὶ τὸ πλῆθος ὑμῶν ἐν τε
 νήσοις καὶ κατ' ἠπειρον βιοτεύσετε ὅσον ἐστὶν
 οὐδ' ἀστέρων ἀριθμὸς ἐν οὐρανῷ. τοσοῦτοις δὲ
 οὖσιν οὐκ ἀπαγορεύσει τὸ θεῖον ἀφθονίαν μὲν
 παντοίων ἀγαθῶν ἐν εἰρήνῃ χορηγοῦν, νίκην δὲ
 117 καὶ κράτος ἐν πολέμῳ. παῖδας ἐχθρῶν ἔρωσ
 τοῦ πρὸς ὑμᾶς πολέμου λάβοι καὶ θρασυνθεῖεν
 ὥστε εἰς ὄπλα καὶ τὰς ὑμετέρας χεῖρας ἐλθεῖν·
 οὐ γὰρ ἂν ὑποστρέψειέ τις νικηφόρος οὐδ' ὥστε
 παῖδας εὐφρᾶναι καὶ γυναῖκας. τοσοῦτον ὑμῖν
 ἀνδρείας τὸ περιὸν ἐκ θεοῦ προνοίας ἀνήρηται,³ ᾧ
 καὶ τὰ περιττὰ μειοῦν ἰσχὺς καὶ τὰ λείποντα
 δίδοναι.”
- 118 (5) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοιαῦτ' ἐπεθείαζεν οὐκ ὢν ἐν
 ἑαυτῷ τῷ δὲ θείῳ πνεύματι πρὸς αὐτὰ νενικημένος.
 τοῦ δὲ Βαλάκου δυσχεραίνοντος καὶ παραβαίνειν
 αὐτὸν τὰς συνθήκας ἐφ' αἷς αὐτὸν ἀντὶ μεγάλων
 λάβοι δωρεῶν παρὰ τῶν συμμάχων ἐπικαλοῦντος,
 ἐλθόντα γὰρ ἐπὶ κατάρα τῶν πολεμίων ὑμνεῖν
 αὐτοὺς ἐκείνους καὶ μακαριωτάτους ἀποφαίνειν
 119 ἀνθρώπων, “ ᾧ Βάλακε,” φησί, “ περὶ τῶν ὅλων
 λογίζῃ καὶ δοκεῖς ἐφ' ἡμῖν εἶναί τι περὶ τῶν

¹ μακάριοι Niese.

² γεγονάτε. edd.

³ Dindorf (Lat. prestabitur): ἀνήρηται codd.

shall be subject for ever to your children, and with their fame shall all earth and sea be filled : aye and ye shall suffice for the world, to furnish every land with inhabitants sprung from your race. Marvel ye then, blessed army, that from a single sire ye have grown so great ? Nay, those numbers now are small and shall be contained by the land of Canaan ; but the habitable world, be sure, lies before you as an eternal habitation, and your multitudes shall find abode on islands and continent, more numerous even than the stars in heaven. Yet for all those mighty hosts the Deity shall not fail to supply abundance of blessings of every sort in peace-time, victory and mastery in war. Let the children of your foes be seized with a passion for battle against you, and be emboldened to take arms and to close with you in strife ; for not one shall return victorious or in such wise as to gladden the heart of child and wife.^a With such superabundant valour have ye been invested by the providence of God, who has power alike to diminish what is in excess and to make good that which is lacking.”

(5) Such was the inspired utterance of one who was no longer his own master but was overruled by the divine spirit to deliver it. But when Balak fumed and accused him of transgressing the covenant whereunder, in exchange for liberal gifts, he had obtained his services from his allies—having come, in fact, to curse his enemies, he was now belauding those very persons and pronouncing them the most blessed of men—“ Balak,” said he, “ hast thou reflected on the whole matter and thinkest thou that

Balaam's
defence to
Balak and
further
predictions,
Numb.
xxiii. 11.

^a After Hom. *Il.* v. 688 *εὐφρανέειν ἀλοχόν τε φίλην καὶ νήπιον υἷόν.*

JOSEPHUS

- τοιούτων σιγᾶν ἢ λέγειν, ὅταν ἡμᾶς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ
 λάβῃ πνεῦμα; φωνὰς γὰρ ᾧς βούλεται τοῦτο
 120 καὶ λόγους οὐδὲν ἡμῶν εἰδότες ἀφήσιν. ἐγὼ
 δὲ μέμνημαι μὲν ὦντε καὶ σὺ καὶ Μαδιανῖται
 δεηθέντες ἐνταυθοῖ με προθύμως ἠγάγετε καὶ
 δι' ᾧ τὴν ἄφιξιν ἐποιησάμην, ἣν τέ μοι δι' εὐχῆς
 121 μηδὲν ἀδικῆσαί σου τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν. κρείττων
 δὲ ὁ θεὸς ὢν ἐγὼ χαρίζεσθαι διεγνώκειν· καὶ
 παντελῶς ἀσθενεῖς οἱ προγινώσκειν περὶ τῶν
 ἀνθρωπίνων¹ παρ' ἑαυτῶν ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὡς μὴ
 ταῦθ' ἄπερ ὑπαγορεύει τὸ θεῖον λέγειν, βιάζεσθαι
 δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου βούλησιν· οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐν ἡμῖν ἔτι
 122 φθάσαντος εἰσελθεῖν ἐκείνου ἡμέτερον. ἔγωγ' οὖν
 τὸν στρατὸν τοῦτον οὐτ' ἐπαιέσαι προυθέμην
 οὐτ' ἐφ' οἷς τὸ γένος αὐτῶν ὁ θεὸς ἀγαθοῖς
 ἐμηχανήσατο διελθεῖν, ἀλλ' εὐμενῆς αὐτοῖς οὗτος
 ὢν καὶ σπεύδων αὐτοῖς εὐδαίμονα βίον καὶ κλέος
 αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν ἐμοὶ τοιούτων ἀπαγγελίαν
 123 λόγων ὑπέθετο. νῦν δέ, χαρίζεσθαι τι² γὰρ αὐτῷ
 σοὶ διὰ σπουδῆς ἐστὶ μοι καὶ Μαδιανῖταις, ὢν
 ἀπώσασθαι μοι τὴν ἀξίωσιν οὐκ εὐπρεπές, φέρε
 βωμούς τε ἑτέρους αὐθις ἐγείρωμεν καὶ θυσίας
 ταῖς πρὶν παραπλησίας ἐπιτελέσωμεν, εἰ πείσαι
 τὸν θεὸν δυνηθεῖν ἐπιτρέψαι μοι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους
 124 ἀραῖς ἐνδῆσαι." συγχωρήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Βαλάκου
 δις μὲν τεθυκότι τὸ θεῖον οὐκ ἐπένευσε τὰς κατὰ
 τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀράς, [θύσας δὲ καὶ τρίτον ἄλλων
 πάλιν ἀνασταθέντων βωμῶν οὐδὲ τότε μὲν κατ-

¹ ἀνθρωπείων ML.

² conj. Niese: τε RO: om. rell.

it rests with us at all to be silent or to speak on such themes as these, when we are possessed by the spirit of God? For that spirit gives utterance to such language and words as it will, whereof we are all unconscious. For myself, I remember well what both thou and the Madianites craved when ye eagerly brought me hither and for what purpose I have paid this visit, and it was my earnest prayer to do no despite to thy desire. But God is mightier than that determination of mine to do this favour; and wholly impotent are they who pretend to such foreknowledge of human affairs, drawn from their own breasts, as to refrain from speaking that which the Deity suggests and to violate His will. For nothing within us, once He has gained prior entry, is any more our own. Thus, for my part, I neither intended to extol this army nor to recount the blessings for which God has designed their race; it is He who, in His gracious favour to them and His zeal to confer on them a life of felicity and everlasting renown, has put it into my heart to pronounce such words as these. But now,^a since it is my earnest desire to gratify both myself and the Madianites, to reject whose request were unseemly, come, let us erect yet other altars and offer sacrifices like unto the first, if perchance I may persuade God to suffer me to bind these people under a curse." Balak consenting thereto, twice did the seer offer sacrifice, but failed to obtain the Deity's consent to imprecations upon the

Numb.
xxiii. 13.

^a In Numbers it is Balak who proposes a second attempt.

JOSEPHUS

- 125 ηράσατο τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις,]¹ πεσὼν δ' ἐπὶ στόμα πάθῃ προύλεγεν ὅσα τε βασιλευσιν ἔσται καὶ ὅσα πόλεσι ταῖς ἀξιολογωτάταις, ὧν ἐνίαις οὐδ' οἰκείσθαι πω² συνέβαινε τὴν ἀρχήν, ἃ τε καὶ προϋπήρξεν ἐν τοῖς ἔμπροσθεν χρόνοις γενόμενα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις διὰ γῆς ἢ θαλάσσης εἰς μνήμην τὴν ἐμήν. ἐξ ὧν ἀπάντων λαβόντων τέλος ὁποῖον ἐκεῖνος προεῖπε τεκμήρηαιτ' ἂν τις, ὅ τι καὶ ἔσοιτο πρὸς τὸ μέλλον.
- 126 (6) Βάλακος δὲ ἀγανακτήσας ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ καταράτους γενέσθαι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀποπέμπει τὸν Βάλαμον μηδεμιᾶς τιμῆς ἀξιώσας· ὁ δὲ ἀπιὼν ἤδη καπὶ τῷ περαιουῖν τὸν Εὐφράτην γενόμενος τόν τε Βάλακον μεταπεμψάμενος καὶ τοὺς ἄρχοντας
- 127 τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν “ Βαλακέ,” φησί, “ καὶ Μαδιανιτῶν οἱ παρόντες, χρῆ γὰρ καὶ παρὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ χαρίσασθαι ὑμῖν, τὸ μὲν Ἑβραίων γένος οὐκ ἂν ὄλεθρος παντελῆς καταλάβοι, οὔτ' ἐν πολέμῳ οὔτ' ἐν λοιμῷ καὶ σπάνει τῶν ἀπὸ γῆς καρπῶν, οὔτ'³ ἄλλη τις αἰτία παράλογος δια-
- 128 φθείρειεν. πρόνοια γάρ ἐστὶν αὐτῶν τῷ θεῷ σώζειν ἀπὸ παντὸς κακοῦ καὶ μηδὲν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐᾶσαι τοιοῦτον πάθος ἐλθεῖν, ὑφ' οὗ κἂν ἀπόλοιτο πάντες· συμπέσοι δ' ἂν αὐτοῖς ὀλίγα τε καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὑφ' ὧν ταπεινοῦσθαι δοκοῦντες εἴτ' ἀνθήσουσιν ἐπὶ φόβῳ τῶν ἐπαγαγόντων αὐτοῖς τὰς

¹ hab. SP: ins. post στόμα L: om. rell. Doubtless a gloss.

² Dindorf: πως codd.

³ οὐδ' Niese.

Israelites.^a Instead, falling upon his face, he foretold what calamities were to come for kings and what for cities of the highest celebrity (of which some had not yet so much as been inhabited at all), along with other events which have already befallen men in bygone ages, by land or sea, down to times within my memory. And from all these prophecies having received the fulfilment which he predicted one may infer what the future also has in store.^b

(6) Balak, furious because the Israelites had not been cursed, dismissed Balaam, dignifying him with no reward. But he, when already departing and on the point of crossing the Euphrates, sent for Balak and the princes of Madian and said: "Balak and ye men of Madian here present—since it behoves me despite God's will to gratify you—doubtless this race of Hebrews will never be overwhelmed by utter destruction, neither through war, nor through pestilence and dearth of the fruits of the earth, neither shall any other unlooked-for cause exterminate it. For God is watching over them to preserve them from all ill and to suffer no such calamity to come upon them as would destroy them all. Yet misfortunes may well befall them of little moment and for a little while, whereby they will appear to be abased, though only thereafter to flourish once more to the terror of those who inflicted these injuries

Balaam's
parting
advice.

^a Some mss. insert the gloss: "He sacrificed also a third time, other altars being again erected: yet even then he pronounced no imprecation on the Israelites" (*cf.* Numb. xxiii. 30). The glossator has not observed that *δῖς*, with the sacrifice already narrated, brings up the number to three: he has apparently interpreted *δῖς* as *δύερον*.

^b *Cf.* a rather similar mysterious reference to the fulfilment of the prophecies of Daniel in *A.* x. 210.

JOSEPHUS

- 129 βλάβας. ὑμεῖς δ' εἰ νίκην τινὰ πρὸς βραχὺν καιρὸν κατ' αὐτῶν κερδᾶναι ποθεῖτε, τύχοιτ' ἂν αὐτῆς ταῦτα ποιήσαντες· τῶν θυγατέρων τὰς μάλιστα εὐπρεπεῖς καὶ βιάσασθαι καὶ νικῆσαι τὴν τῶν ὀρώντων σωφροσύνην ἱκανὰς διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀσκήσαντες τὴν εὐμορφίαν αὐτῶν ἐπὶ τὸ μᾶλλον εὐπρεπὲς πέμψατε πλησίον ἔσομένας τοῦ ἐκείνων στρατοπέδου, καὶ δεομένοις συνεῖναι τοῖς
- 130 νεανίαις αὐτῶν προστάξατε. ἐπειδὴν δὲ κεχειρωμένους ὀρῶσι ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις, καταλιπέτωσαν καὶ παρακαλούντων μένειν μὴ πρότερον ἐπινευέτωσαν, πρὶν ἂν πείσωσιν αὐτοὺς ἀφέντας τοὺς πατρίους νόμους καὶ τὸν τούτους αὐτοῖς θέμενον τιμᾶν θεὸν τοὺς Μαδιανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν σέβωσιν· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ὀργισθήσεται." καὶ ὁ μὲν τοῦθ' ὑποθέμενος αὐτοῖς ᾤχετο.
- 131 (7) Τῶν δὲ Μαδιανιτῶν πεμφάντων τὰς θυγατέρας κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου παραίνεσιν οἱ τῶν Ἑβραίων ἀλίσκονται νέοι τῆς εὐπρεπείας αὐτῶν καὶ παραγενόμενοι εἰς λόγους αὐταῖς παρεκάλουν μὴ φθονεῖν αὐτοῖς τῆς τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῶν ἀπολαύσεως μηδὲ τῆς τοῦ πλησιάζειν συνηθείας· αἱ δ' ἀσμένως δεξάμεναι τοὺς λόγους συνηέσαν
- 132 αὐτοῖς. ἐνδησάμεναι δ' αὐτοὺς τῷ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτι καὶ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ἀκμαζούσης περὶ ἀπλλαγὴν ἐγίνοντο. τοὺς δ' ἀθυμία δεινῆ¹ πρὸς

¹ πολλή RO.

^a Cf. Is. lvii. 17 LXX δι' ἁμαρτίαν βραχὺ τι ἐλύπησα αὐτόν and the concluding portion of the Ep. of Baruch (end of 1st cent. A.D.), beginning ὁ ἐπαγαγὼν ὑμῖν τὰ κακά (iv. 29).

^b This suggestion is foreign to the older ("J") narrative

upon them.^a Ye then, if ye yearn to gain some short-lived victory over them, may attain that end by acting on this wise. Take of your daughters those who are comeliest and most capable of constraining and conquering the chastity of their beholders by reason of their beauty, deck out their charms to add to their comeliness, send them to the neighbourhood of the Hebrews' camp, and charge them to company with their young men when they sue their favours. Then, when they shall see these youths overmastered by their passions, let them quit them and, on their entreating them to stay, let them not consent or ever they have induced their lovers to renounce the laws of their fathers and the God to whom they owe them, and to worship the gods of the Madianites and Moabites. For thus will God be moved to indignation against them." And, having propounded to them this scheme, he went his way.^b

(7) Thereupon the Madianites having sent their daughters in accordance with his advice, the Hebrew youths were captivated by their charms and, falling into parley with them, besought them not to deny them the enjoyment of their beauty or the intimacy of intercourse; and they, gladly accepting their suit, consorted with them. Then, having enchained them with love towards themselves, at the moment when their passion was at its height, they made ready to go. The young men were in the depths

Seduction of the Hebrew youth by the Midianite women. Cf. Numb. xxv. 1.

in Numbers, but is alluded to in the later ("Priestly") document: "Behold these (women) caused the children of Israel, *through the counsel of Balaam*, to commit trespass" (Numb. xxxi. 16). Jewish Midrash (see Weill) enlarged upon this and even traced a reference to the story in Numb. xxiv. 14 "I will advertise (or rather "counsel") thee what this people shall do."

JOSEPHUS

- τὴν ἀναχώρησιν τῶν γυναικῶν κατέλαβε καὶ λιπαροῦντες ἐνέκειντο, μὴ σφᾶς καταλιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ γαμετὰς αὐτῶν ἐσομένας αὐτόθι μένειν καὶ δεσποίνας ἀποδειχθησομένας πάντων ὧν ὑπῆρχεν
- 133 αὐτοῖς. ταῦτα δὲ ὁμνύντες ἔλεγον καὶ θεὸν μεσίτην ὧν ὑπισχνοῦντο ποιούμενοι, δακρύοντές τε καὶ πανταχόθεν αὐτοὺς ἐλλεινοὺς ταῖς γυναιξὶ κατασκευάζοντες εἶναι. αἱ δ' ὡς δεδουλωμένους αὐτοὺς κατενόησαν καὶ τελῶς ὑπὸ τῆς συνηθείας ἐχομένους, ἤρξαντο πρὸς αὐτοὺς λέγειν·
- 134 (8) “ Ἡμῖν, ὦ κράτιστοι νέων, οἰκοί τέ εἰσι πατρῶοι καὶ κτῆσις ἀγαθῶν ἄφθονος καὶ ἡ παρὰ τῶν γονέων καὶ τῶν οἰκείων εὖνοια καὶ στοργή, καὶ κατ' οὐδενὸς τούτων πόρον¹ ἐνθάδ' ἤκουσαι ἡμεῖς εἰς ὀμιλίαν ἤκομεν, οὐδ' ἐμπορευσόμεναι τὴν ὥραν τοῦ σώματος προσηκάμεθα τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀξίωσιν, ἀλλ' ἄνδρας ἀγαθοὺς καὶ δικαίους ὑπολαβοῦσαι τοιούτοις ὑμᾶς τιμῆσαι ξενίοις δεομένους
- 135 ἐπέισθημεν. καὶ νῦν, ἐπεὶ φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς φιλοστόργως ἔχειν καὶ λυπεῖσθαι² μελλουσῶν ἀναχωρεῖν, οὐδ' αὐταὶ τὴν δέησιν ὑμῶν ἀποστρεφόμεθα, πίστιν δ' εὐνοίας λαβοῦσαι τὴν μόνην ἡμῖν ἀξιόλογον νομισθεῖσαν ἀγαπήσομεν τὸν μεθ'
- 136 ὑμῶν βίον ὡς γαμεταὶ διανύσαι. δέος γάρ, μὴ καὶ κόρον τῆς ἡμετέρας ὀμιλίας λαβόντες ἔπειθ' ὑβρίσητε καὶ ἀτίμους ἀποπέμψητε πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς”· συγγινώσκειν τε ταῦτα φυλαττομέναις ἡξίουσιν. τῶν δὲ ἦν βούλονται πίστιν δώσειν

¹ ἀποροῦσαι SP Lat. (-ούσαις L): ? lege ἀπορίαν.

² RO Lat.: λυπεῖσθε rell.

^a The model for this speech and for the episode as a whole
66

of despondency at the women's departure: they pressed and implored them not to abandon them, but to stay where they were, to be their brides and to be installed as mistresses of all that they possessed. This they affirmed with oaths, invoking God as arbiter of their promises, and by their tears and by every means seeking to render themselves an object of the women's compassion. And these, when they perceived them to be enslaved and completely holden by their society, began to address them thus:

(8)^a "We, most excellent young men, have our paternal houses, goods in abundance, and the benevolence and affection of our parents and kinsfolk. It was not in quest of ^b any of those things that we came hither to consort with you, nor with intent to traffic with the flower of our persons that we accepted your suit; nay, it was because we took you for honest and just men that we were induced to honour your petition with such hospitable welcome. And now, since ye say that ye have so tender an affection for us and are grieved at our approaching departure, we do not—for our part—reject your request; but, on receiving from you the only pledge of goodwill which we can account of worth, we shall be content to end our lives with you as your wedded wives. For it is to be feared that, becoming sated with our society, ye may then do us outrage and send us back dishonoured to our parents"—and they begged to be excused for protecting themselves against *that*. The youths thereupon promising to

Conditions
imposed
by them.

was furnished by the similar story of the Scythians and the Amazons in Herodotus iv. 111 ff. (esp. the speeches in 114, beginning Ἡμῖν εἰσὶ μὲν τοκέες εἰσὶ δὲ κτήσεις).

^b Or, with another reading, "for lack of."

JOSEPHUS

- ὁμολογούντων καὶ πρὸς [τὸ]¹ μηδὲν ἀντιλεγόντων
 137 ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς πάθους, “ ἐπεὶ ταῦτα ὑμῖν,”
 ἔφασαν, “ δέδοκται, τοῖς δ’ ἔθεσι καὶ τῷ βίῳ πρὸς
 ἅπαντας ἀλλοτριώτατα χρῆσθε, ὡς καὶ τὰς τροφὰς
 ὑμῖν ἰδιοτρόπους εἶναι καὶ τὰ ποτὰ μὴ κοινὰ τοῖς
 ἄλλοις, ἀνάγκη βουλομένους ἡμῖν συνοικεῖν καὶ
 θεοὺς τοὺς ἡμετέρους σέβειν, καὶ οὐκ ἂν ἄλλο
 γένοιτο τεκμήριον ἧς ἔχειν τε νῦν φατε πρὸς ἡμᾶς
 εὐνοίας καὶ τῆς ἐσομένης ἢ τὸ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡμῖν
 138 θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν. μέμψαιτο δ’ ἂν οὐδεὶς, εἰ γῆς εἰς
 ἣν ἀφίχθε τοὺς ἰδίους αὐτῆς θεοὺς προστρέψισθε,²
 καὶ ταῦτα τῶν μὲν ἡμετέρων κοινῶν ὄντων πρὸς
 ἅπαντας, τοῦ δ’ ὑμετέρου πρὸς μηδένα τοιούτου
 τυγχάνοντος.” δεῖν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἔλεγον ἢ ταῦτα
 πᾶσιν ἡγητέον ἢ ζητεῖν ἄλλην οἰκουμένην, ἐν ἣ
 βιώσονται μόνοι κατὰ τοὺς ἰδίους νόμους.
 139 (9) Οἱ δ’ ὑπὸ τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἔρωτος κάλλιστα
 λέγεσθαι ταῦτα ὑπολαβόντες καὶ παραδόντες αὐ-
 τοὺς εἰς ἃ προεκαλοῦντο παρέβησαν τὰ πάτρια,
 θεοὺς τε πλείονας εἶναι νομίσαντες καὶ θύειν
 αὐτοῖς κατὰ νόμον τὸν ἐπιχώριον τοῖς καθιδρυσα-
 μένοις προθέμενοι ξενικοῖς τε βρώμασιν ἔχαιρον
 καὶ πάντ’ εἰς ἡδονὴν τῶν γυναικῶν ἐπὶ τούναντίον
 οἷς ὁ νόμος αὐτῶν ἐκέλευε ποιοῦντες διετελοῦν,
 140 ὡς διὰ παντὸς ἤδη τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν παρανομίαν
 χωρεῖν τῶν νέων καὶ στάσιν αὐτοῖς πολὺ χεῖρω
 τῆς προτέρας ἐμπεσεῖν καὶ κίνδυνον παντελοῦς
 τῶν ἰδίων ἐθισμῶν ἀπωλείας. ἅπαξ γὰρ τὸ νέον

¹ RO: om. rell.

² S¹: προτρέψισθε rell.

give whatever pledge they chose and gainsaying them in nothing, such was their passion for them, "Seeing then," said the maidens, "that ye agree to these conditions, and that ye have customs and a mode of life wholly alien to all mankind, insomuch that your food is of a peculiar sort and your drink is distinct from that of other men, it behoves you, if ye would live with us, also to revere our gods; no other proof can there be of that affection which ye declare that ye now have for us and of its continuance in future, save that ye worship the same gods as we. Nor can any man reproach you for venerating the special gods of the country whereto ye are come, above all when our gods are common to all mankind, while yours has no other worshipper." They must therefore (they added) either fall in with the beliefs of all men or look for another world, where they could live alone in accordance with their peculiar laws.

(9) So these youths, dominated by their love for the damsels, regarding their speech as excellent and surrendering to their proposal, transgressed the laws of their fathers. Accepting the belief in a plurality of gods and determining to sacrifice to them in accordance with the established rites of the people of the country,^a they revelled in strange meats and, to please these women, ceased not to do everything contrary to that which their Law ordained; with the result that the whole army was soon permeated by this lawlessness of the youth and a sedition far graver than the last descended upon them, with a danger of complete ruin of their own institutions. For the youth, once having tasted

The
corruption
spreads.
Numb.
xxv. 2.

^a Lit. "according to the law native to those who had established" ("it"; or "them," *i.e.* the gods).

JOSEPHUS

γευσάμενον ξενικῶν ἔθισμῶν ἀπλήστως ἐνεφορεῖτο, καὶ εἴ τινας τῶν πρώτων ἀνδρῶν διὰ πατέρων ἀρετὰς ἐπιφανεῖς ἦσαν συνδιεφθείροντο.

- 141 (10) Καὶ Ζαμβρίας ὁ τῆς Σεμεωνίδος ἡγούμενος φυλῆς Χοσβία, συνὼν Μαδιανίτιδι Σούρου¹ θυγατρὶ τῶν ἐκείνῃ δυναστεύοντος ἀνδρός, κελευσθεὶς ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς πρὸ τῶν Μωυσεῖ δοχθέντων τὸ
 142 πρὸς ἡδονὴν αὐτῇ γενησόμενον ἐθεράπευεν.² ἐν τούτοις δ' ὄντων τῶν πραγμάτων δείσας Μωυσῆς, μὴ γένηταί τι χεῖρον, συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν λαὸν οὐδενὸς μὲν κατηγορεῖ πρὸς ὄνομα, μὴ βουλόμενος εἰς ἀπόνοιαν περιστήσαι τοὺς ἐκ τοῦ
 143 λαυθάνειν μετανοῆσαι δυναμένους, ἔλεγε δ' ὡς οὐκ ἄξια δρῶεν οὐθ' αὐτῶν οὔτε πατέρων τὴν ἡδονὴν προτιμήσαντες τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ κατὰ τοῦτον βιοῦν,³ προσήκειν δ' ἕως⁴ ἔτι καὶ καλῶς αὐτοῖς⁵ ἔχει μεταβαλέσθαι, τὴν ἀνδρείαν ὑπολαμβάνουσιν οὐκ ἐν τῷ βιάζεσθαι τοὺς νόμους
 144 ἀλλ' ἐν τῷ μὴ εἴκειν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις εἶναι. πρὸς τούτοις δ' οὐδ' εὐλογον ἔφασκε σωφρονήσαντας αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου νῦν ἐν τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς ὄντας παροινεῖν, μηδὲ τὰ κτηθέντα ὑπὸ τῆς ἐνδείας δι' εὐπορίαν αὐτῶν ἀπολέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα λέγων ἐπειράτο τοὺς νέους ἐπανορθοῦν καὶ εἰς μετάνοιαν ἄγειν ὧν ἔπραττον.

¹ Bernard: Οὔρου codd.

² RO: + οὔτε θύων τὰ πάτρια καὶ γάμον ἡγμένος ἀλλόφυλον rell.

³ βλου RO.

⁴ Niese (Lat. dum): ὡς codd.

⁵ αὐτοῖς ἂν (or ἂν αὐτοῖς) codd.

^a Bibl. Zimri (LXX Ζαμβρεῖ).

^b Gr. "Semeon."

^c Bibl. Cozbi (Χασβεῖ).

^d Bibl. Zur (Σούρ).

of foreign customs, became insatiably intoxicated with them; and some even of the leading men, persons conspicuous through the virtues of their ancestors, succumbed to the contagion.

Numb.
xxv. 4.

(10) Among others *Zambrias*,^a the chief of the tribe of Simeon,^b who was consorting with *Chosbia*^c the Madianite, daughter of *Sur*,^d a local prince, at the bidding of this woman, in preference to the decrees of Moses, devoted himself to the cult that would be to her liking.^e Such was the state of things when Moses,^f fearing lest worse should befall, convened the people in assembly; he accused no one by name, not wishing to reduce to desperation any who under cover of obscurity might be brought to repentance, but he said that they were acting in a manner neither worthy of themselves nor of their fathers in preferring voluptuousness to God and to a God-fearing life, and that it beseemed them, while it was yet well with them,^g to amend their ways, reckoning that courage consisted not in violating the laws but in resisting their passions. He added that neither was it reasonable, after their sobriety in the desert, to relapse now, in their prosperity, into drunken riot, and to lose through affluence what they had won by penury. By this speech he endeavoured to correct the youthful offenders and to bring them to repent of their actions.

Apostasy of
Zambrias:
remon-
strance of
Moses.
Ib. 14 f.

^e Most mss. add "by ceasing to sacrifice according to the laws of his fathers and by contracting a foreign marriage" (perhaps a gloss).

^f This speech and that of *Zambrias* which follows have no warrant in Scripture.

^g Or, according to another reading, "in order that it might yet be well with them."

- 145 (11) Ἀναστάς δὲ μετ' αὐτὸν Ζαμβρίας “ ἄλλὰ
 σὺ μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ Μωυσῆ, χρῶ νόμοις οἷς αὐτὸς
 ἐσπούδακας ἐκ τῆς τούτων εὐθηείας¹ τὸ βέβαιον
 αὐτοῖς παρεσχημένος· ἐπεὶ μὴ τοῦτον αὐτῶν
 146 ἔγνωσ ἂν οὐκ εὐπαραλογίστους Ἑβραίους. ἐμὲ
 δ' οὐκ ἂν ἀκόλουθον οἷς σὺ προστάσσεις τυραννικῶς
 λάβοις· οὐ γὰρ ἄλλο τι μέχρι νῦν ἢ προσχήματι
 νόμων καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ δουλείαν μὲν ἡμῖν ἀρχὴν δὲ
 σαυτῷ κακουργεῖς, ἀφαιρούμενος ἡμᾶς τὸ ἡδὺ
 καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὸν βίον αὐτεξούσιον, ὃ τῶν ἐλευθέρων
 147 ἐστὶ καὶ δεσπότην οὐκ ἔχοντων. χαλεπώτερος
 δ' ἂν οὕτως Αἰγυπτίων Ἑβραίοις γένοιτο τιμωρεῖν
 ἀξιῶν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους τὴν ἐκάστου πρὸς τὸ
 κεχαρισμένον αὐτῷ βούλησιν. πολὺ δ' ἂν δι-
 καιότερον αὐτὸς τιμωρίαν ὑπομένοις τὰ παρ'
 ἐκάστοις ὁμολογούμενα καλῶς ἔχειν ἀφανίσει
 προηρημένος καὶ κατὰ τῆς ἀπάντων δόξης ἰσχυρὰν
 148 τὴν σεαυτοῦ κατεσκευακῶς ἀτοπίαν· ἐγὼ δ' ἂν
 στεροίμην εἰκότως ὧν πράττω νῦν, εἰ² κρίνας
 ἀγαθὰ ταῦτ' ἔπειτα περὶ αὐτῶν ὁμολογεῖν ἐν
 τούτοις³ ὀκνήσαιμι. γύναιόν τε ξενικόν, ὡς φῆς,
 ἡγμαι· παρ' ἑμαυτοῦ γὰρ ἀκούση τὰς ἐμὰς πράξεις
 ὡς παρὰ ἐλευθέρου, καὶ γὰρ οὐδὲ λαθεῖν προεθέμην·
 149 θύω τε θεοῖς οἷς θύειν μοι νομίζεται δίκαιον
 ἡγούμενος παρὰ πολλῶν ἑμαυτῷ πραγματεύεσθαι
 τὴν ἀλήθειαν, καὶ οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν τυραννίδι ζῆν
 τὴν ὄλην ἐξ ἐνὸς ἐλπίδα τοῦ βίου παντὸς ἀνηρτη-

¹ SPE: συνηθείας rell.² νῦν, εἰ edd.: νυνὶ codd.³ + οὐκ codd.

(11) But after him rose up Zambrias and said: Retort of
Zambrias.
 “Nay, do *thou*, Moses, keep these laws on which thou hast bestowed thy pains, having secured confirmation for them only through these men’s simplicity; for, were they not men of that character, thou wouldest often ere now have learnt through chastisement that Hebrews are not duped so easily. But *me* thou shalt not get to follow thy tyrannical orders; for thou hast done nought else until now save by wicked artifice, under the pretext of ‘laws’ and ‘God,’ to contrive servitude for us and sovereignty for thyself, robbing us of life’s sweets and of that liberty of action,^a which belongs to free men who own no master. By such means thou wouldest prove more oppressive to the Hebrews than were the Egyptians, in claiming to punish in the name of these laws the intention of each individual to please himself. Nay, far rather is it thyself who deservest punishment, for having purposed to abolish things which all the world has unanimously admitted to be excellent and for having set up, over against universal opinion, thine own extravagances. For myself, fairly might I be debarred from my present course of action, if, after deciding that it was right, I were then to shrink from confessing it before this assembly. I have married, as thou sayest, a foreign wife,—aye, from mine own lips shalt thou hear of my doings, as from a free man, and indeed I had no intention of concealment—aye, and I sacrifice to gods to whom I hold sacrifice to be due, deeming it right to get at the truth for myself from many persons, and not to live as under a tyranny, hanging all my hopes for

^a The modern word “self-determination” closely corresponds to the Greek.

JOSEPHUS

- κότα· χαρείη τ' ἂν οὐδεὶς κυριώτερον αὐτὸν περι
 ὦν πράξαιμι γνώμης τῆς ἐμῆς ἀποφαινόμενος.”
- 150 (12) Τοῦ δὲ Ζαμβρίου ταῦτα περὶ ὧν αὐτὸς τε
 ἠδίκηει καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τινὲς εἰπόντος ὁ μὲν λαὸς
 ἠσύχαζε φόβῳ τε τοῦ μέλλοντος καὶ τὸν νομο-
 θέτην δὲ ὁρῶν μὴ περαιτέρω τὴν ἀπόνοιαν αὐτοῦ
 προαγαγεῖν ἐκ τῆς ἀντικρυς διαμάχης θελή-
 151 σαντα· περίστατο γάρ, μὴ πολλοὶ τῆς τῶν λόγων
 ἀσελγείας αὐτοῦ μιμηταὶ γενόμενοι ταραξῶσι τὸ
 πλῆθος. καὶ διαλύεται μὲν ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ σύλλογος·
 προεληλύθει δ' ἂν ἐπὶ πλείον ἢ τοῦ κακοῦ πείρα
 μὴ φθάσαντος Ζαμβρία τελευτῆσαι ἐκ τοιαύτης
 152 αἰτίας. Φινεὲς ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα τῶν νεωτέρων
 κρείττων καὶ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀξιώματι τοὺς ἠλικιώτας
 ὑπερέχων, Ἐλεαζάρου γὰρ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως [υἱὸς]
 ἦν [Μωυσέως δὲ ἀδελφοῦ παιδὸς υἱός],¹ περιαλήσας
 τοῖς πεπραγμένοις ὑπὸ τοῦ Ζαμβρίου, καὶ πρὶν
 ἰσχυροτέραν γενέσθαι τὴν ὕβριν ὑπὸ τῆς ἀδείας
 ἔργῳ τὴν δίκην αὐτὸν εἰσπράξασθαι διαγνοὺς
 καὶ κωλύσαι διαβῆναι τὴν παρανομίαν εἰς πλείονας
 153 τῶν ἀρξαμένων οὐ κολαζομένων, τόλμη δὲ καὶ
 ψυχῆς καὶ σώματος ἀνδρεία τοσοῦτον προύχων,
 ὡς μὴ πρότερον εἶ τιμι συσταίῃ τῶν δεινῶν
 ἀπαλλάττεσθαι, πρὶν ἢ καταγωνίσασθαι καὶ νίκην
 τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῷ λαβεῖν, ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ Ζαμβρίου σκηνὴν
 παραγενόμενος αὐτὸν τε παίων τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ
 154 τὴν Χοσβίαν ἀπέκτεινεν. οἱ δὲ νέοι πάντες, οἷς
 ἀρετῆς ἀντιποιήσις ἦν καὶ τοῦ φιλοκαλεῖν, μιμηταὶ

¹ ROE om. words in brackets.

^a Bibl. Phinehas (LXX Φινεεός).

^b Some mss. omit these words.

^c A variation on the writer's favourite Thucydidean phrase οἱ ἀρετῆς τι μεταποιούμενοι (ii. 51); while the follow-

my whole life upon one. And woe be to any man who declares himself to have more mastery over my actions than my own will ! ”

(12) After this speech of Zambrias concerning the crimes which he and some of the others had committed, the people held their peace, in terror of what might come and because they saw that the lawgiver was unwilling further to provoke the fellow's frenzy by direct controversy. He feared, in fact, that his wanton language might find many imitators to foment disorder among the crowd. Accordingly the meeting was thereon dissolved; and this wicked assault might have gone to further lengths, had not Zambrias promptly come to his end under the following circumstances. Phinees,^a a man superior in every way to the rest of the youth besides being exalted above his fellows by his father's rank—for he was son of Eleazar the high-priest [and grandson of the brother of Moses]^b—being deeply distressed at the deeds of Zambrias, determined, before his insolence gained strength through impunity, to take the law into his own hands and to prevent the iniquity from spreading further afield, should its authors escape chastisement. Gifted moreover with an intrepidity of soul and a courage of body so pre-eminent that when engaged in any hazardous contest he never left it until he had conquered and come off victorious, Phinees repaired to the tent of Zambrias and smote him with his broadsword, along with Chosbia, and killed them. Thereupon all the young men who aspired to make a display of heroism^c and of a love of honour, ing φιλοκαλεῖν (lit. “to love beauty”) recalls another famous phrase in Thuc. ii. 40. According to Numb. xxv. 5, “Moses said unto the judges (LXX ταῖς φυλαῖς) of Israel, Slay ye every one his men,” etc.

He is slain by Phinees : punishment of the sinners.

Numb. xxv. 7.

ib. 8.

JOSEPHUS

γενόμενοι τῆς Φινεέσσου τόλμης ἀνήρουν τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς ὁμοίοις Ζαμβρία τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότας. ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τούτων ἀνδρα-
 156 γαθίας πολλοὶ τῶν παρανομησάντων, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ πάντες καὶ λοιμῶ, ταύτην ἐνσκήψαντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ τὴν νόσον, ὅσοι τε συγγενεῖς ὄντες κωλύειν δέον ἐξώτρυνον αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ ταῦτα συναδικεῖν¹ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦντες ἀπέθνησκον.² ἀπόλλυνται μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἄνδρες οὐκ ἐλάττους τετρακισχιλίων καὶ μυρίων.³

156 (13) Ὑπὸ δὲ ταύτης παροξυνθεὶς τῆς αἰτίας Μωυσῆς ἐπὶ τὸν Μαδιανιτῶν ὄλεθρον τὴν στρατιὰν ἐξέπεμπε, περὶ ᾧ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἐξόδου μετὰ μικρὸν ἀπαγγελοῦμεν, προδιηγησάμενοι πρῶτον ὃ παρελίπομεν, δίκαιον γὰρ ἐπὶ τούτου τὴν τοῦ νομοθέτου γνώμην μὴ παρελθεῖν ἀνεγκωμίαστον.

157 τὸν γὰρ Βάλαμον παραληφθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν, ὅπως ἐπαράσῃται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὐ δυναθέντα θεία προνοία, γνώμην δὲ ὑποθέμενον, ἣ χρησαμένων τῶν πολεμίων ὀλίγου τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος διεφθάρη τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασι νοσησάντων δὴ τινων περὶ ταῦτα, μεγάλως
 158 ἐτίμησεν ἀναγράψας αὐτοῦ τὰς μαντείας, καὶ παρὸν αὐτῷ σφετερίσασθαι τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς δόξαν καὶ ἐξιδιώσασθαι μηδενὸς ἂν γενομένου μάρτυρος τοῦ διελέγξοντος, ἐκείνῳ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀπέδωκε⁴ καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῷ μνήμης ἠξίωσε. καὶ

¹ SP Exc.: ἀδικεῖν rell.

² συναπέθνησκον Bekker.

³ καὶ μυρίων] δισμυρίων L.

⁴ ἔδωκε RO.

imitating the daring deed of Phinees, slew those who were found guilty of the same crimes as Zambrias. Thus, through their valiancy, perished many of the transgressors ; all (the rest) were destroyed by a pestilence, God having launched this malady upon them ; *Urid.* while such of their relatives as, instead of restraining them, instigated them to those crimes were accounted by God their accomplices and died likewise. Thus there perished from the ranks no less than fourteen *ib. xxv. 9.* thousand men.^a

(13) That was the reason why Moses was provoked to send that army to destroy the Madianites.^b Of its campaign against them we shall speak anon, after a preliminary word on a point which we omitted ; for it is right that in this particular the judgement of the lawgiver should not be left without its meed of praise. This Balaam, in fact, who had been summoned by the Madianites to curse the Hebrews and who, though prevented from so doing by divine providence, had yet suggested a plan which, being adopted by the enemy, well-nigh led to a demoralization of the whole Hebrew community and actually infected the morals of some—this was the man to whom Moses did the high honour of recording his prophecies ; and though it was open to him to appropriate and take the credit for them himself, as there would have been no witness to convict him, he has given Balaam this testimony and deigned to perpetuate his memory.^c

The candour of Moses in recording the prophecies of Balaam.

^a Numb. "twenty and four thousand" (as one ms. reads here).

^b § 101.

^c Cf. the eulogy of Moses for similar candour in the case of Jethro, *A. iii. 74*. From the Talmudic passage, *Baba Bathra 14b*, "Moses wrote his own book and the section (*Parashah*) about Balaam," Weill infers that the prophecies of Balaam once formed a separate treatise.

JOSEPHUS

ταῦτα μὲν ὡς ἂν αὐτοῖς τισι δοκῇ οὕτω σκο-
πεῖωσαν.

- 159 (vii. 1) Μωυσῆς δὲ ὑπὲρ ὧν καὶ προεῖπον ἐπὶ
τὴν Μαδιανιτῶν γῆν ἔπεμψεν στρατιὰν τοὺς
πάντας εἰς δισχιλίους καὶ μυρίους, ἐξ ἐκάστης
φυλῆς τὸν ἴσον ἀριθμὸν ἐπιλεξάμενος, στρατηγὸν
δ' αὐτῶν ἀπέδειξε Φινεές, οὗ μικρῶ πρότερον
ἐμνήσθημεν φυλάξαντος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τοὺς νόμους
καὶ τὸν παρανομοῦντα τούτους Ζαμβρίαν τιμωρη-
160 σαμένου. Μαδιανῖται δὲ προπυθόμενοι τὸν στρα-
τὸν ἐπὶ σφᾶς ἐλαύνοντα καὶ ὅσον οὐδέπω παρ-
εσόμενον ἠθροίζοντό τε καὶ τὰς εἰσβολὰς τῆς
χώρας, ἣ προσεδέχοντο τοὺς πολεμίους, ἀσφα-
161 λισάμενοι περιέμενον αὐτούς. ἐλθόντων δὲ καὶ
συμβολῆς γενομένης πίπτει τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν πλῆθος
ἀσυλλόγιστον καὶ ἀριθμοῦ κρεῖττον οἷ τε βασιλεῖς
αὐτῶν ἅπαντες· πέντε δὲ ἦσαν, Ὡχός τε καὶ
Σούρης ἔτι δὲ Ῥοβέης καὶ Οὕρης,¹ πέμπτος δὲ
Ῥέκεμος, οὗ πόλις ἐπώνυμος τὸ πᾶν ἀξίωμα τῆς
Ἀράβων ἔχουσα γῆς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ παντὸς
τοῦ Ἀραβίου τοῦ κτίσαντος βασιλέως τὸ ὄνομα
Ῥεκέμης καλεῖται, Πέτρα παρ' Ἑλλησι λεγομένη.
162 τραπέντων δὲ τῶν πολεμίων οἱ Ἑβραῖοι διήρ-
πασαν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ πολλὴν λείαν λαβόντες
καὶ τοὺς οἰκήτορας γυναιξὶν ἅμα διαφθείραντες
μόνας τὰς παρθένους κατέλιπον, τοῦτο Μωυσέος

¹ RO (Lat.): Οὔβης rell.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 158-162

On this narrative readers are free to think what they please.^a

(vii. 1) So Moses, for the reasons which I have already stated, sent to the land of the Madianites an army of twelve thousand men in all, selecting an equal number from each tribe; for their general he appointed Phinees who, as we mentioned just now,^b had preserved to the Hebrews their laws and punished Zambrias for transgressing them. The Madianites, forewarned that the army was marching upon them and might at any moment arrive, mustered their troops and, having fortified the passes into the country which they expected the enemy to take, awaited their appearance. They came and an engagement ensued, in which there fell of the Madianites a multitude incalculable and past numbering, including all their kings. Of these there were five: Ochus and Sures, Robees and Ures, and, the fifth, Rekem^c; the city which bears his name ranks highest in the land of the Arabs and to this day is called by the whole Arabian nation, after the name of its royal founder, Rekeme^d: it is the Petra of the Greeks. Upon the rout of the enemy, the Hebrews pillaged their country, captured abundance of booty, and put the inhabitants with their wives to death, leaving only the unmarried women, such

Defeat of the
Madianites.
Numb.
xxxi. 1
(xxv. 16).

Ib. xxxi. 8
(Josh.
xiii. 21).

Ib. 18.

^a This recurrent formula (see i. 108) must here, at the close of chap. vi, refer to the story of Balaam as a whole and in particular to the miraculous element in it, such as the speaking of the ass.

^b § 152.

^c Bibl. Evi (Εύείν): Zur (Σοίρ): Reba (Ροβόκ; in Josh. Ροβέ): Hur (Ούρ): Rekem (Ροκόμ). Josephus omits the last half of the verse in Numbers: "Balaam also the son of Beor they slew with the sword."

^d Cf. § 82 (note), where the name appears in the mss. as Ἀρκη.

JOSEPHUS

- 163 Φινέει κελεύσαντος. ὃς ἤκεν ἄγων τὸν στρατὸν ἀπαθῆ καὶ λείαν ἄφθονον, βόας μὲν γὰρ δισχιλίους καὶ πεντακισμυρίους, ὧς δὲ πεντακισχιλίας πρὸς μυριάσιν ἑπτὰ καὶ ἑξήκοντα, ὄνους δὲ ἑξακισμυρίας χρυσοῦ δὲ καὶ ἀργύρου ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος κατασκευῆς, ἧ κατ' οἶκον ἐχρῶντο· ὑπὸ γὰρ εὐδαιμονίας καὶ ἀβροδίατοι σφόδρα ἐτύγγανον. ἤχθησαν δὲ καὶ αἱ παρθένοι περὶ δισχιλίας καὶ
- 164 τρισμυρίας. Μωυσῆς δὲ μερίσας τὴν λείαν τῆς μὲν ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν Ἐλεαζάρῳ δίδωσι καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι, Λευίταις δὲ τῆς ἑτέρας τὸ πεντηκοστὸν μέρος, τὴν δὲ λοιπὴν νέμει τῷ λαῷ. καὶ διῆγον τὸ λοιπὸν εὐδαιμόνως, ἀφθονίας μὲν ἀγαθῶν αὐτοῖς ὑπ' ἀρετῆς γεγενημένης, ὑπὸ μηδενὸς δὲ σκυθρωποῦ ταύτης ἀπολαύειν ἐμποδιζόμενοι.¹
- 165 (2) Μωυσῆς δὲ γηραιὸς ἤδη τυγχάνων διάδοχον ἑαυτοῦ Ἰησοῦν καθίστησιν ἐπὶ τε ταῖς προφητείαις καὶ στρατηγὸν εἶ που δεήσειε γενησόμενον, κελεύσαντος καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τούτῳ τὴν προστασίαν ἐπιτρέψαι τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ Ἰησοῦς πᾶσαν ἐπεπαίδευτο τὴν περὶ τοὺς νόμους παιδείαν καὶ τὸ θεῖον Μωυσέος ἐκδιδάξαντος.
- 166 (3) Κὰν τούτῳ δύο φυλαὶ Γαδὶς² τε καὶ Ῥου-

¹ ἐμποδιζόμενοι codd.

² M: Γάδου rell.

^a The virgins, who have not taken part in the previous seduction of the Israelites, are to be preserved ("keep alive for yourselves"), presumably in the expectation of their conversion to Judaism.

^b Bibl. (Heb. and LXX) 72,000.

^c Bibl. (both texts) 61,000.

^d So both Biblical texts; the qualifying word "about" possibly indicates acquaintance with a variant reading.

being the orders of Moses to Phinees.^a That officer returned with his army unscathed and booty in abundance, to wit 52,000^b oxen, 675,000 sheep, 60,000^c asses, and an unlimited quantity of articles of gold and silver for domestic use; for prosperity had rendered these people very luxurious. They brought also the unmarried women, numbering about 32,000.^d Moses, having divided the spoils into two portions, gave a fiftieth of the first half to Eleazar and the priests, a fiftieth of the other half to the Levites, and the rest he distributed among the people.^e So they lived thenceforth in felicity, with this abundance of goods which their valour had brought them, and with no tragic incidents to thwart their enjoyment of it.

Numb. xxxi. 32 f.

Ib. 27-30.

(2) Moses, already advanced in years, now appointed Joshua^f to succeed him both in his prophetic functions and as commander-in-chief, whensoever the need should arise, under orders from God himself to entrust the direction of affairs to him. Joshua had already received a thorough training in the laws and in divine lore under the tuition of Moses.

Moses appoints Joshua as his successor. Ib. xxvii. 18.

(3) And now also the two tribes of Gad and of

The Amorite land assigned to the two and a half tribes. Ib. xxxii. 1.

* The account in Numbers is more precise. There is first an equal division of the booty between combatants and non-combatants. Then, before it is distributed to individuals, a tax is deducted for religious purposes: from the portion of the combatants one *five hundredth* (not, as in Josephus, one fiftieth) is set apart for the priests, and from the portion of the non-combatants one fiftieth is set apart for the Levites. The Levites thus receive ten times as much as the priests. Josephus, who, as a priest, is concerned for priestly privileges (§ 68), equalizes the shares, not, however, without authority; the reading "50" for "500" is found in a small group of LXX MSS. in Numb. xxxi. 28.

^f Gr. "Jesus," here and throughout.

JOSEPHUS

- βήλου καὶ τῆς Μανασσίτιδος ἡμίσεια, πλήθει
 τετραπόδων εὐδαιμονοῦντες καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἅπασι,
 κοινολογησάμενοι παρεκάλουν τὸν Μωυσῆν ἐξαίρετον
 αὐτοῖς τὴν Ἄμοριτιν παρασχεῖν δορίκτητον οὖσαν·
 167 ἀγαθὴν γὰρ εἶναι βοσκήματα τρέφειν. ὁ δ'
 ὑπολαβὼν αὐτοὺς δείσαντας τὴν πρὸς Χαναναίους
 μάχην πρόφασιν εὐπρεπῆ τὴν τῶν βοσκημάτων
 ἐπιμέλειαν εὐρῆσθαι κακίστους τε ἀπεκάλει καὶ
 δειλίας εὐσχήμονα¹ πρόφασιν ἐπινοήσαντας αὐτοὺς
 μὲν βούλεσθαι τρυφᾶν ἀπόνως διάγοντας, πάντων
 τεταλαιπωρηκότων ὑπὲρ τοῦ κτήσασθαι τὴν αἰ-
 168 τουμένην ὑπ' αὐτῶν γῆν, μὴ θέλειν δὲ συναρα-
 μένους τῶν ἐπιλοίπων ἀγώνων γῆν ἣν διαβάσιν
 αὐτοῖς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὁ θεὸς παραδώσειν ὑπέσχηται
 ταύτην λαβεῖν καταστρεψαμένους οὓς ἐκείνος
 169 ἀπέδειξεν ἡμῖν πολεμίους. οἱ δ' ὄρωντες ὀργιζό-
 μενον αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως ἠρεθίσθαι πρὸς τὴν
 ἀξίωσιν αὐτῶν ὑπολαβόντες ἀπελογοῦντο μὴ διὰ
 φόβον κινδύνων μηδέ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὸ πονεῖν
 170 μαλακίαν πεποιῆσθαι τὴν αἴτησιν, ἀλλ' ὅπως τὴν
 λείαν ἐν ἐπιτηδείοις καταλιπόντες εὐζωνοὶ πρὸς
 τοὺς ἀγῶνας καὶ τὰς μάχας χωρεῖν δύναιντο,
 ἐτοίμους τε ἔλεγον ἑαυτοὺς κτίσαντας πόλεις εἰς
 φυλακὴν τέκνων καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κτήσεως αὐτοῦ
 171 διδόντος συναπιέναι² τῷ στρατῷ. καὶ Μωυσῆς
 ἄρεσθεις τῷ λόγῳ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν
 ἀρχιερέα καὶ Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει πάντας
 συνεχώρει τὴν Ἄμοριτιν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ συμ-
 μαχῆσαι τοῖς συγγειέσιν, ἕως ἂν καταστήσωνται

¹ ed. gr.: ἀσχήμονα codd.

² συναπειναι codd.

^a Reuben (i. 304).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 166-171

Rubel^a and half the tribe of Manasseh, being blest with an abundance of cattle and all sorts of other possessions, after conferring together besought Moses exceptionally^b to award them the Amorite land that their arms had won, since it was excellent for the pasturage of flocks. But he, supposing that it was fear of the contest with the Canaanites which had led them to discover this specious pretext of the tending of their flocks, denounced them as arrant knaves, who had devised this plausible excuse for their cowardice, because they wished to live themselves in luxury and ease—though all had toiled to win this land for which they craved—and were loath to take their part in the remaining struggles and to occupy the land which God had promised to deliver to them after crossing the Jordan and after subduing those whom He had designated as their enemies. The tribes, seeing his anger and conceiving that he had just cause for being provoked at their request, replied in self-defence that it was through no fear of perils or slackness for toil that they had made their petition; no, it was that, by leaving their booty on suitable ground, they might march the more briskly to the struggles and combats; and they professed themselves ready, once they had built cities for the protection of their children, their wives, and their chattels, with his consent, to set off with the army. Moses, being satisfied with this statement, thereupon summoned Eleazar the high-priest and Joshua and all those in authority and conceded the Amorite land to these tribes, on condition of their fighting along with their brethren until the general settlement. So

Numb.
xxxii. 28.

^b *i.e.* independently and in advance of the general allotment of territory.

JOSEPHUS

τὰ πάντα. λαβόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τούτοις τὴν χώραν καὶ κτίσαντες πόλεις καρτερὰς τέκνα [τε] καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τᾶλλα ὅσα συμπεριάγειν μέλλουσιν αὐτοῖς ἂν ἦν ἐμπόδια τοῦ πονεῖν ἀπέθεντο εἰς αὐτάς.

- 172 (4) Οἰκοδομεῖ δὲ καὶ Μωυσῆς τὰς δέκα πόλεις τὰς εἰς τὸν ἀριθμὸν τῶν ὀκτῶ καὶ τεσσαράκοντα γενησομένας, ὧν τρεῖς ἀπέδειξε τοῖς ἐπ' ἀκουσίῳ φόνοϋ φευξομένοις, καὶ χρόνον ἔταξεν εἶναι τῆς φυγῆς τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ, ἐφ' οὗ δράσας τις τὸν φόνον ἔφυγε· μεθ' ὃν συνεχώρει τελευτήσαντα κάθοδον, ἐχόντων ἐξουσίαν τῶν τοῦ πεφονευμένου συγγενῶν κτείνειν, εἰ λάβοιεν ἔξω τῶν ὄρων τῆς πόλεως εἰς ἣν ἔφυγε τὸν πεφονευκότα· ἑτέρῳ δὲ
- 173 οὐκ ἐπετέτραπτο. αἱ δὲ πόλεις αἱ πρὸς τὰς φυγὰς ἀποδεδειγμέναι ἦσαν αἶδε· Βόσορα¹ μὲν ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀρίοις τῆς Ἀραβίας, Ἀρίμανον δὲ τῆς Γαλαθηνῶν γῆς, καὶ Γαυλανὰν δ' ἐν τῇ Βατανίδι. κτησαμένων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν Χαναanaίων γῆν τρεῖς ἕτεραι πόλεις ἔμελλον ἀνατεθήσεσθαι τῶν Λευιτιδῶν πόλεων τοῖς φυγάσι εἰς κατοικισμὸν Μωυσέος ἐπιστείλαντος.

- 174 (5) Μωυσῆς δὲ προσελθόντων αὐτῷ τῶν πρώτων τῆς Μανασσιτιδος φυλῆς καὶ δηλούντων μὲν ὡς τεθνήκοι τις τῶν φυλετῶν ἐπίσημος ἀνὴρ Σωλοφάντης ὄνομα, παῖδας μὲν οὐ καταλιπὼν ἄρσενας θυγατέρας δέ τοι,² καὶ πυθομένων εἰ τούτων ὁ

¹ Βωσάρα RO.

² δέ τοι RO: μέντοι rell.

^a i.e. the proportionate number (4 for each tribe, hence 10 for the 2½ trans-Jordanic tribes) of the 48 cities assigned to the priests and Levites (§§ 67-69).

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 171-174

having received the territory on these conditions and founded cities with strong defences, they deposited there children and wives and everything which, had they been required to carry it about with them, would have been an impediment to their labours.

(4) Moses himself too built the ten cities that were to be reckoned among the number of the forty-eight.^a Of these he appointed three for persons to flee to after involuntary manslaughter, and he ordained that the term of their exile should be the lifetime of the high-priest in office when the manslayer fled. Upon the death of the high-priest he permitted him to return; the relatives of the slain had moreover the right to kill the slayer, if they caught him without the bounds of the city whither he had fled, but this permission was given to no one else. The cities appointed as refuges were these: Bosora^b on the confines of Arabia, Ariman in the land of Galadene,^c and Gaulana in Batanaea.^d But when they had conquered also the land of Canaan, three more of the Levitical cities were to be dedicated as havens for fugitives, by the injunction of Moses.

(5) Moses was now approached by the head men of the tribe of Manasseh, who informed him that a certain notable member of their tribe, by name Solophantes,^e had died, leaving no male issue though there were daughters; and on their inquiring whether

^b Bibl. "Bezer (Βοσόρ) in the wilderness, in the table-land"; unidentified.

^c Bibl. "Ramoth in Gilead"; elsewhere called by Josephus Ἀραμαθά or Παμάθη, *Ant.* viii. 398 etc.; commonly identified with *es-Salt*.

^d Bibl. "Golan (Γαυλών) in Bashan"; unidentified. It gave its name to the province of Gaulanitis often mentioned in Josephus, and was "a very large village" in the time of Eusebius.

^e Bibl. Zelophehad (Σαλπαάδ).

The cities
of refuge.
Deut.
iv. 41 ff.:
Numb.
xxxv. 9 ff.

Ib. 25 ff.

Deut. iv. 43
(Josh. xx. 8).

Regulation
concerning
heritage.
Numb.
xxxvi. 1
(xxvii. 1).

JOSEPHUS

- 175 κλήρος ἔσοιτο, φησίν, εἰ μὲν μέλλουσί τιμι συν-
οικεῖν τῶν φυλετῶν, μετὰ τοῦ κλήρου πρὸς αὐτοὺς
ἀπιέναι, εἰ δ' ἐξ ἄλλης γαμοῖντό τισι φυλῆς, τὸν
κλήρον ἐν τῇ πατρῷα φυλῇ καταλιπεῖν. καὶ τότε
μένειν ἐκάστου τὸν κλήρον ἐν τῇ φυλῇ διατάξατο.
- 176 (viii. 1) Τῶν δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ἐτῶν παρὰ τριά-
κοντα ἡμέρας συμπληρωμένων Μωυσῆς ἐκ-
κλησίαν ἐπὶ τῷ Ἰορδάνῳ συναγαγών, ὅπου νῦν
πόλις ἐστὶν Ἀβίλη, φοινικόφυτον δ' ἐστὶ τὸ
χωρίον, συνελθόντος τοῦ λαοῦ παντὸς λέγει
τοιαῦδε·
- 177 (2) “ Ἄνδρες συστρατιῶται καὶ τῆς μακρᾶς
κοινωνοὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἐπεὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκοῦν ἤδη
καὶ τῷ γῆρα χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατὸν
ἡνυσμένον δεῖ με τοῦ ζῆν ἀπελθεῖν καὶ τῶν πέρα
τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πραχθησομένων οὐ μέλλω βοηθὸς
ὑμῖν ἔσεσθαι καὶ σύμμαχος, κωλυόμενος ὑπὸ τοῦ
178 θεοῦ, δίκαιον ἡγησάμην μηδὲ νῦν ἐγκαταλιπεῖν
τοῦμόν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας εὐδαιμονίας πρόθυμον,
ἀλλ' αἰδιὸν τε ὑμῖν πραγματεύεσθαι τὴν τῶν
ἀγαθῶν ἀπόλαυσιν, καὶ μνήμην ἐμαυτῷ γενομένων
179 ὑμῶν ἐν ἀφθονία τῶν κρειπτόνων. φέρε οὖν
ὑποθέμενος ὃν τρόπον ὑμεῖς τ' ἂν εὐδαιμονήσαιτε¹
καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῶν καταλίποιτε κτήσιν ἀγαθῶν
- ¹ Dindorf: εὐδαιμονήσητε codd.

^a According to the Talmud (quoted by Weill) this law had only temporary validity.

^b Abel-shittim (Lxx Βελσά etc.) “ by Jordan . . . in the plains of Moab ” is mentioned in Numb. xxxiii. 49 as the last station in the itinerary of the wilderness wanderings; Josephus calls it indifferently Abile, Abele (v. 4) and Abila

the inheritance should pass to these, he replied that, if they proposed to unite themselves to persons of their tribe, they should carry the inheritance with them to their husbands, but if they were married into another tribe, the inheritance should be left in their father's tribe. Then it was that he ordained that each man's heritage should remain in his tribe.^a

(viii. 1) When the forty years had, save for thirty days, now run their course, Moses called together an assembly nigh to the Jordan, where to-day stands the city of Abile^b in a region thickly planted with palm-trees, and addressed to a congregation of the whole people the following words :

Assembly
at Abile
near Jordan.
Deut. i. 1, 3,

(2) "Comrades in arms and partners in this long tribulation, seeing that now, by God's decree and at the call of age, having completed a span of one hundred and twenty years, I must quit this life, and that in those coming actions beyond the Jordan I am not to be your helper and fellow-combatant, being prohibited by God, I have deemed it right even now not to renounce my zeal for your welfare, but to labour to secure for you the everlasting enjoyment of your good things and for myself an abiding memorial when ye shall be endowed with a store of blessings yet better. Come then, let me first propound the means whereby ye may yourselves attain bliss and may bequeath to your children the possession of blessings for all eternity,

Moses
exhorts the
people
before his
death.
/b. xxxi. 2.

(*B.J.* iv. 438), and tells us elsewhere (v. 4) that it was 60 stades (c. 7 miles) distant from the Jordan. It is the modern *Khurbet el-Keffrein*, situate at about the same distance (N.E.) from the Dead Sea. It is not mentioned in an array of names in Deut. i. 1, which attempts to define the precise spot at which the final discourses of Moses were delivered.

JOSEPHUS

- αἰδῖον [παραθέμενος]¹ οὕτως ἀπέλθω τοῦ βίου. πιστεύεσθαι δὲ ἀξίος εἶμι διὰ τε τὰς πρότερον ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν φιλοτιμίας καὶ διὰ τὸ τὰς ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τελευτῇ γιγνομένας μετ' ἀρετῆς πάσης ὁμιλεῖν.
- 180 “ ὦ παῖδες Ἰσραήλου, μία πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις ἀγαθῶν κτήσεως αἰτία ὁ θεὸς εὐμενής· μόνος γὰρ οὗτος δοῦναί τε ταῦτα τοῖς ἀξίοις καὶ ἀφελέσθαι τῶν ἀμαρτανόντων εἰς αὐτὸν ἰκανός, ὃ παρέχοντες ἑαυτοὺς οἴους αὐτὸς τε βούλεται καὶ γὰρ τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτοῦ σαφῶς ἐξεπιστάμενος παραινῶ, οὐκ ἂν ὄντες μακαριστοὶ καὶ ζηλωτοὶ πᾶσιν [ἀτυχήσαιτέ ποτ' ἦ]² παύσαισθε, ἀλλ' ὧν τε νῦν ὑμῖν ἐστὶν ἀγαθῶν ἢ κτήσις βεβαία μενεῖ τῶν τε ἀπόντων
- 181 ταχεῖαν ἔχετε τὴν παρουσίαν. μόνον οἷς ὁ θεὸς ὑμᾶς ἔπεσθαι βούλεται, τούτοις πειθαρχεῖτε, καὶ μήτε νομίμων τῶν παρόντων ἄλλην προτιμήσητε διάταξιν μήτ' εὐσεβείας ἧς νῦν περὶ τὸν θεὸν ἔχετε³ καταφρονήσαντες εἰς ἄλλον μεταστήσησθε τρόπον. ταῦτα δὲ πράττοντες ἀλκιμώτατοι μάχας διενεγκεῖν ἀπάντων ἔσεσθε καὶ μηδενὶ τῶν ἐχθρῶν
- 182 εὐάλωτοι· θεοῦ γὰρ παρόντος ὑμῖν βοηθοῦ πάντων περιφρονεῖν εὐλογον. τῆς δ' ἀρετῆς ἔπαθλα ὑμῖν μεγάλα κεῖται πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον κτησαμένοις⁴. αὕτη γε τὸ⁵ πρῶτον ἀγαθῶν τὸ πρέσβιστόν ἐστιν, ἔπειτα καὶ τὴν τῶν ἄλλων χαρίζεται περιουσίαν,

¹ om. Bekker: αἰδῖον παραθέμενος om. Lat.

² om. Dindorf: text uncertain: ἀτυχήσητέ (or -σετέ) . . . παύσησθε (-εσθε) codd.

³ ed. pr. (Lat. geritis): ἔχοντες codd.

⁴ κτησομένοις conj. Niese.

⁵ γέ τοι conj. Niese.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 179-182

and so depart from life. Aye and I deserve your confidence, alike by reason of those jealous efforts on your behalf in the past, and because souls when on the verge of the end deliver themselves with perfect integrity. ^a

“ O children of Israel, there is for all mankind but one source of felicity—a gracious God : He alone has power to give these good things to those who merit them and to take them from those who sin against Him : will ye but show yourselves in His sight such as He would have you, aye and such as I, who know His mind right well, exhort you to be, then will ye never cease to be blessed and envied of all men ; nay, your possession of those good things which ye have already will rest assured, and those yet absent will soon be present in your hands. Only obey those precepts ^b which God would have you follow, prefer not above your present statutes any other code, nor, spurning that pious worship of God which now is yours, desert it for another fashion. Act ye but thus and ye will be the doughtiest of all to sustain the fight nor lightly conquered by any of your foes ; for with God at your side to succour you ye may well despise them all. And for such virtue great are the rewards set before you, to be won for all your life ^c : she herself, to begin with, is the choicest of treasures, and then she bestows abundance of the rest, so

*Deut.
passim.*

“ consort,” “ are in touch with every virtue ” : *cf. Vita 258*
μετὰ πάσης ἀρετῆς πεπολιτευμαι.

^b The Greek might be either neuter (“ what ”) or masc. (“ whom ”) ; but he comes to the question of subordination to rulers later, § 186.

^c Not, I think, as earlier translators take it, “ if ye possess (or “ preserve ”) it (*i.e.* virtue) for all your life.”

JOSEPHUS

- 183 ὡς καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ὑμῖν χρωμένοις αὐτῇ μακαριστὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν βίον καὶ τῶν ἀλλοφύλων πλέον δοξαζομένους ἀδήριτον καὶ παρὰ τοῖς αὐθις τὴν εὐκλειαν ὑμῖν ὑπάρξαι. τούτων δ' ἂν ἐφικέσθαι δυνηθείητε, εἰ τῶν νόμων οὖς ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ συνεταξάμην κατήκοοι καὶ φύλακες γένοισθε καὶ μελετώητε τὴν σύνεσιν αὐτῶν.
- 184 ἄπειμι δ' αὐτὸς χαίρων ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑμετέροις ἀγαθοῖς παρατιθέμενος ὑμᾶς νόμων τε σωφροσύνη¹ καὶ κόσμῳ τῆς πολιτείας καὶ ταῖς τῶν στρατηγῶν ἀρεταῖς, οἳ πρόνοιαν ἔξουσιν ὑμῶν τοῦ συμ-
- 185 φέροντος. θεὸς τε ὁ μέχρι νῦν ἡγεμονεύσας ὑμῶν,² καθ' οὗ βούλησιν ἀγῶν χρήσιμος ὑμῖν ἐγενόμην, οὐ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο στήσει τὴν αὐτοῦ πρόνοιαν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὅσον αὐτοὶ βούλεσθε χρόνον τοῦτον ἔχειν προστάτην ἐν τοῖς τῆς ἀρετῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασι μένοντες, ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον αὐτοῦ χρήσεσθε τῇ προ-
- 186 μηθείᾳ. γνώμας τε ὑμῖν εἰσηγήσονται τὰς ἀρίστας, αἷς ἐπόμενοι τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν ἔξετε, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ Ἰησοῦς ἢ τε γερουσία καὶ τὰ τέλη τῶν φυλῶν, ὧν ἀκροᾶσθε μὴ χαλεπῶς, γινώσκοντες ὅτι πάντες οἱ ἄρχεσθαι καλῶς εἰδότες καὶ ἄρχειν εἴσονται παρελθόντες εἰς ἔξουσίαν
- 187 αὐτοῦ, τὴν τ' ἐλευθερίαν ἡγεῖσθε μὴ τὸ προσ-αγανακτεῖν οἷς ἂν ὑμᾶς οἱ ἡγεμόνες πράττειν ἀξιῶσι· νῦν μὲν γὰρ ἐν τῷ τοὺς εὐεργέτας ὑβρίζειν ἐν τούτῳ τὴν παρρησίαν τίθεσθε, ὁ δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ
- 188 φυλαττομένοις ὑμῖν ἄμεινον ἔξει τὰ πράγματα· μηδὲ τὴν ἴσην ἐπὶ τούτοις ὀργὴν ποτε λαμβάνετε, ἢ κατ' ἐμοῦ πολλάκις ἐτολήσατε χρῆσθαι· γινώ-

¹ Niese: νόμῳ τε σωφροσύνης codd.

² ἡμῖν RO.

that, will you but practise her among yourselves, she will make your life blissful, render you more glorious than foreign races, and assure you an uncontested renown with future generations. And these blessings might ye attain, would ye but hearken to and observe those laws which, at the dictation of God, I have drawn up, and muse on their inward meaning.

“I am leaving you myself, rejoicing in your happiness, committing you to the sober guidance of the laws, to the ordered scheme of the constitution, and to the virtues of those chiefs who will take thought for your interests. And God, who heretofore has governed you, and by whose will I too have been of service to you, will not at this point set a term to His providence, but so long as ye yourselves desire to have His protection, by continuing in the paths of virtue, so long will ye enjoy His watchful care. Moreover the best of counsels, by following which ye will attain felicity, will be put before you by Eleazar the high-priest and Joshua, as also by the council of elders and the magistrates of the tribes; to whom give ear ungrudgingly, recognizing that all who know well how to obey will know also how to rule, should they reach the authority of office. And think not that liberty lies in resenting what your rulers require you to do. For now indeed it is in naught but insulting your benefactors that ye reckon freedom of speech to consist; whereof henceforth if ye beware, things will go better with you. Never display towards these rulers the like of that wrath which ye have oft-times dared to vent on me; for ye know that my life has more often

JOSEPHUS

σκετε γάρ, ὡς πλεονάκις ἐκινδύνευσα ὑφ' ὑμῶν
 189 ἀποθανεῖν ἢ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ
 ὄνειδίζειν¹ ὑμᾶς προεθέμην, οὐ γὰρ ἐπ' ἐξόδῳ τοῦ
 ζῆν δυσχεραίνοντας καταλιπεῖν ἡξίουν εἰς τὴν
 ἀνάμνησιν φέρων μηδὲ παρ' ὄν ἔπασχον αὐτὰ
 καιρὸν ἐν ὀργῇ γενόμενος, ἀλλ' ὥστε τοῦ σωφρο-
 νήσειν² ὑμᾶς εἰς τὸ μέλλον κατ' αὐτό γε τοῦτο
 τᾶσφαλές³ εἶναι, καὶ μηδὲν εἰς τοὺς προεστηκότας
 ἐξυβρίσαι διὰ πλοῦτον, ὅς ὑμῖν πολὺς διαβᾶσι τὸν
 Ἰόρδανον καὶ τὴν Χανααίαν κτησαμένοις περι-
 190 στήσεται. ἐπεὶ προαχθέντες εἰς καταφρόνησιν ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς ὀλιγωρίαν ἀπολείτε καὶ τὴν
 εὐνοίαν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ, ποιήσαντες δὲ τοῦτον
 ἐχθρὸν τὴν τε γῆν, ἣν κτήσεσθε, κρατηθέντες
 ὅπλοις ὑπὸ τῶν αὐθις ἀφαιρεθήσεσθε μετὰ μεγίστων
 ὄνειδῶν καὶ σκεδασθέντες διὰ τῆς οἰκουμένης πᾶσαν
 ἐμπλήσετε καὶ γῆν καὶ θάλασσαν τῆς αὐτῶν δου-
 191 λείας. ἔσται δ' ὑμῖν τούτων πείραν λαμβάνουσιν
 ἀνωφελῆς ἢ μετάνοια καὶ ἡ τῶν οὐ φυλαχθέντων
 νόμων ἀνάμνησις. ὅθεν εἰ βούλοισθε τούτους ὑμῖν
 μένειν, τῶν πολεμίων μηδέν' ἂν ὑπολείποισθε⁴
 κρατήσαντες αὐτῶν, ἀλλ' ἀπολλύναι πάντας κρί-
 ναιτε⁵ συμφέρειν, ἵνα μὴ ζώντων παραγευσάμενοι
 τῆς ἐκείνων ἐπιτηδεύσεως διαφθείρητε τὴν πατριον
 192 πολιτείαν. ἔτι δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ ἄλση καὶ νεῶς
 ὀπόσους ἂν ἔχοιεν κατερείπειν παραινῶ καὶ
 δαπανᾶν πυρὶ τὸ γένος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν μνήμην·
 βεβαία γὰρ ἂν οὕτως ὑμῖν μόνον ὑπάρξειεν ἡ τῶν

¹ ὄνειδίζων P² (Lat.?).

² σωφρονίσειν L.

³ τοῦτ(ο τ)ᾶσφαλές conj.: τοῦτ' (τοῦτο SP) ἀσφαλές (ἀσφαλεῖς SPL) codd.

⁴ Niese: μηδένα ὑπολείπησθε codd. ⁵ Niese: κρίνατε codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 188-192

been imperilled by you than by the enemy. I say this with no intent to reproach you—at my exit from life I should be loath to leave you aggrieved by recalling these things to mind, I who even at the moment when I underwent them refrained from wrath—but rather that ye may learn moderation for the future (and) that it is just in this thing that the path of safety lies,^a and to prevent you from breaking out into any violence against those set over you, by reason of that wealth which will come to you in abundance when ye have crossed the Jordan and conquered Canaan. For, should ye be carried away by it into a contempt and disdain for virtue, ye will lose even that favour which ye have found of God; and, having made Him your enemy, ye will forfeit that land, which ye are to win, beaten in arms and deprived of it by future generations with the grossest ignominy, and, dispersed throughout the habitable world, ye will fill every land and sea with your servitude. And when ye undergo these trials, all unavailing will be repentance and recollection of those laws which ye have failed to keep.

Deut.
iv. 26 ff

“Wherefore, if ye would have those laws remain to you, ye will leave not one of your enemies alive after defeating them, but will deem it expedient to destroy them all, lest, should they live, ye having had but a taste of any of their ways should corrupt the constitution of your fathers. Furthermore, I exhort you to demolish all such altars, groves, and temples as they may have, and to consume with fire their race and their memory; for thus only can ye have firmly en-

Ib. xli. 2 ff.

^a Text uncertain.

- 193 οἰκείων ἀγαθῶν ἀσφάλεια. ἵνα δὲ μὴ δι' ἀμαθίαν τοῦ κρείττονος ἢ φύσις ὑμῶν πρὸς τὸ χεῖρον ἀπονεύσῃ, συνέθηκα ὑμῖν καὶ νόμους ὑπαγορεύσαντός μοι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολιτείαν, ἧς τὸν κόσμον φυλάξαντες πάντων ἂν εὐδαιμονέστατοι κριθείητε."
- 194 (3) Ταῦτα εἰπὼν δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ἐν βιβλίῳ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὴν διάταξιν τῆς πολιτείας ἀναγεγραμμένην. οἱ δὲ ἐδάκρυν τε καὶ πολλὴν ἐπιζήτησιν ἐποιοῦντο τοῦ στρατηγοῦ μεμνημένοι τε ὧν κινδυνεύσειε καὶ προθυμηθείη τῆς περὶ αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ δυσελπιστοῦντες περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ὡς οὐκ ἔσομένης ἄλλης ἀρχῆς τοιαύτης, ἡττόν τε τοῦ θεοῦ προνοησομένου διὰ τὸ Μωυσῆν
- 195 εἶναι τὸν παρακαλοῦντα. ὧν τε ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου μετ' ὄργῆς ὁμιλήσειαν αὐτῷ μετανοοῦντες ἤλθουν, ὡς ἅπαντα τὸν λαὸν εἰς δάκρυα προπεσόντα κρείττον καὶ τῆς ἐκ λόγου παρηγορίας τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ¹ ποιῆσαι πάθος. Μωυσῆς δ' αὐτοὺς παρηγόρει, καὶ τοῦ δακρύων αὐτὸν ἄξιον ὑπολαμβάνειν ἀπάγων αὐτοὺς χρῆσθαι τῇ πολιτείᾳ παρεκάλει. καὶ τότε μὲν οὕτω διελύθησαν.
- 196 (4) Βούλομαι δὲ τὴν πολιτείαν πρότερον εἰπὼν τῷ τε Μωυσέος ἀξιώματι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἀναλογοῦσαν καὶ μαθεῖν παρέξων δι' αὐτῆς τοῖς ἐντευξομένοις, οἷα τὰ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἀρχῆθεν ἦν, [οὕτως]² ἐπὶ τῶν ἄλλων τραπέσθαι διήγησιν. γέγραπται δὲ πάνθ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος κατέλιπεν οὐδὲν ἡμῶν ἐπὶ καλλωπισμῷ προσθέντων οὐδ' ὅ τι μὴ κατα-

¹ Niese: ἐπ' αὐτὸν (or ὑπ' αὐτῶν) codd.

² om. RO.

sured to you the security of your own privileges. But, for fear lest through ignorance of the better way your nature should incline you to the worse, I have compiled for you, at the dictation of God, a code of laws and a constitution ; keep but its ordered harmony and ye will be accounted the most fortunate of all men."

(3) Having spoken thus, he presented them with these laws and this constitution recorded in a book. But they were in tears and displaying deep regret for their general, alike remembering the risks which he had run and all that ardent zeal of his for their salvation, and despondent concerning the future, in the belief that they would never more have such a ruler and that God would be less mindful of them, since it was Moses who had ever been the intercessor. And of all those angry speeches to him in the desert they now repented with grief, insomuch that the whole people plunged into tears and displayed for him an emotion too strong for words to console. Yet Moses consoled them and, diverting their minds from the thought that he merited their tears, exhorted them to put their constitution into practice. And thus on that occasion they parted.

Moses delivers his book to the Hebrews : their deep emotion ; cf. Deut. xxxi. 9.

(4) But here I am fain first to describe this constitution, consonant as it was with the reputation of the virtue of Moses, and withal to enable my readers thereby to learn what was the nature of our laws from the first, and then to revert to the rest of the narrative. All is here written as he left it : nothing have we added for the sake of embellishment, nothing which

Observations on the following summary of the Law.

JOSEPHUS

- 197 λέλοιπε Μωυσῆς. νεωτέρισται δ' ἡμῖν τὸ κατὰ
γένος ἕκαστα τάξαι· σποράδην γὰρ ὑπ' ἐκείνου
κατελείφθη γραφέντα καὶ ὡς ἕκαστόν τι παρὰ τοῦ
θεοῦ πύθοιτο. <δ>¹ τούτου χάριν ἀναγκαῖον ἡγη-
σάμην προδιαστείλασθαι, μὴ καὶ τις ἡμῖν παρὰ
τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἐντυγχανόντων τῇ γραφῇ μέμψις
198 ὡς διημαρτηκόσι γένηται. ἔχει δὲ οὕτως ἡ
διάταξις ἡμῶν τῶν νόμων τῶν ἀνηκόντων εἰς τὴν
πολιτείαν. οὓς δὲ κοινούς ἡμῖν καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους
κατέλιπε τούτους ὑπερεθέμην εἰς τὴν περὶ ἐθῶν
καὶ αἰτιῶν ἀπόδοσιν, ἣν συλλαβανομένου τοῦ
θεοῦ μετὰ ταύτην ἡμῖν τὴν πραγματείαν συν-
τάξασθαι πρόκειται.
- 199 (5) “ Ἐπειδὴν τὴν Χανααίων γῆν κτησάμενοι
καὶ σχολὴν ἐπὶ² χρήσει τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔχοντες
πόλεις³ τὸ λοιπὸν ἤδη κτίζειν προαιρήσθε, ταῦτα
ποιῶντες τῷ θεῷ φίλα πράξετε⁴ καὶ τὴν εὐδαι-
200 μονίαν βεβαίαν ἔξετε· ἱερὰ πόλις ἔστω μία τῆς
Χανααίων γῆς ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ καὶ δι' ἀρετὴν
ἐπιφανεῖ, ἣν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἑαυτῷ διὰ προφητείας
ἔξέληται,⁵ καὶ νεὼς εἰς ἐν ταύτῃ ἔστω, καὶ βωμὸς
εἰς ἐκ λίθων μὴ κατειργασμένων ἀλλὰ λογάδην
συγκειμένων, οἷ κονιάματι χρισθέντες εὐπρεπεῖς

¹ ins. Niese.

² ἐν RO.

³ + τε codd.

⁴ Bekker: πράττετε codd.

⁵ ME: ἔληται RO: ἐκλέξεται rell.

° This statement, like similar assertions of the author (*A. i. 17, x. 218*), cannot be taken at its face value. He has, in fact, inserted several regulations which, if based on tradition, are yet unknown to the Mosaic Law; he has also omitted some relevant topics (noted by Weill), though indeed he does not claim to be exhaustive.

has not been bequeathed by Moses.^a Our one innovation has been to classify the several subjects ; for he left what he wrote in a scattered condition, just as he received each several instruction from God.^b I have thought it necessary to make this preliminary observation, lest perchance any of my countrymen who read this work should reproach me at all for having gone astray. Here then is the code of those laws of ours which touch our political constitution. As for those which he has left to us in common concerning our mutual relations,^c these I have reserved for that treatise on " Customs and Causes," which, God helping, it is our intention to compose after the present work.^d

(5) " Whosoever, having conquered the land of Canaan and being at leisure to enjoy those bounties, ye shall determine from that time forward to found cities, this is what ye should do that your actions may be pleasing to God and your felicity assured :

THE MOSAIC CODE.

The holy city, the temple, and the altar.

" Let there be one holy city in that place in the land of Canaan that is fairest and most famous for its excellence, a city which God shall choose for himself by prophetic oracle. And let there be one temple therein, and one altar of stones, not worked but picked out and put together,^e and which, coated with plaster, will

Deut. xii. 5.

Ex. xx. 25.

^b Weill compares the opinion expressed by a 2nd century Rabbi, to the effect that the Law was given to Moses " roll by roll," not *en bloc* (*Gittin* 60a) ; just as Mahomet claims to have received the Qur'an.

^c The exact distinction intended is not evident.

^d See i. 25 note.

^e The phrase comes from Thuc. iv. 4 λογάδην δὲ φέροντες λίθους καὶ ξυνετίθεσαν ὡς ἕκαστόν τι ξυμβαίνοι, " brought stones which they picked out and put them together as they happened to fit " (Jowett).

JOSEPHUS

- 201 τ' ἄν¹ εἶεν καὶ καθάριοι πρὸς τὴν θέαν, ἢ δ' ἐπὶ τοῦτον πρόσβασις ἔστω μὴ διὰ βαθμίδων, ἀλλὰ προσχώσεως αὐτῷ καταπρανοῦς γενομένης. ἐν ἑτέρα δὲ πόλει μήτε βωμὸς μήτε νεὼς ἔστω· θεὸς γὰρ εἷς καὶ τὸ Ἑβραίων γένος ἓν.
- 202 (6) “ Ὁ δὲ βλασφημήσας θεὸν καταλευσθεὶς κρεμάσθω δι' ἡμέρας καὶ ἀτίμως καὶ ἀφανῶς θαπτέσθω.
- 203 (7) “ Συνερχέσθωσαν δὲ εἰς ἣν <ἄν>² ἀποφήνωσι πόλιν τὸν νεῶν τρεῖς τοῦ ἔτους οἱ ἐκ τῶν περάτων τῆς γῆς, ἧς ἄν Ἑβραῖοι κρατῶσιν, ὅπως τῷ θεῷ τῶν μὲν ὑπηργμένων εὐχαριστῶσι καὶ περὶ τῶν εἰς τὸ μέλλον παρακαλῶσι καὶ συνιόντες ἀλλήλοις
- 204 καὶ συνευωχούμενοι προσφιλεῖς ὦσι· καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι μὴ ἀγνοεῖν ἀλλήλους ὁμοφύλους τε ὄντας καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν κοινωνοῦντας ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τοῦτο δὲ ἐκ μὲν τῆς τοιαυτῆς³ ἐπιμιξίας αὐτοῖς ὑπάρξειν, τῇ τε ὄψει καὶ τῇ ὁμιλίᾳ μνήμην αὐτῶν ἐντιθέοντας· ἀνεπιμίκτους γὰρ ἀλλήλοις μένοντας ἀλλοτριωτάτους αὐτοῖς νομισθήσεσθαι.
- 205 (8) “ Ἔστω δὲ καὶ δεκάτη τῶν καρπῶν ἐξαιρέσις ὑμῖν χωρὶς ἧς διέταξα⁴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ Λευίταις δεδόσθαι, ἢ πιπρασκέσθω μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πατρίδων, εἰς δὲ τὰς εὐωχίας ὑπηρετείτω καὶ τὰς θυσίας

¹ τ' ἄν Niese: τε codd.

² ins. Niese.

³ T. Reinach: αὐτῆς codd.

⁴ SPL: διατάξατε (-ετάξατο) rell.

* Cf. *Ap. ii.* 193 εἰς ναὸς ἐνὸς θεοῦ.

• The penalty of stoning only is prescribed by Leviticus *l.c.*: Deuteronomy requires the body of any malefactor, who, after execution, has been exposed on a tree, to be buried before nightfall. In practice the double penalty of stoning

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 201-205

be seemly and neat to look upon ; and let the approach to this altar be not by steps but by a sloping embankment. In no other city let there be either altar or temple ; for God is one and the Hebrew race is one.^a Ex. xx. 26.

(6) " Let him that blasphemeth God be stoned, then hung for a day, and buried ignominiously and in obscurity.^b Blasphemy.
Lev. xxiv.
16 : cf. Deut.
xxi. 22 f.

(7) " Let them assemble in that city in which they shall establish the temple, three times in the year, from the ends of the land which the Hebrews shall conquer, in order to render thanks to God for benefits received, to intercede for future mercies, and to promote by thus meeting and feasting together feelings of mutual affection. For it is good that they should not be ignorant of one another, being members of the same race and partners in the same institutions ; and this end will be attained by such intercourse, when through sight and speech they recall those ties to mind,^c whereas if they remain without ever coming into contact they will be regarded by each other as absolute strangers. The three
annual
pilgrim
festivals.
Deut.
xvi. 16.

(8) " Let a tithe of the fruits be set apart by you, beside that which I appointed^d to be given to the priests and Levites : let it be sold at its native place, but let the proceeds serve for the repasts and the and exposure seems to have been confined to the blasphemer. So far Josephus follows tradition, but in adding the words " for a day (long) " he departs from the practice described in the Mishnah (see M. Weill's note). Tithe of
fruits.
lb. xiv. 22 ff.

^e Lit. " putting in (instilling) a memory of them " (*i.e.* of their common race and common institutions). Others, taking *αὐτῶν* as *αὐτῶν*, render " sui recordationem efficiunt " (Hudson), " se souviendront d'eux-mêmes " (Weill). The motives here mentioned do not appear in Scripture.

^d § 68 ; some mss. read " ye appointed."

JOSEPHUS

τὰς ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ πόλει· δίκαιον γὰρ εἶναι τῶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδομένων, ἣν ὁ θεὸς αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχεν, ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ δεδωκότος ἀπολαύειν.

206 (9) “ Ἐκ μισθοῦ γυναικὸς ἡταιρημένης θυσίας μὴ τελεῖν· ἤδεσθαι γὰρ μηδενὶ τῶν ἀφ’ ὕβρεως τὸ θεῖον, χείρων¹ δ’ οὐκ ἂν εἴη τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς σώμασιν αἰσχύνης· ὁμοίως μηδ’ ἂν ἐπ’ ὀχεύσει κυνὸς ἦτοι θηρευτικοῦ ἢ ποιμνίων φύλακος λάβη² τις μισθόν, ἐκ τούτου θύειν τῷ θεῷ.

207 (10) “ Βλασφημεῖτω δὲ μηδεῖς θεοὺς οὓς πόλεις ἄλλαι νομίζουσι· μηδὲ συλᾶν ἱερὰ ξενικά, μηδ’ ἂν ἐπωνομασμένον ἢ τινι θεῷ κειμήλιον λαμβάνειν.

208 (11) “ Μηδεῖς δ’ ἐξ ὑμῶν κλωστήν ἐξ ἐρίου καὶ λίνου στολὴν φορεῖτω· τοῖς γὰρ ἱερεῦσι μόνοις ταύτην ἀποδεδείχθαι.

209 (12) “ Συνελθόντος δὲ τοῦ πλήθους εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν ἐπὶ ταῖς θυσίαις δι’ ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ, τῆς σκηνοπηγίας ἑορτῆς ἐνστάσης, ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς ἐπὶ βήματος

¹ edd.: χείρω codd.

² Dindorf: λάβοι codd.

^a Josephus, in common with tradition (*Sifre* 96a, quoted by Weill), generalizes a rule which in Scripture applies only to a special case: “ if the way be too long for thee . . . then shalt thou turn it into money,” Deut. xiv. 24 f.

^b To “ the hire of a whore ” Deut. adds “ the wages of a dog ” (LXX ἀλλαγμα κυνός), i.e. of the *kadesh* or temple prostitute; this technical use of “ dog ” is found in inscriptions. “ In the impure worships of antiquity, it was not uncommon for the gains of prostitution to be dedicated to a deity ” (Driver). Like Josephus, the Mishnah (see Weill) takes the word “ dog ” literally, but interprets the phrase

sacrifices to be held in the holy city.^a For it is right that the produce of that land, which God has enabled men to win, should be enjoyed to the honour of the giver.

(9) "From the hire of a prostitute let no sacrifices be paid; for the Deity has pleasure in naught that proceeds from outrage, and no shame could be worse than the degradation of the body. Likewise, if one has received payment for the mating of a dog, whether hound of the chase or guardian of the flocks,^b he must not use thereof to sacrifice to God.

Wages that may not be expended on sacrifices. Deut. xxiii. 18.

(10) "Let none blaspheme the gods which other cities revere,^c nor rob foreign temples, nor take treasure that has been dedicated in the name of any god.^d

Foreign cults. Ex. xxii. 28 (27) Lxx. : Deut. vii. 25.

(11) "Let none of you wear raiment woven of wool and linen; for that is reserved for the priests alone.^e

Forbidden raiment. Ib. xxii. 11.

(12) "When the multitude hath assembled in the holy city for the sacrifices, every seven years at the season of the feast of tabernacles, let the high

Septennial reading of the Laws. Ib. xxxi. 10.

to refer to a proposed exchange of a dog for a pure animal, such as a lamb, for sacrifice.

^c Ex. *l.c.* "Thou shalt not revile *Elohim*," meaning, according to Palestinian tradition, "the judges." Here Josephus follows Alexandrian exegesis: the *Lxx* translated the plural *Elohim* by *θεοίς*, and so Philo (*Vita Mos.* ii. 26, § 205, *De spec. leg.* i. 7, § 53). Cf. *Ap.* ii. 237, where the same reason for the injunction is given as in Philo, viz. the hallowing of the word "God."

^d Deut. *l.c.* "The graven images of their gods shall ye burn with fire: thou shalt not covet the silver or the gold that is on them, nor take it unto thee . . ." Scripture emphasises the destruction of such things; Josephus is concerned to show that the Jews are not sacrilegious.

^e Reason not given in Scripture: the Mishnah merely states that the priests wore such garments (*Kil'aim* ix. 1, Weill).

JOSEPHUS

- ὑψηλοῦ σταθείς, ἀφ'¹ οὐ γένοιτ' <ἂν>² ἐξάκουστος,
 ἀναγινωσκέτω τοὺς νόμους ἅπασιν, καὶ μήτε γυνή
 μήτε παῖδες εἰργέσθωσαν τοῦ ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ μηδέ³
 210 οἱ δοῦλοι· καλὸν γὰρ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραφέντας
 καὶ τῇ μνήμῃ φυλαχθῆναι μηδέποτε ἐξαιφθῆναι
 δυναμένους. οὕτως γὰρ οὐδέ⁴ ἀμαρτήσονται μὴ
 δυνάμενοι λέγειν ἄγνοιαν τῶν ἐν τοῖς νόμοις
 διωρισμένων, οἳ τε νόμοι πολλὴν πρὸς ἀμαρτάνοντας
 ἔξουσι παρρησίαν, ὡς προλεγόντων αὐτοῖς ἃ πεί-
 σονται καὶ ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐγγραψάντων διὰ τῆς
 211 ἀκοῆς ἃ κελεύουσιν, ὥστ' εἶναι διὰ παντὸς ἔνδον
 αὐτοῖς τὴν προαίρεσιν αὐτῶν, ἧς ὀλιγορήσαντες
 ἠδίκησαν καὶ τῆς ζημίας αὐτοῖς αἴτιοι γεγόνασι.
 μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ παῖδες πρῶτον τοὺς
 νόμους, μάθημα κάλλιστον καὶ τῆς εὐδαιμονίας
 αἴτιον.
 212 (13) " Δίς δ' ἐκάστης ἡμέρας ἀρχομένης τε αὐτῆς
 καὶ ὁπότε πρὸς ὕπνον ὦρα τρέπεσθαι μαρτυρεῖν
 τῷ θεῷ τὰς δωρεάς, ἃς ἀπαλλαγείσιν αὐτοῖς ἐκ
 τῆς Αἰγυπτίων γῆς παρέσχε, δικαίας οὔσης φύσει
 τῆς εὐχαριστίας καὶ γενομένης ἐπ' ἀμοιβῇ μὲν
 τῶν ἤδη γεγονότων ἐπὶ δὲ προτροπῇ τῶν ἐσομένων·
 213 ἐπιγράφειν δὲ καὶ τοῖς θυρώμασιν αὐτῶν τὰ

¹ ex Lat. (unde) Niese: ἐφ' codd.

² ins. Niese: γένοιτο codd.

³ edd.: μήτε codd.

⁴ οὐδὲν RO.

^a The reader is not clearly defined in Scripture: Deut. xxxi. 11 (after mention of priests and elders) "thou shalt read," LXX "ye shall read," Samaritan Pent. (G. A. Smith *in loc.*) "he" or "one shall read." The Mishnah, *Sotah* vii. 8, states that it was customary to read a selection of passages from Deut., and that the reader on one occasion was king Agrippa (whether Agrippa I. or II. does not appear). On the 102

priest,^a standing upon a raised platform from which he may be heard, recite the laws^b to the whole assembly; and let neither woman nor child be excluded from this audience, nay nor yet the slaves. For it is good that these laws should be so graven on their hearts and stored in the memory that they can never be effaced. Thus will they be kept from sin, being unable to plead ignorance of what the laws enact; while the laws will speak with great authority to sinners, in that they forewarn them what they will have to suffer and will have so graven on their hearts through the hearing that which they command, that they will for ever carry within their breasts the principles of the code: which if they disdain they are guilty, and will have brought their penalty upon themselves. Let your children also begin by learning the laws, most beautiful of lessons and a source of felicity.^c

Deut. xl. 19

(13) "Twice each day,^d at the dawn thereof and when the hour comes for turning to repose, let all acknowledge before God the bounties which He has bestowed on them through their deliverance from the land of Egypt: thanksgiving is a natural duty, and is rendered alike in gratitude for past mercies and to incline the giver to others yet to come. They shall inscribe also on their doors the greatest of the

Daily prayers; symbols on house and person.

Ib. vi. 8f., xl. 18, 20.

apparent inconsistency between Josephus and the Mishnah as to the reader, and the various explanations offered, reference must be made to M. Weill's note.

^b Deut. "this law"; the Mishnah specifies passages drawn from eleven chapters of that book.

^c Cf. *Ap.* ii. 204.

^d Not specified in Scripture; tradition attributed to Moses an ordinance to pray *thrice* daily, including a midday prayer, Moore, *Judaism*, ii. 218, 220.

JOSEPHUS

μέγιστα ὧν εὐεργέτησεν αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς ἔν τε βραχίουσιν ἕκαστον διαφαίνειν, ὅσα τε τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀποσημαίνειν δύναται τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τὴν πρὸς αὐτοὺς εὐνοίαν φέρειν ἐγγεγραμμένα ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς καὶ τοῦ βραχίονος, ὡς περίβλεπτον πανταχόθεν τὸ περὶ αὐτοὺς πρόθυμον τοῦ θεοῦ.

- 214 (14) “ Ἀρχέτωσαν δὲ καθ’ ἑκάστην πόλιν ἄνδρες ἑπτὰ οἱ καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν καὶ τὴν περὶ τὸ δίκαιον σπουδὴν προησκηκότες· ἑκάστη δὲ ἀρχῇ δύο ἄνδρες ὑπηρέται διδόσθωσαν ἐκ τῆς τῶν Λευιτῶν
215 φυλῆς. ἔστωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ δικάζειν λαχόντες ταῖς πόλεσιν ἐν ἀπάσῃ τιμῇ, ὡς μήτε βλασφημεῖν ἐκείνων παρόντων μήτε θρασύνεσθαί τισιν ἐξείναι, τῆς πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ἀξιώματι τῶν ἀνθρώπων αἰδοῦς αὐτῶν εὐλαβεστέρους, ὥστε τοῦ θεοῦ μὴ κατα-
216 φρονεῖν, ἀπεργαζομένης. οἱ δὲ δικασταὶ ἀποφήνασθαι κύριοι περὶ τοῦ δόξαντος αὐτοῖς ἔστωσαν, πλὴν εἰ μή τι χρήματα λαβόντας τις αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ διαφθορᾷ τοῦ δικαίου ἐνδείξαιτ’¹ ἢ ἄλλην τινὰ αἰτίαν προφέρου, καθ’ ἣν οὐ καλῶς ἐλέγχει αὐτοὺς ἀποφνημαμένους· οὔτε γὰρ κέρδει χαριζομένους οὔτ’ ἀξιώματι προσῆκε φανεράς ποιεῖσθαι τὰς

¹ Dindorf: ἐνδείξεται (-εται) codd.

^a Or “ and they shall display each (of them) on their arms ”; the double mention of the arm, here and below, suggests a glossed text.

^b *Mezuzah* (“ door-post ”) was the name given to a small metal cylinder enclosing a parchment, inscribed with Deut. vi. 4-9 and xi. 13-21, and affixed to the right-hand door-post of Jewish houses; *tephillin*, the N.T. “ phylacteries ” (φυλακτήρια), were scrolls similarly inscribed, enclosed in

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 213-216

benefits which they have received from God and each shall display them on his arms^a; and all that can show forth the power of God and His goodwill towards them, let them bear a record thereof written on the head and on the arm, so that men may see on every side the loving care with which God surrounds them.^b

(14) "As rulers let each city have seven men long exercised in virtue and in the pursuit of justice; and to each magistracy let there be assigned two subordinate officers of the tribe of Levi.^c Let those to whom it shall fall to administer justice in the cities be held in all honour, none being permitted to be abusive or insolent in their presence; for a respect for human dignitaries will make men too reverential to be ever contemptuous of God. Let the judges have power to pronounce what sentence they think fit, always provided that no one denounce them for having received a bribe to pervert justice or bring forward some other charge to convict them of not having pronounced aright; for they must be influenced neither by lucre nor by rank in declaring judgement,

Administra-
tion of
justice.
Deut.
xvi. 18.

cases, and bound on the forehead and left arm at certain hours of prayer.

^c Deut. says merely "Judges and officers shalt thou make thee in all thy gates," specifying no numbers. In mentioning civic bodies of seven magistrates and two assistants Josephus is attributing to Moses the practice with which he was familiar: how much older it may have been is uncertain. He himself instituted in Galilee "seven individuals in each city to adjudicate upon petty disputes" (*B.J.* ii. 571), perhaps, as Schürer thinks, merely enforcing an older custom. The Talmud has one reference to "the seven leading men of the town" (*Megillah* 26a); Josephus mentions "the seven judges" again in § 287. Of the two assistants we hear nowhere else, but *cf.* Deut. xxi. 5 for Levites acting in such a capacity.

JOSEPHUS

- κρίσεις, ἀλλὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἐπάνω πάντων τιθεμένους.
- 217 ὁ γὰρ θεὸς ἂν οὕτως δόξειε καταφρονεῖσθαι καὶ ἀσθενέστερος ἐκείνων οἷς ἂν τις κατὰ φόβον ἰσχύος προσνέμοι τὴν ψῆφον κεκρίσθαι· τοῦ θεοῦ γὰρ ἰσχύς ἐστι τὸ δίκαιον. ὁ τοῖς¹ ἐν ἀξιώματι τυγχάνουσι καταχαριζόμενός τις ἐκείνους τοῦ θεοῦ
- 218 δυνατωτέρους ποιεῖ. ἂν δ' οἱ δικασταὶ μὴ νοῶσι περὶ τῶν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς² παρατεταγμένων ἀποφῆνασθαι, συμβαίνει δὲ πολλὰ τοιαῦτα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις, ἀκέραιον³ ἀναπεμπέτωσαν τὴν δίκην εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν, καὶ συνελθόντες ὁ τε ἀρχιερεὺς καὶ ὁ προφήτης καὶ ἡ γερουσία τὸ δοκοῦν ἀποφαινέσθωσαν.
- 219 (15) “ Εἰς δὲ μὴ πιστενέσθω μάρτυς, ἀλλὰ τρεῖς ἢ τὸ τελευταῖον δύο, ὧν τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἀληθῆ ποιήσει τὰ προβεβιωμένα. γυναικῶν δὲ μὴ ἔστω μαρτυρία διὰ κουφότητα καὶ θράσος τοῦ γένους αὐτῶν· μαρτυρεῖτωσαν δὲ μηδὲ⁴ δούλοι διὰ τὴν τῆς ψυχῆς ἀγένειαν, οὓς ἢ διὰ κέρδος εἰκὸς ἢ διὰ φόβον μὴ τάληθῆ μαρτυρῆσαι. ἂν δὲ τις ψευδομαρτυρήσας πιστευθῆ, πασχέτω ταῦτ' ἐλεγχθεὶς ὅσα ὁ καταμαρτυρηθεὶς πάσχειν ἔμελλεν.
- 220 (16) “ Ἄν δὲ πραχθέντος φόνου ἐν τινι χώρα μὴ εὐρίσκηται ὁ δράσας μηδ'⁴ ὑπονοῆται τις ὡς διὰ μῖσος ἀπεκτονηκώς, ζητεῖτωσαν μὲν αὐτὸν μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς μήνυτρα προθέμενοι· μηδενὸς δὲ μηνύοντος αἱ ἀρχαὶ τῶν πόλεων τῶν πλησίον τῆ χώρα, ἐν ἧ ὁ φόνος ἐπράχθη, καὶ ἡ γερουσία

¹ ὁ τοῖς RO: τοῖς οὖν rell.

² αὐτοῦς RO.

³ om. RO.

⁴ Dindorf: μήτε (μήθ') codd.

• Deut. xvii. 9 names as the high court “ the priests (of the tribe of Levi) and the judge that shall be in those days.”

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 216-220

but must set justice above all. Else God would appear to be contemned and accounted weaker than those to whom, from fear of their strength, the judge accords his vote. For God's strength is justice ; and one who gives this away out of favour to persons of rank makes them more powerful than God. But if the judges see not how to pronounce upon the matters set before them—and with men such things oft befall—let them send up the case entire to the holy city and let the high priest and the prophet and the council of elders^a meet and pronounce as they think fit.

Deut.
xvii. 8.

(15) " Put not trust in a single witness, but let there be three or at the least two, whose evidence shall be accredited by their past lives. From women let no evidence be accepted,^b because of the levity and temerity of their sex ; neither let slaves bear witness^b because of the baseness of their soul, since whether from cupidity or fear it is like that they will not attest the truth. If anyone be believed to have borne false witness, let him on conviction suffer the penalty which would have been incurred by him against whom he hath borne witness.

Witnesses.
Ib. 6,
xix. 15.

Ib. 18 ff.

(16) " If a murder hath been done in any place and the doer thereof be not found nor is anyone suspected of having killed the victim from hatred, let them make diligent search for the culprit, offering rewards for information^c ; but if no informer appear, let the magistrates of the towns adjacent to the spot where the murder was done, along with the

The " senate " in Josephus recalls the Sanhedrin of later days : *cf.* the provincial council of seventy set up by himself in Galilee for the trial of major cases, *B.J.* ii. 570 f.

The
undetected
murderer.
Ib. xxi. 1.

^b Traditional ruling : not in Scripture.

^c Detail not in Scripture.

JOSEPHUS

- 221 *συνελθόντες μετρείωσαν ἀπὸ τοῦ τόπου ὅπου*
κεῖται ὁ νεκρὸς τὴν χώραν. ἥ δ' ἂν ἦ πλησιαιτάτη
πόλις, οἱ ἐν αὐτῇ δημόσιοι πριάμενοι δάμαλιν καὶ
κομίσαντες εἰς φάραγγα καὶ ἀνεπιτήδειον ἀρότῳ¹
 222 *καὶ φυτοῖς χωρίον τοὺς τένοντας κοψάτωσαν τῆς*
βοός, καὶ χέρνιβας ἐλόμενοι ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς τῆς
βοός οἱ ἱερεῖς καὶ οἱ Λευῖται καὶ ἡ γερουσία τῆς
πόλεως ἐκείνης καθαρὰς ἀναβοησάτωσαν τὰς χεῖ-
ρας ἔχειν ἀπὸ τοῦ φόνου καὶ μήτε δρᾶσαι μήτε
δρωμένῳ παρατυχεῖν, ἐπικαλεῖσθαι δὲ ἰλεω τὸν
θεὸν καὶ μηκέτι τοιοῦτον δεινὸν συμβῆναι τῇ γῆ
πάθος.
- 223 (17) “ Ἀριστοκρατία μὲν οὖν κράτιστον καὶ ὁ
 κατ’ αὐτὴν βίος, καὶ μὴ λάβη² πόθος ὑμᾶς ἄλλης
 πολιτείας, ἀλλὰ ταύτην στέργετε καὶ τοὺς νόμους
 ἔχοντες δεσπότης κατ’ αὐτοὺς ἕκαστα πράττετε·
 ἀρκεῖ γὰρ ὁ θεὸς ἡγεμὼν εἶναι. βασιλέως δ’ εἰ
 γένοιτο ἔρως ὑμῖν, ἔστω μὲν οὗτος ὁμόφυλος,
 πρόνοια δ’ αὐτῷ δικαιοσύνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης
 224 ἀρετῆς διὰ παντὸς ἔστω. παραχωροίη δὲ οὗτος
 τοῖς μὲν νόμοις καὶ τῷ θεῷ τὰ πλείονα τοῦ φρονεῖν,
 πρασέτω δὲ μηδὲν δίχα τοῦ ἀρχιερέως καὶ τῆς
 τῶν γερουσιαστῶν γνώμης, γάμοις τε μὴ πολλοῖς
 χρώμενος μηδὲ πλῆθος διώκων χρημάτων μηδ’
 ἵππων, ὧν αὐτῷ παραγενομένων ὑπερήφανος ἂν
 τῶν νόμων ἔσοιτο. κωλυέσθω δ’, εἰ τούτων τι

¹ Niese : ἀρότρῳ codd.

² λάβοι ROM.

^a Deut. “ a valley with (ever) running water.”

^b The text seems sound ; M. Weill would alter it, rendering “ Qu’il confie aux lois et à Dieu les desseins les plus importants.”

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 220-224

council of elders, assemble and measure the ground from the place where the body lies. And whichever town is the nearest, let the public officers thereof purchase a heifer and, conducting it to a ravine,^a to a spot unfitted for ploughing or plantation, let them cut the sinews of the creature's neck; then, after washing their hands in holy water over the head of the animal, let the priests, the Levites, and the council of that city proclaim that their hands are pure of this murder, that they neither did it nor saw it done, and that they implore God to be gracious and that so dire a calamity may no more befall the land.

(17) "Aristocracy, with the life that is lived thereunder, is indeed the best: let no craving possess you for another polity, but be content with this, having the laws for your masters and governing all your actions by them; for God sufficeth for your ruler. But should ye become enamoured of a king, let him be of your own race and let him have a perpetual care for justice and virtue in every other form. Let him concede to the laws and to God the possession of superior wisdom,^b and let him do nothing without the high priest and the counsel of his senators^c; let him not indulge in many wives nor in the pursuit of abundance of riches or of horses, through the attainment of which things he might become disdainful of the laws. Should he set his heart on any of these things, let him be restrained

Law of
the king.

Deut.
xvii. 14.

^a M. Weill quotes the Talmud (*Sanhedrin* 20b), to the effect that the king must consult his tribunal of seventy-one members before engaging in an "optional" or "aggressive" war (*i.e.* with others than the Amalekites or the nations of Canaan).

JOSEPHUS

διὰ σπουδῆς ἔχοι, γίγνεσθαι τοῦ συμφέροντος ὑμῖν δυνατώτερος.

- 225 (18) “Ὅρους γῆς μὴ ἐξέστω κινεῖν μήτε οἰκείας μήτ’ ἀλλοτρίας πρὸς οὓς ἐστὶν ὑμῖν εἰρήνη, φυλαττέσθω δ’ ὡσπερ θεοῦ ψῆφον βεβαίαν¹ εἰς αἰῶνα κειμένην ἀναιρεῖν, ὡς πολέμων ἐντεῦθεν καὶ στάσεων γινομένων ἐκ τοῦ πλεονεκτοῦντας προσωτέρω χωρεῖν βούλεσθαι τῶν ὄρων· μὴ γὰρ μακρὰν εἶναι τοῦ καὶ τοὺς νόμους ὑπερβαίνειν τοὺς τὸν ὄρον μετακινοῦντας.
- 226 (19) “Γῆν ὃ φυτεύσας, πρὸ ἐτῶν τεσσάρων ἂν καρπὸν προβάλη τὰ φυτὰ, μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀπαρχὰς ἐντεῦθεν ἀποφερέτω μήτ’ αὐτὸς χρήσθω· οὐ γὰρ κατὰ καιρὸν τοῦτον ὑπ’ αὐτῶν ἐνεχθῆναι, βιασαμένης δὲ τῆς φύσεως ἄωρως μήτε τῷ θεῷ ἀρμόζειν
227 μήτ’ αὐτῷ τῷ δεσπότῃ χρῆσθαι. τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ τρυγάτω πᾶν τὸ γενόμενον, τότε γὰρ ὄριον εἶναι, καὶ συναγαγὼν εἰς τὴν ἱερὰν πόλιν κομιζέτω, καὶ σὺν τῇ δεκάτῃ τοῦ ἄλλου καρποῦ μετὰ τῶν φίλων εὐωχούμενος ἀναλίσκῃ καὶ μετ’ ὄρφανῶν καὶ χηρευουσῶν γυναικῶν. πέμπτου δὲ ἔτους κύριος ἔστω τὰ φυτὰ καρποῦσθαι.
- 228 (20) “Τὴν ἀμπέλοισι κατάφυτον γῆν μὴ σπείρειν· ἀρκεῖσθαι² γὰρ αὐτὴν τρέφειν τοῦτο τὸ φυτὸν καὶ τῶν ἐξ ἀρότρου πόνων ἀπηλλάχθαι. βουσίην ἀροῦν τὴν γῆν, καὶ μηδὲν τῶν ἐτέρων ζώων σὺν αὐτοῖς³

¹ RO: βέβαιον rell.

² RO: ἀρκεί rell.

³ σὺν αὐτοῖς om. RO.

^a Literally “God’s pebble”: the ψῆφος was the pebble used in voting, to which the boundary-stone is here compared as recording God’s decision.

from becoming more powerful than is expedient for your welfare.

(18) "Let it not be permitted to displace boundary-marks, whether of your own land or of the land of others with whom ye are at peace; beware of uprooting as it were a stone by God's decree^a laid firm for eternity. For thence come wars and seditions, even from that desire of the covetous to overstep their boundaries. In truth, they are not far from transgressing the laws to boot who displace a boundary.

Non-removal of landmarks. Deut. xix. 14 (xxvii. 17).

(19) "When a man planteth a piece of land, if the plants produce fruit before the fourth year, let him neither cull thereof first-fruits for God nor enjoy it himself; for this fruit has not been borne by them in season,^b and what nature has forced untimely is befitting neither for God nor for the use of the owner himself.^c But in the fourth year let him reap all the produce, for then is it seasonable, and having gathered it in let him take it to the holy city and there expend it, along with the tithe of his other fruits, in feasting with his friends, as also with orphans and widows.^d In the fifth year he shall be at liberty to enjoy the fruits of his planting.

Fruits of the fourth year. Lev. xix. 23.

(20) "Land that is planted with vines is not to be sown; for it sufficeth that it rear this plant and be exempt from the labours of the plough. Use oxen to plough the ground and put no other animal

Prohibition of unnatural "mixing." Deut. xxii. 9 f.: Lev. xix. 19.

^b I take *τούτων* to refer to *καρπών*, not (as other translators) with *κατὰ καιρόν*.

^c Motive not given in Scripture.

^d Traditional practice: Lev. merely states that the fruit of the fourth year "shall be holy, for giving praise unto the Lord."

JOSEPHUS

- ὑπὸ ζεύγλην ἄγοντας, ἀλλὰ κατ' οἰκεῖα γένη
 κἀκείνοις ποιεῖσθαι τὸν ἄροτον.¹ εἶναι δὲ καθαρὰ
 τὰ σπέρματα καὶ ἀνεπίμικτα, καὶ μὴ σύνδυο καὶ
 τρία σπείρειν· οὐ γὰρ τῇ τῶν ἀνομοίων κοινωνία
 229 χαίρειν τὴν φύσιν. μηδὲ κτήνεσιν ἐπάγειν ὅσα
 μὴ συγγενῆ· δέος γὰρ ἐκ τούτου μὴ διαβῆ καὶ
 μέχρι τῶν ἀνθρωπέων ἢ πρὸς τὸ ὁμόφυλον
 ἀτιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὰ μικρὰ καὶ τὰ
 230 φαῦλα πρότερον λαβοῦσα. δεῖ δὲ μηδὲν εἶναι
 τοιοῦτον συγκεχωρημένον, ἐξ οὗ κατὰ μίμησιν
 παρατροπή τις τῶν κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἔσοιτο,
 ἀλλ' ὡς οὐδὲ περὶ τῶν τυχόντων ἄμελήσεται²
 τοῖς νόμοις εἰδόσι προνοεῖσθαι τοῦ κατ' αὐτοὺς
 ἀμέμπτου.
- 231 (21) “ Ἀμῶντας δὲ καὶ συναιροῦντας τὰ θέρη μὴ
 καλαμᾶσθαι, καταλιπεῖν δέ τινα καὶ τῶν δραγ-
 μάτων τοῖς βίου σπανίζουσιν ἔρμαιον εἶναι³ πρὸς
 διατροφήν· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆς τρύγης ἀπολιπεῖν
 τὰς ἐπιφυλλίδας τοῖς πένησι καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶνων⁴
 παρεῖναι τι τοῦ καρποῦ πρὸς συλλογὴν τοῖς ἐξ
 232 ἰδίων οὐκ ἔχουσι μεταλαβεῖν· οὐ τοσαύτη γὰρ ἂν
 ἐκ τῆς ἐπ' ἀκριβὲς αὐτῶν συλλογῆς εὐπορία τοῖς
 δεσπότηταις γένοιτο, ὅση χάρις ἐκ τῶν δεομένων
 ἔλθοι, τό τε θεῖον τὴν γῆν προθυμοτέραν εἰς τὴν
 ἐκτροφήν τῶν καρπῶν ἀπεργάσεται μὴ τοῦ καθ'
 αὐτοὺς προνοουμένων <μόνον>⁵ λυσιτελοῦς, ἀλλὰ
 καὶ τῆς τῶν ἄλλων διατροφῆς λόγον ἐχόντων.

¹ edd.: ἄροτρον codd.

² conj.: ἀμελεῖται, ἀμεληταί (sic), or ἠμέληται codd.

³ + καὶ εὔρεμα ROM: + τούτοις rell.

⁴ ROM: ἐλαιῶν rell.

⁵ ins. ex Lat. Niese.

with them beneath the yoke ; nay, these too should be paired according to their own kinds for the labours of the field.^a Let your seeds too be pure and without mixture, and sow not two or three kinds together ; for nature delighteth not in the conjunction of things dissimilar. Neither shall ye mate beasts that are not of kindred nature ; for it is to be feared that from this custom a disregard for the law of the breed may pass over even into the practices of humanity, having owed its origin to the treatment of petty and insignificant objects. Nothing, in short, must be permitted that is calculated to lead, through imitation, to some perversion of the principles of the constitution ; nay, even trivial matters must not be neglected by the laws,^b which should know how to guard themselves against all reproach.

(21) "When reaping and gathering in the crops ye shall not glean, but shall even leave some of the sheaves^c for the destitute, to come as a godsend for their sustenance ; likewise at the vintage leave the little bunches for the poor, and pass over somewhat of the fruit of the olive-yards to be gathered by those who have none of their own whereof to partake. For that minute care in garnering will not bring the owners wealth so great as the gratitude which would so come to them from the needy ; the Deity, too, will render the earth more eager to foster its fruits for those who look not only to their own interests but also have regard to the

Rights of the poor : the beasts and the wayfarers to share in the harvest. Deut. xxiv. 19 : Lev. xix. 9.

^a Additional detail, not in Scripture.

^b Text doubtful. The construction *δεῖ σ' ὀπωσ δελξείς*, whose ind. has the support of Sophocles (*δεῖ σ' ὀπωσ δελξείς*), whose style was imitated by the assistant of Josephus.

^c Or "handfuls."

JOSEPHUS

- 233 μηδὲ βοῶν ὁπότε τρίβοιεν τοὺς στάχνας ἀποδεῖν
τὰ στόματα ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλως· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι δίκαιον
εἶργειν τοὺς συνειργασμένους τοῦ καρποῦ καὶ περὶ
234 τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ πονήσαντας. μηδὲ ὁπώρας
ἀκμαζούσης κωλύειν ἄπτεσθαι τοὺς ὀδῶ βαδί-
ζοντας, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐξ οἰκείων αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρέπειν
ἐμπίπλασθαι, κἂν ἐγχώριοι τυγχάνωσι κἂν ξένοι,
χαίροντας ἐπὶ τῷ παρέχειν αὐτοῖς τῶν ωραίων
μεταλαμβάνειν· ἀποφέρεσθαι¹ δ' αὐτοῖς μηδὲν
235 ἐξέστω. μηδὲ τρυγῶντες ὧν ἂν εἰς τὰς ληνοὺς
κομίζωσιν εἰργέτωσαν τοὺς ὑπαντιάζοντας ἐπ-
εσθίειν· ἄδικον γὰρ ἀγαθῶν, ἃ κατὰ βούλησιν θεοῦ
παρῆλθεν εἰς τὸν βίον, φθονεῖν τοῖς ἐπιθυμοῦσιν
αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν, τῆς ὥρας ἐν ἀκμῇ τε οὔσης
236 καὶ σπενδούσης ἀπελθεῖν· ὡς τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον
ἂν εἶη, κἂν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης τινὰς ὀκνοῦντας ἄψασθαι
λαβεῖν παρακαλοῖεν,² ὄντας μὲν Ἰσραηλίτας ὡς
κοινωνοὺς καὶ δεσπότας διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν,
ἀφιγμένους δ' ἀλλαχόθεν ἀνθρώπους ξενίων τυχεῖν
ἀξιοῦντας ὧν ὁ θεὸς καθ' ὥραν αὐτοῖς παρέσχεν.
237 ἀναλώματα γὰρ οὐχ ἡγητέον ὅσα τις κατὰ χρη-
στότητα παρήσιν ἀνθρώποις λαμβάνειν, τοῦ θεοῦ
τὴν ἀφθονίαν τῶν ἀγαθῶν χορηγοῦντος οὐκ ἐπὶ τῷ
καρποῦσθαι μόνοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τοῖς ἄλλοις μετα-
διδόναι φιλοτίμως, καὶ βουλομένου³ τῷ τρόπῳ
τούτῳ τὴν ἰδίαν περὶ τὸν Ἰσραηλιτῶν λαὸν εὐνοίαν
καὶ τὴν χορηγίαν τῆς εὐδαιμονίας καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις
ἐμφανίζεσθαι, ἐκ πολλοῦ τοῦ περιόντος αὐτοῖς
238 κἀκείνοις μεταδιδόντων. ὁ δὲ παρὰ ταῦτα ποιήσας

¹ SP: ἐπιφέρεσθαι *rell.*

² Dindorf: παρακαλῶεν *codd.*: -καλῶσιν *Niese.*

³ L *ed. pr.*: βουλόμενος *rell.*

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support of others. Neither muzzle ye the oxen when they crush the ears of corn on the threshing-floor ; for it is not just to exclude from the fruit your fellow-labourers who have toiled to produce it. Nor yet, when autumn fruits are at their prime, must ye forbid wayfarers to touch them, but let them take their fill, as if they were their own, be they natives or strangers, rejoicing at thus affording them a share in the fruits of the season ; but let it not be permitted to them to carry any of them away. Neither let the vintagers hinder such as they meet from eating of that which they are carrying to the wine-vats ; for it were unjust to grudge the good things which by God's will have come into the world to such as long for a share in them, when the season is at its prime and so swiftly to pass. Nay, it would be acceptable to God that one should even invite to take thereof any who, through modesty, should hesitate to touch them —be they Israelites, as partners and owners, in virtue of their kinship, be they come from another country, entreating them to accept, as guests, of these gifts which God has granted them in season. For one must not account as expenditure that which out of liberality one lets men take ; since God bestows this abundance of good things not for our enjoyment alone, but that we may also share them generously with others, and He is desirous that by these means the special favour that He bears to the people of Israel and the bounty of His gifts may be manifested to others also, when out of all that superabundance of ours they too receive their share from us. But let him who acts contrary to

Dent.
xxv. 4.

Ib. xxiii. 25.

JOSEPHUS

- πληγὰς μιᾷ λειπούσας τεσσαράκοντα τῷ δημοσίῳ
 σκύτει λαβῶν τιμωρίαν ταύτην αἰσχίστην ἐλεύ-
 θερος ὑπομενέτω, ὅτι τῷ κέρδει δουλεύσας ὕβρισε
 239 τὸ ἀξίωμα· καλῶς γὰρ ὑμῖν ἔχει πεπειραμένοις ἐν
 Αἰγύπτῳ συμφορῶν καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐρημίαν πρόνοιαν
 τῶν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις ὑπαρχόντων ποιείσθαι, καὶ
 τυχόντας εὐπορίας ἐξ ἐλέου καὶ προνοίας τοῦ θεοῦ
 τὴν αὐτὴν ταύτην ἐξ ὁμοίου πάθους ἀπομερίζειν
 τοῖς δεομένοις.
- 240 (22) “ Ταῖς δὲ δεκάταις ταῖς δυσίν, ἃς ἔτους
 ἑκάστου προεῖπον τελεῖν, τὴν μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις,
 τὴν δ’ ἐτέραν πρὸς τὰς εὐωχίας, τρίτην πρὸς
 αὐταῖς κατὰ τὸ ἔτος¹ τρίτον συμφέρειν εἰς δια-
 νέμησιν τῶν σπανιζόντων γυναιξί τε χήραις καὶ
 241 παισὶν ὀρφανοῖς· τῶν δ’ ὠραίων ὅ τι καὶ πρῶτον
 ἑκάστῳ τύχῃ γενόμενον εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν κομιζέτωσαν,
 καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἐνεγκαμένης αὐτὸ γῆς ἦν
 αὐτοῖς κτήσασθαι παρέσχεν εὐλογήσαντες, θυσίας
 ἃς ὁ νόμος αὐτοῖς ἐπιφέρειν κελεύει ἐπιτελέσαντες
 τούτων τὰ προτέλεια τοῖς ἱερεῦσι διδόντων.
- 242 ἐπειδὰν δὲ ταῦτά τις ποιήσας καὶ πάντων τὰς
 δεκάτας ἅμα ταῖς εἰς τοὺς Λευίτας καὶ τὰς εὐωχίας²
 ἀπενηνοχῶς ἀπιέναι μέλλῃ πρὸς αὐτὸν οἴκαδε,
 στὰς ἀντικρὺ τοῦ τεμενίσματος εὐχαριστησάτω

¹ κατ’ ἔτος Dindorf.

² + ταῖς ἀπαρχαῖς MSPL.

^a As Reinach remarks, the verses in Deut. about scourging, though interposed between the precepts with which Josephus has been dealing, are really of much more general application. Throughout this paragraph Josephus is concerned to extol Jewish charity in the eyes of pagan readers; but it was indeed a thing of which he might justly be proud (see the excellent chapter in G. F. Moore, *Judaism*, ii. p. 162).

^b The forty stripes allowed by the Law were by tradition

these precepts^a receive forty stripes save one^b from the public lash, undergoing, free man as he is, this most disgraceful penalty, because through slavery to lucre he has outraged his dignity. For it bcseems you, after your experience of afflictions in Egypt and in the desert, to take thought for those who are in like case, and, after receiving such store of blessings through the mercy and providence of God, of that same store and from kindred feelings to impart to those in need.

Penalty of scourging. Deut. xxv. 3.

(22) "In addition to the two tithes which I have already directed you^c to pay each year, the one for the Levites and the other for the banquets, ye should devote a third^d every third year to the distribution of such things as are lacking to widowed women and orphan children. The very first of the ripe fruits which shall fall to each man's lot are to be brought to the temple, where, after blessing God for the land which has borne them and which He has enabled them to win, and after performing the sacrifices which the law commands them to offer, let them present the first-fruits thereof to the priests. And when any man, after having done all this and having offered tithes of all, along with those^e for the Levites and for the banquets, is about to depart to his own home, let him stand right opposite the sacred precincts and render reduced to thirty-nine, doubtless for fear of a miscount, *Makkoth* iii. 10 ff.; cf. 2 Cor. xi. 24. ^e §§ 68, 205.

Triennial tithe for widows and orphans. *Ib.* xiv. 28, xxvi. 12.

Ceremony after offering tithes. *Cf. ib.* xxvi. 3 ff.

^d This "third" or "poor" tithe was, according to one tradition, not an *additional* tithe, as Josephus interprets it, but only a particular use to which the "second" or "festival" tithe was put every third year (see Weill's note). The two conflicting Greek texts of *Tobit* i. 6 ff. illustrate the current variety of interpretation; Josephus does not stand alone.

^e Text a little uncertain.

JOSEPHUS

- μὲν τῷ θεῷ, ὅτι τῆς ἀπ' Αἰγυπτίων αὐτοὺς ὕβρεως ἀπαλλάξας γῆν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὴν καὶ πολλὴν ἔδωκε καρποῦσθαι, μαρτυράμενος δὲ ὡς τὰς τε δεκάτας¹
- 243 κατὰ τοὺς Μωυσέος τελέσειε νόμους αἰτησάσθω τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῆ καὶ ἴλεων αὐτῷ διὰ παντὸς εἶναι καὶ κοινῇ πᾶσιν Ἑβραίοις διαμένειν, φυλάττοντα μὲν ἃ δέδωκεν αὐτοῖς ἀγαθὰ προσκτήσασθαι² δὲ ὅσα δύναται χαρίζεσθαι.
- 244 (23) “ Γαμείτωναν δὲ ἐν ὥρᾳ γάμου γενόμενοι παρθένους ἐλευθέρων γονέων ἀγαθῶν, ὁ δὲ μὴ μέλλων ἄγεσθαι παρθένον μὴ ζευγνύσθω συνοικοῦσαν ἄλλω νοθεύσας μηδὲ λυπῶν³ τὸν πρότερον αὐτῆς ἄνδρα· δούλας δὲ μὴ γαμείσθαι τοῖς ἐλευθέροις, μηδ' ἂν ὑπ' ἔρωτος πρὸς τοῦτό τινες ἐκβιάζωνται, κρατεῖν δὲ τῆς ἐπιθυμίας τὸ εὐπρεπὲς καὶ τοῖς
- 245 ἀξιώμασι πρόσφορον· ἔτι⁴ μηδὲ ἡταιρημένης εἶναι γάμον, ἧς δι' ὕβριν τοῦ σώματος τὰς ἐπὶ τῷ γάμῳ θυσίας ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἂν προσοῖτο. γένοιτο γὰρ ἂν οὕτω τῶν παίδων τὰ φρονήματα ἐλευθέρια καὶ πρὸς ἀρετὴν ὄρθια, εἰ μὴ τύχοιεν ἐκ γάμων φύντες αἰσχροῦν μηδ' ἐξ ἐπιθυμίας οὐκ ἐλευθερίας συν-
- 246 ελθόντων· εἴ τις ὡς παρθένον μνηστευσάμενος ἔπειτα μὴ τοιαύτην εὔροι, δίκην λαχὼν αὐτὸς μὲν κατηγορεῖτω χρώμενος εἰς ἀπόδειξιν οἷς ἂν ἔχη τεκμηρίοις, ἀπολογείσθω δὲ ὁ τῆς κόρης πατὴρ

¹ + καὶ τὰλλα E.

² προσκτήσαντα ex Lat. (et addat) Bernard.

³ λιπούσαν O² (Reinach).

⁴ + δὲ SPL.

^a One authority adds “ and all else.”

^b Cf. the shorter summary of marriage laws in *Ap.* ii. 199 ff.

thanks to God for having delivered his race from the insolence of the Egyptians and given them a good land and spacious to enjoy the fruits thereof; then, after attesting that he has paid the tithes ^a in accordance with the laws of Moses, let him ask God ever to be favourable and gracious to himself and to continue such favour towards all Hebrews in common, preserving to them the good things that He had given them and adding thereto all else that He could bestow.

(23) "Let ^b your young men, on reaching the age of wedlock, marry virgins, freeborn and of honest parents. He that will not espouse a virgin must not unite himself to a woman living with another man, corrupting her or wronging ^c her former husband. Female slaves must not be taken in marriage by free men, however strongly some may be constrained thereto by love: such passion must be mastered by regard for decorum and the proprieties of rank. Again, there must be no marriage with a prostitute, ^d since by reason of the abuse of her body God could not accept her nuptial sacrifices. ^e For so only can your children have spirits that are liberal and uprightly set towards virtue, if they are not the issue of dishonourable marriages or of a union resulting from ignoble ^f passion.

"If a man, having betrothed a bride in the belief that she is a virgin, thereafter find that she is not so, let him bring a suit and make his own accusation, relying upon what evidence he may have to prove it; and let the damsel's defence be undertaken by

^e Lit. "grieving"; but we should probably read *λιποῦσαν*, "nor let him marry one that has left her former husband."

^d In Scripture this prohibition applies only to the priests; and so Josephus elsewhere interprets it, iii. 276.

^f § 206. ^f Gr. "illiberal," *i.e.* a passion for a slave.

Marriage laws.

Deut. xxii. 22 :
Lev. xxi. 7.

Lev.

Deut. xxii. 13.

JOSEPHUS

ἡ ἀδελφὸς ἢ ὅς ἂν μετὰ τούτους ἐγγυτέρω δοκῆ
 247 τοῦ γένους. καὶ κριθεῖσα μὲν ἢ κόρη μὴ ἀδικεῖν
 συνοικεῖτω τῷ κατηγορήσαντι μηδεμίαν ἐξουσίαν
 ἔχοντος ἐκείνου ἀποπέμπεσθαι αὐτήν, πλὴν εἰ μὴ
 μεγάλας αἰτίας αὐτῷ παράσχοι καὶ πρὸς ἃς οὐδ'¹
 248 ἀντειπεῖν δυνηθεῖη. τοῦ δὲ τολμηρῶς καὶ προ-
 πετωῶς ἐπενεγκεῖν αἰτίαν καὶ διαβολὴν πρόστιμον
 ἐκτινύτω, πληγὰς τεσσαράκοντα μιᾷ λειπούσας
 λαμβάνων, καὶ πεντήκοντα σίκλους ἀποτινύτω τῷ
 πατρί. ἂν δ' ἐξελέγξῃ τὴν παιδίσκην ἐφθαρμένην,
 δημότις μὲν οὖσα τοῦ μὴ σωφρόνως προστῆναι
 τῆς παρθενίας ἄχρι νομίμων γάμων καταλευέσθω,
 249 ἂν δ' ἐξ ἱερέων ἢ γεγενημένη, καιέσθω ζῶσα. δύο
 γυναικῶν οὐσῶν τι, καὶ τῆς μὲν ἐτέρας ἐν τιμῇ
 σφόδρα καὶ εὐνοίᾳ κειμένης ἢ δι' ἔρωτα καὶ κάλλος
 ἢ κατ' ἄλλην αἰτίαν, τῆς δ' ἐτέρας ἐν ἐλάττονι
 μοίρᾳ τυγχανούσης, ἂν ὁ ἐκ τῆς ἀγαπωμένης παῖς
 γενόμενος, νεώτερος ὢν τοῦ ἐκ τῆς ἐτέρας φύντος,
 ἀξιοῖ διὰ τὴν πρὸς τὴν μητέρα τοῦ πατρὸς εὐνοίαν
 τῶν πρεσβείων τυγχάνειν, ὥστε διπλοῦν τὸ μέρος
 τῆς πατρῴας οὐσίας ἐκλαμβάνειν,² τοῦτο γὰρ ἐν
 250 τοῖς νόμοις διαταξάμην, μὴ συγκεχωρήσθω· ἄδικον
 γὰρ τὸν τῇ γενέσει πρεσβύτερον, ὅτι τὰ τῆς
 μητρὸς αὐτῷ ἤπτονα παρὰ τῇ διαθέσει τοῦ πατρὸς,
 251 τῶν ὀφειλομένων αὐτῷ στερεῖσθαι. ὁ κόρην ἄλλω

¹ + <ἀν> Naber.

² RO: λαμβάνειν rell.

^a Scripture mentions only the father (accompanied by the mother) as counsel for the defence.

^b Deut. xxii. 19 "an hundred (*shekels*) of silver" (LXX ἑκατὸν σίκλους). The Hebrew names no coin; tradition, supporting Josephus, names a coin equivalent to a half-shekel (*Kethuboth* 45b, quoted by Weill).

her father or brother or whosoever, failing these, be considered her next of kin.^a If the damsel be then declared innocent, let her continue to live with her accuser, who shall have no right to dismiss her, save only if she furnish him with grave and undeniable reasons for so doing. And for having rashly and precipitately brought a calumnious charge against her, let him undergo a double penalty, receiving forty stripes save one and paying fifty shekels^b to the father. But should he prove that the young woman has been corrupted, then, if she be one of the people, for not having kept chaste guard over her virginity up to her lawful marriage, let her be stoned; if she be of priestly parentage, let her be burnt alive.^c

Deut.
xxii. 18,
xxv. 3.

“If a man have two wives, of whom the one is held in special honour and affection, be it for love and beauty, or for other cause, while the other has a lesser portion of his regard, should the son of the beloved one, being younger than the offspring of the other, claim, in virtue of his father’s affection for his mother, the rights of the firstborn, to wit to receive a double portion of his father’s substance—for that is what I have ordained in the laws^d—let this claim be disallowed. For it were unjust that he that is elder by birth should, because his mother holds a lesser place in his father’s affections, be deprived of that which is his due.

Ib. xxi. 15.

^c This last clause has no authority in Scripture and is not strictly in accord with tradition (see Weill’s note). Scripture mentions only the penalty of stoning for all alike.

^d Only specified in this passage of Scripture (Deut. xxi. 17; cf. 2 K. ii. 9).

JOSEPHUS

κατηγγυημένην φθείρας, εἰ μὲν πείσας καὶ πρὸς
 τὴν φθορὰν συγκάταινον λαβῶν, ἀποθνησκέτω σὺν
 αὐτῇ· πονηροὶ γὰρ ὁμοίως ἑκάτεροι, ὁ μὲν τὸ
 αἰσχιστον πείσας ἔκουσίως ὑπομεῖναι καὶ προ-
 τιμῆσαι τοῦτο τοῦ ἐλευθέρου γάμου τὴν κόρην,
 ἡ δὲ παρασχεῖν ἑαυτὴν πεισθεῖσα δι' ἡδονῆν¹ ἢ διὰ
 252 κέρδος πρὸς τὴν ὕβριν· εἰ δέ που μόνῃ περιπεσὼν
 βιάσῃται μηδενὸς βοηθοῦ παρόντος, μόνος ἀπο-
 θνησκέτω. ὁ φθείρας παρθένον μήπω κατηγ-
 γυημένην αὐτὸς γαμείτω· ἦν δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῆς
 κόρης μὴ δόξῃ συνοικίζειν αὐτῷ, πεντήκοντα
 253 σίκλους τιμὴν τῆς ὕβρεως καταβαλλέτω. γυ-
 ναικὸς δὲ τῆς συνοικουσης βουλόμενος διαζευχ-
 θῆναι καθ' ἀσθηποτοῦν αἰτίας, πολλαὶ δ' ἂν τοῖς
 ἀνθρώποις τοιαῦται γίνοντο, γράμμασι μὲν περὶ
 τοῦ μηδέποτε συνελθεῖν ἰσχυρίζεσθω· λάβοι γὰρ
 ἂν οὕτως ἐξουσίαν συνοικεῖν ἑτέρῳ, πρότερον γὰρ
 οὐκ ἐφετέον· εἰ δὲ καὶ πρὸς ἐκείνου² κακωθείῃ ἢ³
 τελευτήσαντος αὐτοῦ θελήσειε γαμείν ὁ πρότερος,
 254 μὴ ἐξεῖναι αὐτῇ⁴ ἐπανιέναι. τὴν ἄτεκνον, τὰνδρὸς
 αὐτῇ τετελευτηκότος, ὁ ἀδελφὸς ἐκείνου γαμείτω

¹ ed. pr.: +*ιδίαν* codd.

² MLE: καὶ RO: om. SP.

² conj.: ἐκείνον codd.

⁴ RM: αὐτὴν rell.

^a In Scripture the seducer is required to marry the girl and to pay the customary "bride-price" to her father. Josephus is in line with tradition, which required "compensation" to be paid only when no marriage took place (references quoted by Weill).

^b Deut. "if she find no favour in his eyes, because he hath found in her some indecency" (lit. "the nakedness of a thing"). This vague phrase gave rise to conflicting interpretations: the school of Shammai (1st cent. b.c.) understanding by it unchastity, that of Hillel extending it to cover

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“Should a man violate a damsel who is betrothed to another, if he persuaded her and had obtained her assent to the violation, let him die along with her; for both are guilty alike, he for having persuaded the damsel voluntarily to submit to the worst disgrace and to prefer that to honest wedlock, she for being persuaded to lend herself, for pleasure or for lucre, to this outrage. But if he met her alone somewhere and forced her, when none was at hand to aid, let him die alone. He that violateth a virgin who is not yet betrothed shall marry her himself; but if the father of the damsel be not minded to give her away to him, he shall pay fifty shekels as compensation for the outrage.^a

Deut. xxii. 23.

Ib. 25.

Ib. 28.

“He who desires to be divorced from the wife who is living with him for whatsoever cause^b—and with mortals many such may arise—must certify in writing that he will have no further intercourse with her; for thus will the woman obtain the right to consort with another, which thing ere then must not be permitted. But if she be maltreated by the other also or if upon his death her former husband wishes to marry her, she shall not be allowed to return to him.

Divorce. Ib. xxiv. 1.

“When a woman is left childless^c on her husband's death, the husband's brother shall marry her, and

Levirate marriage. Ib. xxv. 5.

the most trivial causes. As Weill remarks, the latter view seems to have prevailed, *cf.* *A.* xvi. 198, *Vita* 426 (the historian's own divorce); also the question of the Pharisees as reported in Matt. xix. 3 “is it lawful to put away one's wife for every cause?” (κατὰ πᾶσαν αἰτίαν), with the saving clause in the reply, μὴ ἐπὶ πορνείᾳ (v. 9), where the text probably owes its form to its Jewish editor.

^c Deut. “if one die and have no son.” Josephus follows tradition (*Baba Bathra* 109a, Weill); so LXX (σπέρμα) and Matt. xxii. 24 with parallels (τέκνον, ἄτεκνος).

JOSEPHUS

καὶ τὸν παῖδα τὸν γεν<ησ>όμενον¹ τῷ τοῦ τεθνεῶ-
τος καλέσας ὀνόματι τρεφέτω τοῦ κλήρου διάδοχον·
τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ τοῖς δημοσίοις λυσιτελήσει γιγνό-
μενον τῶν οἴκων οὐκ ἐκλείπόντων καὶ τῶν χρη-
μάτων τοῖς συγγενέσι μερόντων, καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶ
κουφισμόν οἴσει τῆς συμφορᾶς τοῖς ἔγγιστα τῶν
255 προτέρων ἀνδρῶν συνοικούσαις. εἴαν δὲ μὴ βού-
ληται γαμεῖν ὁ ἀδελφός, ἐπὶ τὴν γερουσίαν ἔλθοῦσα
ἢ γυνὴ μαρτυράσθω τοῦθ', ὅτι βουλομένην αὐτὴν
ἐπὶ τοῦ οἴκου μένειν καὶ τεκνοῦν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μὴ
προσδέχοιτο ὑβρίζων τὴν τοῦ τεθνηκότος ἀδελφοῦ
μνήμην. ἐρομένης δὲ τῆς γερουσίας, διὰ ποίαν
αἰτίαν ἀλλοτρίως ἔχοι πρὸς τὸν γάμον, ἂν τε
μικρὰν ἂν τε μείζω λέγῃ, πρὸς ταῦτα² ῥεπέτω·
256 ὑπολύσασα δ' αὐτὸν ἢ γυνὴ τὰδελφοῦ τὰ σάνδαλα
καὶ πτύσασα³ αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον τούτων
αὐτὸν ἄξιον εἶναι παρ' αὐτῆς λεγέτω τυγχάνειν
ὑβρίσαντα τὴν τοῦ κατοικομένου μνήμην. καὶ ὁ
μὲν ἐκ τῆς γερουσίας ἀπίτω τοῦτ' ἔχων ὄνειδος
πρὸς ἅπαντα τὸν βίον, ἢ δ' ὡπερ ἂν βουλευθῆ τι
257 τῶν δεομένων γαμείσθω. ἂν δ' αἰχμάλωτόν τις
λάβῃ παρθένον ἂν τε καὶ γεγαμημένην, βουλομένην
συνοικεῖν μὴ πρότερον ἐξέστω εὐνῆς ἄψασθαι καὶ
κοινωνίας, πρὶν ἢ ξυραμένην αὐτὴν καὶ πένθιμον
σχῆμα ἀναλαβοῦσαν ἀποθρηνηῆσαι συγγενεῖς καὶ
258 φίλους τοὺς ἀπολωλότας ἐν τῇ μάχῃ, ὅπως τὸ ἐπ'
αὐτοῖς κορέσασα λυπηρὸν ἔπειθ' οὕτως ἐπ' εὐωχίας
τράπηται καὶ γάμους· καλὸν γὰρ εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον

¹ γενόμενον (γεννώμενον) codd.

² Reinach: ταῦτα codd.

³ πτύουσα ROM.

^a Deut. draws no such distinction, "when thou . . . seest among the captives a beautiful woman"; tradition, cited

shall call the child that shall be born by the name of the deceased and rear him as heir to the estate; for this will at once be profitable to the public welfare, houses not dying out and property remaining with the relatives, and it will moreover bring the women an alleviation of their misfortune to live with the nearest kinsman of their former husbands. But if the brother be unwilling to marry her, let the woman come before the council of elders and testify that, while she desired to remain in this family and to have children by him, he would not accept her, thereby doing outrage to the memory of his deceased brother. And when the council ask him for what reason he is opposed to the marriage, be his alleged reason slight or serious, the result shall be the same: the wife of his brother shall loose his sandals and spit in his face and declare that he merits this treatment from her for having outraged the memory of the departed. Then let him quit the council of elders to carry this reproach throughout his life, while she shall be free to marry any suitor whom she will.

“Should a man have taken prisoner whether a virgin Deut. xxi. 10. or a woman who has already been married ^a and wish to live with her, let him not be permitted to approach her couch and consort with her until such time as, with shorn hair and in mourning apparel, she shall have made lamentation for the kinsmen and friends whom she has lost in the battle, in order that she may satisfy her grief for them before turning to the festivities and ceremonies of marriage. For it is honourable and just that, in taking her to bear him

by Weill, permitted marriage with a captive previously married (*sc.* to a Gentile).

JOSEPHUS

παιδοποιὸν παραλαμβάνοντα θεραπεύειν αὐτῆς τὸ βουλευτόν, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὴν ἰδίαν ἡδονὴν διώκοντα
 259 μόνον τοῦ κατ' αὐτὴν ἀμελεῖν κεχαρισμένου. τριάκοντα δ' ἡμερῶν τῷ πένθει διελθουσῶν, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς δακρύοις αὐται τῶν φιλτάτων ταῖς φρονίμοις, τότε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν γάμον. εἰ δ' ἐμπλησθεῖς τῆς ἐπιθυμίας ὑπερηφανεύσειεν αὐτὴν γαμετὴν ἔχειν, μηκέτ' ἔξουσίαν ἐχέτω καταδουλοῦν αὐτὴν, ἀλλ' ὅπη βούλεται χωρεῖν ἀπίτω τοῦτο ἐλεύθερον ἔχουσα.

260 (24) "Ὅσοι δ' ἂν τῶν νέων περιφρονῶσι τοὺς γονεῖς καὶ τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῖς μὴ νέμωσιν ἢ δι' αἰσχύνην ἢ δι' ἀσυνεσίαν¹ ἐξυβρίζοντες εἰς αὐτούς, πρῶτον μὲν λόγοις αὐτοὺς νουθετεῖτωσαν οἱ πατέρες, αὐτάρκεις γὰρ ἐφ' υἰάσιν οὗτοι δικασταί,
 261 συνελθεῖν μὲν ἀλλήλοις οὐχ ἡδονῆς ἔνεκα λέγοντες οὐδὲ τῆς τῶν χρημάτων αὐξήσεως κοινῶν τῶν ἑκατέροις ὑπαρχόντων γενομένων, ἀλλ' ὅπως παίδων τύχωσιν, οἱ γηροκομήσουσιν αὐτοὺς καὶ ὧν ἂν δέωνται παρ' αὐτῶν ἔξουσι, "γενόμενόν τέ σε² μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ τοῦ τῷ θεῷ χάριν εἰδέναι τὴν μεγίστην ἀράμενοι διὰ σπουδῆς ἀνεθρέψαμεν μηδενὸς φειδῶ ποιούμενοι τοῦ καὶ δόξαντος εἰς σωτηρίαν τὴν σὴν καὶ παιδείαν τῶν ἀρίστων
 262 εἶναι χρησίμου. νῦν δέ, συγγνώμην γὰρ χρῆ³ νέμειν ἐφ' ἁμαρτήμασι νέων, ἀπόχρη σοι ὅσα τῆς εἰς ἡμᾶς τιμῆς ὠλιγόρησας, καὶ μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς

¹ ex Lat. (propter insipientiam): δι' ἀσύνεσιν R: διὰ σύνεσιν rell.

² τέ σε Niese: τε RO: δέ γε rell.

³ RO: δεῖ rell.

^a i.e. smarting under some disgrace; such seems to be
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children, he should respect her wishes, and that he should not, intent solely on his own pleasure, neglect what may be agreeable to her. But when thirty days for the mourning are past—for that period should suffice sensible women for tears for their dearest ones—then let him proceed to the nuptials. Should he, however, sated with his passion, disdain to keep her as his spouse, he shall have no right thenceforth to make her his slave; let her go whither she will and have that liberty granted to her.

(24) "With regard to those youths who scorn their parents and pay them not the honour that is due, but whether by reason of disgrace^a or through witlessness, break out insolently against them, first of all let the parents orally admonish them,^b for they have the authority of judges over their sons. Let them tell them that they came together in matrimony not for pleasure's sake, nor to increase their fortunes by uniting their several properties in one, but that they might have children who should tend their old age and who should receive from them everything that they needed. 'And when thou wast born,' they shall proceed, 'it was with joy and deepest thankfulness to God that we raised thee up and devoted our utmost care to thine upbringing, sparing nothing that appeared profitable for thy welfare and training in all that was best. But now—since indulgence must be accorded to the errors of youth—have done with all that scorn of respect towards us and return to

Rebellious
children.
Deut
xxi. 13.

the meaning. The Biblical phrase is "a stubborn and rebellious son." For the Rabbinical treatment of the subject see the Mishnah, *Sanhedrin* viii. 1-5 (tr. H. Danby).

^b Bibl. "chasten him," probably including corporal punishment. The Mishnah speaks of his being "warned in the presence of three witnesses and beaten" (*ibid.* viii. 4).

- τὸ σωφρονέστερον, λογισάμενος καὶ τὸν θεὸν ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰς πατέρας τολμωμένοις χαλεπῶς ἔχειν, ὅτι καὶ αὐτὸς πατὴρ τοῦ παντὸς ἀνθρώπων γένους ἐστὶ καὶ συνατιμούσθαι δοκεῖ τοῖς τὴν αὐτὴν αὐτῷ προσηγορίαν ἔχουσιν οὐχ ὧν προσῆκεν αὐτοῖς παρὰ τῶν παίδων τυγχανόντων, καὶ νόμος κολαστῆς γίνεται τῶν τοιούτων ἀπαραίτητος, οὗ σὺ μὴ
- 263 πειραθείης.” κὰν μὲν τούτοις θεραπεύηται τὸ τῶν νέων αὐθαδες, ἀπαλλαττέσθωσαν τῶν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἡγνοημένοις ὄνειδῶν· οὕτως γὰρ ἂν ὁ τε νομοθέτης ἀγαθὸς εἴη καὶ οἱ πατέρες εὐτυχεῖς οὐκ ἐπιδόντες οὔτε υἱὸν κολαζόμενον οὔτε θυγατέρα.
- 264 ᾧ δ¹ ἂν οἱ λόγοι καὶ ἡ παρ’ αὐτῶν διδασκαλία τοῦ σωφρονεῖν τὸ μηδὲν εἶναι φανῶσιν, ἐχθροὺς δ’ ἀσπόνδους αὐτῷ ποιῆ τοὺς νόμους τοῖς συνεχέσι κατὰ τῶν γονέων τολμήμασι, προαχθεῖς ὑπ’ αὐτῶν τούτων ἔξω τῆς πόλεως τοῦ πλήθους ἐπομένου καταλευέσθω καὶ μείνας δι’ ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας εἰς θέαν τὴν ἀπάντων θαπτέσθω νυκτός.
- 265 οὕτως δὲ καὶ οἱ ὅπως οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν νόμων ἀναιρεθῆναι κατακριθέντες. θαπτέσθωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ πολέμοι καὶ νεκρὸς μηδὲ εἰς ἄμοιρος γῆς κείσθω περαιτέρω τοῦ δικαίου τιμωρίαν ἐκτίνων.
- 266 (25) “ Δανείζειν δ’ Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τόκοις ἐξέστω μηδενὶ μήτε βρωτὸν μήτε ποτόν· οὐ γὰρ δίκαιον προσοδεύεσθαι τοῦ ὁμοφύλου τὰς τύχας, ἀλλὰ

¹ ᾧ δ¹ Bekker ex Lat.: οὐδ’ (εἰ δ’ etc.) codd.

^a In Scripture and in tradition (see Weill) the law applies only to sons.

^b According to the Mishnah, after trial by a court of twenty-three judges, including the three witnesses previously mentioned (*Sanhedrin, loc. cit.*).

saner ways, reflecting that God also is distressed at acts of effrontery to a father, since He is himself Father of the whole human race and regards himself as a partner in the indignity done to those who bear the same title as himself, when they obtain not from their children that which is their due. And then there is the Law—that chastiser of all such, and inexorable: never mayest thou make trial of that! If, then, by such means the young men's contumacy is cured, let them be spared further reproach for their sins of ignorance; for thus will be shown the goodness of the lawgiver, while the parents will be happy in seeing neither son nor daughter^a delivered to punishment. But the youth with whom these words and the lesson in sobriety conveyed by them appear to pass for naught and who makes for himself implacable enemies of the laws by continuous defiance of his parents, let him^b be led forth by their own hands without the city, followed by the multitude, and stoned to death; and, after remaining for the whole day exposed to the general view, let him be buried at night.^c Thus shall it be too with all who howsoever are condemned by the laws to be put to death. Let burial be given even to your enemies; and let not a corpse be left without its portion of earth,^d paying more than its just penalty.

Burial of
criminals
and
enemies.
Deut.
xxi. 22.

(25) "Let it not be permitted to lend upon usury to any Hebrew either meat or drink; for it is not just to draw a revenue from the misfortunes of a fellow-

Usury.
Ib. xxiii. 19
(20), etc.

^c Cf. § 202 note.

^d Such *e.g.* was the practice of Tobit (Tob. i. 18, ii. 8). But the phrase "portionless (of earth)" is reminiscent of Sophocles, the favourite poet of this assistant of Josephus: cf. *Ajax* 1326 τὰ φῆς ἀμοιβῶν, *Ant.* 1071 (the later play, turning on the burial of enemies, is doubtless in mind).

JOSEPHUS

- βοηθήσαντας ταῖς χρείαις αὐτοῦ κέρδος εἶναι νομίζειν τὴν τ' ἐκείνων εὐχαριστίαν καὶ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν τὴν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενησομένην ἐπὶ τῇ χρηστότητι.
- 267 (26) “Οἱ δὲ λαβόντες εἴτε ἀργύρια εἴτε τινὰ τῶν καρπῶν, ὑγρὸν ἢ ξηρὸν, κατὰ νοῦν αὐτοῖς τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ χωρησάντων κομίζοντες μεθ' ἡδονῆς ἀποδιδότωσαν τοῖς δοῦσιν ὥσπερ ἀποθέμενοι εἰς τὰ αὐτῶν καὶ πάλιν εἰ δεηθεῖεν ἔξοντες.
- 268 ἂν δὲ ἀναισχυντῶσι περὶ τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, μὴ περὶ τὴν οἰκίαν βαδίσαντας ἐνεχυριάζειν πρὶν ἢ δίκη περὶ τούτου γένηται· τὸ δ' ἐνέχυρον αἰτεῖν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ὀφείλοντα κομίζειν δι' αὐτοῦ μηδὲν ἀντιλέγοντα τῷ μετὰ νόμου βοηθείας ἐπ' αὐτὸν
- 269 ἦκοντι. κἂν μὲν εὐπορος ἦ ὁ ἠνεχυρασμένος, κατεχέτω τοῦτο μέχρι τῆς ἀποδόσεως ὁ δεδανεικῶς, ἂν δὲ πένης, ἀποτιθέτω πρὶν ἡλίου δυσμῶν, καὶ μάλιστ' ἂν ἱμάτιον ἢ τὸ ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως εἰς ὕπνον ἔχη τοῦτο, φύσει τοῦ θεοῦ τοῖς πενομένοις ἔλεον
- 270 νέμοντος. μύλην δὲ καὶ τὰ περὶ ταύτην σκεύη μὴ ἐξεῖναι λαμβάνειν ἐνέχυρον, ὅπως μὴ στερῶνται καὶ τῶν πρὸς τὰ σιτία ὀργάνων μηδ' ὑπ' ἐνδείας πάθωσί τι τῶν χειρόνων.
- 271 (27) “Ἐπ' ἀνθρώπου μὲν κλοπῇ θάνατος ἔστω ζημία, ὁ δὲ χρυσὸν ἢ ἄργυρον ὑφελόμενος τὸ διπλοῦν ἀποτινέτω. κτείνας δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς κατ'

^a Exodus, Heb. text, (generally) “ a man ” : Deut. (more
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countryman. Rather, in succouring his distress, ye should reckon as gain the gratitude of such persons and the recompense which God has in store for an act of generosity.

(26) "Those who have borrowed whether silver or produce of any kind, liquid or solid, if their affairs through God's grace proceed to their liking, shall bring back and with pleasure restore these loans to the lenders, as though they were laying them up with their own possessions and would have them again at need. But if they are shameless concerning restitution, one must not prowl about the house to seize a pledge before judgement has been given on the matter; the pledge should be asked for at the door, and the debtor should bring it of himself, in no wise gainsaying his visitor who comes with the law to support him. If he from whom the pledge has been taken be well-to-do, the lender should retain possession of it until restitution be made; but if he be poor, the lender should return it before sun-down, above all if the pledge consist of a cloak, that he may have it for his sleep, God by His nature according pity to the poor. But a mill and its accompanying utensils may not be taken in pledge, that folk be not deprived of the very means of preparing their food nor be reduced by want to the worst sufferings.

Loans and pledges.

Dent. xxiv. 10 f.

Ib. 12 f. (Ex. xxii. 26).

Ib. 6.

(27) "For the stealing of a person^a the penalty shall be death; the purloiner of gold or silver shall pay double the sum.^b He that killeth another while en-

Theft. *Ib.* 7: Ex. xxi. 16.

precisely) "any of his brethren of the children of Israel." The limitation of the death-penalty to the case of a free-born Israelite is emphasized in tradition (Weill).

^b In Ex. xxii. 4 the "double" penalty applies to stolen animals found alive in the thief's hands: money is not mentioned

JOSEPHUS

οἶκον κλεπτομένοις τις ἀθῶος ἔστω κἂν ἦ¹ πρὸς
 272 διορύγματι τειχίου. βόσκημα δὲ ὁ κλέψας τε-
 τραπλὴν τὴν ζημίαν ἀποτινέτω πλὴν βοός, πεν-
 ταπλὴν δ' ὑπὲρ τούτου καταβαλλέτω. ὁ δὲ τὸ
 ἐπιτίμιον ἄπορος διαλύσασθαι δοῦλος ἔστω τοῖς
 καταδικασμένοις.²

273 (28) " Πραθεῖς δὲ ὁμοφύλῳ τις ἐξ ἔτη δουλεύετω,
 τῷ δ' ἐβδόμῳ ἐλεύθερος ἀφείσθω. εἰ δὲ τέκνων
 αὐτῷ γενομένων ἐκ δούλης παρὰ τῷ πριαμένῳ
 διὰ τὴν εὖνοιαν καὶ τὴν πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία φιλο-
 στοργίαν βούληται δουλεύειν, ἐνιαυτοῦ ἐνστάντος
 τοῦ ἰοβήλου, πεντηκοστὸς δὲ ἐνιαυτός ἐστιν,
 ἐλευθερούσθω καὶ τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα ἐλευ-
 θέραν ἐπαγόμενος.

274 (29) " Ἐὰν δέ τις ἢ χρυσίον ἢ ἀργύριον εὔρη
 καθ' ὁδόν, ἐπιζητήσας τὸν ἀπολωλεκότα καὶ κη-
 ρύξας τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ εὔρεν ἀποδότω, τὴν ἐκ τῆς
 ἐτέρου ζημίας ὠφέλειαν οὐκ ἀγαθὴν ὑπολαμβάνων.
 ὁμοίως καὶ περὶ βοσκημάτων οἷς ἂν ἐντύχη τις
 κατ' ἐρημίαν πλανωμένοις· μὴ εὐρεθέντος [δὲ]³ τοῦ
 κυρίου παραχρῆμα παρ' αὐτῷ φυλαττέτω μαρτυρά-
 μενος τὸν θεὸν μὴ νοσφίζεσθαι ἀλλότρια.

¹ Bernard: *ei* codd.

² καταδικασμένοις MPLE.

³ *ins.* E: *om.* rell.

^o *i.e.* had not got beyond the stage of digging through it. Josephus omits the proviso added in Exodus, "If the sun be risen upon him, there shall be bloodguiltiness," in other words, as interpreted by Philo, *εἰ δ' ἥλιος ἀνάσχοι μηκέθ ὁμοίως αὐτοχειρὶα κτεινέσθω, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς ἀρχοντας καὶ δικαστὰς ἀγέσθω* (ii. 337 M., quoted by Weill, who adds another fanciful interpretation).

^b *i.e.* "an ox or a sheep" (Ex.): Josephus again omits the Scriptural proviso "and kill it or sell it."

^c In Ex., as the text stands, this refers only to the house-

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 271-274

gaged in burglary shall be innocent, even though the thief were yet but breaking through his wall.^a He that stealeth a head of cattle ^b shall pay fourfold as penalty, save in the case of an ox, for which he shall be fined fivefold. He that hath not the means to defray the imposed amount shall become the slave of those who have had him condemned.^c

(28) "A Hebrew sold to another Hebrew shall serve him for six years: in the seventh let him go free.^d But if, having had children by a slave woman at the house of the master who bought him, he, out of love and affection for his own,^e desires to continue to serve him, then on the coming of the year of jubilee—which returns every fifty years—let him be liberated, taking his children and wife, also free, along with him.^f

(29) "If anyone find gold or silver on the road, after diligent search for the loser and public proclamation of the place where he found it,^g let him duly restore it, reckoning it dishonest to profit by another's loss. Similarly in the case of beasts which one meets straying in a desert place; but if the owner be not found forthwith, let him keep them at his home, calling God to witness that he has not appropriated the goods of another.

breaker, but the verses have perhaps been displaced (Driver): the law as applied to housebreakers is found in *A. xvi. § 3*, of theft in general in Philo and Jewish *Halachah* (Weill).

^d And his wife, if he has one (Ex. xxi. 3).

^e The neut. ("his own" or "his home surroundings") includes his master, Ex. xxi. 5.

^f In Scripture the master bores the ear of the willing servant, and he serves him "for ever": the jubilee is not mentioned here.

^g Detail not in Scripture, but attested by tradition (Weill).

Ex. xxii. 2.

lb. 1.

lb. 3.

Slavery and emancipation.

lb. xxi. 2:

Deut. xv. 12.

Restitution of lost property.

lb. xxii. 1.

JOSEPHUS

- 275 (30) " Μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ παριέναι κτηνῶν τινη κακοπαθούντων ὑπὸ χειμῶνος πεπτωκότων ἐν πηλῷ, συνδιασώζειν δὲ καὶ τὸν πόνον οἰκεῖον ἠγῆσάμενον βοηθεῖν.
- 276 (31) " Μηνύειν δὲ καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι, καὶ μὴ γέλωτα θηρωμένους αὐτοῖς ἐμποδίζειν πλάνη τὴν ἑτέρου χρεῖαν.
- (32) " Ὅμοίως μηδὲ βλασφημεῖτω τις τὸν ἄοπτον¹ καὶ τὸν ἐνεόν.
- 277 (33) " Ἐν μάχῃ τις, ὅπου μὴ σίδηρος, πληγεῖς παραχρῆμα μὲν ἀποθανὼν ἐκδικεῖσθω ταῦτόν παθόντος τοῦ πεπληχότος. ἂν δὲ κομισθεὶς παρ' ἑαυτὸν καὶ νοσήσας ἐπὶ πλείονας ἡμέρας ἔπειτ' ἀποθάνῃ, ἀθῶος ἔστω ὁ πλήξας, σωθέντος δὲ καὶ πολλὰ δαπανήσαντος εἰς τὴν νοσηλείαν ἀποτινέτω πάνθ' ὅσα παρὰ τὸν χρόνον τῆς κατακλίσεως
- 278 ἀνάλωσε καὶ ὅσα τοῖς ἰατροῖς ἔδωκεν. ὁ γυναῖκα λακτίσας ἔγκυον, ἂν μὲν ἐξαμβλώσῃ ἢ γυνὴ ζημιούσθω χρήμασιν ὑπὸ τῶν δικαστῶν ὡς παρὰ τὸ διαφθαρὲν ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ μειώσας τὸ πλήθος, διδώσθω δὲ καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρ' αὐτοῦ

¹ SP: ἀπόντα rell.: ἄοπον Bernard.

^a Scripture speaks of "making the blind to wander out of the way," "putting a stumbling-block before the blind." Josephus, by generalizing the statement, seems to put into the mouth of Moses a refutation of the scandalous precept attributed to him in the historian's day, "non monstrare vias eadem nisi sacra colenti" (Juv. Sat. xiv. 103).

^b Text and meaning doubtful. For the first adjective most mss. have the erroneous reading "the absent"; the mss. followed in the text have a word which in its one occurrence elsewhere means "unseen" (not "unseeing"); a

(30) "It is not permissible to pass by unheeding, when a man's beasts of burden, buffeted by tempest, have fallen in the mire; one must help to rescue them and lend aid as though one laboured for oneself.

Assistance to beasts in distress. Deut. xxii. 4.

(31) "One must point out the road to those who are ignorant of it, and not, for the pleasure of laughing oneself, impede another's business by misleading him.^a

Directions on the road. Ib. xxvii. 18 (Lev. xix. 14).

(32) "Similarly, let none revile the sightless or the dumb.^b

Respect for blind and dumb.

(33) "In a fight without use of the blade,^c if one be stricken and die on the spot, he shall be avenged by a like fate for him that struck him. But if he be carried home and lie sick for several days before he dies, he that struck him shall go unpunished; howbeit, if he recover and hath spent much on his doctoring, the other shall pay all that he hath expended during the time of his confinement to his couch and all that he hath given to the physicians.^d He that kicketh a woman with child, if the woman miscarry, shall be fined by the judges for having, by the destruction of the fruit of her womb, diminished the population, and a further sum shall be presented by

Cf. Lev. xix. 14. Quarrels and bodily injuries. Ex. xxi. 18, 12, 21.

Ib. 22.

similar word (*ἀσπον*) has been conjectured meaning "speechless." The passage in Leviticus mentions "deaf" and "blind."

^c Paraphrase of the Biblical "if men contend and one smiteth the other with a stone or with his fist."

^d Josephus here amalgamates two separate laws in Exodus: (1) *vv.* 18 f. relating to quarrels; (2) *vv.* 20 f. relating to the beating of a slave by his master. The last clause corresponds to the Heb. "he shall pay for *shibtō* and shall cause him to be thoroughly healed"; here *shibtō* may mean either "his sitting down" (from *yāshab*, as Josephus takes it) or "his cessation" *i.e.* "unemployment" (from *shābath*, as LXX takes it, translating by *ἀργίας*).

JOSEPHUS

χρήματα· θνησκούσης δ' ἐκ τῆς πληγῆς καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ψυχὴν ἀντὶ ψυχῆς καταθέσθαι δικαιοῦντος τοῦ νόμου.

- 279 (34) “Φάρμακον μήτε θανάσιμον μήτε τῶν εἰς ἄλλας βλάβας πεποιημένων Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐχέτω μηδὲ εἰς· ἐὰν δὲ κεκτημένος φωραθῆ τεθνάτω, τοῦτο πάσχων ὃ διέθηκεν ἂν ἐκείνους καθ' ὧν τὸ φάρμακον ἦν παρεσκευασμένον.
- 280 (35) “[‘Ο]¹ πηρώσας πασχέτω [τὰ ὅμοια]² στερούμενος οὐπὲρ ἄλλον ἐστέρησε, πλὴν εἰ μήτι χρήματα λαβεῖν ἐθελήσειεν ὁ πεπηρωμένος, αὐτὸν τὸν πεπονθότα κύριον τοῦ νόμου ποιοῦντος τιμήσασθαι τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος καὶ συγχωροῦντος, εἰ μὴ βούλεται γενέσθαι πικρότερος.
- 281 (36) “Βοῦν τοῖς κέρασι πλήττοντα ὁ δεσπότης ἀποσφαττέτω· εἰ δ' ἐφ' ἄλως κτείνειέ τινα πλήξας, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλευσθεῖς ἀποθνησκέτω μηδ' εἰς τροφὴν εὐχρηστος εἶναι κατηξιωμένος, ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ὁ δεσπότης ἐλέγχηται προειδῶς αὐτοῦ τὴν φύσιν καὶ μὴ φυλαξάμενος, καὶ αὐτὸς ἀποθνησκέτω ὡς αἷτιος τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ βοῦς ἀνηρημένω
- 282 γεγενημένος. ἐὰν δὲ δοῦλον ἢ θεράπαιναν ἀπο-

¹ om. RO.

² om. R.

^a Misunderstanding of Scripture, which (though the text is uncertain) appears to contemplate one fine only payable to the husband; and so tradition (Weill).

^b The traditional interpretation of the Heb. “if any mischief happen”; LXX and Philo interpret otherwise.

^c The nearest Biblical parallel to this section is Ex. xxii. 18, “thou shalt not suffer a sorceress (LXX φαρμακούς) to live.” On that passage Philo ii. 315 ff. M. dilates on poison.

^d i.e. ask an exorbitant sum. Scripture names no alternative to the *talio*, “eye for eye” etc. Josephus here approximates to the ruling of the Pharisees who, in contrast

him to the woman's husband.^a If she die of the blow,^b he also shall die, the law claiming as its due the sacrifice of life for life.

(34) "Poison, whether deadly or of those designed for other injurious ends, let no Israelite possess; if one be caught with it in his keeping, let him die, undergoing the fate that he would have inflicted on the intended victims of the drug.^c" Poison forbidden.

(35) "He that maimeth a man shall undergo the like, being deprived of that limb whereof he deprived the other, unless indeed the maimed man be willing to accept money; for the law empowers the victim himself to assess the damage that has befallen him and makes this concession, unless he would show himself too severe.^d" Lex talionis.
Ex. xxi. 24:
Lev. xxiv. 19.

(36) "An ox that goreth with its horns shall be slaughtered by its owner.^e If on the threshing-floor it killeth any man by goring him, it shall itself be stoned to death and rejected as unfit even for consumption; but if the owner himself be convicted of having known of its nature beforehand and taken no precautions,^f he also shall die,^g as answerable for the death of the beast's victim. If a slave or a maid-

The vicious
ox.
Ex. xxi. 28.

to the Sadducees, substituted damages; these, however, were fixed not by the injured individual, but by the competent tribunal (*Baba Kamma* 83b, with Weill's note). Ib. 32.

^e According to Scripture, only if it has caused a death. An ox with known vicious propensities must be "kept in" but need not be slaughtered. However, as Weill remarks, the statement of Josephus finds support in a saying attributed to R. Eliezer, "The best precaution is a knife"; similarly LXX for "keep in" substitutes ἀφανίσθη, "make away with (him)."

^f Bibl. "hath not kept him (in)."

^g Josephus ignores v. 30, which admits of a money compensation in lieu of death. According to Philo (ii. 323 M.), the court decides ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ἢ ἀποτίσαι.

κτείνη βοῦς, αὐτὸς μὲν καταλιθούσθω, τριάκοντα δὲ σίκλους ὁ κύριος τοῦ βοῦς ἀποτινέτω τῷ δεσπότη τοῦ ἀνηρημένου. βοῦς δὲ εἰς οὕτως πληγείς ἀποθάνη, πωλείσθωσαν καὶ ὁ τεθνεὺς καὶ ὁ πλήξας καὶ τὴν τιμὴν τὴν ἀμφοτέρων οἱ δεσπότες αὐτῶν διανεμέσθωσαν.

- 283 (37) “Οἱ φρέαρ ἢ λάκκον ὀρύξαντες ἐπιμελὲς ποιείσθωσαν ὥστε σανίδων ἐπιβολαῖς ἔχειν κεκλεισμένα, οὐχ ὅπως τινὲς εἴργονται ὑδρείας, ἀλλ’
 284 ἵνα μηδεὶς κίνδυνος ὡς ἐμπεισομένοις ᾗ. οὐ δ’ ἂν εἰς ὄρυγμα τοιοῦτον μὴ κλειστὸν ἐμπεισὸν βόσκημά τινος διαφθαρῆ, τὴν τιμὴν αὐτοῦ τῷ δεσπότη καταβαλλέτω. περιβαλλέσθω δὲ καὶ τοῖς στέγεσιν ἅπερ ὡς ἀντὶ τείχους ὄντα οὐκ ἔασι τινὰς ἀποκυλισθέντας ἀπολέσθαι.
- 285 (38) “Παρακαταθήκην δὲ ὥσπερ ἱερόν τι καὶ θεῖον χρῆμα ὁ παραλαβὼν φυλακῆς ἀξιούτω, καὶ μηδεὶς ἀποστερηῆσαι θρασυνθείη τὸν πεπιστευκότα μήτ’ ἀνὴρ μήτε γυνή, μηδ’ εἰ χρυσὸν ἄπειρον μέλλοι κερδαίνειν, καταφρονῶν τῷ μηδένα εἶναι
 286 τὸν ἐξελέγξοντα. καθόλου μὲν γὰρ τὸ συνειδὸς ἐπιστάμενον τὸ αὐτοῦ προσῆκεν ἕκαστον εὖ πράττειν, καὶ μάρτυρι ἀρκούμενος αὐτῷ πάντα ποιείτω ἅ παρ’ ἄλλων ἔπαινον αὐτῷ παρέξει, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν θεόν, ὃν οὐδεὶς πονηρὸς ὢν λανθάνει.
 287 εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἐπίβουλον δρῶν ὁ πιστευθεὶς ἀπολέσειεν,

^a In Scripture apparently only the live ox is sold : the dead beast is literally “divided” between them. Josephus omits the special provisions of v. 36.

^b *i.e.* at night, the roof being the usual sleeping-place in the east ; Deut., more generally, speaks of a “fall.” It has been suggested that Josephus, in uniting two laws (concerning wells and battlements) which are separated in

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servant be killed by an ox, it shall be stoned, and the owner of the ox shall pay thirty shekels to the victim's master. If it be an ox that is killed by such a stroke, let them be sold, both the dead beast and its assailant, and let their owners divide the price of the pair between them.^a Ex. xxi. 35.

(37) "They that dig a well or a pit are to take care to keep them closed in by laying planks above, not to preclude any from drawing water, but to avoid all risk of falling into them. Should any man have a cavity of such sort not closed, and another man's beast fall into it and perish, he shall pay the price of it to its owner. Let roofs also be surrounded by something in the nature of a wall, to prevent any from rolling off^b and being killed. Safeguards
for wells
and roofs.
Ib. 33.
Deut. xxii. 8

(38) "Let the receiver of a deposit^c esteem it worthy of custody as of some sacred and divine object,^d and let none venture to defraud him that entrusted it to him, neither man nor woman, no not though he might make gain of untold gold, in the assurance of having none to convict him. For by all means,^e from the mere knowledge that he has of his own conscience, ought everyone to act aright—let him be content with that for witness and do all that will bring him praise from others—but chiefly from his knowledge of God, whose eye no criminal escapes. But if, without any act of treachery, the depositary lose the deposit, let him come before the Deposits.
Ex. xxii. 7.
Ib. 8, 11.

Scripture, is following the lead of Philo, who does the same (ii. 324 M.).

^c Cf. *Ap.* ii. 208, 216.

^d Philo (ii. 341 M.) uses the same phrase, λαβὼν ὡς ἱερὸν χρῆμα παρακαταθήκην (and a little above ἱερώτατον παρακαταθήκη).

^e Or "to be sure" (καθόλου = Lat. *omnino*).

JOSEPHUS

- ἀφικόμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ἑπτὰ κριτὰς ὀμνύτω τὸν θεόν, ὅτι μηδέν¹ παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ βούλησιν ἀπόλοιτο καὶ κακίαν, οὐδὲ χρησαμένου τινὶ μέρει αὐτῆς, καὶ οὕτως ἀνεπαιτίatos ἀπίτω. χρησάμενος δὲ κἂν ἐλαχίστω μέρει τῶν πεπιστευμένων, ἂν² ἀπολέσας τύχη τὰ λοιπά, πάντα ἂ ἔλαβεν ἀπο-
- 288 δοῦναι κατεγνώσθω. ὁμοίως δὲ τῷ περὶ παρακαταθηκῶν κἂν μισθόν τις ἀποστερήσῃ τῶν ἐπὶ σώμασι τοῖς αὐτῶν ἐργαζομένων, μεμισήσθω· ὅθεν³ οὐκ ἀποστερητέον ἀνδρὸς πένητος μισθόν, εἰδότας ὡς ἀντὶ γῆς καὶ τῶν ἄλλων κτημάτων ὁ θεὸς αὐτῷ τοῦτον εἶη παρεσχηκῶς· ἀλλὰ μηδὲ ἀναβάλλεσθαι τὴν ἀπόδοσιν, ἀλλ' αὐθημερὸν ἐκτίνειν ὡς οὐ βουλομένου τοῦ θεοῦ τῆς ἐξ ὧν πεπόνθηκε χρήσεως ὑστερεῖν τὸν εἰργασμένον.⁴
- 289 (39) “Παῖδας ὑπὲρ ἀδικίας πατέρων μὴ κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν οἴκτου μάλλον ἀξιούν, ὅτι μοχθηρῶν ἐγένοντο πατέρων, ἢ μίσους φύντας⁵ ἐκ φαύλων. οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ πατράσιν υἱῶν ἁμαρτίαν λογιστέον, τῶν νέων πολλὰ παρὰ τὴν ἡμετέραν διδασκαλίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπιτρεπόντων ὑπερφηανία τοῦ διδάσκεσθαι.
- 290 (40) “Γάλλους ἐκτρέπεσθαι καὶ σύνοδον φεύγειν τὴν μετ' αὐτῶν ἀφελομένων αὐτοὺς τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸν τῆς παιδοποιίας καρπὸν, ὃν ἀνθρώποις ἐπ' αὐξήσει τοῦ γένους ἡμῖν ὁ θεὸς παρέσχεν, ἐλαύνειν

¹ MLE: μηδὲ rell.

² RO: om. rell.

³ μεμισήσθω (M) ὅτι ed. pr.

⁴ ἐργασάμενον RO.

⁵ ed. pr.: φύντες codd.

^a Cf. § 214. Tradition (cited by Weill) mentions a tribunal of three (or five) judges in such cases, not of seven.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 287-290

seven judges^a and swear by God that nothing had been lost through his own intention or malice, and that he had not appropriated any part of it to his own use, and so let him depart exempt from blame. But if he has used but the smallest portion of the trust and happen to have lost the remainder,^b he shall be sentenced to restore all that he received. And as with deposits, so if anyone withhold the wages of those who labour with their bodies, let him be execrated; since^c one must not deprive a poor man of his wages, knowing that this, instead of land and other possessions, is the portion which God has granted him. Nay, one must not even defer payment, but discharge it the selfsame day, for God would not have the labourer kept waiting for the enjoyment of the fruits of his toil.

Wages to be promptly paid.
Deut. xxiv. 14.

(39) "Punish not children for the wrongdoing of their fathers, but by reason of their own virtue deem them deserving rather of pity for having been born of depraved parents than of hatred for their base lineage.^d Nor yet must one impute to the fathers the sin of the sons, for the young permit themselves much that is contrary to our instruction in their disdain of discipline.

Individual responsibility.
Ib. xxiv. 16.

(40) "Shun eunuchs and flee all dealings with those who have deprived themselves of their virility and of those fruits of generation, which God has given to men for the increase of our race; expel them even as

Banning of eunuchs, etc.
Ib. xxiii. 1.

^b I think τὰ λοιπά must be taken as dependent on ἀπολέσας, not (as by Hudson and Weill) with πάντα. Josephus summarizes without strictly following Scripture.

^c Greek "whence" ("wherefore"). For "let him . . . since" one text reads "let him remember that."

^d Reinach, I think needlessly, suspects the text.

JOSEPHUS

- δὲ οὕτως ὡς ἐπὶ τέκνων σφαγῇ καὶ πρὸς τούτῳ¹
 291 ἀπολλύντας τὸ ἐκείνων αἷτιον· δῆλον γάρ, ὡς
 τῆς ψυχῆς αὐτοῖς τεθηλυσμένης μετεκοσμήσαντο
 πρὸς τοῦτο καὶ τὸ σῶμα. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ πᾶν τὸ
 νομιζόμενον τέρας τοῖς ὀρώσι· μὴ ἐξεῖναι δὲ
 ποιεῖν ἐκτομίας μήτε ἀνθρώπους μήτε τῶν ἄλλων
 ζώων.
- 292 (41) “ Αὕτη μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν εἰρηνικὴ τῶν νόμων
 κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν διάταξις ἔστω· καὶ ὁ θεὸς
 εὐμενῆς ἀστασίαστον αὐτῆς τὸν κόσμον παρέξεται,
 γένοιτο δὲ χρόνος μηδὲ εἰς, ὃς καινίσει τι τούτων
 293 καὶ πρὸς τὸ ἐναντίον μεταβαλεῖ. ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀνάγκη
 τὸ ἀνθρώπειον καὶ εἰς ἀβουλήτους ἢ κατὰ προ-
 αῖρεσιν ταραχὰς καὶ κινδύνους ἐμπεσεῖν, φέρε καὶ
 περὶ τούτων βραχέα προσδιατάξωμεν, ὡς ἂν προ-
 εἰδότες ἂ χρεῖ ποιεῖν ἐν τῇ χρεῖα τῶν σωτηρίων
 εὐπορήτε καὶ μὴ τότε ἂ δεῖ ποιεῖν ἐπιζητοῦντες
 ἀπαρασκευάστοι τοῖς καιροῖς περιπέσητε.²
- 294 “ Γῆν ὑμῖν ἦν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε πόνων καταφρονοῦσι
 καὶ ψυχὰς πρὸς ἀρετὴν ἡσκημένοις ἀπόλεμον μὲν
 νέμεσθαι παράσχοι τε³ κεκτημένοις αὐτήν, μήτε
 ἀλλοτρίων εἰς αὐτήν ἐπὶ κακώσει στρατευσάντων
 295 μήτε στάσεως ἐμφυλίου κατασχούσης ὑμᾶς, ὑφ’
 ἧς τάναντία πατράσι τοῖς ἑαυτῶν πράττοντες
 ἀπολεῖτε τὰ ἐκείνοις νομισθέντα, χρώμενοί τε
 νόμοις οὓς ἀγαθοὺς δοκιμάσας ὁ θεὸς παραδίδωσι
 διατελοῖητε· ἔργον δ’ ὅ τι ἂν πολεμικὸν ἢ νῦν

¹ RO: πρὸ τούτων *rell.*: *per hoc Lat.*

² Bekker: *παρπέσητε codd.*

³ τοῖς Dindorf.

^a Another text reads “before them” *i.e.* “before the infants’ birth.”

^b Cf. iii. 287 for a similar transition from civil to military

infanticides who withal^a have destroyed the means of procreation. For plainly it is by reason of the effeminacy of their soul that they have changed the sex of their body also. And so with all that would be deemed a monstrosity by the beholders. Ye shall castrate neither man nor beast.

Cf. Lev. xxii. 24 LXX.

(41) "Such then shall be for you in peace-time^b the legal constitution of your state; and God in His mercy will keep its shapely order unmarred by strife. May there never come a time for amending aught therein and establishing the contrary in its place! Yet since humanity^c must needs be plunged into troubles and perils, be they involuntary or premeditated, come let us append on these matters also some brief ordinances, that, forewarned how ye must act, ye may, in your need, be furnished with the means of salvation, and not then go searching what ye ought to do and plunge unprepared into those times of crisis.

Provisions for war and prayers for peace.

"This land which God hath given to you that are contemptuous of fatigue and whose souls are schooled to valour—may He grant you to occupy it in peace, once ye have conquered it: may neither foreigner invade it for its injury, nor civil strife o'ermaster you, whereby ye shall be led to actions contrary to those of your own fathers and destroy the institutions which they established: and may ye continue to observe laws which God has approved as good and now delivers to you! Yet whatever warfare it may be yours to wage, be it now in your own time or here-matters; and as there, so here, in this "brief appendix" (§ 293), the "Thucydidean" assistant appears to lend his aid.

^c τὸ ἀνθρώπειον, a Thucydidean phrase, characteristic of *A.* xvii.-xix.

JOSEPHUS

296 ὑφ' ὑμῶν ἢ ὕστερον ἐπὶ παίδων ὑμετέρων γένηται
 τοῦθ' ὑπερόριον πραχθείη. μέλλοντας δὲ πολεμεῖν
 πρεσβείαν καὶ κήρυκας πέμπειν παρὰ τοὺς ἔκουσίως
 πολεμίους· πρὸ γὰρ τῶν ὀπλων καλὸν εἶναι χρῆσθαι
 λόγοις πρὸς αὐτοὺς, δηλοῦντας ὅτι καὶ στρατιὰν
 πολλὴν ἔχοντες καὶ ἵππους καὶ ὄπλα καὶ πρὸ
 τούτων εὐμενῆ τὸν θεὸν καὶ σύμμαχον, ὅμως
 ἀξιοῦτε μὴ ἀναγκάζεσθαι πολεμεῖν αὐτοῖς μηδὲ τὰ
 ἐκείνων ἀφαιρουμένους ἀβούλητον αὐτοῖς κέρδος
 297 προσλαμβάνειν. καὶ πειθομένων μὲν καλῶς ὑμᾶς
 ἔχειν τὴν εἰρήνην φυλάττειν, εἰ δὲ φρονοῦντες
 ἐφ' ἑαυτοῖς ὡς ἰσχύι διαφέρουσιν ἀδικεῖν ἐθέλοιεν,
 στρατὸν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀγάγετε,¹ στρατηγῶ μὲν
 αὐτοκράτορι χρώμενοι τῷ θεῷ, ὑποστράτηγον
 δὲ χειροτονήσαντες ἕνα τὸν ἀρετῇ προύχοντα·
 πολυαρχία γὰρ πρὸς τῷ τοῖς ὀξέως τι πράττειν
 ἀνάγκη ἔχουσιν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι καὶ βλάπτειν
 298 πέφυκε τοὺς χρωμένους. στρατὸν δ' ἄγειν καθαρὸν
 ἐκ πάντων τῶν ῥώμη σωμαίων καὶ ψυχῆς εὐ-
 τολμία διαφερόντων τὸ² δειλὸν ἀποκρίναντας,³ μὴ
 τοὺς πολεμίους παρὰ τὸ ἔργον τραπέν εἰς φυγὴν
 ὠφελήσῃ. τοὺς τε νεωστὶ δειμαμένους οἰκίας,
 οἷς οὐπω χρόνος ἀπολαύσεως αὐτῶν ἐνιαύσιος,
 καὶ φυτεύσαντας οὐπω δὲ καρπῶν μετεσχηκότας,
 εἴαν κατὰ χώραν, καὶ τοὺς μνηστευσασμένους δὲ
 καὶ νεωστὶ γεγαμηκότας, μὴ πόθω τούτων φει-
 δόμενοι τοῦ ζῆν καὶ τηροῦντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὴν τού-
 των ἀπόλαυσιν ἐθελοκακήσωσι [περὶ τὰς γυναῖκας].⁴

¹ ἀγάγοιτε RO.

² E: τὸ δὲ codd.

³ M: ἀποκρίνοντας tell.

⁴ om. Lat.

^a στρατηγὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, after Thuc. vi. 72 τοὺς τε στρατη-
 γοὺς καὶ ὀλίγους καὶ αὐτοκράτορας χρῆναι ἐλέσθαι.

after in the days of your children, may this action take place beyond your frontiers.

“When ye are on the verge of war, send an embassy with heralds to your aggressive enemy; for, before taking arms, it is meet to parley with them and to represent that, though possessed of a large army, horses and munitions, and above all blest with God’s gracious favour and support, nevertheless ye desire not to be constrained to make war on them and, in robbing them of what is theirs, to annex to yourselves unwanted profit. If, then, they yield to those representations, it behoves you to keep the peace; but if, confident of their superior strength, they wish to do you wrong, lead out an army against them, taking God for your supreme commander^a and electing as His lieutenant the one man who is pre-eminent for valour; for divided control, besides being a hindrance to those for whom prompt action is imperative, is withal apt to injure those who practise it.^b The army under him must be immaculate, made up of all who excel in vigour of body and hardihood of soul, after rejection of the cowardly, for fear lest they turn to flight during the action to the advantage of the enemy. Those too who have lately built themselves houses and have not yet had a year to enjoy them, with those who have planted and have not yet partaken of the fruits, must be left on the land, as also the betrothed and recently married, lest regret for these things should make them chary of their lives and, reserving themselves to enjoy them, they deliberately shirk danger.

Preliminaries before battle. Deut. xx. 10.

Ib. 1, 4.

Ib. 5-8 (xxiv. 5).

^b After Thuc. *ibid.* μέγα δὲ βλάβηαι καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν στρατηγῶν καὶ τὴν πολυαρχίαν.

- 299 (42) " Στρατοπεδευσάμενοι δὲ προνοεῖσθε, μὴ τῶν τῶν δυσχερεστέρων ἐργάσησθε. πολιορκοῦντας δὲ καὶ ξύλων ἀπορουμένους εἰς ποίησιν μηχανημάτων μὴ κείρειν τὴν γῆν ἡμερα δένδρα κόπτοντας ἀλλὰ φείδεσθαι, λογιζομένους ἐπ' ὠφελείᾳ ταῦτα τῶν ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι, καὶ φωνῆς ἂν εὐπορήσαντα δικαιολογήσασθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὡς οὐδὲν αἷτια τοῦ πολέμου γεγονότα πάσχοι κακῶς παρὰ δίκην, εἰ δύναιμι αὐτοῖς ἦν καὶ μετοικήσαντα ἂν καὶ πρὸς
300 ἄλλην μεταβάντα γῆν. κρατήσαντες δὲ τῇ μάχῃ τοὺς ἀντιταξαμένους κτείνατε, τοὺς δ' ἄλλους εἰς τὸ τελεῖν ὑμῖν φόρους σώζετε πλὴν τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους· τούτους γὰρ πανοικί χρῆναι ἀφανίσαι.
- 301 (43) " Φυλάσσειν δὲ μάλιστα ἐν ταῖς μάχαις, ὡς μήτε γυναῖκα ἀνδρικῆ σκευῇ χρῆσθαι μήτ' ἄνδρα στολῇ γυναικειᾷ."
- 302 (44) Πολιτείαν μὲν οὖν τοιάνδε Μωσῆς κατέλιπε, νόμους δ' ἔτι πρότερον τεσσαρακοστῷ ἔτει γεγραμμένους παραδίδωσι, περὶ ὧν ἐν ἑτέρᾳ γραφῇ λέξομεν. ταῖς δ' ἐξῆς ἡμέραις, συνεχῆς γὰρ ἐξεκκλησίασεν, εὐλογίας αὐτοῖς δίδωσι καὶ κατάρας ἐπὶ τοὺς μὴ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους ζησομένους ἀλλὰ
303 παραβησομένους τὰ ἐν αὐτοῖς διωρισμένα. ἔπειτα ποίησιν ἐξάμετρον αὐτοῖς ἀνέγνω, ἦν καὶ κατα-

° The writer, while following Scripture, doubtless also has in mind the practice of the Romans in the recent war: *B.J.* v. 523, vi. 6 " sites formerly beautified with trees and parks now reduced to an utter desert and stripped bare of timber."

ᵇ Words not in Scripture, where the prohibition is doubtless

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 299-303

(42) "Once encamped, take heed to refrain from any of the more outrageous actions. When ye are engaged in a siege and lack timber for the construction of your engines, do not shear the ground by cutting down the cultivated trees^a: nay, spare them, reflecting that they were created for the service of men and that, were they gifted with a voice, they would plead with you and say that they were in no way answerable for the war, that they were being maltreated unjustly and that, had they the power, they would have migrated and moved to another country. Having won the battle, slay those that have resisted you, but leave the rest alive to pay you tribute, save the race of the Canaanites: for them ye must exterminate wholesale.

Abstention from barbarities. Deut. xx. 19.

Ib. 13.

(43) "Beware, above all in battle,^b that no woman assume the accoutrements of a man nor a man the apparel of a woman."

Costume of the sexes. *Ib.* xxii. 5.

(44) Such then is the constitution that Moses left; he further delivered over those laws which he had written forty years before and of which we shall speak in another work.^c On the following days—for assembly was held continuously—he gave them blessings, with curses upon such as should not live in accordance with the laws but should transgress the ordinances that were therein. Then he recited to them a poem in hexameter verse, which he has more-

Moses delivers the laws and other writings to the people.

Ib. xxviii. (xxvii.).

Ib. xxxii. 1-43.

"directed against the simulated changes of sex which occurred in Canaanite and Syrian heathenism" (Driver). But Weill finds support for them in the opinion of R. Eliezer ben Jacob (1st cent. A.D.), who based upon this verse of Deut. the rule that a woman might not bear arms.

^c The projected "Customs and Causes" often mentioned; see iii. 223.

JOSEPHUS

λέλοιπεν ἐν βίβλῳ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πρόρρησιν περι-
 έχουσαν τῶν ἐσομένων, καθ' ἣν [καὶ] γέγονε [τὰ]
 πάντα καὶ γίνεται, μηδὲν ἐκείνου διημαρτηκότος
 304 τῆς ἀληθείας. ταῦτ' οὖν τὰ βιβλία παραδίδωσι
 τοῖς ἱερεῦσι καὶ τὴν κιβωτόν, εἰς ἣν καὶ τοὺς
 δέκα λόγους γεγραμμένους ἐν δυσὶ πλαξὶ κατέθετο,
 καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν· τῷ τε λαῷ παρήνεσε κρατήσαντι
 τῆς γῆς καὶ ἰδρυθέντι μὴ λήθην λαβεῖν τῆς Ἀμα-
 ληκιτῶν ὕβρεως, ἀλλὰ στρατεύσαντας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου τυγχάνον-
 305 τας¹ ἐποίησαν κακῶς, ἐξελόντας δὲ τὴν Χαναanaίων
 γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν διαφθείραντας τὴν ἐν αὐτῇ πληθὺν
 καθὰ πρέπει, τὸν βωμόν τε ἀναστήσαι πρὸς ἥλιον
 ἀνίσχοντα τετραμμένον οὐ πόρρω τῆς Σικιμίων²
 πόλεως [ἐμπεριάγειν]³ μεταξὺ δυοῖν ὄροιν, Γαρι-
 ζαίου⁴ μὲν τοῦ ἐκ δεξιῶν κειμένου, τοῦ δ' ἐκ
 λαιῶν Βουλῆ⁵ προσαγορευομένου, μερισθεῖσαν δὲ
 τὴν στρατιὰν καθ' ἕξ φυλὰς ἐπὶ τοῖν δυοῖν ὄροιν

¹ ed. pr., Lat.: *τυγχάνοντες* codd.

² Σικιμίων RO. ³ om. ed. pr., Lat.

⁴ Γριζίου M: Γριζαίου Niese.

⁵ Γιβάλου ed. pr.: Hebal Lat.

^a Not, as in one ms. (followed by Hudson and Weill), "in the holy book." Similar references to "writings deposited in the temple" occur in *A.* iii. 38, v. 61; the fact that these passages refer to lyrical portions of Scripture, taken with the statement that this song of Moses, like that other song at the Red Sea (*A.* ii. 346), was composed "in hexameter verse," suggests that Josephus was acquainted with a collection of chants, drawn from the Bible or from elsewhere, and set to music for the use of the temple choir. I may refer to my *Josephus the Man and the Historian* (New York, 1929), pp. 90 f.

^b *A.* iii. 39 ff. (esp. 60), Ex. xvii. 8-16. The passage in

over bequeathed in a book preserved in the temple,^a containing a prediction of future events, in accordance with which all has come and is coming to pass, the seer having in no whit strayed from the truth. All these books he consigned to the priests, together with the ark, in which he had deposited the ten commandments written on two tables, and the tabernacle. He also exhorted the people, once they had conquered the country and were established therein, not to forget that insolence of the Amalekites, but to take the field against them and exact vengeance for the wrong which they had done them when they were in the desert.^b Furthermore, when they had utterly vanquished the land of Canaan and destroyed its whole population, as was meet, they were to erect the altar pointing towards the rising sun,^c not far from the city of Sikima^d between two mountains, the Garizaeon^e on the right and that called "Counsel"^f on the left; and the army, divided into two portions of six tribes each, was to take up its station on these

Deut. xxxi.
9, 25.

Ib. xxv. 17.

Blessings
and curses
inscribed on
the altar.
Ib. xxvii. 4,
12 ff.

Deut. xxv., "Remember what Amalek did," was one of the earliest of the "lessons" from the Law to be read in Jewish worship.

^a Direction not named in Scripture: the phrase "towards the sun-rising" seems to be taken from Herodotus (*B.J.* vii. 281 note).

^d Shechem: some mss. read "the Sikimites." The word *ἰμπεριάγειν* ("to bring round"), which follows in the Greek mss., looks like a gloss on *ἀναστήσαι* ("to erect"), or rather a correction of the assistant (*B.J.* v. 367, the only other instance known to the Lexicons), to indicate that the altar, inscribed by Moses (§ 308), was to be taken with them, and not, as in Scripture, to be erected *ex tempore* on the spot.

^e Heb. Gerizim, *לxx Γαριζείν*.

^f Heb. Ebal, *לxx Γαιβάλ*: *Βουλή* ("Counsel") of Josephus is an instance of the frequent Hellenization of a Hebrew name; the Heb. is perhaps connected with the god Bel.

JOSEPHUS

ἀναστῆναι καὶ σὺν αὐτοῖς Λευίτας τε καὶ¹ ἱερέας.
 306 καὶ πρώτους μὲν τοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ Γαριζεῖν² γενομένους
 εὐχεσθαι τὰ κάλλιστα τοῖς περὶ τὴν θρησκείαν τοῦ
 θεοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νόμων φυλακὴν σπουδάσασιν ὧν
 τε Μωυσῆς εἶπε μὴ παρακροασαμένοις,³ εὐφημεῖν
 δὲ τὰς ἐτέρας, καὶ τούτων πάλιν εὐχομένων
 307 τὰς προηγμένας ἐπαινεῖν. ἔπειτα κατὰ ταῦτὰ τοῖς
 παραβησομένοις κατάρας τίθεσθαι ὑποφωνούσας
 ἀλλήλαις ἐπὶ τῇ κυρώσει τῶν λεγομένων. ἀν-
 ἔγραψε δὲ τὰς εὐλογίας καὶ τὰς κατάρας αὐτός,
 ὡς μηδέποτε ἐκλιπεῖν τὴν μάθησιν αὐτῶν ὑπὸ
 308 τοῦ χρόνου, ἅς δὴ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ τελευτῶν ἐν-
 ἔγραψε κατὰ πλευρὰν ἑκατέραν, ἧ καὶ στάντα φησὶ
 τὸν λαὸν θῦσαι τε καὶ ὀλοκαυτῶσαι καὶ μετ' ἐκείνην
 τὴν ἡμέραν οὐκ⁴ ἐπενεγκεῖν ἱερεῖον ἕτερον, οὐ γὰρ
 εἶναι νόμιμον. ταῦτ' οὖν Μωυσῆς διέταξε καὶ τὸ
 'Εβραίων ἔθνος ἀκόλουθα τούτοις ποιοῦν διατελεῖ.
 309 (45) Τῇ δ' ὑστεραία τὸν λαὸν σὺν γυναιξίν ἅμα
 καὶ τέκνοις εἰς ἐκκλησίαν συναγαγὼν, ὡς παρῆναι
 καὶ τὰ ἀνδράποδα, ὄρκου τῶν νόμων αὐτοὺς
 φυλακὴν ποιήσασθαι καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διανοίας
 ἀκριβεῖς λογιστὰς γνωμένους ἢ μηδέν⁵ αὐτοὺς
 μήτε συγγενεία χαριζομένους μήτε εἴκοντας φόβῳ
 μήτε ἄλλην καθάπαξ αἰτίαν κυριωτέραν τῆς τῶν
 νόμων φυλακῆς ὑπολαμβάνοντας παραβῆναι τού-

¹ RO: + τοὺς rell.

² Γρίζειν ROM.

³ Holwerda: παρακροασαμένοις (παρακουσ.) codd.

⁴ + ἔτ' SPLE.

⁵ ἢ μηδέν conj.: εἰ μηδὲν εἰς etc. codd.

^a "And all the people shall say, Amen," Deut. xxvii. 26.

^b In Scripture the people (not Moses) are to inscribe on the future altar, not the blessings and curses, but "all the words of this law" (xxvii. 3, 8).

two mountains, and with them Levites and priests. And first those on Mount Garizin were to invoke the best of blessings upon such as were zealous for the worship of God and for the observance of the laws and were not disobedient to the words of Moses, and the other tribes were to express pious approval ^a; and when these offered prayers in their turn, the first party should signify their assent. Thereafter, in the same order, they should imprecate curses upon future transgressors, mutually responding in corroboration of the pronouncements. These blessings and curses he put on record himself, to the end that their lesson might never be abolished by time, and indeed at the last he inscribed them upon the altar,^b on either side, even where he said that the people were to stand ^c and offer sacrifices and whole burnt-offerings, but after that day they should offer no further victim thereon,^d that being unlawful. Such were the ordinances of Moses, and the Hebrew nation continues to act in conformity therewith.

Cf. Deut.
xxvii. 8.

Ib. 6 f.
(Josh.
viii. 31).

(45) On the morrow, having called together the people, women and children included, to an assembly which even the slaves were required to attend, he made them swear to observe the laws and that, taking strict account ^e of the mind of God, they would verily in no whit transgress them, neither through favouritism to kin, nor yielding to fear, nor in the belief that any other motive whatsoever could be more imperative than the observance of the laws; nay more, that

Oath of
allegiance
to the Law.
Cf. Deut.
xxix. 2 ff.

Ib. xiii. 6.

^a Such seems to be the meaning, but the Greek is peculiar and possibly corrupt.

^d No such injunction in Scripture. "Josèphe est ici plus loyaliste que la loi" (T. Reinach).

^e Lit. "showing themselves strict accountants."

JOSEPHUS

- 310 τους, ἀλλ' ἂν τέ τις τῶν ἐξ αἵματος συγγεῖν καὶ καταλύειν ἐπιχειρῆ τὴν κατ' αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν ἂν τε πόλις, ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς καὶ κοινῇ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν, καὶ κρατήσαντας μὲν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀνασπᾶν θεμελίωσιν καὶ μηδὲ τὸ ἔδαφος τῶν ἀπονοηθέντων εἰ δυνατόν καταλιπεῖν, εἰ δ' ἀσθενοῖεν λαβεῖν τὴν τιμωρίαν, αὐτὸ τὸ μὴ κατὰ βούλησιν ἰδίαν ταῦτα γίνεσθαι δεικνύναι. καὶ τὸ μὲν πλῆθος ὤμνουν.
- 311 (46) Ἐδίδασκε δὲ αὐτούς, ὡς ἂν αἱ θυσίαι τῷ θεῷ μᾶλλον κεχαρισμέναί γένοιτο καὶ ὅπως ἂν οἱ στρατεύοντες ἐξίειν τεκμηρίω χρώμενοι τοῖς λίθοις, ὡς καὶ πρότερον δεδήλωκα. προεφήτευσεν
- 312 δὲ καὶ Ἰησοῦς Μωυσέος παρόντος. ἔπειτα πάνθ' ὅσα ποιήσειεν¹ ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ λαοῦ σωτηρίας ἔν τε πολέμοις καὶ κατ' εἰρήνην νόμους τε συντιθεῖς καὶ τὸν τῆς πολιτείας κόσμον συμπορίζων ἀναλογιζόμενος προεῖπεν, ὡς δηλώσειεν αὐτῷ τὸ θεῖον, ὅτι παραβάντες τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν θρησκείαν πειρα-
- 313 θήσονται κακῶν, ὡς ὅπλων τε αὐτοῖς πολεμίων πληρωθῆναι τὴν γῆν καὶ κατασκαφῆναι πόλεις καὶ τὸν νεῶν καταπρησθῆναι καὶ πραθέντας δουλεύειν ἀνδράσιν οὐδένα ληψομένους οἰκτον ἐπὶ ταῖς συμφοραῖς αὐτῶν, μετανοήσειεν δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ μηδενὶ
- 314 χρησίμῳ ταῦτα πάσχοντας. “ὁ μέντοι θεὸς ὁ κτίσας ὑμᾶς πόλεις τε πολίταις ὑμετέροις ἀποδώσει καὶ τὸν ναόν· ἔσεσθαι δὲ τὴν τούτων ἀποβολὴν οὐχ ἅπαξ ἀλλὰ πολλάκις.”
- 315 (47) Παρορμήσας δὲ² τὸν Ἰησοῦν ἐπὶ τοὺς

¹ ποιήσειεν SP.

² οὖν RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 310-315

should any person of their blood essay to confound and dissolve the constitution that was based on those laws, should any city do the like, they would rise in their defence, as a nation and as individuals, and, when victorious, would uproot that place from its very foundations, aye and leave not the very ground beneath those miscreants' feet, were that possible; but should they be powerless to exact that punishment, they would at least demonstrate that these proceedings were contrary to their will. And the people took the oath.

Deut.
xiii. 12.

(46) He taught them, too, how their sacrifices might be made the more acceptable to God, and how the troops when taking the field should consult the oracular stones, as I have previously indicated.^a

Exhortation
and
warnings.
Cf. Numb.
xxviii. 1.

Joshua also prophesied in the presence of Moses. Then, recounting all that he had done for the people's salvation in war and in peace, in compiling laws and in co-operating to procure for them an ordered constitution, Moses foretold, as revealed to him by the Divinity, that, if they transgressed His rites, they would experience afflictions of such sort that their land would be filled with the arms of enemies, their cities razed, their temple burnt; that they would be sold into slavery to men who would take no pity on their misfortunes, and that their repentance would profit them naught amid those sufferings. "Howbeit," said he, "God who created you^b will restore those cities to your citizens and the temple too; yet will they be lost not once, but often."

Deut. xxviii.

(47) Then, after exhorting Joshua to lead a cam-

^b Reinach "qui a fondé votre empire": the phrase *θεός ὁ κτίσας* recurs in *B.J.* iii. 379, v. 377. This last sentence is the author's addition, without warrant in Scripture.

JOSEPHUS

- Χανααίους στρατείαν¹ ἐξάγειν, ὡς τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργουόντος οἷς ἂν ἐπιχειρήσειε, καὶ πᾶσαν ἐπευφημήσας τὴν πληθύν, “ἐπεὶ,” φησί, “πρὸς τοὺς ἡμετέρους ἄπειμι προγόνους καὶ θεὸς τήνδε μοι τὴν ἡμέραν τῆς πρὸς ἐκείνους ἀφίξεως ὤρισε,
- 316 χάριν μὲν αὐτῷ ζῶν ἔτι καὶ παρὼν ὑμῖν ἔχειν ὁμολογῶ προνοίας τε τῆς ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν, ἣν οὐχ ὑπὲρ ἀπαλλαγῆς μόνον τῶν ὑμετέρων² ἐποιήσατο κακῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ δωρεᾶς τῶν κρειττόνων, ὅτι τε πονοῦντί μοι καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐπίνοιαν³ τῆς ἐπὶ τὸ βέλτιον ὑμῶν μεταβολῆς φροντίδα λαμβάνοντι συνηγωνίσασατο καὶ παρέσχεν ἐν ἅπασιν αὐτὸν ἡμῖν⁴ εὐμενῆ.
- 317 μᾶλλον δ’ αὐτὸς ἦν ὁ καὶ τὴν ἀφήγησιν αὐτῶν διδοὺς καὶ τὰ τέλη χαριζόμενος, ὑποστρατήγῳ χρώμενος ἐμοὶ καὶ ὑπηρέτῳ ὦν τὸν ἡμέτερον λαὸν
- 318 εὐεργετεῖν ἠθέλησεν. ἀνθ’ ὧν προευλογῆσαι⁵ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ᾧ μελήσει καὶ πρὸς τὸ μέλλον ὑμῶν, ἀπαλασσομένος καλῶς ἔχειν ἡγησάμην, αὐτὸς τε ταύτην ὀφειλομένην ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδιδούς καὶ καταλείπων εἰς μνήμην ὑμῖν τὸ σέβειν τε καὶ τιμᾶν προσήκειν τοῦτον ὑμῖν καὶ τοὺς νόμους, πάντων ὧν τε παρέσχηκε καὶ μένων εὐμενῆς ἔτι
- 319 παρέξει δῶρημα κάλλιστον, φυλάττειν· ὡς δεινὸς μὲν ἐχθρὸς καὶ ἄνθρωπος νομοθέτης ὑβριζομένων αὐτῷ τῶν νόμων καὶ μάτην κειμένων, θεοῦ δὲ μὴ πειραθείητε χαλεπαίνοντος ὑπὲρ ἀμελουμένων νόμων, οὓς αὐτὸς γεννήσας ὑμῖν ἔδωκε.”
- 320 (48) Μωυσέος δὲ ταῦτα πρὸς τελευτῆ⁶ τοῦ βίου φήσαντος καὶ μετ’ εὐλογίας ἐκάστη τῶν φυλῶν

¹ στρατιάν MS.

² ex Lat. edd.: ἡμετέρων codd.

³ ed. Genev.: ἐπινοοῦντι SP (omitting κατὰ): ἐπὶ νοῦν rell.

⁴ ὑμῖν RO.

paign against the Canaanites, assured of God's co-operation in all his enterprises, and after addressing auspicious words to the whole assembly, "Seeing," said he, "that I am going to our forefathers and that this is the day that God hath appointed for my departure to them, while yet alive and among you I render thanks to Him, alike for the care which He has bestowed on you, not only in delivering you from your distress, but in presenting you with the best of boons, and then for that, while I was toiling and with utmost endeavour taking thought for the amelioration of your lot, He aided me in those struggles and showed Himself ever gracious towards me.^a Nay rather it was He who both gave the lead in those endeavours and granted the gracious issues, employing me but as His subaltern and subordinate minister of the benefactions which He was fain to confer upon our people. Wherefore I thought it right, ere departing, to bless the power of God, who will still care for you for the time to come, myself rendering this return that is His due, and leaving in your memory the thought that it behoves you to revere and honour Him, and to *observe* His laws—that choicest boon of all that He has given you or, continuing to be gracious, will give you hereafter. For if even a human legislator is a formidable foe when his laws are outraged and laid down to none effect, then beware of experiencing the wrath of God for laws neglected—laws which He, the begetter of them, presented to you Himself."

Moses renders thanks to God: his last words. *Ib.* xxxi. 7.

Cf. Deut. xxxii.

(48) When Moses, at the close of life, had thus spoken, and, with benedictions, had prophesied to

The people's emotion. *Ib.* xxxiii. 1.

^a Gr. "us" (sing. for plur., as often).

⁵ προσευλογῆσαι SPL.

⁶ Niese: τελευτήν codd.

προφητεύσαντος τὰ καὶ γενησόμενα¹ τὸ πλῆθος εἰς δάκρυα προύπεσεν, ὡς καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας στεροτυπούμενας ἐμφανίζεω τὸ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τεθηγξομένω πάθος. καὶ οἱ παῖδες δὲ θρηνοῦντες ἔτι μᾶλλον, ὡς ἀσθενέστεροι κρατεῖν λύπης, ἐδήλουν ὅτι τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ μεγαουργίας παρ' αὐτὴν

321 τὴν ἡλικίαν συνίεσαν. ἦν δὲ κατ' ἐπίνοιαν τοῖς νεοῖς καὶ προηβηκόσω² ἄμιλλα τῆς λύπης· οἱ μὲν γὰρ εἰδότες οἴου στεροῖντο³ κηδεμόνος περὶ τοῦ μέλλοντος ἀπεθρήνουν, τοῖς δὲ καὶ περὶ τούτου τὸ πένθος ἦν καὶ ὅτι μήπω καλῶς τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ

322 γεγευμένοι ἀπολείπεσθαι συνέβαιεν αὐτοῦ. τὴν δ' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ πλῆθους οἰμωγῆς καὶ τῶν ὀδυρμῶν τεκμαίροιο ἂν τις ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος τῷ νομοθέτῃ· καὶ γὰρ πεπεισμένοι ἅπαντι τῷ χρόνῳ μὴ δεῖν ἐπὶ μελλούσῃ τελευτῇ κατηφεῖν, ὡς κατὰ βούλησιν αὐτὸ πάσχοντας θεοῦ καὶ φύσεωσ νόμῳ, ἐπὶ τοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ λαοῦ πραττομένοις ἐνικήθη δα-

323 κρῦσαι. πορευομένῳ δ' ἔνθεν οὐ ἔμελλεν ἀφανισθῆσεσθαι πάντες εἶποντο δεδακρυμένοι, καὶ Μωυσῆς τοὺς μὲν πόρρω τῇ χειρὶ κατασειῶν μένειν ἡρεμοῦντας ἐκέλευε, τοὺς⁴ δ' ἔγγιον λόγοις παρεκάλει μὴ ποιεῖν αὐτῷ δακρυτὴν τὴν ἀπαλλαγὴν ἐπο-

324 μένους. οἱ δὲ καὶ τοῦτ' αὐτῷ χαρίζεσθαι κρίνοντες, τὸ κατὰ βούλησιν ἀπελθεῖν αὐτῷ τὴν ἰδίαν ἐφεῖναι, κατέχουσιν ἑαυτοὺς ἐν ἀλλήλοις δακρύνοντες. μόνη δ' ἡ γερουσία προύπεμψεν αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἐλεάζαρος καὶ ὁ στρατηγὸς Ἰησοῦς.

¹ ex Lat.: γενόμενα codd.

² RO (+ ἡ): προβεβηκόσω rell.

³ ἐστέρηνται R: ἐστέρηντο O.

⁴ τὸ RO.

^a According to another reading, "that in fact came to pass."

each of the tribes the things that in fact were to come to pass,^a the multitude burst into tears, while the women, too, with beating of the breast manifested their emotion at his approaching death. Aye, and the children, wailing yet more, in that they were too feeble to suppress their grief, displayed an understanding of his virtues and grand achievements even beyond their years. Yet in the thoughts of their hearts there was conflict between the grief of the young and of their seniors. For these, knowing of what a protector they were to be bereft, lamented for the future ; while those, beside that cause for grief, had the sorrow that, ere they had yet right well tasted of his worth, it was their lot to lose him. How extraordinary was this outburst of weeping and wailing of the multitude may be conjectured from what befell the lawgiver. For he, who had ever been persuaded that men should not despond as the end approached, because this fate befell them in accordance with the will of God and by a law of nature, was yet by this conduct of the people reduced to tears.

On his advancing thence toward the place where he was destined to disappear, they all followed him bathed in tears ; thereupon Moses, by a signal of his hand, bade those in the distance to remain still, while by word of mouth he exhorted those nearer to him not to make his passing a tearful one by following him. And they, deciding to gratify him in this also, to wit, to leave him to depart according to his own desire, held back, weeping with one another. Only the elders escorted him, with Eleazar the high priest, and Joshua the general. But when

The passing
of Moses.
Deut.
xxxiv. 1.

- 325 ὡς δ' ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Ἀβαρεῖ καλουμένῳ ἐγένετο, τοῦτο δὲ ὑψηλὸν Ἰεριχοῦντος¹ ἀντικρὺ κείται γῆν ἀρίστην τῶν Χανααίων καὶ πλείστην παρέχον τοῖς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ κατοπτεύειν, ἀπέπεμπε τὴν γερου-
- 326 σίαν. ἀσπαζομένου δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἐλεάζαρον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν Ἰησοῦν καὶ προσομιλοῦντος ἔτι, νέφους αἰφνίδιον ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν στάντος ἀφανίζεται κατὰ τινος φάραγγος. γέγραφε δ' αὐτὸν ἐν ταῖς ἱεραῖς βίβλοις τεθνεῶτα, δείσας μὴ δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν ἀρετῆς πρὸς τὸ θεῖον αὐτὸν ἀναχωρῆσαι τολμήσωσιν εἰπεῖν.
- 327 (49) Ἐβίωσε δὲ τὸν πάντα χρόνον ἐτῶν εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὧν ἤρξε τὸ τρίτον μέρος ἐνὶ λείπον² μηνί. ἐτελεύτησε δὲ τῷ ὑστάτῳ μηνί τοῦ ἔτους, ὑπὸ μὲν Μακεδόνων Δύστρου καλουμένου Ἀδάρου
- 328 δ' ὑφ' ἡμῶν νομηνία, συνέσει τε τοὺς πώποτ' ἀνθρώπους ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ χρησάμενος ἄριστα τοῖς νοθηθεῖσιν, εἰπεῖν τε καὶ πλήθεσιν ὁμιλῆσαι κεχαρισμένος τά τε ἄλλα καὶ τῶν παθῶν αὐτοκράτωρ,
- 329 ὡς μηδὲ ἐνεῖναι τούτων τῇ ψυχῇ δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ γινώσκειν μόνον αὐτῶν τὴν προσηγορίαν ἐκ τοῦ

¹ + κατ' SPL.

² Niese: λείποντι codd.

^a Heb. Abarim, Deut. xxxii. 49: the name apparently "applied to the range of mountains 'beyond' (*i.e.* east of) Jordan in which Nebo formed a particular ridge" (Driver). Josephus ignores "mount Nebo" which is mentioned in Deut. xxxiv. 1 as the precise spot.

^b The Biblical account runs: "So Moses the servant of the LORD died there in the land of Moab, according to the word of the LORD. And He buried him in the ravine . . . but no man knoweth of his sepulchre unto this day." The account of Josephus seems to be reminiscent of the passing of the two founders of the Roman race as described by Dionysius of Halicarnassus: "But the body of Aeneas could nowhere be found and some conjectured that he had been

he arrived on the mountain called Abaris^a—a lofty eminence situate over against Jericho and affording to those on its summit a wide view beneath of the best of the land of the Canaanites—he dismissed the elders. And, while he bade farewell to Eleazar and Joshua and was yet communing with them, a cloud of a sudden descended upon him and he disappeared in a ravine.^b But he has written of himself in the sacred books that he died,^c for fear lest they should venture to say that by reason of his surpassing virtue he had gone back to the Deity.^d

Deut.
xxxiv. 5 &

(49) He lived in all one hundred and twenty years and was ruler for a third part of that time bating one month. He departed in the last month of the year, which the Macedonians call Dystros and we Adar,^e on the day of the new moon, having surpassed in understanding all men that ever lived and put to noblest use the fruit of his reflections. In speech and in addresses to a crowd he found favour in every way, but chiefly through his thorough command of his passions, which was such that he seemed to have no place for them at all in his soul, and only knew their names through seeing them in

Encomium
of Moses.
Ib. 7.

translated to the gods" (*Ant. Rom.* i. 64. 4), and of Romulus, "The more mythical writers say that as he was holding an assembly (*ἐκκλησιάζοντα*) in the camp darkness descended upon him from a clear sky and . . . he disappeared, and they believe that he was caught up by his father Ares" (*ib.* ii. 56. 2).

^c Rabbis were divided on the question whether the last eight verses of Deut. were written by Moses or by Joshua (see Weill's note). The view of Josephus has the support of R. Simeon.

^d The same phrase in i. 85 (of Enoch), iii. 96 (of Moses).

^e Feb.-March; Rabbinic tradition named the 7th (not the 1st) of Adar (Weill).

JOSEPHUS

παρ' ἄλλοις αὐτὰ βλέπειν μᾶλλον ἢ παρ' αὐτῷ.
καὶ στρατηγὸς μὲν ἐν ὀλίγοις, προφήτης δὲ οἶος
οὐκ ἄλλος, ὥσθ' ὃ τι ἂν φθέγγαιτο δοκεῖν αὐτοῦ
330 λέγοντος ἀκροᾶσθαι τοῦ θεοῦ. πενθεῖ μὲν οὖν
αὐτὸν ὁ λαὸς ἐφ' ἡμέρας τριάκοντα, λύπη δὲ οὐκ
ἄλλη κατέσχευεν Ἑβραίουσ τοσαύτη τὸ μέγεθος,
331 ὅση τότε Μωυσέος ἀποθανόντος. ἐπόθουν δ'
αὐτὸν οὐχ οἱ πειραθέντες αὐτοῦ μόνον, ἀλλὰ
καὶ οἱ τοῖς νόμοις ἐντυγχάνοντες αὐτοῦ δεινὴν
ἐποιοῦντο τὴν ἐπιζήτησιν, τὸ περιὸν αὐτοῦ τῆς
ἀρετῆς ἐκ τούτων λογιζόμενοι. καὶ τὸ μὲν κατὰ
Μωυσῆν τέλος τοιοῦτον ἡμῖν δεδηλώσθω.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, IV. 329-331

others rather than in himself. As general he had few to equal him, and as prophet none, insomuch that in all his utterances one seemed to hear the speech of God Himself. So the people mourned for him for thirty days, and never were Hebrews oppressed by grief so profound as that which filled them then on the death of Moses. Nor was he regretted only by those who had known him by experience, but the very readers of his laws have sadly felt his loss, deducing from these the superlative quality of his virtue. Such, then, be our description of the end of Moses.

ΙΟΥΔΑΪΚΗΣ ΑΡΧΑΙΟΛΟΓΙΑΣ

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Ε

- 1 (i. 1) Μωυσέος δὲ τὸν προειρημένον τρόπον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπογεγονότος Ἰησοῦς, ἀπάντων ἤδη τῶν ἐπ' αὐτῷ νενομισμένων τέλος ἔχόντων καὶ τοῦ πένθους λελωφηκότος, παρήγγειλεν ἐπὶ στρατείαν
2 ἔτοιμον εἶναι τὸ πλῆθος, πέμπει τε κατασκόπους εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα τὴν τε δύναμιν αὐτῶν καὶ τίνα διάνοιαν ἔχουσιν αὐτοὶ γνωσομένους,¹ αὐτὸς δὲ ἐξήταζε τὸν στρατὸν ὡς κατὰ καιρὸν διαβησόμενος
3 τὸν Ἰόρδανον. ἀνακαλεσάμενος δὲ τοὺς τῆς Ῥουβηλίδος φυλῆς ἄρχοντας καὶ τοὺς τῆς Γάδιδος καὶ Μανασσήτιδος προεστῶτας, ἐξ ἡμισείας γὰρ καὶ τῆδε τῆ φυλῆ τὴν Ἀμορίαν κατοικεῖν ἐπετέτραπτο
4 τῆς Χαναναίων γῆς ἑβδομον οὔσαν μέρος, ὑπεμίμησκεν ἂ ὑπέσχοντο Μωυσεῖ, καὶ παρεκάλει χαριζομένους τῇ τε ἐκείνου προνοίᾳ, μηδ' ὅτε ἀπέθνησκε περὶ αὐτοὺς καμουύση, τῷ τε κοινῇ συμφέροντι παρέχειν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὰ παραγγελλόμενα προθύμους. τῶν δ' ἐπομένων ὀπλίταις πεντακισ-

¹ ex I.at. : γνωσόμενος codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES

BOOK V

(j. 1) MOSES having in the aforesaid manner been rapt away from men, Joshua, when all the customary rites had now been accomplished in his honour and the mourning had abated, directed the people to make ready for a campaign. He also sent scouts to Jericho to reconnoitre the strength and the disposition of the inhabitants, while he himself reviewed his army, intending at the first opportunity to cross the Jordan. Having, moreover, called up the princes of the tribe of Rubel ^a and the chiefs of the tribes of Gad and of Manasseh—for one half of this tribe too had been permitted to settle in the Amorite country, which forms a seventh part ^b of the land of Canaan—he reminded them of their promises to Moses and exhorted them, out of respect alike for that forethought of his on their behalf which even in his dying moments had never flagged, and for the common weal, to respond to his orders with alacrity. These duly following him, he with fifty thousand ^c men-

Joshua sends spies to Jericho and advances to the Jordan. Jos. i. 10; ii. 1.

i. 12, 13.

^a Reuben.

^b The Amorites were one of the "seven nations" that inhabited Canaan (Deut. vii. 1, Jos. iii. 10; cf. §§ 88 f. below). From this apparently, as M. Weill suggests, Josephus infers that they occupied a seventh part of the whole country.

^c 40,000 according to Jos. iv. 13 (Ileb. and LXX).

JOSEPHUS

μυρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς Ἀβέλης¹ ἐπὶ τὸν Ἰόρδανον ἐξήκει
σταδίους ἐξήκοντα.

- 5 (2) Καὶ στρατοπεδεύσαντος εὐθύς οἱ κατάσκοποι
παρήσαν μηδὲν ἀγνοήσαντες τῶν παρὰ τοῖς
Χανααίοις· λαθόντες² γὰρ τὸ πρῶτον ἄπασαν ἐπ'
ἀδείας αὐτῶν τὴν πόλιν κατενόησαν, τῶν τε τειχῶν
ὅσα καρτερὰ καὶ ὅσα μὴ τοῦτον ἔχει³ τὸν τρόπον
αὐτοῖς ἀσφαλῶς καὶ τῶν πυλίδων αἱ πρὸς εἴσοδον
6 τῷ στρατοπέδῳ δι' ἀσθένειαν συνέφερον. ἡμέλουν
δὲ θεωμένων οἱ ἐντυγχάνοντες καθ' ἱστορίαν ξένοις
προσήκουσαν ἀκριβῶς ἕκαστα πολυπραγμονεῖν τῶν
ἐν τῇ πόλει νομίζοντες, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ διανοία πολεμίων.
7 ὡς δὲ γενομένης ὀψίας ὑποχωροῦσιν εἰς τι κατ-
αγώγιον τοῦ τείχους πλησίον, εἰς ὃ καὶ προήχθησαν
8 δειπνοποιησόμενοι⁴ καὶ περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτοῖς τὸ
λοιπὸν ἢ φροντὶς ἦν, μηνύονται τῷ βασιλεῖ περὶ
δεῖπνον ὄντι κατασκευσόμενοί τινες τὴν πόλιν ἀπὸ
τοῦ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατοπέδου παρεῖναι καὶ
ὄντες ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥαάβης καταγωγίῳ μετὰ πολλῆς
τῆς τοῦ λανθάνειν προνοίας ὑπάρχειν. ὁ δ' εὐθύς
πέμψας πρὸς αὐτούς⁵ ἐκέλευσεν ἀγαγεῖν συλ-
λαβόντας, ἵνα βασανίσας μάθη, τί καὶ βουλόμενοι
9 παρεῖεν. ὡς δ' ἔγνω τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν ἢ Ῥαάβη,
λίνου γὰρ ἀγκαλίδας ἐπὶ τοῦ τέγους⁶ ἔψυχε, τοὺς
μὲν κατασκόπους εἰς ταύτας ἀποκρύπτει, τοῖς
δὲ πεμφθεῖσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔλεγεν, ὡς ξένοι

¹ RO: Ἀβίλης etc. rell.

² codd. Lat.: ἐλθόντες E edd. ³ ἔχοι SP.

⁴ ex Lat.: -ποιησόμενοι codd.

⁵ fort. αὐτὸν legendum. ⁶ E: τείχους codd.

^a Or Abile (bibl. Abel-shittim): A. iv. 176 note.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 4-9

at-arms set out from Abele ^a and advanced sixty stades towards the Jordan.

(2) Scarce had he pitched his camp when the scouts reappeared, in nothing ignorant of the condition of the Canaanites. For, undetected at the first, they had surveyed their entire city unmolested, noting where the ramparts were strong and where they offered a less secure protection to the inhabitants, and which of the gates through weakness would facilitate entrance for the army. Those who met them had disregarded their inspection, attributing to a curiosity natural to strangers this busy study of every detail in the city, and in no wise to any hostile intent. But when, at fall of even, they retired to an inn ^b hard by the ramparts, to which they had proceeded ^c for supper, and were now only thinking of departure, word was brought to the king as he supped that certain persons had come from the camp of the Hebrews to spy upon the city and were now in Rahab's inn, mightily anxious to escape detection. And he straightway sent men after them, with orders to arrest and bring them up, that he might discover by torture to what intent they were come. But when Rahab learnt of their approach, being then engaged in drying some bundles of flax upon the roof, ^d she concealed the spies therein, and told the king's messengers that some unknown

The spies
and Rahab.
Jos. ii. 1.

^b The Bible speaks of Rahab the "harlot" (Heb. *zonah*, LXX *πόρνη*). Josephus follows the Palestinian interpretation found in the Targum on Jos. ii. 1, where the noun is translated *pundeḱita* = Gr. *πανδοκείτρια* or *πανδόκισσα*, "inn-keeper." Cf. *A.* iii. 276 note.

^c Or "been conducted" or "directed."

^d Or, according to most mss., "the wall." Jos. ii. 6 has "the roof" (LXX *δῶμα*).

JOSEPHUS

- τινές¹ ἀγνώτες ὀλίγω πρότερον ἢ δύναι τὸν ἥλιον παρ' αὐτῇ δειπνήσαντες ἀπαλλαγεῖεν, οὓς εἰ φοβεροὶ τῇ πόλει δοκοῦσιν, ἢ κίνδυνον τῷ βασιλεῖ φέροντες ἤκον, ἀπόνως εἶναι λαβεῖν διωχθέντας.
- 10 οἱ δέ, τῆς γυναικὸς οὕτως αὐτοὺς ὑπελθούσης, οὐδένα ὑπονοήσαντες δόλον ἀπῆλθον οὐδ' ἐρευνήσαντες τὸ καταγώγιον. ἐπεὶ δ' ὀρμήσαντες καθ' ἃς ἐνόμιζον αὐτοὺς μάλιστα τῶν ὁδῶν ἀπέρχεσθαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν φερούσας οὐδενὶ γνωρίσματι περιετύγχανον, παύονται τοῦ πονεῖν.
- 11 τοῦ δὲ θορύβου σταλέντος ἡ Ῥαάβη καταγαγοῦσα τοὺς ἄνδρας καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον εἰποῦσα, ὃν ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτῶν ὑπέλθοι σωτηρίας, ἀλοῦσαν γὰρ ἀποκρύπτουσαν αὐτοὺς οὐκ ἂν διαφυγεῖν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ βασιλέως τιμωρίαν, ἀλλὰ πανοικὶ αὐτὴν ἀπολέσθαι κακῶς,
- 12 παρακαλέσασα διὰ μνήμης ἔχειν, ὅταν ἐγκρατεῖς τῆς Χαναanaίων γῆς καταστάντες ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτίσαι δύνωνται τῆς ἄρτι σωτηρίας, χωρεῖν ἐκέλευεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα ὁμόσαντας ἢ μὴν σώσειν αὐτὴν καὶ τὰ αὐτῆς, ὅταν τὴν πόλιν ἐλόντες φθειρώσι πάντας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ κατὰ ψήφισμα τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς γεόμενον· ταῦτα γὰρ εἰδέναι σημείοις τοῖς ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ
- 13 διδαχθεῖσαν. οἱ δὲ καὶ περὶ² τῶν παρόντων αὐτῇ χάριν ἔχειν ὠμολόγουν καὶ περὶ τῶν αὐθις ὤμνον ἔργω τὴν ἀμοιβὴν ἀποδώσειν· ἤνικα δ' ἂν αἴσθηται μελλούσης ἀλίσκεσθαι τῆς πόλεως, συνεβούλευον κτησίῳ τε τὴν αὐτῆς καὶ τοὺς οἰκεῖους ἅπαντας εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον ἀποθεμένην ἐγκαθεῖρξαι, πρὸ τῶν

¹ P² edd.: τινές εἰεν rell. codd.

² om. M.

^a Jos. ii. 9 f. speaks of Rahab's having heard that the Israelites' God will again aid them as in the past. Perhaps
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JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 9-13

strangers had shortly before sundown supped with her and gone their way ; but, were it thought that the city had cause to fear them or were their coming fraught with peril to the king, they could be caught without difficulty if pursued. The messengers, thus cajoled by the woman and suspecting no guile, departed without even searching the inn ; but when, after speeding along the roads by which they thought it most likely that the men had fled, including all those leading to the river, they found no trace of them, they ceased to trouble themselves further. The tumult having subsided, Rahab brought the men down and, having told them of the risk which she had run for their salvation—for, had she been caught concealing them, she would not have escaped the vengeance of the king but she and all her house would have perished miserably—she besought them to bear this in mind when, once masters of the land of the Canaanites, they should be in a position to recompense her for their present salvation ; and she bade them depart to their own place, after swearing that they would verily save her and all that was hers when, on taking the city, they should destroy all its inhabitants, as had been decreed by their people, for of this (she said) she knew through certain signs ^a which God had given her. In reply they expressed their gratitude to her for present favours and swore to repay her in future by recompense in act ; but they counselled her, when she should see that the city was on the point of being taken, to secure her chattels and all her household within the inn and to shut them in, and to extend

σημεῖα here, as elsewhere in Josephus, means the “miracles” alluded to in the Scriptural passage.

JOSEPHUS

- θυρῶν ἀνατείνασαν φοινικίδας, ὅπως εἰδῶς τὴν οἰκίαν ὁ στρατηγὸς φυλάττηται κακῶς ποιεῖν.
- 14 “ μὴνύσομεν¹ γὰρ αὐτῶ,” ἔφασαν, “ διὰ τὸ σὸν σώζεσθαι πρόθυμον. εἰ δέ τις ἐν τῇ μάχῃ πέσοι τῶν σῶν, σύ τε οὐκ ἂν ἡμῖν ἐπενέγκοις αἰτίαν καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὃν ὀμωμόκαμεν παραιτούμεθα μηδὲν ὡς
- 15 ἐπὶ παραβαίνουσι τοὺς ὄρκους δυσχερᾶναι.” καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα συνθέμενοι ἐχώρουν διὰ τοῦ τείχους καθιμήσαντες ἑαυτούς, καὶ διασωθέντες πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους ἐδήλωσαν ὅσα πράξαντες ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως ἦκον. Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ Ἐλεαζάρῳ καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ φράζει τὰ τοῖς σκοποῖς ὁμοθέντα πρὸς τὴν Ῥαάβην· οἱ δ’ ἐπεκύρουν τὸν ὄρκον.
- 16 (3) Δεδιότος δὲ τοῦ στρατοῦ² τὴν διάβασιν, μέγας γὰρ ἦν ὁ ποταμὸς τῷ ρεύματι καὶ οὔτε γεφύραις πορευτός, οὐ γὰρ ἔζευκτο τὸ³ πρότερον, βουλομένους τε γεφυροῦν οὐχ ἕξειν σχολὴν παρὰ τῶν πολεμίων ὑπελάμβανον πορθμείων τε μὴ τυγχανόντων, διαβατὸν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ποιήσειν τὸν
- 17 ποταμὸν μειώσας αὐτοῦ τὸ πλῆθος. καὶ δύο ἐπισχῶν ἡμέρας Ἰησοῦς διεβίβαζε τὸν στρατὸν καὶ τὴν πληθὺν ἅπασαν τοιούτῳ τρόπῳ· προήεσαν μὲν οἱ ἱερεῖς τὴν κιβωτὸν ἔχοντες, ἔπειτα οἱ Λευῖται τὴν τε σκηνὴν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ταῖς θυσίαις σκεύη κομίζοντες, εἶποντο δὲ τοῖς Λευῖταις κατὰ φυλὰς ὁ πᾶς ὄμιλος μέσους ἔχων παῖδας καὶ γυναῖκας, δεδιὼς περὶ αὐτῶν μὴ βιασθεῖεν ὑπὸ τοῦ

¹ RO: μὴνύσειν rell.

² SP: στρατηγοῦ rell.

³ RO: πω rell.

^a Jos. ii. 18, “Thou shalt bind this line of scarlet thread in the window which thou didst let us down by.”

^b Josephus, *more suo*, lessens the supernatural character

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 13-17

red flags before her doors,^a in order that their general, recognizing the house, might refrain from doing it injury. "For," said they, "we shall report to him that it is to thy zeal that we owe our lives. But, should any of thy kinsmen fall in the battle, thou must not lay that to our charge, and we implore the God by whom we have sworn to be in no wise indignant at us, as though we had transgressed our oaths." So having made this compact, they departed, letting themselves down the wall by a rope and, when safely restored to their friends, they recounted their adventures in the city. Joshua thereupon reported to Eleazar the high priest and to the council of elders what the spies had sworn to Rahab; and they ratified the oath.

(3) Now since the army was afraid to cross the river, which had a strong current and could not be crossed by bridges—for it had not been spanned by any hitherto, and, should they wish to lay them now, the enemy would not, they imagined, afford them the leisure, and they had no ferry-boats—God promised to render the stream passable for them by diminishing its volume.^b So Joshua, having waited two days,^c proceeded to transport the army with the whole multitude in the following fashion. At the head went the priests bearing the ark, next the Levites carrying the tabernacle and the vessels for the ministry of the sacrifices, and, after the Levites, followed, tribe by tribe, the whole throng, with the children and women in the centre, for fear of their being swept away by the force of the current.

Crossing of
the Jordan.

Jos. iii. 2.

of the miracle: the waters are not "wholly cut off" as in Joshua (iii. 13, 16).

^c "After three days," Jos. iii. 2.

JOSEPHUS

- 18 *ρεύματος. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι πρώτοις ἐμβάσι πορευτὸς ἔδοξεν ὁ ποταμὸς, τοῦ μὲν βάθους ἐπεσχημένου, τοῦ δὲ κάχληκος, τῷ μὴ πολὺν εἶναι μῆδ' ὄξυν τὸν ροὺν ὥσθ' ὑποφέρειν αὐτὸν τῇ βίᾳ, ἀντ' ἐδάφους κειμένου, πάντες ἤδη θαρσαλέως ἐπεραιοῦντο τὸν ποταμόν, οἷον αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς*
- 19 *προεῖπε ποιήσῃν τοιοῦτον κατανοοῦντες. ἔστησαν δὲ ἐν μέσῳ οἱ ἱερεῖς ἕως οὗ διαβαίῃ τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τὰσφαλοῦς ἀψάμενον τύχοι.¹ πάντων δὲ διαβάντων ἐξήεσαν οἱ ἱερεῖς ἐλεύθερον ἀφέντες ἤδη τὸ ρεῦμα χωρεῖν κατὰ τὴν συνήθειαν. καὶ ὁ μὲν ποταμὸς εὐθὺς ἐκβάντων αὐτὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων ἤϋξετο καὶ τὸ ἴδιον ἀπελάμβανε μέγεθος.*
- 20 (4) *Οἱ δὲ πεντήκοντα προελθόντες στάδια βάλλονται στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ δέκα σταδίων τῆς Ἱεριχοῦντος, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τὸν τε² βωμόν ἐκ τῶν λίθων ὧν ἕκαστος ἀνείλετο τῶν φυλάρχων ἐκ τοῦ βυθοῦ τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος ἰδρυσάμενος, τεκμήριον γενησόμενον τῆς ἀνακοπῆς τοῦ ρεύματος, ἔθυσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τῷ θεῷ, καὶ τὴν φάσκα ἐώρταζον ἐν*
- 21 *ἐκείνῳ τῷ χωρίῳ, πάντων ὧν αὐτοῖς πρότερον συνέβαινε σπανίζῃν τότε ῥαδίως εὐποροῦντες· τὸν τε γὰρ σῖτον ἀκμάζοντα ἤδη τῶν Χαναναίων ἐθέριζον καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ λείαν ἤγον· τότε γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ ἡ τῆς μάννας ἐπελελοίπει τροφή χρησαμένους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.*
- 22 (5) *Ὡς δὲ ταῦτα ποιοῦντων τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν οὐκ ἐπεξήεσαν οἱ Χαναναῖοι τειχήρεις δ' ἠσύχαζον,*
- ¹ Dindorf: *τύχη* codd. ² τε RO: om. *τόν τε* SPE (Lat.).

^a Literally "touched safety": the phrase recalls Thuc. ii. 22 *πρὶν . . . τοῦ ἀσφαλοῦς ἀντιλάβοιντο* (the escape from Plataea).

When the priests, who were the first to enter, found the river fordable—the depth having diminished and the shingle, which the current was neither full nor rapid enough to force from under their feet, lying as a solid floor—all thereupon confidently traversed the stream, perceiving it to be even as God had foretold that He would make it. But the priests stood still in the midst until the multitude had crossed and reached the firm ground.^a Then, when all had crossed, the priests emerged, leaving the stream free to resume its accustomed course. And the river, so soon as the Hebrews had quitted it, swelled and recovered its natural magnitude.

iii. 17,
iv. 17 f.

(4) These, having advanced fifty stades, pitched their camp at a distance of ten stades^b from Jericho. And Joshua, with the stones which each of the tribal leaders had, by the prophet's orders, taken up from the river-bed, erected that altar that was to serve as a token of the stoppage of the stream, and sacrificed thereon to God.^c They also kept the feast of the Passover at that spot, being now readily and amply provided with all that they had lacked before; for they reaped the corn of the Canaanites, now at its prime, and took any other booty they could. It was then too that the supply of manna ceased which had served them for forty years.

Erection of
an altar and
celebration
of Passover.
Jos. iv. 1.

v. 10.

(5) Since, notwithstanding these actions of the Israelites, the Canaanites did not sally out against them but remained motionless behind their walls,

Encompass-
ing of the
walls of
Jericho.
Jos. vi. 1.

^b These distances are unscriptural. The Gilgal of the camp (Jos. v. 10) is usually identified with a site more than ten stades distant (S.E.) from Jericho.

^c Josephus here omits the renewal at Gilgal of the rite of circumcision which had been neglected in the wilderness (Jos. v. 2 ff.).

JOSEPHUS

πολιορκεῖν αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς ἔγνω. καὶ τῇ πρώτῃ
 τῆς ἑορτῆς ἡμέρα τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ ἱερεῖς φέροντες,
 περὶ δ' αὐτὴν ἐν κύκλῳ μέρος τι τῶν ὀπλιτῶν
 23 φυλάττον ἦν, ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ¹ προήεσαν ἑπτὰ κέρασιν
 αὐτῶν σαλπίζοντες παρεκάλουν τὸν στρατὸν εἰς
 ἀλκὴν, περιώδευόν τε τὸ τεῖχος ἐπομένης τῆς
 γερουσίας, καὶ σαλπισάντων μόνον τῶν ἱερέων,
 τούτου γὰρ οὐδὲν ἐποίησαν περισσότερον, ἀνέζευξαν
 24 εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐπὶ ἡμέρας ἕξ
 ποιησάντων τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν Ἰησοῦς συν-
 αγαγὼν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ἅπαντα, τὴν ἄλωσιν αὐτοῖς
 τῆς πόλεως εὐηγγελίζετο,² ὡς κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν
 ἡμέραν αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ ταύτην παρέξοντος, αὐτο-
 μάτως καὶ δίχα τοῦ πόνου τοῦ σφετέρου τῶν τειχῶν
 25 κατενεχθησομένων. κτείνειν μέντοι³ πάνθ' ὄντιν-
 οῦν εἰ λάβοιεν παρεκελεύετο καὶ μήτε κάμνοντας
 ἀποστήναι τοῦ φόνου τῶν πολεμίων, μήτ' ἐλέω
 παραχωρήσαντας φείσασθαι⁴ μήτε περὶ ἄρπαγὴν
 26 γινομένους περιορᾶν φεύγοντας τοὺς ἐχθρούς· ἀλλὰ
 τὰ μὲν ζῶα πάντα διαφθείρειν μηδὲν αὐτοὺς εἰς
 ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν λαμβάνοντας, ὅσα⁵ δ' ἂν ἄργυρος ἦ
 καὶ χρυσός, ταῦτα ἐκέλευσε συγκομίζοντας ἀπαρχὴν
 ἐξαίρετον τῶν κατωρθωμένων τῷ θεῷ τηρεῖν ἐκ
 τῆς πρώτον ἀλισκομένης πόλεως εἰληφότας· σώζειν
 δὲ μόνην Ῥαάβην καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτῆς διὰ τοὺς
 γενομένους πρὸς αὐτὴν τοῖς κατασκόποις ὄρκους.

¹ After Lat. (aliique sacerdotes): οἱ καὶ codd.

² RO: εὐηγγελίσσατο rell.

³ + γε SPL.

⁴ SPL: om. rell.

⁵ ὅσος RO: ὅς M.

^a *i.e.* of the Passover just mentioned; this date has no support in Scripture or, according to M. Weill, in tradition.

Joshua resolved to besiege them. And, on the first day of the feast,^a the priests bearing the ark—which was surrounded by a party of armed men to protect it, while seven other priests marched in advance, sounding their horns—exhorted the army to valiance and made the circuit of the walls, followed by the council of elders. After merely those blasts from the priests—for beyond that they did nothing—they returned to the camp. For six days this was repeated, and on the seventh Joshua, having assembled the troops and all the people, announced to them the good news of the impending capture of the city, to wit that on that day God would deliver it to them and that, spontaneously and without effort on their part, the walls would collapse. Howbeit he charged them to slay all, whomsoever they caught, and neither through weariness, nor yielding to pity to desist from the slaughter of their enemies, nor yet while engaged in pillage to suffer the foe to escape. Nay, they were to destroy every living creature without taking aught to themselves for their private profit; but whatsoever there might be of silver or gold,^b that he commanded them to amass and reserve for God as choice first-fruits of their success, won from the first captured city. They were to spare only Rahab and her family in virtue of the oaths which had been made to her by the spies.

Josephus has traced a connexion between the seven days of blowing of trumpets, mentioned in Scripture, and the duration of the feast. Perhaps, however, he has used a text which, like the LXX Jos. vi. 12, read “on the second day, Joshua rose early, and the priests bore the ark, etc.,” and taken it to mean the day after the eve of Passover, or the first full day of the festival.

^b Jos. vi. 19 adds “or brass or iron”; cf. § 32.

- 27 (6) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν καὶ διατάξας τὸν στρατὸν προσ-
 ἦγεν¹ ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν· περιήεσαν δὲ πάλιν τὴν
 πόλιν ἡγουμένης τῆς κιβωτοῦ καὶ τῶν ἱερέων τοῖς
 κέρασιν ἐξοτρυνόντων τὴν δύναμιν πρὸς τὸ ἔργον.
 καὶ περιελθόντων ἐπτάκις καὶ πρὸς ὀλίγον ἡρε-
 μησάντων κατέπεσε τὸ τεῖχος μήτε μηχανῆς μήτε
 ἄλλης βίας αὐτῷ προσενεχθείσης ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων.
- 28 (7) Οἱ δ' εἰσελθόντες εἰς Ἱεριχοῦντα πάντας
 ἔκτεινον, τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ πρὸς τὴν παράδοξον τοῦ
 τεύχους ἀνατροπὴν καταπεπληγόντων καὶ τοῦ φρο-
 νήματος αὐτοῖς πρὸς ἄμυναν ἀχρείου γεγονότος·
 ἀνηροῦντο δ' οὖν ἐν ταῖς ὁδοῖς ἀποσφαττόμενοι
- 29 καὶ ἐν ταῖς οἰκίαις ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι. παρ-
 ηγτεῖτο δ' οὐδὲν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἀπώλλυντο
 ἄχρι γυναικῶν καὶ παιδίων, καὶ νεκρῶν ἢ πόλις
 ἦν ἀνάπλευς καὶ διέφυγεν οὐδέν. τὴν δὲ πόλιν
- 30 ἐνέπρησαν ἅπασαν καὶ τὴν χώραν. καὶ τὴν
 Ῥαάβην σὺν τοῖς οἰκείοις εἰς τὸ καταγώγιον συμ-
 φυγοῦσαν ἔσωσαν οἱ κατάσκοποι, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν
 Ἰησοῦς ἀχθείση χάριν ἔχειν ὠμολόγει τῆς σωτηρίας
 τῶν κατασκόπων καὶ μὴν² τῆς εὐεργεσίας ταύτης
 ἔλεγεν ἐν ταῖς ἀμοιβαῖς οὐχ ἥττονα φανήσεσθαι.
 δωρεῖται δ' αὐτὴν εὐθὺς ἀγροῖς καὶ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχε
 τῆς πάσης.
- 31 (8) Τῆς δὲ πόλεως εἰ καὶ τι παρέλθοι τὸ πῦρ
 κατέσκαπτε καὶ κατὰ τῶν οἰκισόντων,³ εἴ τις
 πορθηθεῖσαν ἀνεγείρειν ἐθελήσειεν, ἀρὰς ἔθετο,
 ὅπως θεμελίους μὲν τειχῶν βαλλόμενος⁴ στερηθῆ
 τοῦ πρώτου παιδός, τελειώσας δὲ τὸν νεώτατον
 τῶν παίδων ἀποβάλη. τῆς δὲ ἀρὰς τὸ θεῖον οὐκ

¹ προσήγαγεν RO.³ L: οἰκησόντων rell.² M: μηδὲν rell.⁴ βαλόμενος RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 27-31

(6) Having spoken thus, he marshalled his army and led it towards the city. Again they compassed the city, the ark leading and the priests with the sounding of their horns inciting the troops to action. And when they had compassed it seven times and had halted for a while, the wall fell down, without either engine or force of any other kind having been applied to it by the Hebrews.

Fall of
Jericho.
Jos. vi. 15.

(7) And they, having entered Jericho, slew every soul, the inhabitants being dumbfounded at the miraculous overthrow of the ramparts and deprived of all effectual spirit for defence. At all events they perished, slaughtered in the streets or surprised in the houses. Nothing could exempt them; all were destroyed down to the women and children, and the city was choked with corpses and nothing escaped. The city itself they burnt entire and the surrounding region. Rahab, who with her kinsfolk had all taken refuge in the inn, was saved by the spies; and Joshua, on her being brought before him, acknowledged his gratitude to her for her protection of the spies and assured her that in recompensing her he would not be found to fall short of such a benefaction. Indeed he presented her with lands forthwith and showed her every consideration.

Massacre
of the
inhabitants,
excepting
Rahab.
Jos. vi. 21.

(8) As for the city, whatever of it the fire had spared he demolished, and upon those who would settle there should any be fain to re-erect it from its ruins, he pronounced imprecations, that if he laid foundations of walls he should be bereft of his first-born and if he completed the walls he should lose the youngest of his sons. Nor was this curse un-

Destruction
of the town
and
imprecation
of Joshua.
Jos. vi. 26.

JOSEPHUS

- ἠμέλησεν, ἀλλ' ἐν τοῖς ὑστέροις ἀπαγγελοῦμεν τὸ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθος γενόμενον.
- 32 (9) Ἄπειρον δέ τι πλῆθος ἐκ τῆς ἀλώσεως συναθροίζεται ἀργύρου τε καὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ προσέτι χαλκοῦ, μηδενὸς παραβάντος τὰ δεδογμένα μηδ' εἰς ἰδίαν ὠφέλειαν αὐτὰ διαρπασαμένων, ἀλλ' ἀποσχομένων ὡς ἤδη τῷ θεῷ καθιερωμένων. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν εἰς τοὺς θησαυροὺς παραδίδωσι καταθέσθαι. καὶ Ἰεριχοῦς μὲν τοῦτον ἀπώλετο τὸν τρόπον.
- 33 (10) Ἀχαρος δέ τις Ζεβεδαίου παῖς ὢν ἐκ τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς εὐρὼν χλαμύδα βασιλείον ἐκ χρυσοῦ μὲν πᾶσαν ὑφασμένην, μᾶζαν δὲ χρυσοῦ σταθμὸν ἔλκουσαν σίκλων διακοσίων καὶ δεινὸν ἠγγησάμενος δ¹ κινδυνεύσας ἠῦρατο κέρδος, τοῦτο τῆς ἰδίας χρείας ἀφελόμενος² δοῦναι φέρων τῷ θεῷ καὶ μὴ δεομένῳ, ὄρυγμα βαθὺ ποιήσας ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ σκηνῇ κατώρυξεν εἰς τοῦτο, λήσειν³ νομίζων ὡς τοὺς συστρατιώτας οὕτως καὶ τὸν θεόν.
- 34 (11) Ἐκλήθη δὲ ὁ τόπος ἐν ᾧ στρατόπεδον ἐβάλετο Ἰησοῦς Γάλλαλα· σημαίνει δὲ τοῦτο ἐλευθέριον ὄνομα· διαβάντες γὰρ τὸν ποταμὸν ἐλευθέρους ἑαυτοὺς ἤδη ἀπὸ τε τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ταλαιπωρίας ἐγίνωσκον.

¹ Ernesti: εἰ δὲ ML: εἰς δὲ RO.

² Niese suspects a lacuna after ἀφελόμενος.

³ ME: λήσεσθαι rell.

• In the reign of Ahab, 1 Kings xvi. 34. Josephus, however, in the sequel forgets to recount the incident; the verse which records it being apparently absent from the Greek Bible which he was then following (*A.* viii. 318 note).

^b Heb. "Achan, son of Carmi, son of Zabdi": the form Achar appears here in the LXX, as also in the Heb. in 1 Chron.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 31-34

regarded by the Deity, but in the sequel we shall recount the calamity which it entailed.^a

(9) An immense quantity of silver and gold, as also of brass, was amassed from the captured town, none having violated the decrees nor looted these things for his private profit: nay, they abstained therefrom as from objects already consecrated to God. And Joshua delivered them to the priests to lay up in the treasuries. Such, then, was the end of Jericho.

Consecration of the booty to God.

(10) But a certain Achar, son of Zebedee,^b of the tribe of Judah, having found a royal mantle all woven of gold and a mass of gold of the weight of two hundred shekels,^c and thinking it cruel that he should deprive himself of the enjoyment of lucre, which he had won at his own peril, and bring and offer it to God, who had no need of it, dug a deep hole in his tent and buried his treasure therein, thinking to elude alike his comrades in arms and withal the eye of God.

The sin of Achar. Jos. vii. 1.

(11) The place where Joshua had established his camp was called Galgala.^d This name signifies "freedom"^e; for, having crossed the river, they felt themselves henceforth free both from the Egyptians and from their miseries in the desert.

Joshua at Gilgal. Jos. v. 9.

ii. 7. Moreover the etymological word-play in the Hebrew of Jos. vii. 25 presupposes the form Achar (*Aḥar*).

^c Heb. "a mantle of Shinar (*i.e.* Babylonia) and 200 shekels of silver and a wedge of gold of 50 shekels weight" (Jos. vii. 21).

^d So LXX: Heb. Gilgal.

^e One of the historian's "free" etymologies, but perhaps taken over from others (Weill quotes the translation *ἐλευθερία* in Theodoret i. p. 199). Scripture derives the name Gilgal from the verb *galal* ("to roll") and adds the explanation "This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you" (by the reinstatement of the practice of circumcision).

JOSEPHUS

- 35 (12) Μετὰ δ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος
 συμφορᾶς πέμπει τρισχιλίους ὀπλίτας Ἰησοῦς εἰς¹
 Ναϊάν² πόλιν ὑπὲρ τῆς Ἰεριχοῦντος κειμένην
 αἰρήσοντας, οἱ συμβαλόντων αὐτοῖς τῶν Ναϊητῶν
 τραπέντες ἀποβάλλουσιν ἄνδρας ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα.
- 36 τοῦτ' ἀγγελθὲν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις λύπην τε μεγάλην
 καὶ δεινὴν ἐποίησεν ἀθυμίαν, οὐ κατὰ τὸ οἰκεῖον
 τῶν ἀπολωλότων, καίτοι γε πάντων ἀνδρῶν
 ἀγαθῶν καὶ σπουδῆς ἀξίων διεφθαρμένων, ἀλλὰ
- 37 κατὰ ἀπόγνωσιν· πιστεύοντες γὰρ ἤδη τῆς γῆς
 ἐγκρατεῖς εἶναι καὶ σῶον ἕξειν ἐν ταῖς μάχαις τὸν
 στρατὸν οὕτως τοῦ θεοῦ προὔπεσχημένου, τε-
 θαρρηκότας παραδόξως ἐώρων τοὺς πολεμίους·
 καὶ σάκκους ἐπενδύντες ταῖς στολαῖς δι' ὅλης
 ἡμέρας ἐν δακρύοις ἦσαν καὶ πένθει, τροφῆς οὐ-
 δεμίαν ἐπιζήτησιν ποιούμενοι, μειζόνως δὲ τὸ
 συμβεβηκὸς εἶχον ἀχθόμενοι.
- 38 (13) Βλέπων δὲ οὕτως ὁ Ἰησοῦς τὴν τε στρατιὰν
 καταπεπληγυῖαν καὶ περὶ τῶν ὄλων πονηρὰν ἤδη
 τὴν ἐλπίδα λαμβάνουσαν παρρησίαν λαμβάνει πρὸς
- 39 τὸν θεόν· “ ἡμεῖς ” γὰρ εἶπεν “ οὐχ ὑπ' αὐθαδείας
 προήχθημεν ὥστε ταύτην ὑπάγεσθαι τοῖς ὄπλοις
 τὴν γῆν, ἀλλὰ Μωυσέος τοῦ σοῦ δούλου πρὸς τοῦθ'
 ἡμᾶς ἐξεγείραντος, ᾧ διὰ πολλῶν τεκμηρίων
 ἐπηγγέλλου κτήσασθαι παρέξειν ἡμῖν τήνδε τὴν
 γῆν καὶ τὸν στρατὸν ἡμῶν αἰεὶ τῶν πολεμίων
- 40 ποιήσειν τοῖς ὄπλοις κρείττονα. τινὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ
 τὰς ὑποσχέσεις ἡμῖν ἀπήντησε τὰς σάς, νῦν δὲ
 παρὰ δόξαν ἐπταικότες καὶ τῆς δυνάμεώς τινας
 ἀποβαλόντες ἐπὶ τούτοις ὡς οὐ βεβαίων τῶν παρὰ

¹ om. Ernesti.

² Ἰαταῦν E Lat.: v.l. Ἰα(ν)αυ.

• Heb. Ai (Ἰαί), LXX Gal. The form Naiá has arisen out of

(12) A few days after the downfall of Jericho, Joshua sent three thousand men-at-arms to the city of Naia,^a situated above Jericho, to capture it. These, being opposed by the Naietans, were routed and lost six-and-thirty men. The announcement of this news to the Israelites caused them great grief and dire despondency, not so much because of their kinship to the fallen, albeit they were all valiant and worthy men^b who had perished, as from utter despair. For, believing themselves already masters of the country and that they would keep their army unscathed in the combats, even as God had promised heretofore, they now beheld their enemies unexpectedly emboldened. And so, putting sackcloth upon their apparel, they passed a whole day in tears and lamentation, without one thought for food, and in their vexation unduly magnified what had befallen.

A defeat at Naia (Ai).
Jos. vii. 2.

(13) Seeing his army thus cast down and a prey to gloomy forebodings concerning the whole campaign, Joshua frankly appealed to God. "It was," he said, "from no confidence in ourselves that we were induced to subjugate this land by arms: nay, it was Moses, thy servant, who incited us thereto, he to whom by many tokens thou didst promise to vouchsafe to us to win this land, and ever to ensure to our army superiority in battle over our foes. And indeed some things have befallen in accordance with thy promises; but now, having suffered unlooked-for defeat, having lost some of our force, we are distressed at these things, which make thy

Joshua's prayer.
Jos. vii. 7.

'Aĩa—attested by the Latin version and perhaps original—through duplication of the *ν* in the accusative—*την (N)αϊαν*; modern Greek supplies many parallels, *e.g.* *Νιδα = "Ιδα*.

^b Amplification, for which there is Rabbinical authority (Weill).

- σου καὶ ὧν προεῖπε Μωυσῆς ἀχθόμεθα, καὶ χεῖρον ἢ τῶν μελλόντων ἐλπίς ἡμᾶς ἀνιᾶ τῇ πρώτῃ πείρα
 41 τοιαύτῃ συντυχόντας. ἀλλὰ σύ, δέσποτα, δύναμις γάρ σοι τούτων ἴασιν εὐρεῖν, τό τε παρὸν ἡμῶν λυπηρὸν νίκην παρασχόμενος καὶ τὸ περὶ τῶν αὐθις δύσελπι διακεείμενον οὕτως τῆς διανοίας ἔξελε.”
- 42 (14) Ταῦτα μὲν Ἰησοῦς ἐπὶ στόμα πεσῶν ἠρώτα τὸν θεόν· χρηματίσαντος δὲ ἀνίστασθαι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ καθαίρειν τὸν στρατὸν μιάσματος ἐν αὐτῷ γεγονότος κλοπῆς τε τῶν καθιερωμένων αὐτῷ χρημάτων τετολμημένης, διὰ γὰρ ταῦτα τὴν νῦν αὐτοῖς ἦτταν συμπεσεῖν, ἀναζητηθέντος δὲ τοῦ δράσαντος καὶ κολασθέντος νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀεὶ περιέσεσθαι¹ τῶν πολεμίων, φράζει ταῦτα πρὸς τὸν
 43 λαὸν Ἰησοῦς, καὶ καλέσας Ἐλεάζαρον τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ τοὺς ἐν τέλει κατὰ φυλὴν ἐκλήρου. τούτου δὲ τὸ τετολμημένον ἐκ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς δηλοῦντος κατὰ φατρίας πάλιν ταύτης προτίθησι τὸν κλῆρον. τὸ δ’ ἀληθὲς τοῦ κακουργήματος περὶ τὴν Ἀχάρου
 44 συγγένειαν ἠγύρισκετο. κατ’ ἄνδρα δὲ τῆς ἐξετάσεως γινομένης λαμβάνουσι τὸν Ἀχαρον· ὁ δ’ οὐκ ἔχων ἔξαρκος εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ δεινῶς αὐτὸν ἐκπεριελθόντος, ὠμολόγει τε τὴν κλοπὴν καὶ τὰ φώρια παρῆγεν εἰς μέσον. καὶ οὗτος μὲν εὐθὺς ἀναιρεθεὶς ἐν νυκτὶ ταφῆς ἀτίμου καὶ καταδίκῃ προπούσης τυγχάνει.

¹ conj. Niese: περισώζεσθαι RO: πορίζεσθαι rell.: proveniret Lat.

^a Jos. vii. 25, “ And all Israel stoned him with stones [and they burned them with fire and (Targum ‘after that they had’) stoned them with stones].” The bracketed words, absent from the LXX, are confused and the addition of later

promises and those predictions of Moses appear unsure ; and yet more sorely are we pained at the thought of what the future holds in store, having met with such issue to our first assault. But do thou, Lord, since thou hast power to find healing for these ills, dispel our present affliction by vouchsafing us victory and thus banish from our mind our deep despondency concerning the future."

(14) Thus did Joshua, prostrated upon his face, make petition to God. And the response came from God, that he should arise and purge the army of the pollution that had been wrought therein and of a daring theft of objects consecrated to Him, since that was the cause of their recent defeat ; but were the culprit sought out and punished, they would for ever be assured of victory over their enemies. All this Joshua repeated to the people and, summoning Eleazar the high priest and the magistrates, he proceeded to draw lots for the several tribes. And when this revealed that the sacrilege issued from the tribe of Judah, he again had lots drawn for its several clans ; and the true story of the crime was found to rest with the family of Achar. The inquiry being pursued further man by man, they caught Achar. And he, unable to make denial, being thus shrewdly circumvented by God, avowed his theft and produced the stolen goods before all. He was straightway put to death and at nightfall was given the ignominious burial proper to the condemned.^a

Discovery
and death
of the
sinner
Achar.
Jos. vii. 6,
10 ff.

editors. As M. Weill points out, Josephus doubtless adds the burial, unrecorded in Scripture, to indicate that the Mosaic law on stoning, which he has previously reported (iv. 202), was exactly followed ; but he may already have found here some addition in his Biblical text which he interpreted as an allusion to burial.

JOSEPHUS

45 (15) Ἰησοῦς δὲ ἀγνίσας τὸν στρατὸν ἐξῆγεν ἐπὶ τὴν Ναϊάν αὐτοὺς¹ καὶ νυκτὸς τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν ἐνέδραις προλοχίσας ὑπὸ τὸν ὄρθρον συμβάλλει τοῖς πολεμίοις. τῶν δὲ μετὰ θάρσους² αὐτοῖς διὰ τὴν προτέραν νίκην ἐπιόντων ὑποχωρεῖν προσποιησάμενος ἔλκει τῷ τρόπῳ τούτῳ μακρὰν αὐτοὺς τῆς πόλεως διώκειν οἰομένους καὶ ὡς ἐπὶ νίκη κατα-
 46 φρονοῦντας. ἔπειτ' ἀναστρέψας τὴν δύναμιν κατὰ πρόσωπον αὐτοῖς ποιεῖ, σημειά τε δούς ἅ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν ταῖς ἐνέδραις συνετέτακτο κάκεινους ἐπὶ τὴν μάχην ἐξανίστησιν. οἱ δ' εἰσεπήδων εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἔνδον περὶ τοῖς τείχεσιν ὄντων, ἐνίων δὲ καὶ πρὸς θέαν τῶν ἔξω τὴν γνώμην περισπωμένων.
 47 καὶ οἱ μὲν τὴν πόλιν ἤρουν καὶ πάντα τοὺς ἐντυγχάνοντας ἔκτεινον, Ἰησοῦς δὲ τοὺς προσελθόντας εἰς χεῖρας βιασάμενος φυγεῖν τρέπεται, συνελαινώμενοι δὲ ὡς εἰς ἀκέραιον τὴν πόλιν ἐπεὶ καὶ ταύτην ἐχομένην³ ἐώρων καὶ καταπιμπραμένην ὁμοῦ γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις κατέλαβον, διὰ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἦσαν⁴ σκεδασθέντες⁵ ἀμύνειν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ μονώσεως
 48 οὐ δυνάμενοι. τοιαύτης δὲ τῆς συμφορᾶς τοὺς Ναϊτιανοὺς καταλαβούσης, παίδων τε ὄχλος ἐάλω καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ θεραπείας καὶ τῆς ἄλλης ἀποσκευῆς ἄπειρόν τι πλῆθος, ἀγέλας τε βοσκημάτων ἔλαβον οἱ Ἑβραῖοι καὶ χρήματα πολλά, καὶ γὰρ πλούσιον ἦν τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ταῦτα πάντα τοῖς στρατιώταις Ἰησοῦς διένειμεν ἐν Γαλγάλοις γενόμενος.

49 (16) Γαβαωνῖται δὲ κατοικοῦντες ἔγγιστα τοῖς

¹ ed. pr.: αὐτὸς codd.: om. E Lat.

² θράσους ME.

³ οἰχομένην ROE.

⁴ ἦσαν M: ἦσαν SPL: om. tell.

⁵ + καὶ ROE.

(15) Joshua, having purified his army, now led them out against Naia, and, after posting ambuscades during the night all about the town,^a at day-break joined battle with the enemy. And when these advanced against them with an assurance begotten of their former victory, Joshua, feigning a retreat, drew them in this way to a distance from the town, they imagining themselves in pursuit of a beaten foe and being disdainful of them in anticipation of victory. Then, turning his forces about, he made them face their pursuers and, giving the prearranged signals to those in ambush, roused them also to the fight. These flung themselves into the town, the occupants of which were around the ramparts, some wholly engrossed in watching their friends outside.^b So while they took the town and slew all whom they encountered, Joshua broke the ranks of his adversaries and forced them to flee. Driven in a body to the town which they supposed to be intact, when they saw that it too was taken and found that it was in flames, along with their wives and children, they scattered throughout the country, incapable through their isolation of offering resistance. Such being the fate that befell the Naïetans, a crowd of children, women and slaves was taken, beside an immense mass of material. The Hebrews captured moreover herds of cattle and money in abundance, for the region was rich, and all this Joshua distributed to his soldiers, while he was at Galgala.

Conquest
of Naia.
Jos. viii. 3.

(16) Now the Gabaonites,^c who lived quite close

^a The Greek is modelled on Thuc. ii. 81.

^b Amplification; according to Jos. viii. 17 not a man had been left in the town.

^c So LXX (Γαβαών): Heb. "Gibeon."

JOSEPHUS

Ἱεροσολύμοις τὰ τε τοῖς Ἱεριχουντίοις συμβε-
 βηκότα πάθη καὶ τὰ τοῖς Ναϊτίνοις ὄρωντες καὶ
 πρὸς σφᾶς μεταβήσεσθαι τὸ δεινὸν ὑπονοοῦντες,
 Ἰησοῦν μὲν παρακαλεῖν οὐ διέγνωσαν· οὐδὲ¹ γὰρ
 τεύξεσθαι τινος τῶν μετρίων ὑπελάμβανον ἐπ'
 ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων ἔθνους παντὸς πολεμοῦντος
 50 αὐτούς· Κεφηρίτας δὲ καὶ Καραθιαριμίτας γεί-
 τονας ὄντας αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν παρεκάλουν,
 οὐδ' αὐτοὺς διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν κίνδυνον λέγοντες,
 εἰ φθάσαιεν αὐτοὶ ληφθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν,
 συνασπίσαντας δὲ αὐτοῖς διέγνωσαν² διαδράναι τὴν
 51 δύναμιν αὐτῶν. προσδεξαμένων δὲ τοὺς λόγους
 αὐτῶν πέμπουσι πρέσβεις πρὸς Ἰησοῦν φιλίαν
 σπεισομένους οὓς μάλιστα τῶν πολιτῶν ἐδοκίμαζον
 52 ἱκανοὺς πράξαι τὰ συμφέροντα τῷ πλήθει. οἱ δὲ
 ὁμολογεῖν αὐτοὺς Χαναναίους ἐπισφαλὲς ἠγούμενοι,
 διαφεύξεσθαι τὸν διὰ τοῦτο κίνδυνον ὑπολαμβάνον-
 τες, εἰ λέγοιεν αὐτοὺς μὴ προσήκειν κατὰ μηδὲν
 Χαναναίους ἀλλὰ πορρωτάτῳ τούτων κατοικεῖν,
 ἦκειν τε κατὰ πίστιν³ τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῦ πολλὴν
 ἀνύσαντες ὁδὸν ἔφασκον καὶ τεκμήριον τοῦ λόγου
 53 τούτου τὸ σχῆμα ὑπεδείκνυον· τὰς γὰρ ἐσθήτας
 καινὰς ὅτε ἐξήεσαν οὓσας ὑπὸ τοῦ χρόνου τῆς
 ὁδοιπορίας αὐτοῖς τετριφθεῖν· τρυχίνας γὰρ εἰς τὸ
 ταῦτα πιστοῦσθαι πρὸς αὐτῶν ἐπίτηδες ἔλαβον.
 54 στάντες οὖν εἰς μέσους ἔλεγον, ὡς πεμφθεῖεν ὑπὸ
 τῶν Γαβαωνιτῶν καὶ τῶν περιοίκων πόλεων
 πλείστον ἀπεχουσῶν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς ποιησόμενοι

¹ Dindorf: οὔτε codd.

² possent Lat.: hence I should read ἄν (διέγνωσαν may have come into the text from § 49).

³ Bekker: πίστιν codd.

to Jerusalem, seeing the disasters that had befallen the inhabitants of Jericho and of Naia and suspecting that they too would be visited by this dire fate, yet resolved not to implore mercy of Joshua ; for they did not think to obtain any tolerable terms from a belligerent whose aim was the extermination of the whole race of the Canaanites. But they invited the Kephêrites and the Kariathiarimites,^a their neighbours, to make alliance with them, telling them that neither would they escape this peril, should they themselves have first been conquered by the Israelites, whereas if they united their arms with theirs they might evade their violence.^b These overtures being accepted, the Gabaonites sent ambassadors to Joshua to make a league of amity, choosing those of their citizens whom they judged most capable of acting in the interests of the people. And these, deeming it hazardous to avow themselves Canaanites, and thinking to escape the peril of so doing by asserting that they had no connexion whatever with the Canaanites but lived very far away from them, declared that it was the tidings of his valour which had brought them thither, after accomplishing a long journey, and in proof of this statement they pointed to their apparel. Their garments, quite new when they set out, had (they said) been worn out by the length of their journey ; for, to get them to believe this story, they had purposely clothed themselves in rags. So, standing amidst the host, they said that they had been sent by the Gabaonites and the neighbouring cities, very remote from that

Ruse of the
Gabaonites.
Jos. ix. 3.

^a Chephirah (LXX κεφειρά) and Kiriath-jearim (πόλις Ἰαρβν) are mentioned in Jos. ix. 18 as allied with Gibeon, along with another city (Beeroth) ignored by Josephus.

^b Text doubtful.

JOSEPHUS

- πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν ἐφ' αἷς πάτριον αὐτοῖς ἐστὶ
 συνθήκαις· μαθόντες γὰρ ἐκ θεοῦ χάριτος καὶ δωρεᾶς
 τὴν Χανααίων αὐτοῖς γῆν κτήσασθαι δεδόσθαι
 τούτοις τ' ἔλεγον ἡδεσθαι καὶ πολίτας ἀξιούν
 55 αὐτῶν γενέσθαι. καὶ οἱ μὲν ταῦτα λέγοντες καὶ
 ἐπιδεικνύντες τὰ τεκμήρια τῆς ὁδοιπορίας παρ-
 εκάλουν ἐπὶ συνθήκας καὶ φιλίαν τοὺς Ἑβραίους·
 Ἰησοῦς δὲ πιστεύσας οἷς ἔλεγον, ὡς οὐκ εἰσὶ τοῦ
 Χανααίων ἔθνους, ποιεῖται πρὸς αὐτοὺς φιλίαν,
 καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς μετὰ τῆς γερουσίας
 ὁμνυσιν ἔξειν τε φίλους καὶ συμμάχους καὶ μηδὲν
 μοχλεύσεσθαι κατ' αὐτῶν ἄδικον, τοῖς ὄρκοις
 56 ἐπισυναιέσαντος τοῦ πλήθους. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὧν
 ἠθελον τυχόντες ἐξ ἀπάτης ἀπήεσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς.
 Ἰησοῦς δὲ τῆς Χανααίας στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν
 ὑπώρειον καὶ μαθὼν οὐ πόρρω τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων
 τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας κατωκημένους καὶ τοῦ γένους
 ὄντας τῶν Χανααίων, μεταπεμφάμενος αὐτῶν
 57 τοὺς ἐν τέλει τῆς ἀπάτης αὐτοῖς ἐνεκάλει. τῶν δ'
 οὐκ ἄλλην ἀφορμὴν σωτηρίας ἔχειν ἢ ταύτην προ-
 φασιζομένων καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ἐξ ἀνάγκης
 καταφυγεῖν συγκαλεῖ τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἐλεάζαρον καὶ
 τὴν γερουσίαν, καὶ δημοσίους αὐτοὺς δικαιούντων
 ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῷ μὴ παραβῆναι τὸν ὄρκον ἀποδείκνυσιν¹
 εἶναι τοιούτους. καὶ οἱ μὲν τῆς καταλαβούσης
 αὐτοὺς συμφορᾶς τοιαύτην φυλακὴν καὶ ἀσφάλειαν
 εὔραντο.
- 58 (17) Τοῦ δὲ τῶν Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν βασιλέως χα-
 λεπῶς φέροντος ἐπὶ τῷ μετατάξασθαι πρὸς τὸν

¹ ἀποδεικνύουσιν ROML.

^a Or "engineer," "trump up" (literally "prise up").

present land, to make alliance with them on such terms as were customary with their fathers; for, having learnt that by the grace and bounty of God the land of the Canaanites had been granted them for their possession, they rejoiced thereat and craved to become their fellow-citizens. With these words, and withal displaying the tokens of their travel, they besought the Hebrews to make a covenant and league of amity with them. Thereupon Joshua, believing what they said, that they were not of the race of the Canaanites, made a league with them; and Eleazar the high priest, along with the council of elders, swore to hold them as friends and allies and to contrive ^a no iniquity against them, and the people ratified the oaths. So the envoys, having attained their end by guile, returned to their own people; but Joshua, having marched into the foothills of Canaan and learnt that the Gabaonites lived not far from Jerusalem and were of the stock of the Canaanites, sent for their magistrates and upbraided them for this fraud. When these alleged that they had no other means of salvation save that, and that they had therefore perforce had recourse to it, Joshua convoked the high priest Eleazar and the council; and, acting upon their judgement that they should be made public slaves,^b so as to avoid violation of the oath, he appointed them to those functions. Thus did these people, when confronted with calamity, find protection and security for themselves.

(17) But the king of the Jerusalemites,^c indignant that the Gabaonites should have passed over to the

^b "Hewers of wood and drawers of water for the congregation," Jos. ix. 27.

^c Named Adonizedek, Jos. x. 1.

JOSEPHUS

- Ἰησοῦν τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας καὶ τοὺς τῶν πλησίων ἔθνῶν παρακάλεσαντος βασιλέας συνάρασθαι τῷ κατ' αὐτῶν πολέμῳ, ὡς τούτους τε εἶδον παρόντας σὺν αὐτῷ, τέσσαρες δὲ ἦσαν, οἱ Γαβαωνίται καὶ στρατοπεδευσασμένους ἐπὶ τινι πηγῇ τῆς πόλεως οὐκ ἄπωθεν παρασκευάζεσθαι πρὸς πολιορκίαν,
- 59 ἐπεκαλοῦντο σύμμαχον Ἰησοῦν· ἐν τούτοις γὰρ ἦν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα, ὡς ὑπὸ μὲν τούτων¹ ἀπολείσθαι προσδοκᾶν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους στρατευσάντων σωθήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν
- 60 γενομένην φιλίαν ὑπολαμβάνειν. καὶ Ἰησοῦς πανστρατιᾷ σπεύσας ἐπὶ τὴν βοήθειαν καὶ δι' ἡμέρας καὶ νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὄρθριος προσμίγνυσι τοῖς πολεμίοις καὶ τραπέισιν εἶπετο διώκων διὰ χωρίων ἐπικλινῶν, Βήθωρα καλεῖται. ἔνθα καὶ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔμαθεν ἐπισημήναντος αὐτοῦ βρονταῖς τε καὶ κεραυνῶν ἀφέσει καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ
- 61 μείζονος τῆς συνήθους· ἔτι γε μὴν καὶ τὴν ἡμέραν αὐξήθηται πλέον, ὡς ἂν μὴ καταλαβοῦσα νύξ ἐπίσχη τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πρόθυμον, συνέπεσεν, ὥστε καὶ λαμβάνει τοὺς βασιλέας Ἰησοῦς ἐν τινι κρυπτομένους σπηλαίῳ κατὰ Μακχίδα καὶ κολάζει πάντας. ὅτι δὲ τὸ μῆκος τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπέδωκε τότε καὶ τοῦ συνήθους ἐπλεόνασε, δηλοῦται διὰ τῶν ἀνακειμένων ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ γραμμάτων.
- 62 (18) Κατεστραμμένων δ' οὕτως τῶν περὶ τοὺς βασιλέας, οἱ τοὺς Γαβαωνίτας πολεμήσοντες ἐστράτευσαν, ἐπανήει πάλιν τῆς Χαναanaίας ἐπὶ τὴν

¹ M: τῶν τοιοῦτων RO: τῶν οἰκείων SPL (Lat. suis).

side of Joshua, called upon the kings of the neighbouring nations to join him in a campaign against them; whereat the Gabaonites, having seen these monarchs come with him, four in number, and encamp by a spring not far from their city, preparing to besiege them, appealed to Joshua for aid. For such was their case, that from their countrymen they could await but destruction, while from those who had taken the field for the extermination of the Canaanite race they looked for salvation, thanks to the alliance which had been concluded. Joshua, with his whole army, sped to their assistance and, marching all day and night, at early dawn fell upon the foe, routed them and followed in pursuit down the slopes of the region called Bēthōra.^a There too he was given to know of God's co-operation, manifested by thunder-claps, the discharge of thunderbolts and the descent of hail of more than ordinary magnitude. Aye and moreover it befell that the day was prolonged, to the end that night should not overtake them and check the Hebrews' ardour; insomuch that Joshua both captured the kings, who were hiding in a cave at Macchida,^b and punished all their host. That the length of the day was increased on that occasion and surpassed the customary measure, is attested by Scriptures that are laid up in the temple.^c

Defeat of
the league
of kings.
The
lengthened
day.
Jos. x. 1.

(18) Having thus overthrown that league of kings who had set out to war against the Gabaonites, Joshua remounted into the hill-country of Canaan; battles, notably of the rout of a Roman legion at the opening of the Jewish War (*B.J.* ii. 546).

^b Bibl. Makkedah (*Makkedah*), LXX Μαχηδία, Jos. x. 10, 16: perhaps *el-Mughar* ("the cavern") S.W. of Ekron.

^c Cf. iii. 38, iv. 303 with notes.

JOSEPHUS

ὀρεινήν Ἰησοῦς καὶ πολὺν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ φόνον
 ἐργασάμενος καὶ λείαν λαβὼν παρῆν εἰς τὸ ἐν
 63 Γαλαγαλοῖς στρατόπεδον. τοῦ δὲ περὶ τῆς τῶν
 Ἑβραίων ἀρετῆς λόγου πολλοῦ φοιτῶντος εἰς τοὺς
 περιοίκους κατάπληξις εἶχε τοὺς ἀκούοντας τὸ τῶν
 ἀπολωλότων πλῆθος, καὶ στρατεύουσιν ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 οἱ περὶ Λίβανον ὄρος βασιλεῖς ὄντες Χαναναῖοι καὶ
 οἱ ἐν τοῖς πεδίοις τῶν Χαναναίων Παλαιστίνους
 προσλαβόντες στρατοπεδεύουσι¹ πρὸς Βηρώθη πόλει
 Γαλιλαίας τῆς ἄνω Κεδέσης οὐ πόρρω· Γαλιλαίων
 64 δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον. τοῦ δὲ στρατοῦ
 παντὸς ὀπλιτῶν μὲν ἦσαν μυριάδες τριάκοντα,
 μύριοι δ' ἵππεῖς καὶ ἄρματα δισμύρια. κατα-
 πλήττει δὲ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολεμίων αὐτόν τε
 Ἰησοῦν καὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐλπίδα
 τοῦ κρείττονος εὐλαβεστέρως εἶχον δι' ὑπερβολὴν
 65 τοῦ δέους. τοῦ θεοῦ δ' ἐξονειδίσαντος αὐτοῖς τὸν
 φόβον καὶ τί² πλέον τῆς παρ' αὐτοῦ βοηθείας
 ποθοῦσιν, ὑποσχομένου τε νικήσειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
 καὶ κελεύσαντος τοὺς τε ἵππους ἀχρήστους ποιῆσαι
 καὶ τὰ ἄρματα πυρῶσαι, θαρσαλέος πρὸς τὰς ὑπο-
 σχέςεις τοῦ θεοῦ γενόμενος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 66 πολεμίους, καὶ διὰ πέμπτης ἡμέρας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς
 ἐλθὼν συνάπτει, καὶ καρτερὰ μάχη γίνεται καὶ
 φόνος κρείττων πίστεως παρὰ τοῖς ἀκρωμένοις.
 διώκων δ' ἐπὶ πλεῖστον ἐξῆλθε καὶ πᾶν τὸ στρα-

¹ veneruntque Lat.

² ei MSPL Lat.

^a The Greek, here and throughout, has "Palestinians."

^b Jos. xi. 5, "at the waters of Merom" (LXX Μαρρών), com-

there he made great carnage of the inhabitants and captured booty, and so returned to the camp at Galgala. The fame of the Hebrews' valour being now mightily noised abroad among the neighbouring peoples, consternation seized them on hearing of those multitudes of slain; and there set off to war against them the kings of the region of Mount Libanus, who were Canaanites, and the Canaanites of the plains, joined by the Philistines,^a and established their camp at Bērothe,^b a city of upper Galilee, not far from Kedese,^c another place within the Galilean area. Their entire army amounted to 300,000 men-at-arms, 10,000 horsemen, and 20,000 chariots.^d This host of enemies dismayed both Joshua himself and the Israelites, and in the excess of their fear they scarce durst hope for success. But God rebuked them for their terror and for craving aught beyond His aid, promising them victory over their foes and bidding them put their horses out of action and to burn the chariots. Emboldened by these promises of God, Joshua set forth against the enemy, and on the fifth day^e came upon them and engaged them: a fierce combat ensued and a carnage such that the tale of it would outrun belief. Advancing very far in pursuit, Joshua destroyed the

Defeat of a
host of
Canaanites
and
Philistines
in Galilee.
Jos. x. 43;
xi. 1.

xi. 6.

monly but incorrectly (G. A. Smith) identified with the small lake *Huleh*, north of the Lake of Tiberias. The site of the battle is unknown; Josephus seems to identify it with one of the towns which he fortified during the war with Rome and which he calls elsewhere Mero(th) or Ameroth (*B.J.* ii. 573, iii. 39, *Vita* 188).

^c Kedesh Naphtali, N.W. of the lake *Huleh*.

^d The numbers are imaginary: Scripture speaks only of "much people, even as the sand that is upon the seashore in multitude, with horses and chariots very many."

^e Amplification.

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τευμα τῶν ἐχθρῶν πλὴν ὀλίγων διέφθειρε, καὶ οἱ
 67 βασιλεῖς πάντες ἔπεσον, ὥστε τῶν ἀνθρώπων
 ἐπιλελοιπότων πρὸς τὸ κτείνεσθαι τοὺς ἵππους
 Ἰησοῦς αὐτῶν ἀνήρει καὶ τὰ ἄρματα ἐνεπίμπρα,
 τὴν τε χώραν ἐπ' ἀδείας διεπορεύετο μηδενὸς
 τολμῶντος εἰς μάχην ἐπεξελθεῖν, ἀλλὰ πολιορκία
 τὰς πόλεις αἰρῶν καὶ πᾶν ὃ τι λάβοι φονεύων.

68 (19) Ἔτος δὲ πέμπτον ἤδη παρεληλύθει καὶ
 Χανααίων οὐκέτ' οὐδεὶς ὑπολέλειπτο πλὴν εἰ μὴ
 τινες ὀχυρότητι τειχῶν διέφυγον. Ἰησοῦς δ' ἐκ
 τῶν Γαλγάλων ἀναστρατοπεδεύσας εἰς τὴν ὄρειον¹
 ἰστᾶ τὴν ἱερὰν σκηνὴν κατὰ Σιλοῦν πόλιν, ἐπιτή-
 δειον γὰρ ἐδόκει τὸ χωρίον διὰ κάλλος, ἕως οἰκο-
 69 δομεῖν ναδὸν αὐτοῖς τὰ πράγματα παράσχη.² καὶ
 χωρήσας ἐντεῦθεν ἐπὶ Σικίμων σὺν ἅπαντι τῷ λαῷ
 βωμόν τε ἴστησιν ὅπου προεῖπε Μωυσῆς καὶ
 νεύμας τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Γαριζεῖ ὄρει τὴν
 ἡμίσειαν ἴστησιν, ἐπὶ δὲ τῷ Ἡβήλῳ³ τὴν ἡμίσειαν,
 ἐν ᾧ καὶ ὁ βωμός,⁴ καὶ τὸ Λευιτικὸν καὶ τοὺς
 70 ἱερέας. θύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἀρὰς ποιησάμενοι καὶ
 ταύτας ἐπὶ τῷ βωμῷ γεγραμμένας καταλιπόντες
 εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἀνέζευξαν.

¹ ὄρεινὴν SPE.

² παράσχοι Niese.

³ Γηβήλω ML.

⁴ E: βωμός ἐστι (conj. ἔσθη Niese) codd.

^a Scripture makes no such exception: "they smote them until they left them none remaining" (Jos. xi. 8).

^b A calculation based apparently on Jos. xiv. 7 and 10, where Caleb declares that he was 40 years old when sent out as a spy and that he is now 85. Allowing 40 years for the wanderings, this gives 5 years for the wars of Joshua. Tradition, based on that same passage (together, it would

whole of the enemy's army, save for a few ^a—the kings all fell—in such wise that, when there were no more men to be killed, he slew their horses and burnt the chariots. He then overran the country unmolested, none daring to come out to give him battle; the cities too he captured by siege and massacred every creature that he caught.

(19) A fifth year had now passed away ^b and there was no longer any Canaanite left, save for such as had escaped through the solidity of their walls. So Joshua moved his camp up from Galgala into the hill country and set up the holy tabernacle at the city of Silo,^c since that spot, by its beauty, seemed meet for it, until circumstances should permit them to build a temple. Proceeding thence to Sikima,^d with all the people, he erected an altar at the spot fore-ordained by Moses,^e and, dividing his army, posted one half of it on mount Garizin and the other half on Hēbēl,^f whereon also stood the altar, along with the Levites and the priests. After sacrificing and pronouncing imprecations,^g which they also left graven upon the altar, they returned to Silo.

Erection of the tabernacle at Shiloh and ceremonies at Shechem Jos. xviii. 1.

viii. 30 (LXX ix. 3).

seem, with Deut. ii. 14, which restricts the wanderings to 38 years) assigned 7 years to the conquest (Weill).

^c Greek "Silous": Heb. Shiloh, LXX Σηλώ.

^d Bibl. Shechem, LXX Σικιμα or Σύχεμ, mod. *Nablus*. Scripture places this episode earlier, immediately after the conquest of Ai—unnaturally, because northern Palestine had not then been conquered. Shechem is not mentioned in the Biblical account and there is reason to think that "in order to oppose Samaritan claims, the whole scene of the ceremony has (there) been transported from Shechem to Gilgal" (G. A. Cooke, *Camb. Bible*, on Jos. viii. 30).

^e *A.* iv. 305.

^f Bibl. Ebal, LXX Γαιβάλ: in *A.* iv. *l.c.* Βουλή.

^g Prescribed in Deut. xxvii. ff. (*A.* iv. *l.c.*).

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- 71 (20) Ἰησοῦς δ' ἤδη γηραιὸς ὦν καὶ τὰς τῶν Χανααίων πόλεις ὄρων οὐκ εὐαλότους ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν χωρίων ἐν οἷς ἦσαν ὀχυρότητος καὶ τῆς τῶν τειχῶν ἰσχύος, ἃ τῇ φυσικῇ τῶν πόλεων πλεονεξία προσπεριβαλλόμενοι¹ προσεδόκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἀφέξεσθαι πολιορκίας δι' ἀπόγνωσιν τοῦ
- 72 λαβεῖν, καὶ γὰρ ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῷ ἑαυτῶν οἱ Χανααῖοι μαθόντες τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ποιησαμένους τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου πρὸς τῷ τὰς πόλεις καρτερὰς ποιεῖν ἐκείνους ἅπαντ' ἦσαν τὸν χρόνον, συναγαγὼν τὸν λαὸν εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν ἐκκλησίαν παρήγγειλε.
- 73 καὶ σπουδῇ συνδραμόντων τά τε ἤδη κατωρθωμένα καὶ τὰς γεγενημένας πράξεις, ὡς εἰσὶν ἄριστα καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτὰς ἄξια καὶ τῆς ἀρετῆς τῶν νόμων οἷς κατακολουθοῦσιν ἔλεγε, βασιλεῖς τε τριάκοντα καὶ ἕνα τόλμήσαντας αὐτοῖς εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν κεκρατῆσθαι δηλῶν, καὶ στρατιὰν ὅση ποτὲ κατελπίσασα τῆς αὐτῶν δυνάμεως εἰς μάχην συνῆψεν ἅπασαν διαφθαρέϊσαν, ὡς μηδὲ
- 74 γενεὰν αὐτοῖς ὑπολελεῖφθαι. τῶν δὲ πόλεων ἐπειδήπερ αἱ μὲν ἐαλώκεσαν, πρὸς ἃς δὲ δεῖ χρόνου καὶ μεγάλης πολιορκίας διὰ τὴν τῶν τειχῶν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ ταύτῃ τῶν οἰκητόρων πεποίθησιν, ἠξίου τοὺς ἐκ τῆς περαιίας τοῦ Ἰορδάνου συνεξορμήσαντας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῶν κινδύνων συναραμένους ὄντας συγγενεῖς ἀπολύειν ἤδη πρὸς τὰ οἰκεία, χάριν αὐτοῖς ὦν συνέκαμον ὁμο-
- 75 λογοῦντας, ἕνα τε κατὰ φυλὴν ἀρετῇ προύχειν μαρτυρηθέντα πέμπειν, οἱ τὴν γῆν ἐκμετρησάμενοι

¹ προσεπιβαλλόμενοι ROE.

^a Or perhaps "over-confident of (defeating) their forces."

^b "Three men for each tribe," Jos. l.c.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 71-75

(20) Joshua, being now old and seeing that the cities of the Canaanites were not lightly to be taken, by reason both of the strength of the sites on which they stood and of the solidity of the walls with which the inhabitants had crowned the natural advantages of their towns, reckoning that their enemies would refrain from besieging what they despaired of capturing—for the Canaanites, since they heard that it was for their destruction that the Israelites had made their exodus from Egypt, had spent all that time in fortifying their cities—Joshua, I say, called his people together to Silo and summoned an assembly. Thither they sped with alacrity, and he spoke to them of the successes already achieved and the exploits accomplished, saying how fine they were and worthy of the Deity who had vouchsafed them and of the excellence of those laws which they were following : he recalled how one and thirty kings who had dared to close with them had been defeated, and how that vast army which once, over-confident in its strength,^a had joined battle with them, had been entirely destroyed, insomuch that not one family of theirs had survived. Of the cities too some had been taken, but seeing that for the capture of others there was need of time and great siege-works, owing to the strength of their ramparts and the confidence which this inspired in their inhabitants, he deemed it right that those from beyond Jordan who had come to take part in their campaign and had shared their dangers as kinsmen, should now be dismissed to their homes with an expression of thanks for their aid in the task. “ Furthermore,” said he, “ we should send, one from each tribe,^b men of approved virtue, to measure out the land faith-

Joshua's
address to
the people
at Shiloh.
Jos. xiii. 1.

xviii. 1.

xii. 24.

xi. 1 ff.

xxii. 1.

xviii. 4.

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πιστῶς καὶ μηδὲν κακουργήσαντες¹ δηλώσουσιν ἡμῖν ἀδόλως αὐτῆς τὸ μέγεθος.

- 76 (21) Καὶ Ἰησοῦς μὲν τούτους ποιησάμενος τοὺς λόγους συγκάταινον ἔσχε τὸ πλῆθος καὶ ἄνδρας τοὺς ἐκμετρησομένους τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν ἐξέπεμψε παραδοὺς αὐτοῖς τινὰς γεωμετρίας ἐπιστήμονας, οὓς τάληθές οὐκ ἔμελλε λήσεσθαι διὰ τὴν τέχνην, ἐντολὰς δοὺς ἀποτιμήσασθαι τῆς τε εὐδαίμονος ἰδία
- 77 τὸ μέτρον γῆς καὶ τῆς ἡσσον ἀγαθῆς. ἡ γὰρ φύσις τῆς Χανααίων γῆς τοιαύτη τίς ἐστίν, ὡς ἴδοι τις ἂν πεδία μεγάλα καὶ καρποὺς φέρειν ἱκανώτατα καὶ συγκρινόμενα μὲν ἑτέρα γῆ πανευδαίμονα νομισθησόμενα, τοῖς δ' Ἰεριχουντίων χωρίοις παραβαλλόμενα καὶ τοῖς Ἱεροσολυμιτῶν τὸ μηδὲν
- 78 ἀναφανησόμενα· καίτοι παντελῶς ὀλίγην αὐτῶν εἶναι τὴν γῆν συμβέβηκε καὶ ταύτης ὀρεινὴν τὴν πολλήν, ἀλλ' ὑπερβολὴν εἰς καρπῶν ἐκτροφὴν τε καὶ κάλλος οὐκ ἀπολέλοιπεν ἑτέρα. καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμητοὺς μᾶλλον ἢ μετρητοὺς τοὺς κλήρους εἶναι δεῖν ὑπέλαβε, πολλάκις ἑνὸς πλέθρου κἂν χιλίων
- 79 ἀνταξίου γενομένου. οἱ δὲ ἄνδρες οἱ πεμφθέντες, δέκα δὲ ἦσαν, περιοδεύσαντες καὶ τιμησάμενοι τὴν γῆν ἐν ἑβδόμῳ μηνὶ παρήσαν πρὸς αὐτὸν εἰς Σιλοῦντα πόλιν, ἐνθα τὴν σκηνὴν ἐστάκεσαν.

¹ Niese: ἐκμετρησόμενοι . . . κακουργήσοντες codd.

^a The representatives of the tribes (§ 75), excluding the two (Reuben and Gad) for which complete provision had already been made on the east of Jordan. In this account of the division of the land Josephus departs from Scripture and presents a simpler, possibly an older, narrative. In Joshua, after a review of the allotment of land to the 2½ tribes beyond Jordan (chap. xiii.), we are given a preliminary allotment at *Gilgal* (xiv. 6) to Judah, Ephraim and the rest

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V. 75-79

fully and without fraudulence and honestly to report to us what are its dimensions.”

(21) Having delivered this speech and won the assent of the people thereto, Joshua sent out men to measure the country, attaching to them certain expert surveyors, from whom by reason of their skill the truth would not be hid, instructions being given them to assess separately the extent of the favoured land and of that which was less fertile. For the nature of the land of Canaan is such that one may see plains, of great area, fully fitted for bearing crops, and which compared with another district might be deemed altogether blest, yet when set beside the regions of the people of Jericho and Jerusalem would appear as naught. Aye, though the territory of these folk happens to be quite diminutive and for the most part mountainous, yet for its extraordinary productiveness of crops and for beauty it yields to no other. And that was why Joshua held that the allotments should be fixed rather by valuation than by measurement, a single acre being often worth as much as a thousand. So the men who had been sent, ten ^a in number, having compassed the land and valued it, in the seventh month ^b returned to him to the city of Silo, where the tabernacle had been set up.

Mission of
the
measurers
of the land.
Jos. xviii. 8.

xviii. 9.

of Manasseh (xv.-xvii.); then from Shiloh emissaries are sent out (3 from each tribe or 21 in all) to measure out the land for the remaining *seven* tribes, and the allotment for these tribes follows (xviii.-xx.). In Josephus there is no preliminary allotment at Gilgal: the apportionment for the 9½ tribes all takes place at Shiloh.

^b Not in Scripture, which instead has a reference to the “seven portions” into which the land was divided by the emissaries (see last note).

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- 80 (22) Καὶ Ἰησοῦς Ἐλεάζαρόν τε καὶ τὴν γερου-
 σίαν σὺν τοῖς φυλάρχοις παραλαβὼν νέμει ταῖς
 ἑννέα φυλαῖς καὶ τῶν Μανασσητῶν τοῖς ἡμίσεισι,
 κατὰ μέγεθος ἑκάστης τῶν φυλῶν τὴν μέτρησιν
 81 ποιησάμενος. κληρώσαντος δὲ αὐτοῦ, ἡ μὲν Ἰούδα
 λαχοῦσα πᾶσαν αἰρεῖται τὴν καθύπερθεν Ἰδουμαίαν
 παρατείνουσαν μὲν ἄχρι τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων τὸ δ'
 εὖρος ἕως τῆς Σοδομίτιδος λίμνης καθήκουσαν· ἐν
 δὲ τῷ κλήρῳ τούτῳ πόλεις ἦσαν Ἀσκάλων καὶ
 82 Γάζα. Σεμεωνὶς δέ, δευτέρα γὰρ ἦν, ἔλαχε τῆς
 Ἰδουμαίας τὴν Αἰγύπτῳ τε καὶ τῇ Ἀραβίᾳ
 πρόσορον οὔσαν. Βενιαμίται δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου
 ποταμοῦ ἔλαχον ἄχρι θαλάσσης μὲν τὸ μῆκος, τὸ
 δὲ πλάτος Ἱεροσολύμοις ὀριζομένην καὶ Βεθῆλοισ·
 στενώτατος¹ δὲ ὁ κλῆρος οὗτος ἦν διὰ τὴν τῆς
 γῆς ἀρετὴν· Ἱεριχοῦντα γὰρ καὶ τὴν Ἱεροσο-
 83 λυμιτῶν πόλιν ἔλαβον. ἡ δ' Ἐφραΐμου² φυλὴ τὴν
 ἄχρι Γαζάρων ἀπὸ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ μηκυνο-
 μένην ἔλαχεν, εὐρείαν δὲ ὅσον ἀπὸ Βεθῆλων εἰς
 τὸ μέγα τελευτᾶ πεδῖον, τῆς τε³ Μανασσήτιδος οἱ
 ἡμίσεις ἀπὸ μὲν Ἰορδάνου μέχρι Δώρων πόλεως,
 84 πλάτος δὲ ἐπὶ Βηθησάνων, ἡ νῦν Σκυθόπολις

¹ στενώτατος codd.

² Ἐφράν R.

³ δὲ Bernard (Lat. vers.).

^a It is difficult to see what part the lot played in the matter beyond determining the order of conferment of territories already allocated in advance proportionate to the size of the various tribes; there can have been no *choice* on the part of the tribes. In rabbinical tradition the Urim and Thummim are said to have been used for the purpose.

^b "Length" and "breadth" in this description indicate the longer and shorter dimensions of the lots, regardless of their orientation.

^c The lower end of the Dead Sea.

(22) Then Joshua, taking to him Eleazar and the council of elders, along with the tribal chiefs, distributed all between the nine tribes and the half-tribe of Manasseh, making his measurements proportional to the magnitude of each tribe. When, then, he had cast lots,^a that of Judah obtained for its lot the whole of upper Idumaea, extending (in length) to Jerusalem and in breadth^b reaching down to the lake of Sodom^c; within this allotment were the cities of Ascalon and Gaza. That of Simeon, being the second, obtained the portion of Idumaea bordering on Egypt and Arabia. The Benjamites obtained the region which in length stretches from the river Jordan to the sea^d and in breadth is bounded by Jerusalem and Bethel. This lot was the narrowest of all by reason of the excellence of the soil, for Jericho and the city of the Jerusalemites fell to their portion. The tribe of Ephraim obtained the land reaching in length from the river Jordan to Gazara^e and in breadth from Bethel right up to the great plain.^f The half-tribe of Manasseh had from the Jordan to the city of Dora^g and in breadth as far as Bēthēsana,^h now called Scythopolis. After

Allotment
of the land
between the
9½ tribes.
Jos. xviii.
10.

xv. 1.

xix. 1.

xviii. 11.

xvi. 5.

xvii. 1.

xix. 17.

^a Jos. xviii. 12 "westward" (literally "sea-ward"; LXX ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν); the western border actually lay well inland.

^e So Jos. xvi. 5 LXX (not in Heb. text). Gazara is the Greek form of the Heb. Gezer (Jos. *ib.* 10), now identified as *Tell Jezar*, some 18 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, on the Philistine border.

^f The plain of Esdraelon.

^g Heb. Dor (LXX Δώρ), Jos. xvii. 11; a maritime town 16 miles S. of Carmel (mod. *Tanturah*).

^h Heb. Beth-shean (LXX Βαιθσάν, mod. *Beisan*, midway between Mt. Gilboa and the Jordan; of the real or supposed Scythian invasion which gave it its other name nothing is known.

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καλεῖται, καὶ μετὰ τούτους Ἰσαχαρὶς Κάρμηλόν τε τὸ ὄρος καὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τοῦ μήκους ποιησαμένη τέρμονα,¹ τὸ δὲ Ἰταβύριον ὄρος τοῦ πλάτους. Ζαβουλωνῖται δὲ τὴν μέχρι Γενησαρίδος, καθήκουσαν δὲ περὶ Κάρμηλον καὶ θάλασσαν ἔλαχον.

85 τὴν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Καρμήλου κοιλάδα προσαγορευομένην, διὰ τὸ καὶ τοιαύτην εἶναι, Ἀσηρῖται φέρονται πᾶσαν τὴν ἐπὶ Σιδῶνος τετραμμένην. Ἄρκη δὲ πόλις ὑπήρχεν αὐτοῖς ἐν τῇ μερίδι ἢ καὶ

86 Ἐκδείπους. τὰ δὲ πρὸς τὰς ἀνατολὰς τετραμμένα μέχρι Δαμασκοῦ πόλεως καὶ τῆς Γαλιλαίας τὰ καθύπερθεν Νεφθαλίται παρέλαβον ἕως τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ τῶν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου πηγῶν, αἱ τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐκ τοῦ ὄρους ἔχουσιν [ἐκ τοῦ καθήκοντος τοῖς ὄροις κατὰ τὰ βόρεια πόλεως Ἄρκης παροικουσης].²

87 Δανῖται δὲ τῆς κοίτης ὅσα πρὸς δυόμενον τέτραπται τὸν ἥλιον λαγχάνουσιν Ἀζώτω καὶ Δώροις ὀριζόμενοι, Ἰάμνειάν τε πᾶσαν καὶ Γίτταν ἀπ' Ἀκκαρῶνος ἕως τοῦ ὄρους, ἐξ οὗ ἢ Ἰούδα ἤρκετο φυλῆ.

88 (23) Καὶ ἐξ μὲν ἔθνη τῶν υἰέων τοῦ Χανααίου φέροντα τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν διεῖλεν οὕτως Ἰησοῦς καὶ τὴν γῆν ταῖς ἐννέα καὶ τῇ ἡμισείᾳ φυλαῖς ἔδωκε

89 νέμεσθαι· τὴν γὰρ Ἀμορῖτιν καὶ αὐτὴν οὕτως ἀφ' ἐνὸς τῶν Χανααίου παίδων καλουμένην Μωυσῆς ἤδη προειληφῶς νενεμήκει ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ τῷ ἡμίσει· τοῦτο δὲ καὶ πρότερον δεδηλώκαμεν.³

¹ ML: *τέρματα* rell.

² om. Lat.

³ Niese: *δεδηλώκειμεν* (-ώκει, -ώκειν) codd.

^a Mount Tabor; the town of that name is mentioned among the borders of Issachar in Jos. xix. 22.

^b The sea of Galilee.

these came Issachar, with mount Carmel and the river for its boundaries in length and mount Itabyrion ^a as limit of its breadth. They of Zabulon ^{xix. 10} obtained the land which reaches to the (lake of) Genesar ^b and descends well-nigh to Carmel and the sea. The region beginning at Carmel, the Vale as ^{xix. 24.} it is called from its nature, was won by the men of Aser, all of it, that is to say, that faced towards Sidon; to their portion fell the city of Arce, also called Ecdipus.^c The territory to the eastward up ^{xix. 32.} to the city of Damascus, with upper Galilee, was occupied by the men of Nephthali, as far as mount Libanus and the sources of the Jordan, which spring from that mountain.^d The Danites obtained those ^{xix. 40.} parts of the valley which face the setting sun with Azotus^e and Dora for boundaries; they had all Jamnia,^f Gitta^g (and) from Akkaron^h to the mountain-range where the tribe of Judah began.

(23) Thus did Joshua divide six of the nations that bore the names of the sons of Canaan and gave their land to the nine and a half tribes for their possession; for Amoritis, likewise so called after one of the children of Canaan, had already of yore been taken and apportioned by Moses to the two and a half tribes, as we have previously related.ⁱ But the

Amoritis
and
unassigned
territory.

^c Heb. Achzib (Jos. xix. 29), mod. *ez Zib*, called Ecdippa. *B.J.* i. 257, on the coast midway between Carmel and Tyrc.

^d The mss. add some unintelligible words, omitted by the Latin version and perhaps a gloss: (?) "from the part where it descends to the boundary to the north of the adjacent city of Arce."

^e Heb. Ashdod.

^f Heb. Jabneel (Jos. xv. 11) or Jabneh, mod. *Yebnah*, another city in the Philistine plain.

^g Gath.

^h Ekron.

ⁱ iv. 166 ff.

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τὰ δὲ περὶ Σιδῶνα καὶ Ἀρουκαίουσ καὶ Ἀμαθαίουσ καὶ Ἀριδαίουσ¹ ἀδιακόσμητα ἦν.

- 90 (24) Ἰησοῦσ δέ, τοῦ γήρωσ ἐμποδίζοντοσ ἤδη πράττειν ὅσα καὶ νοήσειε, τῶν τε μετ' αὐτὸν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν παραλαβόντων ἀμελῶσ προστάντων τοῦ κοινῆ συμφέροντοσ, παρήγγειλέ τε² φυλῆ ἐκάστη τοῦ γένουσ τῶν Χανααίων μηδὲν ὑπολιπεῖν ἐν τῇ κατακεκληρωμένη γῆ· τὴν γάρ ἀσφάλειαν αὐτοῖσ καὶ τὴν φυλακὴν τῶν πατρίων ἐθῶν ἐν μόνῳ τούτῳ καὶ Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖσ εἶναι προειπεῖν καὶ τοῦτ' αὐ-
- 91 τὸσ³ πεπεῖσθαι· καὶ τοῖσ Λευítaισ δὲ τὰσ ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα πόλεισ ἀποδιδόναι· προειλήφεισαν γάρ ἤδη κατὰ τὴν Ἀμοραίαν τὰσ δέκα. τούτων τρεῖσ ἀπονέμει τοῖσ φυγάσιν οἰκεῖν ἐν αὐταῖσ, πολλῆ γάρ ἦν πρόνοια τοῦ μηδὲν ὦν Μωυσῆσ διέταξε παραλιπεῖν, τῆσ μὲν οὖν Ἰούδα φυλῆσ Ἑβρωνα, Σίκιμα δὲ τῆσ Ἐφραΐμ, τῆσ Νεφθαλίτιδοσ δὲ Κεδέσην· ἔστι δὲ τῆσ καθύπερθεν Γαλιλαίας τούτο
- 92 τὸ χωρίον. νέμει δὲ καὶ τῆσ λείασ ὅσα ἦν ἔτι λοιπά, πλείστη δ' ἐγεγόνει, καὶ μεγάλουσ πλούτουσ περιεβέβληντο καὶ κοινῆ πάντεσ καὶ κατ' ἰδίαν ἕκαστοσ χρυσοῦ τε καὶ ἀργύρου καὶ ἐσθήτων καὶ τῆσ ἄλλησ ἐπισκευῆσ ἔνεκα, τετραπόδων τε πλήθουσ ὅσον οὐδὲ ἀριθμῶ μαθεῖν ἦν προσγενομένου.
- 93 (25) Μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα συναγαγὼν εἰς ἐκκλησίαν τὸν στρατὸν τοῖσ ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἰόρδανον κατὰ τὴν Ἀμοραίαν ἰδρυμένοισ, συνεστράτευον δ' αὐτοῖσ

¹ Ἀραδαίουσ conj. Niese.

³ Naber: αὐτοῖσ codd.

² om. τε Lat., ed. pr.

⁴ ROE: δὴ rell.

^a Cf. the list of the 11 sons of Canaan (Chananaeus) previously given in *A.* i. 138 f., to which Josephus is here referring. The countries of 7 of these have now been assigned:

regions about Sidon, with those of the Arucaeans, Amathaeans and Aridaeans, remained unassigned.^a

(24) Joshua, now that age impeded him from carrying out his own designs and also because those who after him took over the command showed themselves careless guardians of the common weal, traitly charged each tribe to leave no remnant of the race of the Canaanites within their allotted territory, since their security and the maintenance of their ancestral institutions hung upon that alone: this Moses had already told them^b and of this he was himself persuaded. They were also to render up to the Levites those eight and thirty cities—for these had already received the other ten in the Amorite country.^c Of these cities, he assigned three for fugitives to dwell in—for he took strict care to neglect none of the ordinances of Moses—to wit Hebron belonging to the tribe of Judah, Sikima^d to Ephraim and Kedese^e to Nephthali, this last being a place in upper Galilee. He also distributed what yet remained of the spoils, of which there was a vast mass; and all, collectively and individually, found themselves endowed with great riches, gold, silver, apparel and equipment of every kind, over and above such a multitude of cattle^f as was past numbering.

(25) Thereafter, having collected his army in assembly, he addressed to those who had their settlement beyond Jordan in Amoraea—of whom 50,000 the 4 still outstanding are in Biblical nomenclature Zidon, Arkite, Hamathite and Arvadite (Gen. x. 15 ff.). Joshua (xiii. 2-6) also enumerates the unconquered territories, including that of the Philistines, not mentioned by Josephus.

^b iv. 191 f.

^c iv. 67, 172.

^d Shechem.

^e Kedesh.

^f lit. "four-footed (beasts)."

Cities of Levites and of refuge: division of spoils. Jos. xxiii. 1.

xxi. 1.

xx. 1.

cf. xxii. 8.

Joshua's farewell address to the 2½ tribes. Jos. xxii. 1.

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πεντακισμύριοι ὀπλίται, ἔλεξε τάδε· “ ἐπεὶ ὁ θεός,¹
 πατήρ καὶ δεσπότης τοῦ Ἑβραίων γένους, γῆν
 τε κτήσασθαι ταύτην ἔδωκε καὶ κτηθεῖσαν εἰς
 94 ἅπαν ἡμετέραν φυλάξειν ὑπέσχηται, συνεργίας δὲ
 τῆς παρ’ ὑμῶν κατ’ ἐντολήν τὴν ἐκείνου δεομένοις
 ἑαυτοὺς εἰς ἅπαντα προθύμους ἔδώκατε, δίκαιον
 ὑμᾶς μηδενὸς ἔτι δυσκόλου περιμένοντος ἀνα-
 παύσεως ἤδη τυχεῖν φειδοῖ τῆς προθυμίας ὑμῶν,
 ἴν’ εἰ καὶ πάλιν δεήσειεν ἡμῖν αὐτῆς ἄοκνον ἔχωμεν
 εἰς τὰ κατεπείζοντα καὶ μὴ τοῖς νῦν καμουῖσαν
 95 αὐθις βραδυτέραν. χάριν τε οὖν ὑμῖν ὧν συνήρασθε
 κινδύνων καὶ οὐχὶ νῦν μόνον ἀλλ’ εἰς ἅπαν οὕτως
 ἔξομεν, ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν φίλων καὶ
 παρὰ τῇ διανοίᾳ κρατεῖν ὅσα παρ’ αὐτῶν ἡμῖν
 ὑπῆρξεν, ὅτι τε τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν τῶν ὑπαρχόντων
 ὑμῖν ἀγαθῶν δι’ ἡμᾶς ἀνεβάλεσθε καὶ πονήσαντες²
 εἰς ἃ νῦν εὐνοία θεοῦ κατέστημεν ἔπειθ’ οὕτως
 96 ἐκρίνατε αὐτῶν μεταλαμβάνειν. γέγονε δὲ πρὸς
 τοῖς ὑπάρχουσιν ἀγαθοῖς ἐκ τῶν σὺν ἡμῖν πόνων
 πλοῦτος ἄφθονος, λείαν τε πολλὴν ἐπαξομένοις καὶ
 χρυσὸν καὶ ἄργυρον, καὶ τὸ τούτων ἔτι πλεῖον, ἢ
 παρ’ ἡμῶν³ εὐνοία καὶ πρὸς ὃ τι βουλευθείητε κατ’
 ἀμοιβὴν πρόθυμον. οὔτε γὰρ ὧν Μωυσῆς προεῖπεν
 ἀπελείφθητε καταφρονήσαντες ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπ-
 ελθόντος οὔτ’ ἔστιν οὐδὲν ἐφ’ ᾧ μὴ χάριν ὑμῖν
 97 οἶδαμεν. χαίροντας οὖν ὑμᾶς ἐπὶ τὰς κληρουχίας
 ἀπολύομεν καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν μηδένα τῆς πρὸς
 ἡμᾶς συγγενείας ὄρον ὑπολαμβάνειν, μηδ’ ὅτι
 μεταξὺ ποταμὸς οὗτός ἐστιν ἑτέρους ἡμᾶς νομίσητε

¹ θεός καὶ MSPL.

² ROL: συμπονήσαντες SP.

³ MSPLE: παρ’ ἡμῖν RO: vester Lat.

^a i.e. in cattle.

men-at-arms had taken part in their campaign—the following words: “Seeing that God, the Father and Lord of the Hebrew race, has given us to win this land and, being won, has promised to preserve it to us for ever, and seeing that, when at His behest we besought your assistance, ye offered your ready services for all, it is but just, when no further arduous task awaits us, that ye should now obtain repose, husbanding your devotion, to the end that, should we again have need of it, we may find it alert to meet those future emergencies and not so worn by the toils of to-day as to respond more sluggishly hereafter. We therefore tender you our thanks for having shared those perils with us, and not to-day only but for ever shall we be grateful; for we are apt to remember our friends and to keep in mind services which they have rendered to us, even how for our sakes ye deferred the enjoyment of your goodly possessions and resolved that, only after toiling for the end whereto by the grace of God we have now attained, would ye then at last partake of them. Yet, to add to those goods that ye possess, ye have by your labours with us won wealth in abundance: ye will take with you rich booty,^a gold and silver and, what is more than all, our goodwill and readiness to serve and requite you in whatsoever ye may desire. For ye have in nowise shirked those behests of Moses, nor disdained his authority now that he has passed away, nor is there aught for which we do not accord you gratitude. We therefore let you joyfully depart to your heritages, and we entreat you not to suppose that the kinship which unites us owns any boundary, nor, because this river runs between us, to regard us as strangers and not as

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- καὶ οὐχὶ Ἑβραίους. Ἀβράμου γὰρ ἅπαντές ἐσμεν οἳ τ' ἐνθάδε κακεῖ κατοικοῦντες, θεός τε εἷς, ὃς τοὺς τε ἡμετέρους προγόνους καὶ τοὺς ὑμῶν αὐτῶν
- 98 παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον· οὗ τῆς θρησκείας ἐπιμελείσθε καὶ πολιτείας, ἣν αὐτὸς διὰ Μωυσέος διέταξε, φυλακὴν ἔχετε τὴν πᾶσαν, ὡς ἐμμερόντων μὲν τούτοις καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ παρέξοντος εὖνον εἶναι καὶ σύμμαχον ἑαυτόν, ἐκτραπέντων δὲ εἰς ἑτέρων ἔθνῶν μίμησιν ἀποστραφησομένου τὸ γένος ὑμῶν."
- 99 ταῦτα εἰπὼν καὶ καθ' ἓνα τοὺς ἐν τέλει καὶ κοινῇ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀσπασάμενος αὐτὸς μὲν ὑπέμεινε, πρῶτερον δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ λαὸς οὐκ ἀδακρυτὶ καὶ μόλις ἀλλήλων ἀπελύθησαν.
- 100 (26) Διαβᾶσα δὲ τὸν ποταμὸν ἧ τε Ῥουβηλὶς φυλὴ καὶ Γαδὶς καὶ ὅσοι τῶν Μανασσητῶν αὐτοῖς συνείποντο βωμὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὄχθης ἰδρύνονται τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, μνημεῖον τοῖς ἔπειτα γενησομένοις,¹ σύμβολον² τῆς πρὸς τοὺς πέραν κατοικησομένους³
- 101 οἰκειότητος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ οἱ πέραν βωμὸν ἰδρῦσθαι τοὺς ἀπολυθέντας οὐ μεθ' ἧς ἐκείνοι γνώμης ἀνέστησαν αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νεωτερισμῶ καὶ ξενικῶν εἰσαγωγῇ θεῶν, οὐκ ἤθελον ἀπιστεῖν, ἀλλὰ περὶ τὴν θείαν⁴ θρησκείαν τὴν διαβολὴν πιθανὴν νομίζοντες ἐν ὄπλοις ἦσαν, ὡς ἐπ' ἀμύνη τῶν τὸν βωμὸν ἰδρυσασμένων περαιωσόμενοι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ κολάσοντες αὐτοὺς τῆς παρατροπῆς τῶν πατριῶν
- 102 ἔθνῶν. οὐ γὰρ ἐδόκει τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτοὺς λογίζεσθαι καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα τῶν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰληφότων,

¹ γενησόμενον Niese.

² σύμβολον before τῆς om. E Lat. (probably a gloss, cf. § 112).

³ κατοικησόμενοι SPE.

⁴ θείων RO.

Hebrews. For we are all of Abraham's stock, whether living here or there, and it is one God who brought our forefathers and yours into existence. To the worship of Him pay ye heed, and of that polity, which He Himself has instituted through Moses, observe ye every precept, in the assurance that, while ye remain faithful to these, God also will show Himself your gracious ally, but if ye turn aside to imitate other nations He will turn away from your race." Having thus spoken and bidden farewell, to the officers one by one, and to their whole company in general, he himself remained; but the people escorted them on their way not without tears, and hardly were they parted from one another. xxii. 6.

(26) Having then crossed the river, the tribe of Rubel with that of Gad and all those of Manasseh who accompanied them erected an altar on the bank of the Jordan, as a memorial to future generations of their relationship to the inhabitants on the other side. But those beyond the river,^a having heard tell that the migrants had erected an altar, not with the purpose which had led them to set it up, but with designs of sedition and the introduction of strange gods, were loth to distrust the report; nay, deeming this calumny concerning divine worship credible, they sprang to arms, with intent to cross the river and be avenged on those that had erected the altar and to punish them for this perversion of the rites of their fathers. For they held that they should take no account of their kinship or of the rank of those thus incriminated, but of the

They erect an altar beyond Jordan : embassy and expostulation of Phinees. Jos. xxii. 10.

^a *i.e.* on the west; "beyond the river" from the point of view of those in trans-Jordania. In Scripture "beyond the river" invariably refers to the eastern side of the Jordan.

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- ἀλλὰ τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βουλητὸν καὶ ᾧ τρόπῳ τιμώμενος
 103 χαίρει. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐστράτευσαν ὑπ' ὀργῆς, ἐπέσχε
 δ' αὐτοὺς Ἰησοῦς καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἑλεάζαρος καὶ
 ἡ γερουσία λόγοις συμβουλεύοντες ἀπόπειραν
 αὐτῶν τῆς γνώμης λαβεῖν πρῶτον, ἕπειτ' ἂν
 κακοήθη μάθωσι τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν τότε τοῖς
 104 ὄπλοις χωρεῖν ἐπ' αὐτούς. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρε-
 σβευτὰς πρὸς αὐτοὺς Φινεέσην τὸν υἱὸν Ἑλεαζάρου
 καὶ δέκα σὺν αὐτῶ τῶν ἐν τιμῇ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις
 μαθησομένους, τί καὶ φρονήσαντες τὸν βωμὸν ἐπὶ
 105 τῆς ὄχθης τοῦ ποταμοῦ διαβάντες ἕστησαν. ὡς
 δὲ περαιωσαμένων καὶ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀφικομένων
 ἐκκλησία συνελέγη, στὰς Φινεέσης μείζω μὲν
 αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτεῖν ἔλεγεν ἢ ὥστε λόγοις ἐπιτιμη-
 θέντας νενουθετῆσθαι πρὸς τὰ μέλλοντα· πλὴν οὐ
 πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῆς παρανομίας ἀπιδόντας εὐθύς
 ἐφ' ὄπλα καὶ τὴν ἐκ χειρῶν τιμωρίαν ὀρμησαί,
 πρὸς δὲ τὸ συγγενὲς καὶ τὸ τάχα καὶ λόγοις ἂν
 σωφρονῆσαι σκοπήσαντας οὕτω ποιήσασθαι τὴν
 106 πρεσβείαν, “ ἵνα τὴν αἰτίαν μαθόντες ὑφ' ἧς
 προήχθητε τὸν βωμὸν κατασκευάσαι μήτε προπετεῖς
 δοκῶμεν ὄπλοις μετιόντες ὑμᾶς κατὰ λογισμὸν
 ὄσιον ποιησαμένους τὸν βωμὸν, καὶ¹ δικαίως
 107 ἀμυνώμεθα τῆς διαβολῆς ἐλεγχθείσης ἀληθοῦς. οὐ
 γὰρ ἠξιοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πείρα τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ γνώμης
 ἐντὸς γεγενημένους καὶ νόμων ὧν αὐτὸς ἡμῖν
 δέδωκεν ἀκροατὰς ὑπάρχοντας, διαζευχθέντας ἡμῶν
 καὶ παρόντας εἰς τὸν ἴδιον κληρὸν, ὃν κατὰ χάριν
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκείνου περὶ ἡμᾶς² προνοίας

¹ ed. pr.: κατι (καὶ ἔτι, etc.) codd.

² ὑμᾶς edd.

will of God and the fashion in which He delights to be honoured. So, moved by indignation, they prepared to take the field; but Joshua and Eleazar the high priest and the elders restrained them, counselling them first to test their brethren's mind by a parley, and, should they find their intent mischievous, then and then only to proceed to hostilities. They sent therefore ambassadors to them, Phinees, xxii. 18. son of Eleazar, and with him ten others highly esteemed among the Hebrews, to discover what they could have meant by erecting that altar on the river-bank after they had passed over. So, the embassy having crossed the river and reached these people, an assembly was convened, and Phinees arose and said that their sin was too grave to be met by a verbal reprimand and an admonition for the future; howbeit, they themselves had not wished to look at the enormity of the crime so as to rush instantly to arms and violent measures, but, looking rather to their kinship and to the possibility that words might suffice to bring them to reason, they had undertaken this embassy. "We are here," said he, "in order that, having learnt what reason induced you to build this altar, we may on the one hand not be deemed precipitate in bearing arms against you, should ye have had some pious motive in erecting it, and on the other that we may take righteous vengeance, should the accusation prove true. For we could not conceive that ye, with your experience of instruction in the will of God, ye who had been hearers of those laws which He Himself has given us, once parted from us and entering on your own heritage, which by the grace of God and His providential care for us has fallen to your lot, could have

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- ἐλάχετε, λήθην λαβεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν σκηνὴν καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν καταλιπόντας καὶ βωμὸν ὃς ἡμῖν πατριὸς ξενικὸς θεὸς ἐπιφέρει τοῖς Χανααίων
- 108 κακοῖς προσκεχωρηκότας. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ἀδικεῖν δόξετε μετανοήσαντες καὶ μὴ περαιτέρω μανέντες, νόμων δὲ πατρίων αἰδῶ καὶ μνήμην λαβόντες. ἂν δ' ἐπιμένητε τοῖς ἡμαρτημένοις, οὐ περιστησόμεθα¹ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν νόμων πόνον, ἀλλὰ περαιωσάμενοι τὸν Ἰόρδανον τούτοις βοηθήσομεν καὶ πρὸ αὐτῶν² τῷ θεῷ, μηδὲν ὑμᾶς Χανααίων διαφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἀλλ' ὁμοίως ἐκείνοις διαφθείροντες.
- 109 μὴ γὰρ νομίσητε τῷ διαβεβηκέναι τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμει ἕξω γεγονέναι· πανταχοῦ δ' ἐν τοῖς τούτου ἐστὲ καὶ ἀποδρᾶναι τὴν ἐξουσίαν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπὸ ταύτης δίκην ἀδύνατον. εἰ δ' οἴεσθε τὴν ἐνθάδε παρουσίαν ὑμῖν ἐμπόδιον εἶναι τοῦ σωφρονεῖν, οὐδὲν κωλύει πάλιν τὴν γῆν ἡμᾶς³
- 110 ἀναδάσασθαι καὶ ταύτην ἀνεῖναι μηλόβοτον. ἀλλ' εὖ ποιήσετε σωφρονήσαντες καὶ ἐπὶ νεαροῖς μετατιθέμενοι τοῖς ἁμαρτήμασι. καὶ παρακαλοῦμεν ὑμᾶς πρὸς παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν μὴ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν ἀνάγκην ἀμύνασθαι. ὡς οὖν τῆς ὑμετέρας αὐτῶν σωτηρίας καὶ τῶν φιλτάτων ὑμῖν ἐν τῇδε τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ κειμένης οὕτω βουλευέσθε, λόγοις ἡττηθῆναι συμφέρειν ὑπολαμβάνοντες ἢ πείραν ἔργων καὶ πολέμου περιμένειν.”
- 111 (27) Τοσαῦτα τοῦ Φινεέσου διαλεχθέντος οἱ προεστῶτες τῆς ἐκκλησίας καὶ τὸ πλῆθος αὐτὸ πᾶν ἤρξαντο περὶ τῶν ἐγκεκλημένων αὐτοῖς ἀπολογεῖ-

¹ παραιτησόμεθα SPE.

² ante omnia Lat.: πρὸς (= προσέτι) αὐτῷ Hudson.

³ ὑμᾶς codd.

straightway forgotten Him and, abandoning the tabernacle and the ark and the altar of our fathers, introduced some strange gods and gone over to the vices of the Canaanites. Howbeit ye shall be in no wise held guilty, if ye repent and carry this madness no farther, but show that ye revere and are mindful of the laws of your fathers. Should ye, however, persist in your errors, we shall shun no toil in defence of those laws, but, crossing the Jordan, shall rally in support of them, aye and of God on their behalf,^a deeming you in no wise different from the Canaanites but destroying you in like manner with them. For think not that by crossing the river ye have also passed beyond God's power: nay, everywhere ye are within His domain and escape from His authority and His vengeance is impossible. But if ye regard your coming hither a hindrance to sober living, there is nothing to prevent us^b from making a redistribution of the land and abandoning this district to the grazing of sheep. Howbeit ye will do well to return to sanity and to change your ways while your sins are fresh. And we entreat you in the name of your children and wives not to constrain us to resort to force. Let, then, the thought that the salvation of your own selves and of them that are dearest to you hangs upon this assembly govern your deliberations, and reckon it more profitable to be defeated by words than to await the trial of deeds and of war."

(27) After this discourse of Phinees, the presidents of the assembly and the whole multitude themselves began to disclaim the crimes wherewith they were

The tribes protest their innocence. Jos. xxii. 21.

^a Text a little doubtful: perhaps "and, furthermore, of God himself."

^b The mss. have "you."

JOSEPHUS

- σθαι, καὶ μήτε συγγενείας τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀπο-
 στήσεσθαι¹ μήτε κατὰ νεωτερισμὸν ἀναστήσαι τὸν
 112 βωμὸν λέγειν, ἀλλὰ θεὸν τε ἕνα γινώσκειν τὸν
 Ἑβραίοις ἅπασι κοινὸν καὶ τὸν πρὸ τῆς σκηνηῆς
 βωμὸν χάλκεον, ᾧ τὰς θυσίας ποιήσειν· τὸν μέντοι
 γε νῦν ἀνασταθέντα, δι' ὃν καὶ ὑποπτοὶ γεγόνασιν,
 οὐ κατὰ θρησκείαν ἰδρῦσθαι, “ σύμβολον δὲ ὅπως
 εἶη καὶ τεκμήριον εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα τῆς πρὸς ὑμᾶς
 οἰκειότητος καὶ ἀνάγκη τοῦ σωφρονεῖν καὶ τοῖς
 πατρίοις ἐμμένειν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ παραβάσεως ἀρχήν,
 113 ὡς ὑπονοεῖτε. μάρτυς δ' ἡμῖν τοῦ ἐπὶ τοιαύτῃ τὸν
 βωμὸν αἰτία κατασκευάσαι γένοιτο ὁ θεὸς ἀξιό-
 χρεως, ὅθεν ἀμείνονα περὶ ἡμῶν ἔχοντες ὑπόληψιν
 μηδὲν καταγινώσκετε τούτων, ἐφ' οἷς ἐξώλεις
 εἶναι δίκαιοι πάντες ὅσοι τοῦ Ἀβράμου γένους
 ὄντες νεωτέροις ἐπιχειροῦσιν ἔθεσι καὶ τοῦ συνήθους
 τρόπου παρηλλαγμένοις.”
- 114 (28) Ταῦτα εἰπόντας ἐπαινέσας ὁ Φινεέσης
 παρῆν πρὸς Ἰησοῦν καὶ τὰ παρ' αὐτῶν ἀνήγγειλε
 τῷ λαῷ. ὁ δὲ χαίρων, ὅτι μηδεμίᾳ στρατολογεῖν
 αὐτοὺς ἀνάγκη μέλλει μηδ' εἰς αἷμα² καὶ πόλεμον
 ἐξαγαγεῖν κατὰ ἀνδρῶν συγγενῶν, χαριστηρίους
 115 ὑπὲρ τούτων τῷ θεῷ θυσίας ἐπιτελεῖ. καὶ διαλύσας
 μετὰ ταῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὰς ἰδίας κληρουχίας
 Ἰησοῦς αὐτὸς ἐν Σικίμοις διῆγεν. ἔτει δ' ὕστερον
 εἰκοστῷ ὑπέργηρως ὢν μεταπεμψάμενος τοὺς ἐπ'
 ἀξιώματος μάλιστα τῶν πόλεων καὶ τὰς ἀρχὰς
 καὶ τὴν γερουσίαν³ καὶ τοῦ πλῆθους ὅσον ἦν ἐφικτὸν

¹ ἀποστήσεσθαι Weill.

² ὄπλα RO.

³ τὰς γερουσίας ML.

charged, saying that neither would they renounce ^a their kinship to their brethren, nor had they erected the altar with revolutionary intent: nay, they recognized but the one God, owned by all Hebrews alike, and the brazen altar before the tabernacle whereon the sacrifices should be offered. As for that which they had now set up and which had brought suspicion upon them, they had not erected it for worship: "nay," said they, "but as a symbol and token for eternity of our kinship with you, and an obligation to think soberly and to abide by the laws of our fathers, in no wise as a beginning of transgression, as ye suspect. And that such was our motive in building this altar be God our all-sufficient witness! Wherefore, have a better opinion of us and cease to accuse us of any of those crimes, for which all would justly deserve to be extirpated who, being of the stock of Abraham, embark on new-fangled ways that are perversions of our customary practice."

(28) Phinees, having commended them for this Jos. xxii. 30. speech, returned to Joshua and reported their answer to the people. And Joshua, rejoicing that there was to be no need to levy troops or to lead them to bloodshed and battle against kinsmen, offered sacrifices of thanksgiving to God for these mercies. Thereafter, having dismissed the multitude to their several provinces, Joshua himself abode xxiv. 1. at Sikima. Twenty years later,^b in extreme old Address of Joshua before his death. Jos. xxiii., xxiv. age, having sent for the chief notables of the cities, with their magistrates and elders, and assembled as many of the people as could be collected, he,

^a Perhaps read, "had they renounced."

^b Jos. xxiii. 1 "after many days."

JOSEPHUS

- αὐτῷ συναγαγών, ἐπεὶ παρήσαν, τὰς τε εὐεργεσίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἀπάσας ἀνεμίμησεν αὐτούς, πολλαὶ δὲ ἦσαν τοῖς ἐκ ταπεινοῦ σχήματος εἰς τοῦτο δόξης
- 116 καὶ περιουσίας προελθοῦσι, φυλάττειν τε τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προαίρεσιν οὕτως ἔχουσαν πρὸς αὐτοὺς παρεκάλει καὶ τῇ εὐσεβείᾳ¹ γε² μόνη φίλον αὐτοῖς διαμενεῖν³ τὸ θεῖον· αὐτῷ γὰρ καλῶς ἔχειν ἀπιέναι μέλλοντι τοῦ ζῆν παραίνεσιν αὐτοῖς τοιαύτην καταλιπεῖν κάκεινους ἡξίου διὰ μνήμης ποιήσασθαι τὴν παρακέλευσιν.
- 117 (29) Καὶ ὁ μὲν τοσαῦτα πρὸς τοὺς παρόντας διαλεχθεὶς τελευτᾶ βιοῦς ἑκατὸν ἔτη καὶ δέκα, ὧν Μωυσεῖ μὲν ἐπὶ διδασκαλία τῶν χρησίμων συνδιέτριψε τεσσαράκοντα, στρατηγὸς δὲ μετὰ τὴν
- 118 ἐκείνου τελευτῆν γίνεται πέντε καὶ εἴκοσιν, ἀνὴρ μήτε συνέσεως ὧν ἐνδεὴς μήτε τοῦ τὰ νοηθέντα πρὸς τοὺς πολλοὺς σαφῶς ἐξενεγκεῖν ἄπειρος, ἀλλ' ἐν ἀμφοτέροις ἄκρος, πρὸς τε τὰ ἔργα καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους εὐψυχος καὶ μεγαλότολμος, πρυτανεῦσαί τε τὰ κατὰ τὴν εἰρήνην δεξιώτατος καὶ πρὸς
- 119 ἅπαντα καιρὸν τὴν ἀρετὴν ἡρμοσμένος. θάπτεται δὲ ἐν πόλει Θαμνᾶ τῆς Ἐφραΐμου φυλῆς. θνήσκει δὲ ὑπ' αὐτὸν τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Ἐλεάζαρος ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Φινεέση τῷ παιδί τὴν ἰερωσύνην καταλιπών, καὶ

¹ Text doubtful: for καὶ τῇ εὐσ. SP read τιμῇ πάση χρωμένους καὶ εὐσεβεῖα.

² L: om. ROSP: ἢ γε Niese.

³ Niese: διαμένειν codd.

* Or perhaps "to observe God's will, so benevolent towards them."

on their coming, recalled to them all the benefactions of God—and many had they been to folk who from low estate had advanced to that pitch of glory and affluence—and exhorted them to keep God's goodwill unchanged towards them,^a for by piety^b alone could they retain the friendship of the Deity. It behoved him, he said, on the eve of departure from life, to leave them such admonition, and he besought them to bear his exhortation in their memory.

(29) And so, after this address to the assembled company, he died, having lived one hundred and ten years; of which he had passed forty in the company of Moses receiving profitable instruction, and after his master's death had been commander-in-chief for five-and-twenty.^c A man^d not wanting either in intelligence or in skill to expound his ideas to the multitude with lucidity, nay in both respects supreme, in action and perils he was stout-hearted and greatly daring, in peace-time a most dexterous director of affairs, adapting himself admirably to every occasion. He was buried in the city of Thamna^e of the tribe of Ephraim. About the same time died also Eleazar the high priest, leaving the priesthood

Death of Joshua and of Eleazar. Jos. xxiv. 29.

xxiv. 33.

^b Text doubtful. Some mss. read "by showing Him every honour and that piety," etc.

^c The duration of Joshua's command is not stated in Scripture. But, according to M. Weill, the figure here given (25 years) is found also in the *Samaritan Chronicle*, while Rabbinical tradition (*Seder Olam Rabba* xii.) extends the period to 28 years.

^d Cf. the previous brief character-sketch in *A.* iii. 49.

^e Heb. Timnath-serah, identified by tradition with Thamna (mod. *Tibneh*) in mount Ephraim and the seat of a toparchy in Roman times (*B.J.* ii. 567, iii. 55).

JOSEPHUS

μνημεῖον αὐτῷ καὶ τάφος ἐν Γαβαθᾶ πόλει τυγ-
χάνει.

- 120 (ii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν τούτων τελευταίην Φινεέσης
προφητεύει κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ βούλησιν ἐπ' ἐξ-
ωλείᾳ τοῦ Χαναναίων γένους τῇ Ἰούδα φυλῇ παρα-
σχεῖν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν· καὶ γὰρ τῷ λαῷ διὰ σπουδῆς
ἦν μαθεῖν τί καὶ τῷ θεῷ δοκεῖ. καὶ προσλαβοῦσα
τὴν Σεμεωνίδα, ἐφ' ᾧτε ἐξαιρεθέντων τῶν ἐκείνης
ὑποτελῶν καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ κληρουχίᾳ τοῦτο
ποιῶσιν * * *¹
- 121 (2) Χαναναῖοι δ' ἀκμαζόντων αὐτοῖς κατ' ἐκείνον
τὸν καιρὸν τῶν πραγμάτων στρατῷ μεγάλῳ κατὰ
Ζεβέκην αὐτοὺς ὑπέμενον τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ζεβε-
κηνῶν Ἀδωνιζεβέκῳ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπιτρέψαντες·
τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τοῦτο σημαίνει Ζεβεκηνῶν κύριος·
ἀδωνι γὰρ τῇ Ἑβραίων διαλέκτῳ κύριος γίνεται².
ἠλπίζόν τε κρατήσῃ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν διὰ τὸ
122 τεθνάναι Ἰησοῦν. συμμίζαντες δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἰσραη-
λῖται ταῖς δυσὶ φυλαῖς αἷς προεῖπον ἐμαχέσαντο
λαμπρῶς καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν αὐτῶν ὑπὲρ μυρίου,
τρεψάμενοι δὲ τὸ λοιπὸν καὶ διώκοντες αἰροῦσι
τὸν Ἀδωνιζέβεκον, ὃς ἀκρωτηριασθεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῶν
123 φησιν, " ἄλλ' οὐκ εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἄρα λήσεσθαι θεὸν
ἔμελλον, τάδε πεπονθὼς ἂ κατὰ δυοῖν καὶ ἑβδομή-

¹ Text of clause uncertain. Niese indicates a lacuna:
Dindorf instead alters καὶ προσλαβοῦσα above to προσλαβοῦση.

² λέγεται E.

^a Heb. " in Gibeah (or ' the hill ') of Phinehas his son " :
in the mss. of the LXX the name appears as Γαβαάθ, Γαβάθ, etc. :
site unidentified.

^b Lacuna in the Greek.

to his son Phinees; his monument and tomb are in the city of Gabatha.^a

(ii. 1) Now after the death of these leaders, Phinees prophetically announced, in accordance with the will of God, that, for the extermination of the Canaanite race, the tribe of Judah should be given the command; for the people were keenly desirous to learn what was God's good pleasure. So this tribe, having enlisted the aid of Simeon, on the condition that, once the Canaanites tributary to Judah had been destroyed, they would do the same to those within the lot of Simeon (advanced to battle).^b

The tribe of Judah, with Simeon, takes the lead against the Canaanites. Jd. i. 1.

(2) But the Canaanites, who at that time were in a flourishing condition, awaited them with a large army at Zebekē,^c having entrusted the command to the king of the Zebekēnians, Adonizebek^d—this name signifies "lord of the Zebekēnians," for *adōni* in the speech of the Hebrews means "lord"—and they were hoping to defeat the Israelites, since Joshua was dead. However the Israelites of the two tribes which I mentioned, having joined battle with them, fought brilliantly, with the result that they slew of the enemy upwards of ten thousand, and having put the rest to rout pursued them and captured Adonizebek, who, with hands and feet mutilated by his captors, exclaimed: "Nay then I was not destined for ever to escape God's eye, having now suffered the fate which I scrupled not of yore

Defeat of Adonizebek and siege of Jerusalem. Jd. i. 4.

^c Heb. "Bezek": site unidentified.

^d Heb. Adoni-bezek. The form is suspected and it is thought by some critics that we have in this story in Judges another version of the defeat of Adoni-zedek, King of Jerusalem, narrated in Joshua x., where, however, LXX has Adoni-bezek as here.

JOSEPHUS

- κοντα βασιλέων πράξει πρότερον οὐκ ἐνετράπην.”
- 124 καὶ ζῶντα μὲν κομίζουσιν ἕως Ἱεροσολύμων, τελευτήσαντα δὲ γῆ θάπτουσι. καὶ διεξήεσαν αἰρούντες τὰς πόλεις, πλείστας τε λαβόντες ἐπολιόρκουν Ἱεροσόλυμα· καὶ τὴν μὲν κάτω λαβόντες σὺν χρόνῳ πάντας ἔκτεινον τοὺς ἐνοικούντας, χαλεπὴ δ’ ἦν ἡ καθύπερθεν αὐτοῖς αἰρεθῆναι τειχῶν ὀχυρότητι καὶ φύσει τοῦ χωρίου.
- 125 (3) Ὅθεν μετεστρατοπέδευσαν εἰς Χεβρών¹ καὶ ταύτην ἐλόντες κτείνουσι πάντας· ὑπελείπετο δὲ τῶν² γιγάντων ἔτι γένος, οἷ διὰ σωματῶν μεγέθη καὶ μορφᾶς οὐδὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀνθρώποις παραπλησίας παράδοξον ἦσαν θέαμα καὶ δεινὸν ἄκουσμα. δείκνυται δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι τούτων ὅσα
- 126 μηδὲν τοῖς ὑπὸ πύστιν³ ἐρχομένοις εἰκότα. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν τοῖς Λευίταις ἐξαιρέτον γέρας ἔδοσαν μετὰ καὶ τῶν δισχιλίῶν πηχῶν, τὴν δὲ γῆν Χαλέβω δωρεὰν ἔδοσαν κατὰ Μωυσέος ἐντολᾶς· οὗτος δ’ ἦν τῶν κατασκόπων εἰς ὧν ἔπεμψε Μωυσῆς εἰς
- 127 τὴν Χαναanaίαν. διδῶσι δὲ καὶ τοῖς Ἰοθόρου τοῦ Μαδιανίτου ἀπογόνους, Μωυσέος γὰρ ἦν γαμβρός, γῆν ἵνα νέμονται· τὴν γὰρ πατρίδα καταλιπόντες ἠκολουθήκεσαν⁴ ἐκείνοις καὶ συνῆσαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς ἐρήμου.
- 128 (4) Ἡ δὲ Ἰουδα φυλὴ καὶ Σεμεωνίς τὰς μὲν κατὰ τὴν ὄρεινὴν τῆς Χαναanaίας πόλεις εἶλον, τῶν

¹ Νεβρώνα RO.

² RO: τὸ τῶν rell.

³ Cocceii: πίστιν codd.

⁴ ML: ἠκολούθησαν rell.

^a “70” according to Jd. i. 7, but some mss. of LXX read “72.”

^b The burial is not mentioned in Scripture.

^c According to Jd. i. 8 the whole city was captured and

to inflict on two and seventy ^a kings." They brought him yet alive to Jerusalem, and at his death gave him sepulture.^b Then they overran the district, taking the towns, and after capturing very many of them laid siege to Jerusalem. The lower town they mastered in time and slew all the inhabitants; but the upper town proved too difficult to carry through the solidity of its walls and the nature of the site.^c

(3) So they moved their camp to Hebron, took that town and massacred all therein. Howbeit there remained yet a race of giants,^d who, by reason of their huge frames and figures in no wise like to the rest of mankind, were an amazing spectacle and a tale of terror to the ear. Their bones are shown to this day, bearing no resemblance to any that have come within men's ken. This town they gave to the Levites as a choice boon, along with the tract of two thousand cubits^e; but of the rest of the land they made, in accordance with the behests of Moses, a present to Caleb, who was one of the spies whom Moses had sent into Canaan. They gave also to the descendants of Jethro the Madianite, the father-in-law of Moses, territory for habitation; for, quitting their native country, they had followed the Hebrews and companied with them in the wilderness.

(4) The tribes of Judah and Simeon also captured the cities in the hill-country of Canaan, and among

destroyed—an incorrect statement contradicted by other passages of Scripture. The distinction drawn by Josephus between upper and lower town is an attempt to harmonize Jd. i. 8 with i. 21 and Jos. xv. 63.

^d The "sons of Anak" driven out by Caleb, Jd. i. 20; for their stature *cf.* the description given by the spies in Numb. xiii. 33 (*A.* iii. 305).

^e As prescribed by Moses, *A.* iv. 67

Capture of
Hebron.
Jd. i. 10.

i. 20.

i. 16.

JOSEPHUS

δ' ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ πρὸς θαλάσση Ἀσκάλωνά τε καὶ Ἄζωτον. διαφεύγει δ' αὐτοὺς Γάζα καὶ Ἀκκάρων· πεδίῳν γὰρ ὄντων καὶ πολλῆς ἀρμάτων εὐπορίας κακῶς ἐποιοῦν τοὺς ἐπελθόντας. καὶ αἶδε μὲν αἱ φυλαὶ μεγάλως ἐκ τοῦ πολεμεῖν εὐδαιμονήσασαι ἀνεχώρησαν εἰς τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις καὶ κατατίθενται τὰ ὄπλα.

129 (5) Βενιαμίται δέ, τούτων γὰρ ἦν Ἱεροσόλυμα, τοῖς οἰκήτορσιν αὐτῶν συνεχώρησαν φόρους τελεῖν. καὶ οὕτως παυσάμενοι πάντες οἱ μὲν τοῦ κτείνειν οἱ δὲ κινδυνεύειν ἐργάζεσθαι τὴν γῆν εὐσχόλουν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ αἱ λοιπαὶ φυλαὶ τὴν Βενιαμίτιν μιμησάμεναι ἐποιοῦν καὶ τοῖς τελουμένοις ἀρκούμενοι φόροις ἐπέτρεπον τοῖς Χαναναίοις ἀπολέμοις εἶναι.

130 (6) Ἡ δ' Ἐφραΐμου¹ πολιορκούσα Βήθηλα τέλος οὐδὲν ἄξιον τοῦ χρόνου καὶ τῶν πόνων ἠῦρισκε τῆς πολιορκίας, οἱ δὲ καίπερ ἀχθόμενοι τῇ καθέδρᾳ
131 προσεκαρτέρου. ἔπειτα συλλαβόντες τινὰ τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει προελθόντα² ἐπὶ κομιδῇ τῶν ἀναγκαίων πίστεις ἔδοσαν αὐτῷ παραδόντι τὴν πόλιν σώσειν αὐτόν τε καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς αὐτοῦ· κακείνος ἐπὶ τούτοις ὤμνυε τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς ἐγχειριεῖν.³ καὶ ὁ μὲν οὕτως προδοὺς σώζεται μετὰ τῶν οἰκείων, οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναντες ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας εἶχον τὴν πόλιν.

132 (7) Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πρὸς μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους μαλακῶς εἶχον οἱ Ἰσραηλίται, τῆς δὲ γῆς καὶ τῶν

¹ Ἐφράν RO.

² Niese: προσελθόντα codd.

³ Dindorf: ἐγχειοεῖν codd.

those in the plain and on the sea-board, Ascalon and Azōtus. But Gaza and Akkarōn escaped them ; for, being situated in the plain and blest with an abundance of chariots, they sorely handled their assailants.^a So these two tribes, greatly enriched by their warfare, retired to their own cities and laid down their arms.

Further conquests of the two tribes. Jd. i. 9, 17 ff.

(5) The Benjamites, within whose lot lay Jerusalem, permitted its inhabitants to pay them tribute ; and thus all reposing, these from slaughter and those from peril, were at leisure to till the soil. The other tribes, imitating that of Benjamin, did the same and, contenting themselves with the tributes paid to them, suffered the Canaanites to live in peace.

General peace with the Canaanites Jd. i. 21. i. 27 ff.

(6) The tribe of Ephraim, in besieging Bethel, could attain no result proportionate to the time and the toil expended upon the siege ; yet, for all their annoyance, they persevered in the blockade. Afterwards, having caught one of the inhabitants of the town who had gone out in search of provisions, they gave him their word that, if he would betray the city, they would spare the lives of him and his kin ; and he on these terms swore to deliver it into their hands. So he by such treason saved himself with his family, while they, having massacred all the inhabitants, occupied the town.

Capture of Bethel by Ephraim. Jd. i. 22.

(7) Thereafter the Israelites relaxed the struggle against their enemies and devoted themselves to

Peace leads to corruption Jd. ii. 11.

^a Josephus here differs from both Biblical texts, presenting a sort of compromise between them. According to the Heb. (Jd. i. 18 f.) Judah took Gaza, Ashkelon and Ekron, but failed to drive out the inhabitants of the valley because of their chariots of iron (Ashdod or Azotus is not mentioned) : according to the LXX he could take neither Gaza, Ascalon, Akkaron, nor Azotus.

JOSEPHUS

- ταύτης ἔργων ἐπεμελοῦντο. τῶν δὲ κατὰ τὸν πλοῦτον αὐτοῖς ἐπιδιδόντων ὑπὸ τρυφῆς καὶ ἡδονῆς τοῦ κόσμου ὀλιγώρουν τῆς πολιτείας καὶ¹ τῶν
- 133 νόμων οὐκέτ' ἦσαν ἀκριβεῖς ἀκροαταί. παροξυνθὲν δ' ἐπὶ τούτοις τὸ θεῖον ἀναιρεῖ, πρῶτον μὲν ὡς φείσαιντο παρὰ τὴν αὐτοῦ γνώμην τῶν Χαναναίων, ἔπειθ' ὡς ἐκείνοι χρήσαιντο² πολλῇ κατ'
- 134 αὐτῶν ὀμότητι καιροῦ λαβόμενοι. οἱ δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ δυσθύμως εἶχον καὶ πρὸς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀηδῶς, πολλά τε παρὰ τῶν Χαναανίων λαβόντες καὶ πρὸς τοὺς πόρους ἤδη διὰ τὴν τρυφὴν
- 135 ἐκλελυμένοι. καὶ συνέβαιεν ἤδη τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν διεφθάρθαι, καὶ τὰς γερουσίας οὐκ ἀπεδείκνυσαν οὐδ' ἀρχὴν ἄλλην οὐδεμίαν τῶν πρότερον νενομισμένων, ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς ἡδονῇ τοῦ κερδαίνειν προσδεδεμένοι. καὶ διὰ τὴν πολλὴν ἄδειαν στάσις αὐτοὺς πάλιν καταλαμβάνει δεινὴ καὶ προήχθησαν εἰς τὸ πολεμεῖν ἀλλήλοις ἐκ τοιαύτης αἰτίας.
- 136 (8) Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν δημοτικωτέρων τῆς Ἐφραΐμου³ κληρουχίας ὧν καὶ ἐν ἐκείνῃ κατοικῶν ἄγεται γύναιον ἀπὸ Βηθλέμων, τῆς δὲ Ἰούδα φυλῆς τοῦτ' ἔστι τὸ χωρίον. ἐρῶν δὲ σφόδρα τῆς γυναικὸς καὶ τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς ἠττημένος ἠτύχει τῶν παρ' ἐκείνης οὐχ ὁμοίων πειρώμενος.
- 137 ἀλλοτριῶς δ' αὐτῆς ἐχούσης καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μᾶλλον

¹ τῆς πολ. καὶ trs. Niese: καὶ τῆς πολιτείας codd.

² Bekker: χρήσαιντο codd.

³ v.l. Ἐφράν, Ἐφράνου.

^a The remarks on political corruption are an amplification of Scripture.

^b In Scripture this episode forms an appendix to the book of Judges. Josephus has transposed it (along with another

the soil and to labours thereon. And as their riches increased, under the mastery of luxury and voluptuousness, they recked little of the order of their constitution and no longer hearkened diligently to its laws. Incensed thereat, the Deity warned them by oracle, first that they had acted contrary to His will in sparing the Canaanites, and next that those foes, seizing their occasion, would treat them with great ruthlessness. But the Israelites, while despondent at this message from God, were yet ill-disposed for warfare, for they had won much from the Canaanites and luxury had by now unnerved them for fatigues. Aye, even that aristocracy of theirs was now becoming corrupted: no more did they appoint councils of elders or any other of those magistracies before-time ordained by law, but lived on their estates, enslaved to the pleasures of lucre.^a And so, by reason of this gross listlessness, grave discord again assailed them and they were launched into civil war through the following cause.

(8) ^b A Levite of the lower ranks, of the province of Ephraim and residing therein, married a woman of Bethlehem, a place belonging to the tribe of Judah. Being deeply enamoured of his wife and captivated by her beauty, he was unfortunate in meeting with no like return from her. And, whereas she held herself aloof and he thereby only became

Ja. ii. 14.

The Levite of Ephraim and the outrage on his wife. Jd. xix. 1.

appendix) to an earlier date, to the period before the judges: perhaps, as has been suggested, to allow time for the tribe of Benjamin to recover itself before it furnished the nation with its first king. "It is incredible," writes Dr. G. F. Moore (*Int. Crit. Comm.* p. 405), "that the tribe of Benjamin was almost exterminated only a generation or two before the time of Saul; but the events related in these chapters probably fall in a much earlier period . . ."

JOSEPHUS

- ἐκκαιομένου τῷ πάθει μέμψεις συνεχεῖς αὐτοῖς ἐγίνοντο, καὶ τέλος ἢ γυνὴ πρὸς αὐτὰς βαρυνομένη καταλιποῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς παραγίνεται μηνὶ τετάρτῳ. χαλεπῶς δὲ φέρων ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι ἤκε πρὸς τοὺς πενθεροὺς καὶ διαλυσάμενος τὰς μέμψεις καταλλάττεται πρὸς αὐτήν.
- 138 καὶ τέτταρας μὲν ἡμέρας αὐτόθι¹ διαιτᾶται φιλοφρονουμένων αὐτὸν τῶν γονέων, τῇ δὲ πέμπτῃ δόξαν ἀπιέναι πρὸς αὐτὸν περὶ δεῖλῃν ἔξεισι βράδιον γὰρ ἀπέλυον οἱ γονεῖς τὴν θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας τριβὴν ἐποιούντο. θεράπων δ' αὐτοῖς εἰς εἶπετο καὶ ὄνος ἦν αὐτοῖς, ἐφ' ἧς ὠχεῖτο τὸ
- 139 γύναιον. γενομένων δ' αὐτῶν κατὰ Ἱεροσόλυμα, σταδίους δ' ἐληλύθεσαν ἤδη τριάκοντα, συνεβούλευεν ὁ θεράπων καταχθῆναί που, μὴ καὶ τι τῆς νυκτὸς αὐτοὺς ὀδεύοντας καταλάβῃ δύσκολον καὶ ταῦτα οὐδὲ πόρρω πολεμίων ὄντας, τοῦ καιροῦ πολλάκις ἐπισφαλῇ καὶ ὑποπτα ποιούντος καὶ τὰ
- 140 φίλα. τῷ δ' οὐκ ἤρρεσεν ἡ γνώμη παρ' ἄλλοφύλοις ἀνδράσι ξενοῦσθαι, Χαναναίων γὰρ ἦν ἡ πόλις, ἀλλὰ προελθόντας εἴκοσι στάδια εἰς οἰκειάν ἡξίου κατάγεσθαι πόλιν, καὶ κρατήσας τῇ γνώμῃ παρῆν εἰς Γάβαν φυλῆς τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος ἤδη² ὀψίας
- 141 οὔσης. καὶ μηδενὸς ἐπὶ ξενίαν τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἀγορὰν αὐτὸν παρακαλοῦντος πρεσβύτης ἐξ ἀγροῦ κατιῶν τῆς μὲν Ἐφραιμίτιδος φυλῆς ὧν ἐν δὲ τῇ Γάβῃ διαιτώμενος συντυγχάνων αὐτῷ, τίς τε ὧν

¹ SPL: πρὸς αὐτόθι ROM: προσαυτόθι Niese.

² + δὲ SPE.

* A misreading of Scripture. In Jd. xix. 2 the woman returns to her father's house "and was there the space of four months."

the more ardent in his passion, quarrels were continually arising between them, and at last the woman, utterly weary of them, left her husband and in the fourth month^a rejoined her parents. But her husband, in sore affliction through love of her, visited her parents, redressed her grievances and was reconciled to her. For four days more he abode there, kindly treated by her parents, but on the fifth, having resolved to return to his home, he set off towards evening; for the parents were loth to part with their daughter and let the day slip away. A single servant accompanied them, and they had an ass on which the woman rode. Now when they were come over against Jerusalem, having already gone thirty furlongs,^b the servant counselled them to lodge somewhere, lest, journeying by night, some misadventure should befall them, above all when they were not far from foes, that hour oft rendering perilous and suspect even the offices of friends. The Levite, however, misliked the thought of seeking shelter with aliens—for the city was in Canaanite hands^c—preferring rather to proceed twenty furlongs further and to lodge in a town of the Hebrews; and, his counsel prevailing, he arrived at Gaba,^d in the tribe of Benjamin, when evening had now fallen. No one in the market-place offering him hospitality, an old man returning from the fields, who though of the tribe of Ephraim was residing in Gaba, fell in with him and asked who he was and why he was

^b Gr. "*stades*" (about $\frac{1}{2}$ mile). Bethlehem is 5 miles S. of Jerusalem: elsewhere the distance is reckoned as only "20 *stades*" (*A.* vii. 312). ^c Cf. § 124 (note).

^d Heb. Gibeah, usually identified with *Tell el-Ful*, c. 4 miles N. of Jerusalem; in *B.J.* v. 51 described as "Gabath Saul . . . about 30 *stades* from Jerusalem."

JOSEPHUS

- ἤρετο καὶ δι' αἰτίας στελλόμενος σκότους ἤδη
 142 τὰ πρὸς τὸ δεῖπνον αὐτῷ λαμβάνοι. ὁ δὲ Λευίτης
 μὲν ἔφησεν εἶναι, γύναιον δὲ παρὰ τῶν γονέων
 ἄγων πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπιέναι,¹ τὴν δ' οἴκησιν ἐδήλου
 τυγχάνειν ἐν τῇ Ἐφραΐμου κληρουχίᾳ. ὁ δὲ
 πρεσβύτης καὶ διὰ συγγένειαν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν
 αὐτὴν φυλὴν νέμειν καὶ διὰ τὴν συντυχίαν παρ'
 143 αὐτὸν ξενισθησόμενον ἤγε. νεανίαί δέ τινες τῶν
 Γαβαηνῶν ἐπὶ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τὸ γύναιον θεασάμενοι
 καὶ τὴν εὐπρέπειαν θαυμάσαντες, ἐπεὶ παρὰ τῷ
 πρεσβύτῃ κατηγμένην ἔμαθον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς
 ἀσθενείας καὶ τῆς ὀλιγότητος ἤκον ἐπὶ τὰς θύρας.
 τοῦ δὲ πρεσβύτου παρακαλοῦντος ἀπαλλάττεσθαι
 καὶ μὴ προσφέρειν βίαν μηδὲ ὕβριν, ἠξίουν αὐτὸν
 παρασχόντα τὴν ξένην πραγμάτων ἀπηλλάχθαι.
 144 συγγενῇ δέ² λέγοντος καὶ Λευίτην³ τοῦ πρεσβύτου
 καὶ δράσειν αὐτοὺς δεινὰ ὑφ' ἡδονῆς εἰς τοὺς νόμους
 ἐξαμαρτάνοντας ὀλιγώρουν τοῦ δικαίου καὶ κατ-
 εγέλων, ἠπειλοῦν δὲ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ἐμποδίζοντα
 145 ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις αὐτῶν. εἰς δ' ἀνάγκην περι-
 ηγμένος καὶ μὴ βουλόμενος τοὺς ξένους περιδεῖν
 ὕβρισθέντας, τῆς ἑαυτοῦ θυγατρὸς αὐτοῖς παρ-
 εχώρει, πληρώσειν τε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν αὐτοὺς λέγων
 νομιμώτερον δίχα τῆς εἰς τοὺς ξένους ὕβρεως αὐτὸς
 τε⁴ μηδὲν ἀδικήσειν οὓς ὑπεδέξατο τούτῳ τῷ
 146 τρόπῳ νομίζων. ὡς δ' οὐδὲν τῆς σπουδῆς τῆς
 ἐπὶ τὴν ξένην ἐνεδίδοσαν, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο ταύτην
 παραλαβεῖν ἀξιούντες, ὁ μὲν ἰκέτευε μηδὲν τολμᾶν

¹ Dindorf: ἀπεῖναι codd.

² ὡς συγγενῇ δὲ RO: ὡς δὲ συγγενῇ τε rell.

³ Λευίτιν E.

⁴ Dindorf: δὲ codd.

setting off, when it was dark already, taking provisions for his supper. He replied that he was a cf. xix. 19. Levite and that he was escorting his wife from her parents back to his own home, informing him that he had his abode in the province of Ephraim. Thereat the old man, because of their common stock, and because they belonged to the same tribe and because chance had thus brought them together, took him as his guest to his own home. But some of the young xix. 22. men of Gaba, who had seen the woman in the market-place and admired her comeliness, when they learnt that she lodged with the old man, scorning the feebleness of these few,^a came to the doors; and when the old man bade them begone and not to resort to violence and outrage, they required him to hand over his woman guest if he wished to avoid trouble. The old man replying that he ^b was a kinsman and a Levite and that they would be guilty of a dreadful crime in violating the laws at the beck of pleasure, they recked little of righteousness, mocked at it, and threatened to kill him if he thwarted their lusts. Driven to such a pass and unwilling to suffer his guests to be abused, he offered the men his own daughter, declaring that it would be more legitimate for them thus to gratify their lust than by doing violence to his guests, and for his part thinking by this means to avoid wronging those whom he had received. But they in no wise abated their passion for the stranger, being insistent in their demands to have her, and while he was yet imploring them to perpetrate no iniquity,

^a Gr. "their feebleness and fewness" (*cf. B.J. iii. 317*).

^b *i.e.* the husband. One *ms.* reads "that she (the Levite's wife) was a kinswoman" etc.

JOSEPHUS

- παράνομον, οἱ δ' ἄρπασάμενοι καὶ προσθέμενοι
 μᾶλλον τῷ βιαίῳ τῆς ἡδονῆς ἀπήγαγον πρὸς αὐτοὺς
 τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ δι' ὅλης νυκτὸς ἐμπλησθέντες τῆς
 147 ὕβρεως ἀπέλυσαν περὶ ἄρχομένην ἡμέραν. ἡ δὲ
 τεταλαιπωρημένη τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρῆν ἐπὶ τὴν
 ξενίαν καὶ ὑπὸ λύπης ὦν. ἐπεπόνθει καὶ τοῦ μὴ
 τολμᾶν ὑπ' αἰσχύνης εἰς ὄψιν ἐλθεῖν τάνδρι, τοῦτον
 γὰρ μάλιστα τοῖς γεγεννημένοις ἔχειν ἀνιάτως
 148 ἐλογίζετο, καταπεσοῦσα τὴν ψυχὴν ἀφίησιν. ὁ δὲ
 ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς οἰόμενος ὑπνω βαθεῖ κατεσχῆσθαι τὴν
 γυναῖκα καὶ μηδὲν σκυθρωπὸν ὑφορώμενος ἀν-
 εγείρειν ἐπειρᾶτο παραμυθῆσασθαι διεγνωκῶς, ὡς
 οὐκ ἐξ ἔκουσίου γνώμης αὐτὴν παράσχοι τοῖς
 καθυβρίσασιν, ἀλλ' ἄρπασαμένων ἐπὶ τὴν ξενίαν
 149 ἐλθόντων αὐτῶν.¹ ὡς δὲ τελευτήσασαν ἔμαθε,
 σωφρονισθεῖς² πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν κακῶν ἐπι-
 θέμενος τῷ κτήνι νεκρὰν τὴν γυναῖκα κομίζει
 πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ διελὼν αὐτὴν κατὰ μέλος εἰς μέρη
 δώδεκα διέπεμψεν εἰς ἐκάστην φυλὴν, ἐντειλάμενος
 τοῖς κομίζουσι λέγειν τοὺς αἰτίους τῆς τελευτῆς
 τῆ γυναικὶ καὶ τὴν παροιμίαν τῆς φυλῆς.³
 150 (9) Οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τε τῆς ὀψεως καὶ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν
 βεβιασμένων κακῶς διατεθέντες, πρότερον οὐδενὸς
 τοιούτου πείραν εἰληφότες, ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἀκράτου
 καὶ δικαίας εἰς τὴν Σιλοῦν συλλεγόντες καὶ πρὸ
 τῆς σκηνῆς ἀθροισθέντες εἰς ὄπλα χωρεῖν εὐθὺς
 ὤρμητο καὶ χρήσασθαι τοῖς Γαβαηνοῖς ὡς πολε-
 151 μίοις. ἐπέσχε δ' αὐτοὺς ἡ γερουσία πείσασα μὴ

¹ ἀλλ' . . . αὐτῶν om. Lat.

² conj. (cf. § 256): σωφρόνως (σωφρονῶν SP) codd.

³ τῆς φυλῆς R: ταῖς φυλαῖς rell.

they seized ^a the woman and, yielding still more to the force of their lust, carried her off to their homes and then, after sating their lewdness all night long, let her go towards the break of day. She, outworn with her woes, repaired to the house of her host, where, out of grief at what she had endured and not daring for shame to face her husband—since he above all, she deemed, would be inconsolable at her fate—she succumbed and gave up the ghost. But her husband, supposing his wife to be buried in deep sleep and suspecting nothing serious, tried to arouse her, with intent to console her by recalling how she had not voluntarily surrendered herself to her abusers, but that they had come to the lodging-house and carried her off. But when he found that she was dead, chastened before the enormity of the wrong, he laid the dead woman upon his beast, bore her to his home and then, dividing her limb by limb into twelve pieces, sent one to each tribe, enjoining the bearers to state who they were who had caused the death of his wife and to recount the debauchery of the tribe.^b

(9) The Israelites, sorely moved by the spectacle and the tale of these deeds of violence, the like of which they had never known before, in intense and righteous wrath assembled at Silo^c and, mustering before the tabernacle, were impatient to rush straight to arms and to treat these people of Gaba as enemies. But they were restrained by the elders, who urged

The Israelites vainly demand the surrender of the culprits. Jd. xx. 1.

^a In Scripture, the Levite himself surrenders the woman.

^b Sc. of Benjamin. "One to each tribe" is not in Scripture ("sent her throughout all the borders of Israel"); were that meant, one might expect the number to be eleven, Benjamin being excluded.

^c In Scripture, the tribes assemble at Mizpah.

JOSEPHUS

- δεῖν ὀξέως οὕτως πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον πρὶν ἢ λόγοις διαλεχθῆναι περὶ τῶν ἐγκλημάτων, τοῦ νόμου μὴδ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἐφιέντος δίχα πρεσβείας καὶ τοιαύτης πρὸς τὸ μετανοῆσαι πείρας τοὺς δόξαντας ἀδικεῖν στρατιὰν¹
- 152 ἀγαγεῖν· καλῶς οὖν ἔχειν τῷ νόμῳ πειθομένους πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς ἐξαιτουῦντας τοὺς αἰτίους ἐκπέμψαι καὶ παρεχομένων μὲν ἀρκεῖσθαι τῇ τούτων κολάσει, καταφρονησάντων δὲ τότε τοῖς
- 153 ὄπλοις αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι. πέμπουσιν οὖν πρὸς τοὺς Γαβαηνοὺς κατηγοροῦντες τῶν νεανίσκων τὰ περὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ πρὸς τιμωρίαν αἰτουῦντες τοὺς δράσαντας μὲν οὐ νόμιμα, γενομένους δὲ δικαίους
- 154 ἀντ' αὐτῶν ἐκείνων ἀποθανεῖν. οἱ δὲ Γαβαηνοὶ οὔτε τοὺς νεανίσκους ἐξέδωσαν καὶ δεινὸν ἀλλοτρίοις ὑπακούειν προστάγμασιν ἠγοῦντο πολέμου φόβῳ, μηδενὸς ἀξιοῦντες εἶναι χείρους ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις μήτε διὰ πλῆθος μήτε δι' εὐψυχίαν. ἦσαν δὲ ἐν παρασκευῇ μεγάλη μετὰ καὶ² τῶν ἄλλων φυλετῶν, συναπενοήθησαν γὰρ αὐτοῖς ὡς ἀμννούμενοι³ βιαζομένουσ.
- 155 (10) Ὡς δὲ τοιαῦτα τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ παρὰ τῶν Γαβαηνῶν ἀπηγγέλθη, ὄρκους ποιοῦνται μηδένα σφῶν ἀνδρὶ Βενιαμίτῃ δώσειν πρὸς γάμον θυγατέρα στρατεύσειν τε ἐπ' αὐτούς, μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς δι' ὀργῆς ὄντες ἢ τοῖς Χανααίοις⁴ τοὺς προγόνους

¹ στρατεῖαν ROSL.

² μετὰ καὶ Dindorf: καὶ codd.

³ ex Lat. Niese: ἀμννούμενοι codd. ⁴ ed. pr.: +οἷς codd.

^a Or, with other mss., "a campaign."

^b This advice of the elders, not mentioned in Scripture, is added to show that they conformed to the Mosaic law (Deut. xx. 10; A. iv. 296).

that they ought not so hurriedly to make war on their brethren, ere they had parleyed with them concerning their grievances, the law not permitting them to lead an army^a even against aliens without having sent an embassy and made other attempts of this nature to bring the supposed wrongdoers to repentance.^b It therefore behoved them, in obedience to the law, to send envoys to the Gabaenians to demand the surrender of the culprits and, should they deliver them up, to be content with punishing these individuals; but, should they flout this demand, then to retaliate on them by resort to arms. So they sent an embassy to Gaba to accuse the young men of the woman's fate and to require the surrender for punishment of those that had done thus lawlessly and who for those very deeds deserved to die.^c But the people of Gaba refused to surrender the youths and scorned to bow to the behests of others through fear of war, holding themselves to be inferior in arms to none whether in numbers or valour. So they proceeded to make great preparations along with the rest of their tribe, who joined them in their desperate undertaking in the belief that they were repelling aggressors. xx. 12.

(10) Now when word was brought to the Israelites of this response from the men of Gaba, they took an oath that not one among them would give his daughter to a man of Benjamin and that they would march against them, being more indignant against them than were our forefathers, as we are told, Civil war with the Benjamites defeat of Israel. Jd. xxi. 1. xx. 17.

^c Or perhaps (taking *αὐτῶν ἐκείνων* as masculines) "who deserved to die in lieu of their own people": the balance of clauses (*μὲν . . . δὲ . . .*) favours this. The lawlessness of the deed warranted wholesale destruction, but at least the culprits should suffer.

JOSEPHUS

- 156 ἡμῶν παρειλήφαμεν γενομένους. παραχρῆμά τε ἐξῆγον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς τὸ στρατόπεδον μυριάδας τεσσαράκοντα ὀπλιτῶν· καὶ Βενιαμιτῶν τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν ἦν ὑπὸ δισμυρίων καὶ πεντακισχιλίων καὶ ἑξακοσίων, ὧν ἦσαν εἰς πεντακοσίους ταῖς λαιαῖς
- 157 τῶν χειρῶν σφενδονᾶν ἄριστοι, ὥστε καὶ μάχης πρὸς τῇ Γαβᾶ γενομένης τρέπουσι τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας οἱ Βενιαμίται ἄνδρες τε πίπτουσι ἐξ αὐτῶν εἰς δισμυρίους καὶ δισχιλίους, ἐφθάρησαν δὲ ἴσως ἂν καὶ πλείονες, εἰ μὴ νύξ αὐτοὺς ἐπέσχε καὶ διέλυσε
- 158 μαχομένους. καὶ οἱ μὲν Βενιαμίται χαίροντες ἀνεχώρουν εἰς τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλίται καταπεπληγότες ὑπὸ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάλιν συμβαλόντων οἱ Βενιαμίται κρατοῦσι καὶ θνήσκουσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὀκτακισχίλιοι καὶ μύριοι, καὶ δείσαντες τὸν φόνον¹
- 159 ἐξέλιπον τὸ στρατόπεδον. παραγενόμενοι δὲ εἰς Βέθηλα πόλιν ἔγγιστα κειμένην καὶ νηστεύσαντες κατὰ τὴν ὑστεραίαν τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευον διὰ Φινεέσου τοῦ ἀρχιερέως παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς πρὸς αὐτοὺς καὶ ταῖς δυσὶν αὐτῶν ἥτταις ἀρκεσθέντα δοῦναι νίκην καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπαγγέλλεται ταῦτα διὰ Φινεέσου προφητεύσαντος.
- 160 (11) Ποιήσαντες οὖν τὴν στρατιὰν δύο μέρη τὴν μὲν ἡμίσειαν προλοχίζουσι νυκτὸς περὶ τὴν πόλιν, οἱ δ' ἡμίσεις συνέβαλον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις ὑπεχώρουν τε ἐγκειμένων, καὶ ἐδίωκον οἱ Βενιαμίται <καὶ>

¹ om. L Lat.

* Heb. 26,000 Benjamites + 700 inhabitants of Gibeah: LXX 25,000 (or 23,000) + 700. In Josephus the preposition 232

against the Canaanites. And forthwith they led ^{xx. 15 f.} out against them their host of 400,000 men-at-arms; the forces of the Benjamites numbered but some 25,600 ^a among whom were 500 ^b expert in using the sling with the left hand. And so, a battle ensuing near Gaba, the Benjamites routed the Israelites, and there fell of these 22,000 men; indeed perchance yet more would have perished, had not night checked them and parted the combatants. The Benjamites then withdrew, exultant, to the town, the Israelites, crest-fallen at their defeat, to their camp. On the morrow, when they renewed the attack, the Benjamites were again victorious: 18,000 of the Israelites perished, and daunted by this carnage they abandoned their encampment. Repairing to Bethel, the city nearest at hand, ^{xx. 26.} and having fasted on the morrow, they besought God, through Phinees the high priest, to abate his anger against them and, content with their two defeats, to vouchsafe them victory and the mastery over their foes. And God promised them their petitions through the mouth of Phinees, His interpreter.

(11) So, dividing their army in two, they set half in ambush around the town ^a under cover of night; the other half then engaged the Benjamites and before their onset retired. The Benjamites pursued ^{Defeat of the Benjamites: reprisals of the Israelites. Jd. xx. 29.} *ὑπό*, if genuine, seems to mean "about" and perhaps indicates acquaintance with variant readings in Scripture.

^b Heb. (with some mss. of LXX) 700: other mss. of LXX omit the number.

^c Bethel is some 8 miles N. of the traditional site of Gibeah (*Tell el-Ful*): Shiloh, the seat of the tabernacle (§ 150), lay considerably farther north.

^d This battle scene, like others, recalls Thucydides: with *προλοχίζειν περὶ τὴν πόλιν* cf. Thuc. ii. 81, with *πασσὺδι* (§ 161) viii. 1, with *περιστάντες κατηκόντισαν* (§ 162) vii. 84.

JOSEPHUS

- τῶν Ἑβραίων ὑποφευγόντων ἡρέμα καὶ ἐπὶ πολὺ
 θελόντων εἰς ἅπαν αὐτοὺς ἐξελεῖν¹ ἀναχωροῦσιν
 161 εἶποντο, ὡς καὶ τοὺς ἐν τῇ πόλει πρεσβύτας καὶ
 νέους ὑπολειφθέντας δι' ἀσθένειαν συνεκδραμεῖν²
 αὐτοῖς πασσυδὶ βουλομένους χειρώσασθαι τοὺς
 πολεμίους. ὡς δὲ πολὺ τῆς πόλεως ἀπέσχον,
 ἐπαύσαντο μὲν φεύγοντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι, ἐπιστρα-
 φέντες δ' ἴστανται πρὸς μάχην καὶ τοῖς ἐν ταῖς
 ἐνέδραις οὔσι τὸ σημεῖον αἴρουσιν ὃ συνέκειτο.
 162 οἱ δ' ἐξαναστάντες μετὰ βοῆς ἐπήεσαν τοῖς πολε-
 μίοις. οἱ δὲ ἅμα τε ἠπατημένους αὐτοὺς ἤσθοντο
 καὶ ἐν ἀμηχανία συνεστήκεσαν, καὶ εἷς τι κοῖλον
 συνελαθέντας καὶ φαραγγῶδες χωρίον περιστάντες
 κατηκόντισαν, ὥστε πάντας διαφθαρῆναι πλὴν
 163 ἑξακοσίων. οὔτοι δὲ συστραφέντες καὶ πυκνώ-
 σαντες ἑαυτοὺς καὶ διὰ μέσων ὡσάμενοι τῶν πολε-
 μίων ἔφυγον ἐπὶ τὰ πλησίον ὄρη, καὶ κατασχόντες
 ἰδρύθησαν. οἱ δ' ἄλλοι πάντες περὶ δισμυρίους
 164 ὄντες καὶ πεντακισχιλίους ἀπέθανον. οἱ δ' Ἰσραη-
 λῖται τὴν τε Γάβαν ἐμπιπρᾶσι καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας
 καὶ τῶν ἀρρένων τοὺς μὴ ἐν ἀκμῇ διεχρήσαντο,
 τὰς τε ἄλλας τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν πόλεις ταῦτά δρῶσιν·
 οὕτως τε ἦσαν παρωξυμμένοι,³ ὡς καὶ Ἰάβησον τῆς
 Γαλαδίτιδος οὔσαν, ὅτι μὴ συμμαχήσειεν αὐτοῖς
 κατὰ τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν, πέμψαντες μυρίους καὶ
 165 δισχιλίους ἐκ τῶν τάξεων ἐκέλευσαν ἀνελεῖν. καὶ
 φονεύουσι τὸ μάχιμον τῆς πόλεως οἱ πεμφθέντες
 σὺν τέκνοις καὶ γυναίξιν πλὴν τετρακοσίων παρ-
 θένων. ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον ὑπ' ὀργῆς προήχθησαν, τῶ

¹ protrahere (? ἐξελεῖν) Lat., omisso ἐπὶ πολὺ aut εἰς ἅπαν.

² ed. pr. : διεκδραμεῖν δι' ἀσθένειαν codd.

³ παρωργισμένοι MSPL.

and, as the Hebrews fell back little by little to a great distance, wishing them to come out^a to a man, they followed their retreating foe, in such wise that even the old men and lads who had been left in the town as incompetent sallied out also, eager as a united body to crush the enemy. But when they were now remote from the town, the Hebrews stayed their flight and, turning, stood their ground for battle, while they raised the concerted signal for their friends in ambush; and these, emerging with a shout, fell upon the enemy. The Benjamites, from the moment when they saw themselves entrapped, were in a hopeless plight: driven into a rugged hollow, they were there shot down by the darts of the Hebrews who stood around them, with the result that all perished save 600. These, rallying and closing up their ranks, pushed through the enemy's midst, fled for the neighbouring hills, and there, on gaining them, established themselves; all the rest, in number about 25,000, perished. The Israelites^{xx. 46.} burnt Gaba and made away with the women and males under age; the other cities of the Benjamites they treated in like manner. Moreover, so exasperated^{xxi. 8.} were they that, forasmuch as the town of Jabesh in Gilead had not aided them in battle against the Benjamites, they sent thither 12,000 men from their ranks, with orders to destroy it. This detachment massacred all of military age in the town, along with the children and all the women save 400 who were unmarried. To such lengths did their rage carry them,

^a Or, with the Latin, "wishing to draw them out."

JOSEPHUS

- κατὰ τὴν γυναῖκα πάθει προσλαβόντες καὶ τὸ κατὰ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν τῶν ὀπλιτῶν.
- 166 (12) Μετάνοια δ' αὐτοὺς λαμβάνει τῆς τῶν Βενιαμιτῶν συμφορᾶς καὶ νηστείαν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς προέθεντο, καίτοι δίκαια παθεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀξιοῦντες εἰς τοὺς νόμους ἑξαμαρτάνοντας, καὶ τοὺς διαφυγόντας αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίους διὰ πρεσβευτῶν ἐκάλουν· καθ-
 167 ἰδρυντο γὰρ ὑπὲρ πέτρας τινὸς Ῥοᾶς καλουμένης κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον. οἱ δὲ πρέσβεις ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνοις τῆς συμφορᾶς μόνοις γεγενημένης ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτοῖς τῶν συγγενῶν ἀπολωλότων ὀδυρόμενοι πράως ἔπειθον φέρειν καὶ συνελθεῖν εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ μὴ παντελῆ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς ὀλεθρον τό γε ἐπ' αὐτοῖς καταψηφίσασθαι. “ συγχωροῦμεν δὲ ὑμῖν,” ἔλεγον, “ τὴν ἀπάσης τῆς φυλῆς γῆν καὶ λείαν
 168 ὄσπην ἂν ἄγειν δυνηθῆτε¹”. οἱ δὲ τῶν καθ' ἑαυτοὺς θεοῦ ψήφῳ γεγονότων καὶ κατ' ἀδικίαν τὴν αὐτῶν γνωσιμαχήσαντες κατήεσαν εἰς τὴν πάτριον φυλὴν πειθόμενοι τοῖς προκαλουμένοις. οἱ δ' Ἰσραηλίται γυναῖκας αὐτοῖς τὰς τετρακοσίας ἔδωσαν παρθένους τὰς Ἰαβίτιδας, περὶ δὲ τῶν διακοσίων ἑσκόπουν, ὅπως κακῆνοι γυναικῶν εὐπορήσαντες
 169 παιδοποιῶνται. γεγενημένων δ' αὐτοῖς ὄρκων ὥστε μηδενὶ Βενιαμίτη συνοικίσαι² θυγατέρα πρὸ τοῦ πολέμου, οἱ μὲν ὀλιγωρεῖν συνεβούλευον τῶν ὁμωμοσμένων ὡς ὑπ' ὀργῆς ὁμόσαντες οὐ γνώμη καὶ κρίσει, τῷ δὲ θεῷ μηδὲν ἐναντίον ποιήσειν εἰ

¹ Niese: *δυνηθείητε* codd.

² edd.: *συνοικῆσαι* codd.

^a Gr. translation of Heb. Rimmon (=“ pomegranate ”); usually identified as modern *Rammun*, a few miles E. of Bethel, but a more likely site, much nearer to Gibeah, has been proposed (Burney, *Judges*, p. xxi).

because, in addition to what they had suffered on the woman's account, they had further suffered the slaughter of their men-at-arms.

(12) Howbeit they were smitten with remorse for the Benjamites' calamity and they ordained a fast on their behalf, while yet maintaining that they had justly suffered for their sin against the laws; and they summoned by ambassadors those 600 of them who had escaped and established themselves on a rock called Rhoa^a in the wilderness. These envoys, deploring a calamity which had struck not the Benjamites only but themselves, in that the victims were their kinsmen, urged them to bear it patiently, to come and join them, and not, so far as in them lay, to pronounce sentence of total extinction upon the tribe of Benjamin. "We grant you," said they, "the territory of the whole tribe and of booty^b as much as ye can carry off." And the Benjamites, recognizing with contrition that their misfortunes were due to God's decree and to their own iniquity, came down again into the tribe of their fathers, in compliance with this invitation. The Israelites gave them for wives those 400 virgins from Jabesh,^c and then deliberated concerning the remaining 200 men, how they too might be provided with wives and beget children. Now, whereas they had before the war made oath to give no Benjamite a daughter of theirs in wedlock, some were of opinion that they should disregard those oaths as having been sworn under the sway of passion, without reflexion or judgement; that they would be doing nothing in opposition to God, could they so save a

Reconciliation with the Benjamites: how brides were found for them. Jd. xxi. 2, & xxi. 13.

xxi. 18.

^b i.e. cattle.

^c § 165.

JOSEPHUS

φυλὴν ὅλην κινδυνεύουσαν ἀπολέσθαι σῶσαι δυνη-
 θεῖεν, τὰς τε ἐπιorkίας οὐχ ὅταν ὑπὸ ἀνάγκης
 γένωνται χαλεπὰς εἶναι καὶ ἐπισφαλεῖς, ἀλλ' ὅταν
 170 ἐν κακουργίᾳ τολμηθῶσι. τῆς δὲ γερουσίας πρὸς
 τὸ τῆς ἐπιorkίας ὄνομα σχετλιασάσης ἔφη τις
 τούτοις τε γυναικῶν εὐπορίαν ἔχειν εἰπεῖν καὶ τήρη-
 σιν τῶν ὄρκων. ἐρομένων δὲ τὴν ἐπίνοιαν, " ἡμῖν;"
 εἶπεν, " τρὶς τοῦ ἔτους εἰς Σιλὼ συνιοῦσιν ἔπονται
 171 κατὰ πανήγυριν αἱ γυναῖκες καὶ αἱ θυγατέρες. τού-
 των κατὰ ἀρπαγὴν ἐφείσθω γαμεῖν Βενιαμίτας ἅς
 ἂν¹ δυνηθεῖεν ἡμῶν οὔτε προτρεπομένων οὔτε
 κωλυόντων. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς πατέρας αὐτῶν δυσ-
 χεραίνοντας καὶ τιμωρίαν λαμβάνειν ἀξιοῦντας
 φήσομεν αὐτοὺς αἰτίους φυλακῆς ἀμελήσαντας
 τῶν θυγατέρων, ὅτι δὲ δεῖ τῆς ὀργῆς ἐπὶ Βενια-
 μίτας ὑφείναι² χρησαμένους αὐτῇ καὶ θάπτον ἀμέ-
 172 τρωσ." καὶ οἱ μὲν τούτοις πεισθέντες ψηφίζονται
 τὸν διὰ τῆς ἀρπαγῆς γάμον τοῖς Βενιαμίταις.
 ἐνστάσης δὲ τῆς ἐορτῆς οἱ μὲν διακόσιοι κατὰ δύο
 καὶ τρεῖς πρὸ τῆς πόλεως ἐνήδρευον παρεσομένας
 τὰς παρθένους ἐν τε ἀμπελώσι καὶ χωρίοις ἐν
 173 οἷς λήσειν ἔμελλον, αἱ δὲ μετὰ παιδιᾶς οὐδὲν ὑφ-
 ορώμεναι τῶν μελλόντων ἀφυλάκτως ὠδευον· οἱ
 δὲ σκεδασθεισῶν εἶχοντο ἐξαναστάντες. καὶ οὔτοι
 μὲν οὕτως γαμήσαντες ἐπ' ἔργα τῆς γῆς ἐχώρησαν

¹ ἂν secl. Naber.

² Bekker: ἀφείναι RO, ἐφείναι rell.

^a Jd. xxi. 19 "Behold there is a (or "the") feast (*hag*) of the LORD from year to year (lit. "from days to days," LXX ἀφ' ἡμερῶν εἰς ἡμέρας) in Shiloh." The *hag* here alluded to is the oldest of Jewish festivals, the autumn vintage festival of *Sukkoth* or "Tabernacles"; for its annual observance at Shiloh cf. 1 Sam. i. 3. Josephus refers back to those early

whole tribe in danger of extinction ; and that perjuries were not grave or hazardous when they were prompted by necessity, but only when rashly committed with malicious intent. When the elders, however, protested at the mere mention of perjury, someone said that he could suggest how to provide wives for these men and yet to keep their oaths. On being questioned concerning his plan, "When we meet," he replied, "three times a year^a at Silo, we are accompanied to the festival by our wives and daughters. Let the Benjamites be permitted to capture as their brides such of these maidens as they can, without either encouragement or hindrance on our part. And if their parents make an ado and demand punishment, we will tell them that they have but themselves to blame for neglecting to protect their daughters, and that we must abate that resentment against the Benjamites, in which already in the past^b we had been immoderate." The assembly assenting thereto decided accordingly to permit the Benjamites this marriage by capture. So, when the festival came round, the 200, in twos and threes, waited in ambush before the city for the coming of the maidens, in the vineyards and other places where they would escape their eye. Meanwhile the damsels, playfully and with no suspicion of what was on foot, came all unguardedly along ; whereat the men sprang out upon them and seized them as they scattered. These Benjamites, thus wedded, then betook themselves to the labours of the soil

days the keeping of the *three* great annual festivals, including Passover and Pentecost.

^b θᾶττον = πρότερον, as elsewhere (with connotation of precipitancy).

JOSEPHUS

- καὶ πρόνοιαν ἐποίησαντο πάλιν εἰς τὴν προτέραν
 174 εὐδαιμονίαν ἐπανελθεῖν. Βενιαμιτῶν μὲν οὖν ἡ
 φυλὴ κινδυνεύσασα τελέως ἐκφθαρῆναι τῷ προειρη-
 μένῳ τρόπῳ κατὰ τὴν Ἰσραηλιτῶν σοφίαν σώζεται,
 ἦνθησέ τε παραχρῆμα καὶ ταχεῖαν εἰς τε πλῆθος
 καὶ τὰ ἄλλα πάντα ἐποίησατο τὴν ἐπίδοσιν. οὗτος
 μὲν οὖν ὁ πόλεμος οὕτως παύεται.
- 175 (iii. 1) Ὅμοια δὲ τούτοις παθεῖν καὶ τὴν Δάνιν¹
 συνέβη φυλὴν ἐξ αἰτίας τοιαύτης εἰς τοῦτο προ-
 176 αχθεῖσαν. τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐκλελοιπότεν ἤδη τὴν
 ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις ἄσκησιν καὶ πρὸς τοῖς ἔργοις
 ὄντων τῆς γῆς Χαναναῖοι καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν
 συνεποίησαντο δύναμιν, οὐδὲν μὲν αὐτοὶ πείσεσθαι
 προσδοκῶντες, ὡς δὲ βεβαίαν τὴν τοῦ ποιήσειν
 κακῶς τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐλπίδα λαβόντες ἐπ' ἀδείας
 177 τὸ λοιπὸν οἰκεῖν τὰς πόλεις ἤξιουν. ἄρματά τε
 οὖν παρεσκευάζοντο καὶ τὸ ὀπλιτικὸν συνεκρότου
 αἶ τε πόλεις αὐτῶν συνεφρόνου καὶ τῆς Ἰούδα
 φυλῆς τὴν Ἀσκάλωνα καὶ Ἀκκαρῶνα παρεσπά-
 σαντο ἄλλας τε πολλὰς τῶν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ καὶ
 Δανίτας εἰς τὸ ὄρος ἠνάγκασαν συμφυγεῖν οὐδὲ
 ὀλίγον αὐτοῖς ἐπιβατὸν τοῦ πεδίου καταλιπόντες.
- 178 οἱ δ' οὔτε πολεμεῖν ὄντες ἱκανοὶ γῆν τε οὐκ ἔχοντες
 ἀρκοῦσαν πέμπουσιν ἐξ αὐτῶν πέντε ἄνδρας εἰς
 τὴν μεσόγειον κατοψομένους γῆν, εἰς ἣν μετοική-
 σαιτο. οἱ δ' οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Λιβάνου ὄρους καὶ
 ἐλάσσονος Ἰορδάνου τῶν πηγῶν κατὰ τὸ μέγα

¹ Niese: Δάνην (Διανήν) codd.

and devoted their efforts to the recovery of their former prosperity. This, then, was the way in which the tribe of Benjamin, when in danger of complete extinction, was saved through the sagacity of the Israelites; and instantly it flourished and made rapid advance both in numbers and in all beside. And thus ended this war.

(iii. 1) But like sufferings also befell the tribe of Dan, the cause which brought it to this pass being as follows. Now that the Israelites had abandoned the exercise of warfare and were given up to their labours on the land, the Canaanites, holding them in contempt, built up an army, not from expectation of any injury to themselves, but, being now confident of doing mischief to the Hebrews, they counted on henceforth inhabiting their cities in security. So they proceeded to equip chariots and levy troops, their cities unanimously combined, and from the tribe of Judah they wrested Ascalon, Akkarōn^a and many other cities of the plain, while they forced the Danites to flee in a body to the hills, leaving them not the smallest foothold on the plain. ^bThese, incapable of fighting and not having land to suffice them, sent five of their number into the interior to look for a region whither they could migrate. The envoys, having advanced to a spot not far from mount Libanus and the sources of the lesser^c Jordan, over

Jd. fn.

The Danites forced to migrate northwards.

Jd. i. 34.

xviii. 1 f.

7-11.

had never been conquered; here Josephus conforms to the Hebrew text of Scripture (Jd. i. 18) which names Ekron among the captured cities.

^b Here Josephus omits the unedifying story of Micah and his images, which in Scripture is mixed up with this expedition of the Danites (Jd. xvii. f.).

^c The course of the Jordan north of the modern lake of *Huleh*. Cf. *B.J.* iii. 509 f.

JOSEPHUS

- πεδίον Σιδῶνος πόλεως ὁδὸν ἡμέρας μιᾶς¹ προ-
 ελθόντες καὶ κατασκεψάμενοι γῆν ἀγαθὴν καὶ πάμ-
 φορον σημαίνουσι τοῖς αὐτῶν· οἱ δ' ὄρμηθέντες
 στρατῶ κτίζουσιν αὐτόθι πόλιν Δάνα ὀμώνυμον
 τῷ Ἰακώβου παιδὶ φυλῆς δ' ἐπώνυμον τῆς αὐτῶν.
- 79 (2) Τοῖς δ' Ἰσραηλίταις προύβαιεν ὑπὸ τε
 ἀπειρίας τοῦ πονεῖν τὰ κακὰ καὶ ὑπὸ² τῆς περὶ τὸ
 θεῖον ὀλιγωρίας· μετακινηθέντες γὰρ ἅπαξ τοῦ
 κόσμου τῆς πολιτείας ἐφέροντο πρὸς τὸ καθ'
 ἡδονὴν καὶ βούλησιν ἰδίαν βιοῦν, ὡς καὶ τῶν ἐπι-
 χωριαζόντων παρὰ τοῖς Χανααίοις ἀναπίμπλασθαι
- 180 κακῶν. ὀργίζεται τοίνυν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ ἦν
 σὺν πόνοις μυρίοις εὐδαιμονίαν ἐκτήσαντο, ταύτην
 ἀπέβαλον διὰ τρυφῆν. στρατεύσαντος γὰρ ἐπ' αὐ-
 τοὺς Χουσαρσάθου³ τοῦ τῶν Ἀσσυρίων βασιλέως,
 πολλοὺς τε τῶν παραταξαμένων ἀπώλεσαν καὶ
- 181 πολιορκούμενοι κατὰ κράτος ἠρέθησαν, εἰσὶ δ' οἱ
 διὰ φόβον ἐκουσίως αὐτῶ προσεχώρησαν, φόρους
 τε τοῦ δυνατοῦ μείζονας ἐπιταγέντες ἐτέλουν καὶ
 ὕβρεις παντοίας ὑπέμενον ἕως ἐτῶν ὀκτώ, μεθ' ἃ
 τῶν κακῶν οὕτως ἠλευθερώθησαν.
- 182 (3) Τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς τις Κενίαζος ὄνομα δρα-
 στήριος ἀνὴρ καὶ τὸ φρόνημα γενναῖος, χρησθὲν

¹ trium dierum Lat.

² SP: ἀπὸ rell.

³ RO: Chusasartho Lat.: Χουσάρθου rell.: similar v.l. in § 183.

^a So we must translate, carrying on the force of the preceding *πύρρω*. The translation "advanced in one day's march to . . . over against the great plain of the city of S." is precluded by distance (upwards of 100 miles); a difficulty which is scarcely met by the reading of the Latin version, "three days' march."

^b Bibl. "Cushan-rishathaim (LXX Χουσαρσαθαίμ) king of

against the great plain, within a day's march of the city of Sidon,^a and having inspected a land good and wholly fertile, reported this to their brethren ; 29. and they, setting forth with an army, founded there a city called Dan(a) after the name of the son of Jacob, which was also the name of their own tribe.

(2) But the state of the Israelites went from bad to worse through their loss of aptitude for toil and their neglect of the Divinity. For, having once parted from the ordered course of their constitution, they drifted into living in accordance with their own pleasure and caprice, and thus became contaminated with the vices current among the Canaanites. So God was wroth with them, and all that prosperity which they had won with myriad labours they now through idle luxury cast away. For Chusarsathus, ^{iii. 8.} king of the Assyrians,^b having marched upon them, they lost multitudes in battle, and were besieged and carried by storm, whilst some in terror voluntarily surrendered to him, paid tribute beyond their means at his behest, and underwent indignities of every kind for eight years, after which they were delivered from their miseries on this wise.

(3) A man of the tribe of Judah, Keniaz^c by name, vigorous and noble-hearted, being warned by ^{Their deliverance by Keniaz. Jd. iii. 9.} Aram-naharaim," *i.e.* "of Aram of the two rivers," *alias* Mesopotamia. The personal name="Cushan of double-dyed villainy," a Biblical distortion of some older form.

^c Bibl. "Othniel the son of Kenaz, Caleb's younger brother." Josephus has replaced the son by the father; similarly in the so-called *Biblical Antiquities of Philo* (c. A. D. 100) Cenez figures as the first judge and a person of considerable importance (ed. M. R. James, p. 146 note). The compiler of the Greek summary of the contents of *A. v.* mentions Othniel but reverses the relationship (*ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνηήλου παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερία γενομένη*).

JOSEPHUS

- αὐτῷ μὴ περιορᾶν ἐν τοιαύτῃ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἀνάγκῃ κειμένους ἀλλ' εἰς ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοὺς ἐξαιρεῖσθαι τολμᾶν, παρακελευσάμενος¹ συλλαμβάνεσθαι τῶν κινδύνων αὐτῷ τινάς, ὀλίγοι δ' ἦσαν οἷς αἰδῶς ἐπὶ τοῖς τότε παροῦσιν ἐτύγχανε καὶ
- 183 προθυμία μεταβολῆς, πρῶτον μὲν τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς οὔσαν φρουρὰν τοῦ Χουσαρσάθου διαφθείρει, προσγενομένων δὲ πλειόνων τῶν συναγωνιζομένων ἐκ τοῦ μὴ διαμαρτεῖν περὶ τὰ πρῶτα τῆς ἐπιχειρήσεως, μάχην τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις συνάπτουσι καὶ πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτοὺς ἀπωσάμενοι περαιούσθαι τὸν
- 184 Εὐφράτην ἐβιάζοντο. Κενίαζος δὲ ὡς ἔργῳ πείραν αὐτοῦ δεδωκὼς τῆς ἀνδραγαθίας γέρας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς λαμβάνει παρὰ τοῦ πλήθους ἀρχὴν, ὥστε κρίνειν τὸν λαόν. καὶ ἄρξας ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα καταστρέφει τὸν βίον.
- 185 (iv. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ τούτου πάλιν τὰ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ὑπὸ ἀναρχίας ἐνόσει πράγματα, καὶ τῷ μὴ διὰ τιμῆς ἄγειν τὸν θεὸν μηδὲ τοῖς νόμοις
- 186 ὑπακούειν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐκακοῦντο,² ὡς καταφρονήσαντα αὐτῶν τῆς ἀκοσμίας τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν Ἐγλώνα τὸν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα πόλεμον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἐξενεγκεῖν καὶ πολλαῖς μάχαις αὐτῶν κρατήσαντα καὶ τοὺς³ φρονήμασι τῶν ἄλλων διαφέροντας ὑποτάξαντα πρὸς τὸ παντελὲς αὐτῶν τὴν δύναμιν ταπεινώσαι καὶ φόρους αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι
- 187 τελεῖν. καθιδρύσας δ' αὐτῷ ἐν Ἱεριχοῦντι βασιλειον⁴ οὐδὲν τῆς εἰς τὸ πλήθος κακώσεως παρέλιπεν εἷς τε πενίαν αὐτοὺς κατέστησεν ἐπὶ ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη. λαβὼν δ' οἶκτον ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐφ'

¹ παρασκευασάμενος ML.

² ἐκακοῦτο RO.

³ τοῖς codd.

an oracle not to leave the Israelites to lie in such deep distress, but to essay to vindicate their liberty, after exhorting some others to share his hazards—and few were they, who were filled with shame at their present state and longed to alter it—began by massacring the garrison of Chusarsathus that was quartered upon them. Then, when larger numbers^s rallied to his arms, seeing that he had not miscarried at this opening of his enterprise, they joined battle with the Assyrians and, having utterly repulsed them, forced them to recross the Euphrates. Keniaz, having thus given practical proof of his prowess, received as his reward from the people rulership, to act as judge of the nation. And after ruling for forty years he ended his days.

(iv. 1) But after his death the affairs of the Israelites again suffered through lack of government, while their failure to render homage to God or to obey the laws aggravated the evil yet more. So, contemptuous of the disorder prevailing in their state, Eglon, king of Moab, made war upon them and, having defeated them in many battles and subjected all who showed more spirit than the rest, utterly humiliated their strength and imposed tribute upon them. Then establishing his capital in Jericho,^a he ruthlessly molested the people and reduced them to penury for eighteen years. But God, taking pity on the Israelites in their afflictions and moved by

Israel under
Eglon, king
of Moab.
Jd. iii. 12.

^a Jd. iii. 13 “he possessed the city of palm-trees,” *i.e.* Jericho, as the Targum (like Josephus) interprets the phrase. This implies that Jericho did not remain unbuilt and unfortified between the days of Joshua and of Ahab.

⁴ E Lat. ed. pr. : + ταύτην ἀποδείξας rell.

JOSEPHUS

οἷς ἔπασχον καὶ ταῖς ἰκετεῖαις αὐτῶν ἐπικλασθεῖς ἀπήλλαξε τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις ὕβρεως. ἤλευθερώθησαν δὲ τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ.

- 188 (2) Τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς νεανίας Ἰούδης μὲν τοῦνομα Γήρα δὲ¹ πατρός, τολμῆσαί τε ἀνδρείοτατος καὶ τῷ σώματι πρὸς τὰ ἔργα χρῆσθαι δυνατώτατος, τῶν χειρῶν τὴν ἀριστερὰν ἀμείνων κατὰ ἐκείνης τὴν ἅπασαν ἰσχὺν ἔχων, κατώκει
- 189 μὲν ἐν Ἰεριχοῦντι καὶ αὐτός, συνήθης δὲ γίνεται τῷ Ἑγλῶνι δωρεαῖς αὐτὸν θεραπεύων καὶ ὑπερχόμενος, ὡς διὰ τοῦτο καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν βασιλέα
- 190 προσφιλεῖ τυγχάνειν αὐτόν. καὶ ποτε σὺν δυσὶν οἰκέταις δῶρα τῷ βασιλεῖ φέρων ξιφίδιον κρύφα τῷ δεξιῷ σκέλει περιδησάμενος εἰσῆι πρὸς αὐτόν. ὦρα δ' ἦν θέρουσ καὶ τῆς ἡμέρας ἤδη μεσοῦσης ἀνεῖντο αἱ φυλακαὶ ὑπὸ τε τοῦ καύματος καὶ πρὸς
- 191 ἄριστον τετραμμένων. δούσ οὖν τὰ δῶρα τῷ Ἑγλῶνι ὁ νεανίσκος, διέτριβε δ' ἐν τινι δωματίῳ δεξιῶσ πρὸς θέρος ἔχοντι, πρὸς ὀμιλίαν ἐτράπετο. μόνοι δ' ἦσαν τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τοὺς ἐπεισιόντας τῶν θεραπόντων ἀπιέναι² κελεύσαντος διὰ τὸ πρὸς
- 192 Ἰούδην ὀμιλεῖν. καθῆστο δ' ἐπὶ θρόνου καὶ δέος εἰσῆι τὸν Ἰούδην, μὴ διαμάρτη καὶ οὐ³ δῶ
- 193 καιρίαν πληγὴν. ἀνίστησιν οὖν αὐτόν, ὄναρ εἰπὼν ἔχειν ἐκ προστάγματος αὐτῷ δηλώσαι τοῦ θεοῦ. καὶ ὁ μὲν πρὸς τὴν χαρὰν τοῦ ὀνειράτος ἀνεπή-

¹ τε codd.

² ed. pr. Lat.: ἀπεῖναι codd.

³ Niese: μὴ codd.

^a Heb. Ehud: LXX Ἰώδ.

their supplications, rid them of this oppression under the Moabites; and their liberation fell on this wise.

(2) A youth of the tribe of Benjamin, named Judes,^a son of Gera, of gallant daring and with bodily powers that he was well able to make to serve his ends, being superior with his left hand and therefrom deriving all his strength, was also himself residing in Jericho; ^b there he became familiar with Eglon, courting and cajoling him with presents, whereby moreover he endeared himself to those in waiting on the king.^b Now one day, when he with two ^c attendants was bringing gifts to the king, he secretly girt a dagger about his right thigh and so went in to him. It was summer-time and, the day being at noon, the guards had been relaxed both by reason of the heat and because they were gone to lunch. So the young man, having presented his gifts to Eglon, who was lodged in a chamber well-adapted for the summer, fell into conversation. They were alone, the king having ordered even such henchmen as intruded to depart because he was conversing with Judes. He was seated upon a chair, and Judes was beset with fear lest he should strike amiss and not deal a mortal blow. So he made him arise by telling him that he had a dream to disclose to him by commandment of God. The king, for joy at news of this dream, leapt up

Judes
(Ehud) slays
Eglon.
Jd. iii. 15.

^b Scripture does not mention Ehud's residence in Jericho nor his attentions to Eglon.

^c Jd. iii. 18 mentions a retinue, "the people that bare the present," who were dismissed after offering it; has the number "two" been extracted, through some misreading, out of the description of the dagger, "and it had two edges," *ib.* 16?

δησεν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου, πλήξας δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Ἰούδης εἰς τὴν καρδίαν καὶ τὸ ξιφίδιον ἐγκαταλιπὼν ἔξεισι προσκλείσας¹ τὴν θύραν. οἱ τε θεράποντες ἡρέμουν, εἰς ὕπνον τετραφθαι νομίζοντες τὸν βασιλέα.

- 194 (3) Ὁ δ' Ἰούδης τοῖς Ἰεριχουντίοις ἀποσημαίωνων κρυπτῶς παρεκάλει τῆς ἐλευθερίας ἀντιλαμβάνεσθαι. οἱ δ' ἀσμένως ἀκούσαντες αὐτοὶ τε εἰς τὰ ὄπλα ἦσαν καὶ διέπεμπον εἰς τὴν χώραν τοὺς ἀποσημαίνοντας κέρασιν οἰῶν· τούτοις γὰρ
 195 συγκαλεῖν τὸ πλῆθος πάτριον. οἱ δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἑγλῶνα πολὺν μὲν χρόνον ἡγνόουν τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῷ πάθος, ἐπεὶ δὲ πρὸς ἐσπέραν ἦν, δείσαντες μὴ τι νεώτερον εἴη περὶ αὐτὸν γεγονός, εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον καὶ νεκρὸν εὐρόντες ἐν ἀμμηχανία καθειστήκεσαν, καὶ πρὶν τὴν φρουρὰν συστραφῆναι τὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν αὐτοῖς ἐπέρχεται
 196 πλῆθος. καὶ οἱ μὲν παραχρῆμα ἀναιροῦνται, οἱ δ' εἰς φυγὴν τρέπονται ὡς ἐπὶ τὴν Μωαβίτιν σωθησόμενοι, ἦσαν δὲ ὑπὲρ μυρίου. καὶ Ἰσραηλίται προκατειληφότες τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὴν διάβασιν διώκοντες ἔκτεινον καὶ κατὰ τὴν διάβασιν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀναιροῦσι, διέφυγέ τε οὐδὲ εἰς τὰς χεῖρας
 197 αὐτῶν. καὶ οἱ μὲν Ἑβραῖοι τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῖς Μωαβίταις δουλείας ἀπηλλάγησαν, Ἰούδης δ' ἐκ² τῆς αἰτίας ταύτης τιμηθεὶς τῇ τοῦ πλῆθους παντὸς ἡγεμονία τελευτᾷ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔτεσιν ὀγδοήκοντα κατασχών, ἀνὴρ καὶ δίχα τῆς προειρημένης πράξεως ἐπαίνου δίκαιος τυγχάνειν.

¹ MLE Lat. : προσκλίνας rell.

² δ' ἐκ Dindorf ex Lat. : δὲ codd.

from his throne, whereat Judes smote him to the heart and, leaving the dagger in his breast, went forth, locking the door upon him. The henchmen never stirred, supposing that the king had sunk asleep.

(3) Judes meanwhile reported the matter secretly to the men of Jericho ^a and exhorted them to assert their liberty. And they, welcoming his news, themselves rushed to arms and sent heralds throughout the country to give the signal by the sounding of rams' horns, for it was customary to call their people together by these instruments. Eglon's courtiers remained long ignorant of his fate ; but, when evening drew on, fearing that something extraordinary might have befallen him, they entered the chamber and, finding his corpse, stood there in helpless perplexity ; and, before the garrison could be mustered, the host of Israelites was upon them. Some were massacred on the spot ; the rest took flight to seek safety in the land of Moab, in number above ten thousand. But the Israelites, who had betimes occupied the ford of the Jordan, pursued and slew them : at the ford itself multitudes of them were massacred, and not a man escaped their hands. Thus were the Hebrews delivered from their bondage to the Moabites. Judes himself, having for this reason been honoured with the governorship of the whole people, died after holding that office for eighty years ^b—a man, even apart from the aforesaid exploit, deserving of a meed of praise. After

Defeat of Moab and rule of Judes. Jd. iii. 26.

ib. 25.

^a In Scripture he goes further afield and himself "blew the trumpet in the hill-country of Ephraim."

^b Jd. iii. 30 "and the land had rest four-score years," to which the LXX adds "and Aod judged them until he died"; in the Heb. there is no mention of his rulership.

καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Σανάγαρος ὁ Ἀνάθου παῖς αἰρεθεὶς ἄρχειν ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἔτει κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

- 198 (v. 1) Ἰσραηλίται δὲ πάλιν, οὐδὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ διδαχῇ τοῦ κρείττονος ἐλάμβανον τῶν πρότερον ἡτυχημένων ὑπὸ¹ τοῦ μήτε σέβειν τὸν θεὸν μήθ' ὑπακούειν τοῖς νόμοις, πρὶν ἢ καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ Μωαβίταις ἀναπνεῦσαι δουλείας πρὸς ὀλίγον, ὑπὸ Ἀβίτου²
- 199 τοῦ Χαναναίων βασιλέως καταδουλοῦνται. οὗτος γὰρ ἐξ Ἀσώρου πόλεως ὀρμώμενος, αὕτη δ' ὑπέρεκκεται τῆς Σεμαχωνίτιδος λίμνης, στρατοῦ μὲν ὀπλιτῶν τριάκοντα ἔτρεφε μυριάδας μυρίους δὲ ἰππέας, τρισχιλίων δὲ ἀρμάτων ἠνύορει. ταύτης οὖν στρατηγῶν τῆς δυνάμεως Σισάρης τιμῆς πρώτης παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τυγχάνων συνελθόντας πρὸς αὐτὸν τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας ἐκάκωσε δεινῶς, ὥστε αὐτοῖς ἐπιτάξαι τελεῖν φόρους.
- 200 (2) Εἴκοσι μὲν οὖν ἔτη ταῦτα πάσχοντες ἤνυσαν μήτε αὐτοὶ φρονεῖν ὑπὸ τῆς δυστυχίας ὄντες ἀγαθοὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πλέον δαμάσαι³ θέλοντος αὐτῶν τὴν ὕβριν διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν ἀγνωμοσύνην, ἵνα μεταθέμενοι τοῦ λοιποῦ σωφρονῶσιν· διδαχθέντες δὲ⁴ τὰς συμφορὰς αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς περιφρονήσεως τῶν νόμων ὑπάρξαι, Δαβώραν τινὰ προφήτην, μέλισσαν δὲ σημαίνει τοῦνομα κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν,
- 201 ἰκέτευον δεηθῆναι τοῦ θεοῦ λαβεῖν οἶκτον αὐτῶν

¹ + τε codd.

³ + ἔτι ROE.

² Javid Lat.: Ἰωαβεῖ Niese.

⁴ δὲ ins. Niese.

^a Heb. Shamgar: LXX Σαμεγάρ (Σεμεγάρ, etc.).

^b Amplification.

^c So Heb. and Josephus below (§ 209); here the mss. have the Latinized form Ἀβίτου (Avitus).

him Sanagar,^a son of Anath, was elected ruler, but died in the first year of his rule.^b

(v. 1) Again, however, the Israelites, who had learnt no lesson of wisdom from their previous misfortunes, since they neither worshipped God nor obeyed the laws, ere they had enjoyed a brief respite from their servitude to the Moabites, fell under the yoke of Jabin,^c king of the Canaanites. For this monarch, issuing from the city of Asor,^d situate above the lake Semachōnitis,^e maintained an army of 300,000 foot and 10,000 horse, and was owner of 3000 chariots.^f Accordingly the general of these forces, Sisares,^g who held the first rank in the king's favour, so sorely afflicted the Israelites when they joined battle with him, that he forced them to pay tribute.

(2) Twenty years, then, did they pass in this miserable plight, themselves incapable of being schooled by adversity, while God willed to tame their insolence yet more by reason of their ingratitude towards Him, to the end that they might change their ways and thenceforward be wise. But when they had learned^h that their calamities were due to their contempt of the laws, they besought a certain prophetess named Daboraⁱ—the name in the Hebrew tongue means “bee”—to pray God

^a Bibl. Hazor ; identified by Garstang with *Tell el-Qedah* about 5 miles S.W. of the southern end of the lake mentioned.

^e The smaller lake N. of the lake of Galilee, *el Huleh*, sometimes called the “waters of Merom.”

^f Imaginary figures (*cf.* § 64) : Scripture mentions only “900 chariots of iron.”

^g Bibl. Sisera.

^h Text and sentence division doubtful.

ⁱ Bibl. Deborah (= “bee,” as correctly stated) ; Scripture adds that “she was judging Israel at that time.”

Sanagar
(Shamgar)
succeeds
him.
ib. 31.
Israel
oppressed
by Jabin,
king of
Canaan.
Jd. iv. 1.

Deborah
and Barak
lead a
revolt.
Jd. iv. 3.

JOSEPHUS

καὶ μὴ περιδεῖν ἀπολλυμένους αὐτοὺς ὑπὸ Χανα-
ναίων. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐπένευσε σωτηρίαν αὐτοῖς καὶ
στρατηγὸν αἰρεῖται Βάρακον τῆς Νεφθαλίτιδος
ὄντα φυλῆς· βάρακος δὲ ἐστὶν ἀστραπή κατὰ τὴν
Ἑβραίων γλῶσσαν.

- 202 (3) Μεταπεμφαμένη δ' ἡ Δαβώρα τὸν Βάρακον
ἐπιλέξαντα τῶν νέων μυρίους ἐκέλευε χωρεῖν ἐπὶ
τοὺς πολεμίους· ἀποχρῆναι γὰρ τοσοῦτους τοῦ θεοῦ
203 προειρηκότος καὶ νίκην ἀποσημήναντος. Βαράκου
δὲ φαμένου οὐ στρατηγήσειν μὴ κακείνης αὐτῷ
συστρατηγούσης ἀγανακτήσασα, “σὺ μὲν,” εἶπε,
“γυναικὶ παραχωρεῖς ἀξιώματος ὃ σοὶ δέδωκεν ὁ
θεός, ἐγὼ δὲ οὐ παραιτοῦμαι.” καὶ συναθροί-
σαντες¹ μυρίους ἐστρατοπεδεύσαντο πρὸς Ἰτα-
204 βυρίῳ ὄρει. ἀπήντα δ' αὐτοῖς ὁ Σισάρης τοῦ
βασιλέως κελεύσαντος καὶ στρατοπεδεύονται τῶν
πολεμίων οὐκ ἄπωθεν. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ
τὸν Βάρακον καταπλαγέοντας τὸ πλῆθος τῶν πολε-
μίων καὶ ἀναχωρεῖν διεγνωκότας ἡ Δαβώρα κατεῖχε
τὴν συμβολὴν ποιεῖσθαι κατ' ἐκείνην κελεύουσα
τὴν ἡμέραν· νικήσειν γὰρ αὐτοὺς καὶ συλλήψεσθαι
τὸν θεόν.

- 205 (4) Συνήεσαν οὖν καὶ προσμιγέντων ὄμβρος ἐπι-
γίνεται μέγας καὶ ὕδωρ πολὺ καὶ χάλαζα, τὸν τε
ὑετὸν κατὰ πρόσωπον ἤλαυνε τῶν Χαναναίων
ἄνεμος ταῖς ὄψεσιν αὐτῶν ἐπισκοτῶν, ὡς τὰς
τοξείας ἀχρήστους αὐτοῖς εἶναι καὶ τὰς σφενδόνας·
οἳ τε ὀπλῖται διὰ τὸ κρύος χρῆσθαι τοῖς ξίφεσιν

¹ συναριθμήσαντες RO.

^a Tabor.

^b Amplification.

^c Not mentioned in the Biblical narrative of the battle, but derived apparently from the verse in the Song of

to take pity on them and not to suffer them to be destroyed by the Canaanites. God thereupon promised them salvation and chose for general Barak of the tribe of Nephthali; *barak* denotes "lightning" in the tongue of the Hebrews.

(3) Dabora then summoned Barak and charged him ^{ib. 8.} to select ten thousand of the youth and to march against the foe: that number would, she said, suffice, God having prescribed it and betokened victory. But Barak declared that he would not take the command unless she shared it with him; whereto she indignantly replied, "Thou resignest to a woman a rank that God has bestowed on thee! Howbeit I do not decline it." Then, having mustered ten thousand, they pitched their camp on mount Itabyrion.^a Sisares thereupon went to meet them at the king's orders and his army encamped not far from their foes. The Israelites and Barak were dismayed at the multitude of the enemy and resolved to retire,^b but were restrained by Dabora, who ordered them to deliver battle that very day, for they would be victorious and God would lend them aid.

(4) So the forces met, and amidst the clash of arms there came up a great tempest^c with torrents of rain and hail; and the wind drove the rain in the faces of the Canaanites, obscuring their vision, so that their bows and their slings were of no service to them, and their infantry by reason of the cold could make no use of their swords. But the Israel-Deborah, "They fought from heaven; the stars in their courses fought against Sisera" (Jd. v. 20). To this there are parallels in rabbinic tradition. For a rather similar scene, when the elements aided the enemy of the Jews, *cf. B.J. vii. 317 ff.*

Victory of
Israel:
death of
Sisara and
Jabin.
Jd. iv. 15.

JOSEPHUS

- 206 οὐκ εἶχον. τοὺς δ' Ἰσραηλίτας ἠττόν τε ἔβλαπτε κατόπιον γινόμενος ὁ χειμῶν καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἔννοιαν τῆς βοηθείας τοῦ θεοῦ θάρσος ἐλάμβανον, ὥστε εἰς μέσους ὡσάμενοι τοὺς πολεμίους πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτειναν. καὶ οἱ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν, οἱ δ' ὑπὸ τῆς οἰκείας ἵππου ταραχθέντες ἔπεσον, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρμάτων πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀποθανεῖν.
- 207 Σισάρης δὲ καταπηδήσας τοῦ ἄρματος ὡς εἶδε τὴν τροπὴν γινομένην, φυγῶν ἀφικνεῖται παρά τινα τῶν Κενελίδων¹ γυναῖκα, Ἰάλην ὄνομα, ἣ κρύψαι τε ἀξιώσαντα δέχεται καὶ ποτόν αἰτήσαντι δίδωσι
- 208 γάλα διεφθορὸς ἤδη. ὁ δὲ πῶν τοῦ μέτρου δαψιλέστερον εἰς ὕπνον τρέπεται. ἣ δὲ Ἰάλη κοιμωμένου σιδήρεον ἦλον ἐλάσασα σφύρη κατὰ τοῦ στόματος καὶ² τοῦ χελυνίου διέπειρε τὸ ἔδαφος καὶ τοῖς περὶ τὸν Βάρακον μικρὸν ὕστερον ἔλθοῦσιν
- 209 ἐπεδείκνυε τῇ γῆ προσηλωμένον. καὶ οὕτως μὲν ἡ νίκη αὕτη περιέστη κατὰ τὰ ὑπὸ Δαβώρας εἰρημένα εἰς γυναῖκα. Βάρακος δὲ στρατεύσας ἐπ' Ἀσωρον Ἰωαβεῖν³ τε ὑπαντιάσαντα κτείνει καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ πεσόντος καθελὼν εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν στρατηγεῖ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.
- 210 (vi. 1) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Βαράκου καὶ Δαβώρας κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν μετὰ ταῦτα Μαδιανῖται παρακαλέσαντες Ἀμαληκίτας τε καὶ Ἀραβας στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας καὶ μάχῃ τε νικῶσι τοὺς συμβαλόντας καὶ τὸν καρπὸν δηλώσαν-

¹ Κενελίδων ed. pr.

² RO: διὰ τοῦ στόματος κατὰ rell.

³ Ἰάβ(ε)ινον SP(F): Jabin Lat.

ites were less hampered by the storm, which was at their back, and they took courage at the thought of this succour from God; and so, thrusting into the midst of the foe, they slew multitudes of them. Thus, some beneath the hand of the Israelites, others discomfited by their own cavalry, the enemy fell, many being crushed to death beneath the chariots. But Sisares, having leapt from his chariot when he saw that the rout was come, fled till he reached the abode of a woman of the Kenites^a named Iale^b; she, at his request to conceal him, took him in, and, when he asked for drink, gave him milk that had turned sour.^c And he, having drunk thereof immoderately, fell asleep. Then, as he slumbered, Iale took an iron nail and drove it with a hammer through his mouth and jaw, piercing the ground; and when Barak's company^d arrived soon after she showed him to them nailed to the earth. Thus did this victory redound, as Dabora had foretold,^e to a woman's glory. But Barak, marching upon Asor, slew Jabin^f who encountered him and, the general having fallen, razed the city to the ground; he then *Cf. v. 31.* held command of the Israelites for forty years.^g

(vi. 1) Barak and Dabora having died simultaneously, thereafter the Madianites, calling the Amalekites and Arabians to their aid, marched against the Israelites, defeated in battle all who opposed them, plundered the crops and carried off the cattle. This *Ravages of the Madianites. Jd. vi. 1.*

^a Gr. "Kenelides."

^b Bibl. Jael.

^c "already corrupt," an amplification of the Biblical text.

^d Barak himself, in Jd. iv. 22.

^e Jd. iv. 9.

^f Or, according to some mss., Joabin.

^g Scripture says merely "And the land had rest forty years."

- 211 *τες τὴν λείαν ἐπήγοντο.*¹ τοῦτο δὲ ποιούντων ἐπ' ἔτη ἑπτὰ εἰς τὰ ὄρη τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἀνεστάλη τὸ πλῆθος καὶ τῶν πεδίων ἐξεχώρουν, ὑπονόμους τε καὶ σπήλαια ποιησάμενοι πᾶν ὃ τι τοὺς πολεμίους
- 212 *διέφυγεν ἐν τούτοις εἶχον φυλάττοντες. οἱ γὰρ Μαδιανῖται κατὰ ὦραν θέρους*² *στρατεύοντες τὸν χειμῶνα γεωργεῖν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐπέτρεπον, ὅπως ἔχωσι πεπονηκότων αὐτῶν εἰς ἅ βλάβπτωσι, λιμὸς δ' ἦν καὶ σπάνις τροφῆς καὶ τρέπονται πρὸς ἱκετείαν τοῦ θεοῦ σῴζειν αὐτοὺς παρακαλοῦντες.*
- 213 (2) *Καὶ Γεδεὼν ὁ Ἰάσου παῖς, Μανασσίτιδος φυλῆς ἐν ὀλίγοις, δράγματα σταχύων φερόμενος κρυπτῶς εἰς τὴν ληνὸν ἔκοπτε· τοὺς γὰρ πολεμίους ἐδεδῖει φανερώς τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλως. φαντάσματος δὲ αὐτῷ παραστάντος νεανίσκου μορφῆ καὶ φήσαντος εὐδαίμονα καὶ φίλον τῷ θεῷ, ὑποτυχῶν “ τοῦτο γοῦν,” ἔφη, “ τεκμήριον τῆς εὐμενείας αὐτοῦ μέγιστον τὸ³ ληνῷ με νῦν*
- 214 *ἀντὶ ἄλως χρῆσθαι.”* *θαρσεῖν δὲ παρακελευσαμένου καὶ πειραῖσθαι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἀνασῴζειν, ἀδυνάτως ἔχειν ἔλεγε· τὴν τε γὰρ φυλὴν ἐξ ἧς ὑπῆρχε πλῆθους ὑστερεῖν καὶ νέον αὐτὸν εἶναι καὶ τηλικούτων πραγμάτων⁴ ἀσθενέστερον. ὁ δὲ θεὸς αὐτὸς ἀναπληρώσει τὸ λείπον ἐπηγγέλλετο καὶ νίκην παρέξειν Ἰσραηλίταις αὐτοῦ στρατηγούντος.*
- 215 (3) *Τοῦτ' οὖν διηγούμενος ὁ Γεδεὼν τισὶ τῶν*

¹ Niese (cf. xiii. 101): ὑπήγοντο codd.: ἀπήγοντο ed. pr.

² ME Lat.: ἔτους rell.

³ Zonaras: τῆ codd.

⁴ πραγμάτων ἐπινοίας MSPL.

^a Bibl. Gideon (LXX Γεδεών) son of Joash (Ἰωᾶς).

^b Gr. “one of few” (cf. A. ii. 78, iv. 329, v. 276); here perhaps with a connotation of the paucity of numbers of the tribe (§ 214).

being repeated for seven years, the more part of the Israelites withdrew to the hills and forsook the plains; and, making for themselves underground passages and caverns, they secured therein all that had escaped the enemy. For the Madianites, making their invasions in the height of summer, permitted the Israelites in winter to till the soil, that through their labours they might have somewhat to ravage. So there was famine and dearth of sustenance, and they turned in supplication to God, imploring Him to save them.

(2) Now Gedeon, son of Jas,^a one of the foremost^b among the tribe of Manasseh, used to bring his sheaves of corn and beat them out secretly in the winepress; for, because of the enemy, he feared to do this openly on the threshing-floor. To him there appeared a spectre in the form of a young man, who pronounced him blessed and beloved of God, whereto he made rejoinder: "Indeed, this is a signal proof of his favour that I am now using a winepress instead of a threshing-floor!" But when his visitor bade him take courage and essay to regain liberty, he replied that this was impossible, seeing that the tribe^c to which he belonged was lacking in numbers and he himself but young and too feeble for exploits so great. Howbeit God promised Himself to supply what he lacked and to grant victory to the Israelites, should he put himself at their head.^d

^b The call to Gideon.
Jd. vi. 11.

(3) On recounting this matter to some of his

Selection of his army

^c Jd. vi. 15 "Behold, my family (Heb. "thousand") is the poorest in Manasseh, and I am the least in my father's house."

^d Josephus omits Jd. vi. 17-40, comprising (1) the reassuring miracles performed for Gideon, (2) his destruction of the altar of Baal, which earned for him the surname of Jerubbaal.

- νέων ἐπιστεύετο, καὶ παραχρῆμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀγῶνας
 ἔτοιμον ἦν τὸ στρατιωτικόν¹ μυρίων ἀνδρῶν.
 ἐπιστὰς δὲ κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ὁ θεὸς τῷ Γεδεῶνι
 τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν αὐτῷ φίλαυτον οὖσαν ἐδήλου
 καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀρετῇ διαφέροντας ἀπεχθανομένην,
 ὅπως τε τὴν νίκην παρέντες τοῦ θεοῦ δοκεῖν νομί-
 σουσιν² ἰδίαν ὡς πολὺς στρατὸς ὄντες καὶ πρὸς
 216 τοὺς πολεμίους ἀξιόμαχος. ἵνα μάθωσιν οὖν βοη-
 θείας τῆς αὐτοῦ τὸ ἔργον, συνεβούλευε περὶ
 μεσοῦσαν τὴν ἡμέραν, ἐν ἀκμῇ τοῦ καύματος
 ὄντος, ἄγειν τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ
 τοὺς μὲν κατακλιθέντας καὶ οὕτως πίνοντας εὐ-
 ψύχους ὑπολαμβάνειν, ὅσοι δ' ἐσπευσμένως καὶ
 μετὰ θορύβου πίνοντες τύχοιεν τούτους³ δειλοὺς
 νομίζειν καὶ καταπεπληγότας τοὺς πολεμίους.
 217 ποιήσαντος δὲ τοῦ Γεδεῶνος κατὰ τὰς ὑποθήκας
 τοῦ θεοῦ, τριακόσιοι ἄνδρες εὐρέθησαν ταῖς χερσὶ
 μετὰ φόβου προσενεγκάμενοι τὸ ὕδωρ τεταραγ-
 μένως, ἔφησέ τε ὁ θεὸς τούτους ἐπαγόμενον ἐπι-
 χειρεῖν τοῖς πολεμίους. ἐστρατοπεδεύοντο δὲ ὑπὲρ
 τοῦ Ἰορδάνου μέλλοντες εἰς τὴν ἐπιούσαν περαιου-
 σθαι.
 218 (4) Γεδεῶνος δ' ἐν φόβῳ καθεστῶτος, καὶ γὰρ
 νυκτὸς ἐπιχειρεῖν αὐτῷ ὁ θεὸς προειρήκει, τοῦ

¹ στρατόπεδον ROE.

² Niese: νομίζουσιν codd.

³ (after τούτους) δὴ (δὲ M) νομίζειν ὑπὸ δειλίας τοῦτο πάσχειν
 MSP Suidas Glycas.

^a In Jd. vii. 3 the army had already been reduced to 10,000, by the dismissal, under divine orders, of 22,000 who were faint-hearted.

^b Amplification (three words).

^c Amplification (the hour).

^d Or "lay."

young friends, Gedeon was trusted; and instantly there was an army of 10,000 ^a men ready for the contest. But God, appearing to Gedeon in his sleep, ^b showed to him the proneness of human nature to self-love and the hatred that it bore to those of surpassing merit, and how, far from attributing the victory to God, they would regard it as their own, on the ground that they were a large army and a match for their enemies. In order, therefore, that they might learn that it was His aid that accomplished it, He counselled him towards midday, when the heat was most intense, ^c to march his troops to the river; and then such of them as knelt ^d down to drink, them he should deem the stalwarts, but all who drank hurriedly and with trepidation, these he should rank as cowards ^e and terrified of the foe. Gedeon having then done in accordance with this counsel of God, there were found 300 men who with fear and trembling raised the water in their hands to their lips; and these God bade him take with him to attack the enemy. ^f So they pitched their camp above the Jordan, ^g with intent to cross on the morrow.

Jd. vi. 34;
vii. 2 ff.

(4) But Gedeon being terror-struck, having withal been divinely ordered to attack by night, God, with

Dream of a
Madianite
soldier.
Jd. vii. 9.

^e Some mss. read "should deem that they had acted this way through cowardice."

^f The correct interpretation of the confused verses, Jd. vii. 5, 6, is probably that the 300 men who lapped the water with their tongues like dogs were those selected for battle, while those who knelt to drink were rejected. Josephus, taking the lapping to mean drinking "with trepidation," implies that the 300 were chosen "lest Israel vaunt themselves" (Jd. vii. 2), *i.e.* God could give victory even to a cowardly army.

^g At En Harod (Jd. vii. 1), site uncertain.

δέους αὐτὸν ἀπαγαγεῖν βουλόμενος κελεύει προσ-
 λαβόντα ἓνα τῶν στρατιωτῶν πλησίον χωρεῖν
 ταῖς Μαδιανιτῶν σκηναῖς· παρ' αὐτῶν γὰρ ἐκείνων
 219 λήψεσθαι φρόνημα καὶ θάρσος. πεισθεὶς δὲ ἦει
 Φρουρὰν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θεράποντα παραλαβὼν, καὶ
 πλησιάσας σκηνῇ τινι καταλαμβάνει τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ
 ἐγρηγορότας καὶ τὸν ἕτερον ὄναρ διηγούμενον τῷ
 συσκηνοῦντι, ὥστε ἀκούειν τὸν Γεδεῶνα. τὸ δὲ
 τοιοῦτον ἦν· μᾶζαν ἐδόκει κριθίνην ὑπ' εὐτελείας
 ἀνθρώποις ἄβρωτον διὰ τοῦ στρατοπέδου κυλιο-
 μένην τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως σκηνὴν καταβαλεῖν καὶ
 220 τὰς τῶν στρατιωτῶν πάντων. ὁ δὲ σημαίνειν
 ὄλεθρον τοῦ στρατοῦ τὴν ὄψιν ἔκρινε, λέγων ὅθεν
 τοῦτ' αὐτῷ συνιδεῖν ἐπήλθε, πάντων τῶν σπερμάτων¹
 τὸ καλούμενον κρίθινον εὐτελέστατον ὁμολογεῖσθαι
 τυγχάνειν, “τοῦ δ' Ἀσιανοῦ παντὸς τὸ Ἰσραηλιτῶν
 ἔστιν ἰδεῖν ἀτιμότερον νῦν γεγενημένον ὅμοιον δὲ
 221 τῷ κατὰ κριθὴν γένει. καὶ τὸ παρὰ τοῖς Ἰσραη-
 λίταις νῦν μεγαλοφρονοῦν τοῦτ' ἂν εἶη Γεδεῶν καὶ
 τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ στρατιωτικόν. ἐπεὶ οὖν τὴν μᾶζαν
 φῆς ἰδεῖν τὰς σκηναὺς ἡμῶν ἀνατρέπουσαν, δέδια
 μὴ ὁ θεὸς Γεδεῶνι τὴν καθ' ἡμῶν νίκην ἐπι-
 νέενυκε.”

222 (5) Γεδεῶνα δ' ἀκούσαντα τὸ ὄναρ ἐλπίς ἀγαθὴ
 καὶ θάρσος ἔλαβε, καὶ προσέταξεν ἐν τοῖς ὄπλοις
 εἶναι τοὺς οἰκείους διηγησάμενος αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν
 τῶν πολεμίων ὄψιν, οἱ δ' ἔτοιμοι πρὸς τὰ παρ-
 αγγελλόμενα φρονηματισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν δεδηλω-

¹ conj.: πᾶν τὸ σπέρμα codd.

intent to banish his fear, bade him take one of his soldiers and advance close up to the tents of the Madianites, since from the lips of the very foe he would derive courage and confidence. Obediently thereto he went, taking with him his servant Phruras,^a and, on approaching one of the tents, found that its occupants were awake and that one of them was recounting to his companion a dream, in such fashion that Gedeon could hear it. Now the dream was on this wise : it seemed to him that a barley cake, too vile for man's consumption, came rolling through the camp and struck down the king's tent and those of all his soldiers. His comrade interpreted the vision to betoken the destruction of the army, stating what led him to understand it so : " Of all seeds (he said) that called barley is admitted to be the vilest ; and of all Asiatic races that of the Israelites, as may be seen, has now become the most ignominious and like to the nature of barley. And among the Israelites at this moment the high-spirited party can be none but Gedeon and his comrades-in-arms. Since, then, thou sayest that thou sawest that cake overturning our tents, I fear that God has conceded to Gedeon the victory over us."

(5) The hearing of this dream inspired Gedeon with high hopes and confidence, and he commanded his men to be ready in arms, having also recounted to them this vision of the enemy ; and they were alert to obey his orders, elated by what they had

Defeat
of the
Madianites
Jd. vii. 15.

^a Bibl. Purah, LXX Φαρά (and so the Latin version of Josephus).

JOSEPHUS

- 223 μένων ἦσαν. καὶ κατὰ τετάρτην μάλιστα φυλακὴν προσῆγε τὴν αὐτοῦ στρατιὰν Γεδεὼν εἰς τρία μέρη διελὼν αὐτήν, ἑκατὸν δὲ ἦσαν ἐν ἑκάστῳ. ἐκόμιζον δὲ πάντες ἀμφορέας κενούς καὶ λαμπάδας ἡμμένας ἐν αὐταῖς, ὅπως μὴ κατάφωρος τοῖς πολεμίοις ἡ ἔφοδος αὐτῶν γένηται, καὶ ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ κριοῦ
- 224 κέρας· ἐχρῶντο δὲ τούτοις ἀντὶ σάλπιγγος. χωρίον δὲ πολὺ κατεῖχε τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στράτευμα,¹ πλείστην γὰρ αὐτοῖς εἶναι συνέβαινε κάμηλον, καὶ κατὰ τὰ² ἔθνη νεμηθέντες ὑφ' ἐνὶ κύκλῳ πάντες
- 225 ἦσαν· οἱ δ' Ἑβραῖοι, προειρημένον³ αὐτοῖς ὅποταν γένωνται πλησίον τῶν πολεμίων ἐκ συνθήματος σάλπιγξί τε ἠχήσαντας καὶ τοὺς ἀμφορέας κατεάξαντας ὀρμηθεῖν μετὰ τῶν λαμπάδων ἀλαλάξαντας⁴ καὶ νικᾶν θεοῦ Γεδεῶνι βοηθήσοντος, τοῦτ' ἐποίη-
- 226 σαν. ταραχὴ δὲ λαμβάνει τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἔτι ὑπνοῦντας καὶ δείματα· νύξ γὰρ ἦν καὶ ὁ θεὸς τοῦτο ἠθέλεν. ἐκτείνοντο δὲ ὀλίγοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων, οἱ δὲ πλείους ὑπὸ τῶν συμμάχων διὰ τὸ τῇ γλώσσει διαφωνεῖν· ἅπαξ δὲ καταστάντες εἰς ταραχὴν πᾶν τὸ προστυχὸν ἀνήρουν νομίζοντες
- 227 εἶναι πολέμιον, φόνος τε πολὺς ἦν. καὶ φήμης πρὸς τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας τῆς Γεδεῶνος νίκης ἀφικομένης ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις ἦσαν, καὶ διώξαντες λαμβάνουσι τοὺς πολεμίους ἐν κοίλῳ τινὶ χαράδρῃ περιειλημμένῳ οὐ δυναμέναις διαπερᾶναι χωρίῳ καὶ περιστάντες κτείνουσιν ἅπαντας καὶ δύο τῶν
- 228 βασιλέων Ὠρηβὸν τε καὶ Ζῆβον. οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ

¹ ROE: στρατόπεδον rell.

² τὰ om. SP.

³ Niese: προειρημένου codd.

⁴ Niese: ἠχήσαντες . . . κατεάξαντες . . . ἀλαλάξαντες codd.

been told. Then, at about the fourth watch,^a Gedeon marched forth his army, which he had divided into three sections, each of an hundred men. They all bore empty pitchers with lighted torches inside them, to prevent the enemy from detecting their approach, and in the right hand a ram's horn, which served for a trumpet. Their enemy's camp covered ¹² a large area, for they had a vast camel-corps and were divided according to their nationalities, all being enclosed within one ring. The Hebrews had received orders, on approaching the enemy, at a given signal to sound their trumpets, break their pitchers, and rush forward with their torches and with shouts of battle and "Victory, and God will aid Gedeon!" and even so they did. Confusion and panic seized the hapless creatures yet slumbering; for it was night and God willed it so. Thus were they slain, few indeed by their enemies, the more part by the hands of their allies, by reason of their diversity of languages; and, when once confusion reigned, they killed all that they met, taking them for enemies, and there was a great carnage. A rumour of ²³ Gedeon's victory reaching the Israelites, they too were up in arms, and pursuing caught the enemy in a valley encompassed with impassable ravines,^b and, having surrounded them, slew them all with two of their kings, Oreb and Zeb. The other chiefs,

^a In Jd. vii. 19 they reach the outskirts of the enemy's camp at "the beginning of the middle watch" (of three watches of 4 hours each from 6 P.M. to 6 A.M., *i.e.* at about 10 P.M.); Josephus, following the Roman division of the night into four watches of 3 hours each, represents them as leaving their own camp at about 3 A.M.

^b This death-trap—the "impassable valley" in which the main body of the enemy is cooped up and annihilated—is a familiar feature of these battle-scenes; *cf.* § 162.

τῶν ἡγεμόνων τοὺς περιλειφθέντας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἐνάγοντες,¹ ἦσαν δὲ ὡς² μύριοι καὶ ὀκτακισχίλιοι, στρατοπεδεύονται πολὺ τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἄπωθεν. Γεδεὼν δὲ οὐκ ἀπηγορεύκει πονῶν, ἀλλὰ διώξας μετὰ παντὸς τοῦ στρατοῦ καὶ συμβαλὼν ἅπαντας διέφθειρε τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς ἡγεμόνας Ζεβὴν καὶ Ζαρμούνην αἰχμα-
 229 λώτους λαβὼν ἀνήγαγεν. ἀπέθανον δ' ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ μάχῃ Μαδιανιτῶν τε καὶ τῶν συστρατευσάντων αὐτοῖς Ἀράβων περὶ μυριάδας δώδεκα, λεία τε πολλή χρυσὸς καὶ ἄργυρος καὶ ὕψη καὶ κάμηλος καὶ ὑποζύγια λαμβάνεται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις. Γεδεὼν δὲ παραγενόμενος εἰς Ἐφράν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα κτείνει τοὺς τῶν Μαδιανιτῶν βασιλέας.
 230 (6) Ἡ δ' Ἐφράμιδος φυλὴ τῇ Γεδεῶνος εὐπραγία δυσχεραίνουσα στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτὸν διεγνώκει, τὸ μὴ προαγγεῖλαι³ τὴν ἐπιχείρησιν αὐτοῖς τὴν κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων ἐγκαλοῦντες. Γεδεὼν δὲ μέτριος ὢν καὶ πᾶσαν ἀρετὴν ἄκρος, οὐκ αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν αὐτοκράτορι χρησάμενος λογισμῶ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐπιθέσθαι χωρὶς αὐτῶν, ἀλλὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος· τὴν δὲ νίκην οὐχ ἦττον αὐτῶν ἔφασκεν
 231 ἰδίαν ἢ τῶν ἐστρατευκότων εἶναι. καὶ τούτοις παρηγορήσας αὐτῶν τὴν ὀργὴν τοῖς λόγοις μᾶλλον τοὺς Ἑβραίους ὠφέλησε τῆς ἐπὶ τῶν πολεμίων εὐπραξίας· ἐμφυλίου γὰρ αὐτοὺς στάσεως ἄρχειν μέλλοντας ἐρρύσατο. τῆς μέντοιγε ὕβρεως ταύτης ἡ φυλὴ δίκην ἐξέτισεν, ἣν δηλώσομεν κατὰ καιρὸν ἴδιον.

¹ colligentes (? συνάγοντες) Lat.: ἀγοντες SPE.

² MLE Lat.: om. rell.

³ Dindorf: προσαγγεῖλαι (παρ.) codd.

urging on their surviving soldiers, numbering some 18,000,^a encamped when at a great distance from the Israelites. Gedeon, however, had not renounced the struggle, but, following in pursuit with his whole army, joined battle, annihilated the enemy, and brought back as prisoners the remaining chiefs, Zebes and Zarmunes.^b In the preceding combat there had fallen of the Madianites and of their Arabian comrades-in-arms about 120,000; and abundant booty—gold, silver, woven stuff, camels and beasts of burden—fell to the Hebrews. Gedeon on his return to Ephraim,^c his native place, put the kings of the Madianites to death.

(6) But the tribe of Ephraim, aggrieved at Gedeon's success, now resolved to march against him, complaining that he had not informed them of his proposed assault on the enemy. Gedeon, however, being a man of moderation and a model of every virtue, replied that it was not of himself by an arbitrary decision^d that he had attacked the foe without them, but by divine command; while the victory, he declared, belonged no less to them than to those who had taken the field. And by these words, with which he pacified their wrath, he did the Hebrews a greater service than by his military success; for he rescued them from civil strife when they were on the brink of it. Howbeit for its insolent attitude this tribe paid a penalty, which we shall relate in due season.^e

^a "About 15,000," Jd. viii. 10.

^b Bibl. Zebah (LXX Ζεβεε) and Zalmunna (Ζαλμανά). The MSS. of Josephus have various spellings.

^c Bibl. Ophrah (LXX Ἐφραθά or, in some MSS., Ἐφρά); Jd. vi. 11.

^d αὐτοκράτορι λογισμῶ after Thuc. iv. 108. • Cf. § 250.

- 232 (7) Γεδεών δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀποθέσθαι βουλόμενος βιασθεὶς ἔσχεν αὐτὴν ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα βραβεύων αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια καὶ περὶ τῶν διαφορῶν ἐπ' αὐτὸν βαδιζόντων κύρια¹ πάντα ἦν τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. καὶ ὁ μὲν γηραιὸς τελευτήσας ἐν Ἐφράν τῇ πατρίδι θάπτεται.
- 233 (vii. 1) Παῖδες δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ γνήσιοι μὲν ἑβδομήκοντα, πολλὰς γὰρ ἔγημε γυναῖκας, νόθος δ' εἰς ἓκ παλλακῆς Δρούμας Ἀβιμέλεχος τοῦνομα, ὃς μετὰ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς τελευτὴν ἀναχωρήσας ἐπι² Σίκιμα πρὸς τοὺς ἀπὸ μητρὸς συγγενεῖς, ἐντεῦθεν
- 234 γὰρ ἦν, καὶ λαβὼν ἀργύριον παρ' αὐτῶν * * *³ οἱ διὰ πλῆθος ἀδικημάτων ἦσαν ἐπίσημοι, ἀφικνεῖται σὺν αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πατρῶον οἶκον καὶ κτείνει πάντας τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς πλὴν Ἰωθάμου· σώζεται γὰρ οὗτος διαφυγεῖν εὐτυχήσας. Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ εἰς τυραννίδα τὰ πράγματα μεθίστησι, κύριον αὐτὸν ὃ τι βούλεται ποιεῖν ἀντὶ τῶν νομίμων ἀποδείξας καὶ δεινῶς πρὸς τοὺς τοῦ δικαίου προῖσταμένους ἐκπικραίνόμενος.
- 235 (2) Καί ποτε δημοτελοῦς Σικίμοις οὔσης ἑορτῆς καὶ τοῦ πλήθους παντὸς ἐκεῖ συνειλεγμένου ὁ ἀδελφὸς αὐτοῦ Ἰωθάμης, ὃν καὶ διαφυγεῖν ἔφαμεν, ἀνελθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ ὄρος τὸ Γαριζεῖν, ὑπέρκειται δὲ τῆς Σικιμίων πόλεως, ἐκβοήσας εἰς ἐπήκοον τοῦ πλήθους ἡσυχίαν αὐτῷ παρασχόντος⁴ ἡξίου μαθεῖν
- 236 τὰ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ λεγόμενα. γενομένης δὲ σιγῆς

¹ Lat.: + τε codd.² eis RO.³ lacuna indicated by Jd. ix. 4.⁴ παρασχόντας Weill.

^a His making of an ephod, which "became a snare to Gideon and to his house" (Jd. viii. 27), is omitted.

(7) Gedeon then, wishing to resign his command, was constrained to keep it, and continued for forty years to administer justice: men resorted to him concerning their differences, and all his pronouncements had binding weight.^a He died in ripe old age and was buried at Ephra, his native place.

Gedeon as
judge.
Jd. viii. 22.
28.

(vii. 1) Now he had seventy sons born in wedlock (for he married many wives) and by a concubine, Druma,^b one bastard named Abimelech. This last, after his father's death, withdrew to the family of his mother at Shechem,^c her native place, and, having obtained money from them (hired certain miscreants),^d who were notorious for a multitude of crimes, and with them repaired to his father's house and slew all his brethren, save Jotham: this one had the good fortune to escape alive. Abimelech then transformed the government into a tyranny, setting himself up to do whatsoever he pleased in defiance of the laws and showing bitter animosity against the champions of justice.

Abimelech
the tyrant.
Jd. viii. 30.
ix. 1.

(2) Now one day when there was a public festival at Shechem and the people were all assembled there, his brother Jotham—the one who, as we said, had escaped—ascended Garizin, the mountain which rises above the city of Shechem, and shouting so as to be heard by the crowd if they would but listen to him quietly, begged them to attend to what he had to say. Silence being established, he told them

Jotham's
parable to
the She-
chemites.
Jd. ix. 7.

^b Name not in Scripture. Perhaps it was taken through error from "Arumah," the name of a town where Abimelech dwelt for a time (Jd. ix. 41).

^c Gr. Sikima (as in most mss. of LXX).

^d Lacuna in Greek, to be supplied from Jd. ix. 4 "Abimelech hired vain and light fellows, which followed him."

^e The public festival is not mentioned in Scripture.

- εἶπεν, ὡς τὰ δένδρα φωνὴν ἀνθρώπειον προϊέμενα
 συνόδου γενομένης αὐτῶν δεηθείη συκῆς ἄρχειν
 αὐτῶν. ἀρνησαμένης δ' ἐκείνης διὰ τὸ τιμῆς τῆς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς καρποῖς οἰκείας οὔσης ἀπολαύειν, οὐχ
 ὑπ' ἄλλων ἔξωθεν προσγινομένης, τὰ δένδρα τῆς
 ἐπὶ τῷ ἄρχεσθαι φροντίδος οὐκ ἀπελείπετο, ἔδοκει
 237 δ' αὐτοῖς ἀμπέλῳ τὴν τιμὴν παρασχεῖν. καὶ ἡ
 ἀμπελος χειροτονουμένη τοῖς αὐτοῖς τῇ συκῇ
 χρησαμένη λόγους παρητεῖτο τὴν ἀρχήν. τὸ δ'
 αὐτὸ καὶ τῶν ἐλαιῶν ποιησαμένων ράμνος, ἐδεήθη
 γὰρ αὐτῆς ὥστε παραλαβεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν τὰ
 238 δένδρα, πυρεῖα¹ δὲ ἀγαθὴ παρασχεῖν τῶν ξύλων
 ἐστίν, ὑπισχνεῖται τὴν ἀρχὴν ἀναλήψεσθαι καὶ ἀ-
 όκνωσ ἔχειν, δεῖν² μέντοι συνιζάνειν αὐτὰ ὑπὸ τὴν
 σκιάν, εἰ δ' ὄλεθρον ἐπ' αὐτῇ φρονοῖεν,³ ὑπὸ τοῦ
 239 ἐνότος πυρὸς διαφθαρεῖεν. "ταῦτα δ' οὐ γέλωτος
 ἔνεκα," φησί, "λέγω," ὅτι δὲ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν ἐκ
 Γεδεῶνος πεπειραμένοι περιορῶσιν Ἀβιμέλεχον
 ἐπὶ τῶν ὄλων ὄντα πραγμάτων σὺν αὐτῷ τοὺς
 ἀδελφοὺς ἀποκτείναντες, ὃν πυρὸς οὐδὲν διοίσειν.
 καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτα εἰπὼν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ διητᾶτο
 λανθάνων ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι δεδιὼς ἐπ' ἔτη τρία τὸν
 Ἀβιμέλεχον.
- 240 (3) Μετ' οὐ πολὺ δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οἱ⁴ Σικιμίται,
 μετενόησαν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς Γεδεῶνος υἱοῖς πεφονευ-
 μένοις, ἐξελαύνουσι τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον τῆς πόλεως
 καὶ τῆς φυλῆς· ὁ δὲ κακοῦν τὴν πόλιν ἐφρόντιζε.
 τῆς δ' ὥρας τῆς τοῦ τρυγᾶν γενομένης ἐδεδίεσαν
 συλλέγειν τὸν καρπὸν προῖόντες, μὴ τι δράσῃ κακὸν

¹ πυρεῖα codd.² δεῖ codd.³ φρονῶεν codd.⁴ om. RO.

how the trees, once gifted with a human voice, held a meeting and besought a fig-tree^a to rule over them. And when she refused, because she enjoyed the esteem which her fruits brought her, an esteem that was all her own and not conferred from without by others, the trees did not renounce their intention of having a ruler, but thought good to offer this dignity to the vine. And the vine, when so elected, on the same grounds as those of the fig-tree, declined the sovereignty. The olive-trees having done the like, a bramble—since the trees requested it to accept the kingship, and it is good in giving wood for tinder—promised to undertake the office and to act strenuously. However it behoved them all to sit down beneath her shadow, and should they plot her ruin they would be destroyed by the fire within her. “I tell this fable,” said Jotham, “not for your¹⁶ merriment, but because notwithstanding the manifold benefits that ye have received from Gedeon ye^b suffer Abimelech to hold sovereign sway, after aiding him to slay my brethren. Ye will find him in no wise different from a fire.” Having spoken thus he absconded and lived in hiding in the hills for three^c years from fear of Abimelech. *Cf. 22.*

(3) But not long after the festival^c the Shechemites, repenting of the murder of the sons of Gedeon, expelled Abimelech from their city and from their tribe; and he laid plans for doing the town an injury. So, when the season of vintage was come, they were afraid to go out and gather the fruit, for

Expulsion of
Abimelech.
Jd. ix. 23.

^a In Judges the olive-tree is approached first, then the fig-tree, then the vine.

^b In the Greek, the Shechemites are not addressed in the second person.

^c Not in Scripture.

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- 241 Ἀβιμέλεχος εἰς αὐτούς. ἐπιδημήσαντος δὲ πρὸς αὐτούς τῶν ἀρχόντων τινὸς Γυάλου σὺν ὀπλίταις καὶ συγγενέσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ, φυλακὴν οἱ Σικιμίται δέονται παρασχεῖν αὐτοῖς, ἕως ἂν τρυγήσωσι. προσδεξαμένου δ' ἐκείνου τὴν ἀξίωσιν προήεσαν καὶ Γυάλῃς σὺν αὐτοῖς τὸ οἰκεῖον ἄγων ὀπλιτικόν.
- 242 ὃ τε οὖν καρπὸς μετὰ ἀσφαλείας συνάγεται καὶ δειπνοῦντες κατὰ συμμορίας¹ φανερώς ἀπετόλμων ἤδη βλασφημεῖν τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον, οἱ τε ἄρχοντες ἐνέδραις καταλαμβάνομενοι τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν πολλοὺς τῶν Ἀβιμελέχου συλλαμβάνοντες ἀνήρουν.
- 243 (4) Ζάβουλος δέ τις τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἄρχων, ξένος ὢν Ἀβιμελέχου, ὅσα παροξύνειεν Γυάλῃς τὸν δῆμον πέμπων ἀγγέλους ἐμήνυεν αὐτῷ καὶ παρήνει λοχῶν πρὸ τῆς πόλεως· πείσειν γὰρ Γυάλῃν ἐξελθεῖν ἐπ' αὐτόν, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ τυγχάνειν ὥστε ἀμύνασθαι· γενομένου γὰρ τούτου διαλλαγὰς
- 244 αὐτῷ μνηστεύσεσθαι² πρὸς τὸν δῆμον. ὃ τε οὖν Ἀβιμέλεχος ἐκάθισεν ἐνεδρεύων καὶ ὁ Γυάλῃς ἀφυλακτοτέρως διέτριβεν ἐπὶ τοῦ προαστείου καὶ Ζάβουλος σὺν αὐτῷ. ἰδὼν δὲ ὀπλίτας ἐπιφερομένους Γυάλῃς πρὸς Ζάβουλον ἔλεγεν ἄνδρας
- 245 αὐτοῖς ἐπιέναι καθωπλισμένους. τοῦ δὲ σκιὰς εἶναι φαμένου τῶν πετρῶν, πλησίον ἤδη γινομένων τὸ ἀκριβὲς κατανοῶν οὐ σκιὰς ἔλεγε ταῦτ' εἶναι, λόχον δ' ἀνδρῶν. καὶ Ζάβουλος “ οὐ σὺ μέντοι,” φησίν, “ Ἀβιμελέχῳ κακίαν ἐπεκάλεις; τί οὖν οὐκ ἐπιδείκνυσαι τὸ τῆς σῆς ἀρετῆς μέγεθος εἰς
- 246 μάχην αὐτῷ συμβαλῶν;” Γυάλῃς δὲ θορυβούμενος συνάπτει τοῖς Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ πίπτουσι μὲν

¹ ex Lat.: συμμορίαν codd.

² Niese: μνηστεύεσθαι codd.

fear that Abimelech would do them some mischief. But on being visited by Gual,^a one of their chiefs, 26. with a retinue of troops and kinsmen, the Shechemites besought him to lend them protection during their vintage. And when he complied with their request, they went forth, accompanied by Gual at the head of his troop. So the fruit was safely gathered in, and while supping in companies they now ventured openly to revile Abimelech; and the chiefs, posting 25. ambuscades about the town, captured and slew many of his followers.

(4) But a certain Zabul,^b a chieftain of the Shechem- The fate of Shechem. Jd. ix. 30. itcs and an old friend of Abimelech, sent messengers to report to him how Gual was stirring up the people, and he advised him to lie in wait before the town, since he would induce Gual to sally out against him and it would then rest with Abimelech to avenge himself; that done, he (Zabul) would procure his reconciliation with the townsfolk. So Abimelech sat in ambush, while Gual all too unguardedly tarried in the suburbs, and Zabul with him. Spying some men-at-arms hastening up, Gual said to Zabul that men were upon them in arms. He replied that they were but shadows of the rocks; but on their nearer approach Gual, perceiving them perfectly, told him that these were no shadows but a company of men. Said Zabul, "But wert thou not accusing Abimelech of cowardice? Why then displayest thou not that mighty valour of thine by meeting him in combat?" Thereat Gual, in confusion, closed with Abimelech's men, lost some of his own, and himself

^a Greek *Guales*, Bibl. Gaal.

^b Or, with some mss., "Zebul" (the Biblical name).

τινες τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ, φεύγει δ' αὐτὸς εἰς τὴν πόλιν
 τοὺς ἄλλους ἀγόμενος. καὶ Ζάβουλος πολιτεύεται
 Γυάλην ἐκβληθῆναι τῆς πόλεως, κατηγορήσας ὡς
 μαλακῶς πρὸς τοὺς Ἀβιμελέχου στρατιώτας ἀγωνί-
 247 σαιτο. Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ πυθόμενος ἐξελεусομένους
 αὐθις κατὰ τρύγητον τοὺς Σικιμίους ἐνέδραις
 προλοχίζεται τὰ περὶ τὴν πόλιν, καὶ προελθόντων
 ἢ μὲν τρίτη μοῖρα τῆς στρατιᾶς καταλαμβάνει
 τὰς πύλας ἀφαιρησομένη τὴν εἴσοδον τοὺς πολίτας,
 οἱ δ' ἄλλοι σκιδναμένους μεταθέουσι, πανταχοῦ τε
 248 φόνος ἦν. καὶ κατασκάψας εἰς ἔδαφος τὴν πόλιν,
 οὐ γὰρ ἀντέσχε πρὸς¹ πολιορκίαν, ἄλας κατὰ τῶν
 ἐρειπίων σπείρας προῆγε. καὶ Σικιμίται πάντες
 οὕτως ἀπώλοντο· ὅσοι δὲ κατὰ τὴν χώραν σκεδα-
 σθέντες διέφυγον τὸν κίνδυνον, οὗτοι συλλεγέντες
 ἐπὶ τινα πέτραν ὄχυράν² ἐπ' αὐτῆς ἰδρύνονται
 249 τειχίσαι τε ταύτην παρεσκευάζοντο. ἔφθη τε τὴν
 διάνοιαν αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος μαθὼν ἐλθεῖν ἐπ'
 αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως καὶ φακέλους ὕλης
 ξηρᾶς περιβαλὼν τῷ χωρίῳ δι' αὐτοῦ φέρων ταῦτά³
 ποιεῖν τὴν στρατιὰν παρεκελεύσατο. καὶ ταχέως
 περιληφθείσης ἐν κύκλῳ τῆς πέτρας, τοῖς ξύλοις
 πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν ὅσα τε μᾶλλον ἐξάπτειν φύσιν
 250 ἔχει καὶ μεγίστην αἴρουσι φλόγα. καὶ διαφεύγει
 μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς πέτρας οὐθείς, ἀλλ' ἅμα γυναιξὶ καὶ
 τέκνοις ἀπώλοντο, ἄνδρες μὲν περὶ πεντακοσίους
 καὶ χιλίους, τὸ δὲ ἄλλο πλῆθος ἱκανόν. καὶ

¹ + τὴν RO.

² συλλεγέντες . . . ὄχυράν] πέτραν ὄχυράν εὐρόντες RO.

³ ταῦτὸ MSPL.

fled to the town with the rest at his heels. Zabul ^{41.} now contrived to secure Gual's expulsion from the town, charging him with feebleness in his encounter with Abimelech's troops.^a However Abimelech, learning that the Shechemites proposed to come out again for the vintage, posted ambuscades all about the town; then, so soon as they emerged, a third of his force occupied the gates to cut off the citizens from re-entering, the rest chased them as they scattered, and there was carnage on all sides. Then, having razed the city to the ground—for it could not sustain a siege—he sowed salt over the ruins and pushed forward. And so perished all the Shechemites. As for such as had scattered across country and ^{46.} escaped that peril, these mustering to a strongly entrenched rock established themselves thereon and were preparing to fortify it with a wall.^b But they were forestalled by Abimelech, who, hearing of their design, came upon them with his forces and laid faggots of dry wood round the place, carrying them with his own hands and bidding his troops to do the like. The rock being thus quickly encompassed, they set fire to the faggots, flinging in all the most inflammable materials, and raised an immense blaze. From that rock not a soul escaped: they perished with women and children, the men numbering some fifteen hundred,^c and a great many of the

^a This charge is not mentioned in Scripture.

^b The Biblical account is different, mentioning a tower, apparently in an unwalled hamlet of Shechem possessing a temple: Jd. ix. 46 "And when all the men of the tower of Shechem heard thereof, they entered into the hold (or "crypt"—the word is of uncertain meaning) of the temple of El-berith."

^c "About a thousand men and women," Jd. ix. 49.

Σικιμίταις μὲν τοιαύτη συμφορὰ συνέπεσε μείζων καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ λύπης γενομένη, πλὴν ὅτι κατὰ δίκην ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς εὐεργέτου συνθεῖσι κακὸν τηλικούτον.

- 251 (5) Ἀβιμέλεχος δὲ τοῖς Σικιμιτῶν κακοῖς καταπλήξας τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, μειζόνων ἐφιέμενος δῆλος ἦν καὶ μηδαμοῦ περιγράψων τὴν βίαν, εἰ μὴ πάντας ἀπολέσειεν. ἤλαυνεν οὖν ἐπὶ Θήβας καὶ τὴν μὲν πόλιν ἐξ ἐπιδρομῆς αἰρεῖ, πύργου δ' ὄντος ἐν αὐτῇ μεγάλου, εἰς ὃν πᾶν τὸ πλῆθος συνέφυγε, πολι-
- 252 ορκεῖν τοῦτον παρεσκευάζετο. καὶ αὐτὸν πλησίον ὀρμῶντα τῶν πυλῶν γυνὴ θραύσματι μύλης βαλοῦσα κατὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τυγχάνει, πεσὼν δὲ Ἀβιμέλεχος τὸν ὑπασπιστὴν παρεκάλει κτείνειν αὐτόν, μὴ τῆς γυναικὸς ὁ θάνατος αὐτοῦ δόξειεν ἔργον. καὶ ὁ
- 253 μὲν τὸ προσταχθὲν ἐποίει. ὁ δὲ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ τῆς εἰς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς παρανομίας ποιητὴν ἐξέτισε καὶ τῶν εἰς Σικιμίους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων· τούτοις δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἰωθάμου μαντείαν ἢ συμφορὰ συνέπεσε. τὸ μέντοι σὺν Ἀβιμελέχῳ στρατεύμα πεσόντος αὐτοῦ σκεδασθὲν ἀνεχώρησεν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία.
- 254 (6) Τῶν δὲ Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἰαείρης ὁ Γαλαδηνὸς ἐκ τῆς Μανασσίδος φυλῆς παραλαμβάνει, ἀνὴρ τὰ τε ἄλλα εὐδαίμων καὶ παῖδας ἀγαθοὺς πεποιημένος τριάκοντα μὲν τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἰππεύειν δὲ ἀρίστους καὶ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Γαλαδηνὴν πόλεων ἀρχὰς ἐγκεχειρισμένους. οὗτος δύο καὶ εἴκοσι ἔτη τὴν ἀρχὴν κατασχὼν τελευτᾷ

^a Gideon.

^b Bibl. Thebez (LXX Θηβῆς), mod. *Tūbās*, some 10 miles N.E. of Shechem.

^c Gr. "Galadenian." Josephus omits the judge Tola, to

rest. Such was the calamity which befell the Shechemites, a calamity too profound for grief, save that it was a righteous doom for the conspirators of so foul a crime against a benefactor.^a

(5) Abimelech, having terrorized the Israelites by the miserable fate of the Shechemites, let it be seen that he was aspiring higher and would set no bound to his violence until he had exterminated all. So he marched upon Thebes ^b and carried the city with a rush; but finding there a great tower, wherein all the people had taken refuge, he made preparations to besiege it. And then, as he came rushing close beside the gates, a woman hurled a fragment of a millstone and struck him on the head. Prostrated to earth, Abimelech besought his armour-bearer to slay him, lest his death should be deemed the work of this woman; and he obeyed his behest. Such was the penalty paid by Abimelech for the crime that he perpetrated on his brethren and for his outrageous treatment of the Shechemites; and the fate which befell these last fulfilled the prediction of Jotham. Abimelech's army for their part, on the fall of their chief, dispersed and returned to their homes.

Death of Abimelech.

Jd. ix. 50.

(6) The leadership of the Israelites was then taken over by Jair the Gileadite,^c of the tribe of Manasseh, a man in all ways blessed, and chiefly in his progeny of valiant sons, thirty in number, excellent horsemen, to whom was committed the government of the several cities of Gilead.^d Their father, after bearing rule for twenty-two years, died in old age

The rule of Jair. Jd. x. 3.

whom Scripture assigns a 23 years' term of office between Abimelech and Jair, Jd. x. 1 f.

^a Gr. "Galadene."

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γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Καμῶν¹ πόλει τῆς Γαλαθηνηῆς ἀξιοῦται.

- 255 (7) Πάντα δὲ τὰ τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς ἀκοσμίαν καὶ ὕβριν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῶν νόμων ὑπεφέρετο, καὶ καταφρονήσαντες αὐτῶν Ἀμμανῖται καὶ Παλαιστῖνοι στρατῶ μεγάλῳ διήρπαζον τὴν χώραν καὶ τὴν Περαιάν ἅπασαν κατασχόντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν τῶν
 256 λοιπῶν ἤδη κτῆσιν διαβαίνειν ἐτόλμων. Ἑβραῖοι δὲ σωφρομισθέντες ὑπὸ τῶν κακῶν, εἰς ἰκετεῖαν ἐτράποντο τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ θυσίας ἐπέφερον παρακαλοῦντες αὐτὸν μετριάσαντα καὶ πρὸς τὴν δέησιν αὐτῶν ὑπαχθέντα παύσασθαι τῆς ὀργῆς· ὁ δὲ θεὸς μεταβαλλόμενος εἰς τὸ ἡμερώτερον ἔμελλεν αὐτοῖς βοηθεῖν.
- 257 (8) Ἀμμανιτῶν δ' ἐστρατευκότων ἐπὶ τὴν Γαλαθηνήν ὑπήντων οἱ ἐπιχώριοι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος δεόμενοι τοῦ στρατηγήσοντος. ἦν δέ τις Ἰέφθας ἀνὴρ διὰ τὴν πατρώαν ἀρετὴν δυνατὸς καὶ δι' οἰκείαν αὐτοῦ
 258 στρατιὰν ἣν ἔτρεφεν αὐτὸς μισθοφόρων. πρὸς τοῦτον οὖν πέμψαντες ἠξίουσαν αὐτὸν συμμαχεῖν ἐπαγγελλόμενοι παρασχεῖν εἰς ἅπαντ' αὐτῶ τὸν χρόνον τὴν ἰδίαν ἡγεμονίαν. ὁ δ' οὐ προσίεται τὴν παράκλησιν αὐτῶν, ἐγκαλῶν ὅτι μὴ βοηθήσειαν
 259 αὐτῶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἀδικουμένῳ περιφανῶς· οὐ γὰρ ὄντα ὁμομήτριον αὐτοῖς ἀλλὰ ξένον περὶ τὴν μητέρα δι' ἐρωτικὴν ἐπιθυμίαν ἐπαχθεῖσαν αὐτοῖς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ἐξέβαλον καταφρονήσαντες τῆς
 260 αὐτοῦ ἀσθενείας. καὶ ὁ μὲν διέτριβεν ἐν τῇ Γα-

¹ Καλαμῶν RO.

^a Perhaps modern *Kumeim*, some 7 miles S.E. of Gadara.

^b The introduction of the Philistines as invaders (along with the Ammonites) from the east is strange and has been
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and received honoured burial at Kamon,^a a city of Gilead.

(7) But everything with the Hebrews was now drifting towards disorder and contempt of God and of the laws ; so, holding them in disdain, the Ammanites and Philistines^b with a large army ravaged their country and, after occupying all Peraea,^c made bold to cross the river for the further conquest of the rest. But the Hebrews, sobered by their afflictions, turned in supplication to God and offered sacrifices, beseeching Him to be considerate and, yielding to their prayers, to desist from wrath. And God, moved to milder action, was now to succour them. Israel under the Ammonites and Philistines. Jd. x. 6.

(8) When the Ammanites had invaded Gilead, the people of the country, preparing to meet them, mustered in the hills, lacking a leader to take command. Now there was one Jephthah,^d a mighty man by reason of the valour of his forefathers as also of his own troop of mercenaries which he maintained himself. To him then they sent, begging him to support them and promising to confer his command upon him for all time. But he declined their request, reproaching them for not having aided him when he was flagrantly wronged by his brethren. For, because he was not their full brother but unconnected on his mother's side, who had been inflicted upon them by their father through his amorous desire, they had cast him out, scorning his helplessness ; and so he was living in the region called Galaditis,^e receipt thought to be due to some confusion in the Biblical text (Jd. x. 7). The call to Jephthah. x. 17.

^a Modern Transjordania.

^b Gr. Jephthas (or Japhthas).

^c Bibl. (more precisely) "in the land of Tob" (Jd. xi. 3).

λαδίτιδι καλουμένη χώρα πάντας τοὺς ὀποθενοῦν παραγινόμενους πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μισθῷ δεχόμενος· ἐκλιπαρησάντων δ' αὐτῶν καὶ ὁμοσάντων εἰς αἰὲν παρέξειν αὐτῷ τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἑστράτεε.

- 261 (9) Καὶ ποιησάμενος ὄξειαν τὴν τῶν πραγμάτων ἐπιμέλειαν ἐν πόλει Μασφαθῆ καθίσας τὸν στρατὸν πρεσβείαν πέμπει παρὰ τὸν Ἀμμανίτην αἰτιώμενος τῆς ἀλώσεως. ὁ δὲ ἀντιπέμψας ἠτιᾶτο τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν τὴν ἔξοδον τὴν ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου καὶ τῆς Ἀμοραίας αὐτοὺς ἠξίου παραχωρεῖν ὡς πατρῶας
- 262 οὔσης ἀρχῆθεν. ἀποκρινάμενος δὲ ὁ Ἰέφθας, ὡς οὔτε τῆς Ἀμοραίας τοῖς προγόνοις αὐτῶν εὐλόγως ἐγκαλοῦσι χάριν τε μᾶλλον τῆς Ἀμμανιτίδος αὐτοῖς ἔχειν ὀφείλουσι παρεθείσης, δυνατὸν γὰρ Μωυσεῖ καὶ ταύτην λαβεῖν¹· παραχωρεῖν τε ἰδίας εἰπὼν γῆς, ἣν θεοῦ κατακτησαμένου μετὰ τριακόσια ἔτη νέμονται, μαχεῖσθαι² πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἔφησεν.

- 263 (10) Καὶ τοὺς μὲν πρέσβεις ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπέλυσεν· αὐτὸς δ' εὐξάμενος νίκην καὶ θυσιάσειν ὑποσχόμενος, ἂν σῶος εἰς τὰ οἰκεία ὑποστρέψῃ, καὶ πᾶν ὅ τι καὶ πρῶτον αὐτῷ συντύχοι ἱερουργήσειν, συμβαλὼν τε νικᾶ παρὰ πολὺ καὶ φονεύων ἐδίωκε μέχρι πόλεως Μανιάθης, καὶ διαβὰς εἰς τὴν Ἀμμανίτιν πόλεις τε ἠφάνισε πολλὰς καὶ λείαν ἤλασε καὶ τοὺς οἰκείους δουλείας ἀπήλλαξεν ἐν
- 264 ἔτεσιν ὀκτωκαίδεκα ταύτην ὑπομείναντας. ἀνα-

¹ Niese indicates a lacuna.

² ex Lat.: μάχεσθαι codd.

^a Bibl. Mizpah (LXX Μασσηφά): site uncertain.

^b "Amoraea" is the country north of the river Arnon. Cf. *A.* iv. 85. The Ammonite country is further north

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ing all who resorted to him from whencesoever and paying them wages. However, when the Hebrews made earnest entreaty and swore to confer the command upon him for ever, he took the field.

(9) Having promptly taken charge of affairs and installed the army in the city of Masphath(e),^a he sent an embassy to the Ammanite to remonstrate with him on his raid. That monarch sent a counter embassy, reproaching the Israelites for their exodus from Egypt and requiring them to quit Amora^a,^b as the primeval heritage of his forefathers. Whereto Jephthah replied that the enemy had no just grievance against his people's ancestors on the subject of Amora^a and ought rather to be grateful to them for having left them Ammanitis, which Moses might have taken to boot ; and, bidding him quit that land ^c of theirs which God had won for them and of which three hundred years later they were in possession, he declared that he would battle with them.

Embassies
before
battle.
Jd. xi. 11.

(10) With these words he dismissed the envoys. Then, after praying ^d for victory and promising to sacrifice, should he return to his home unscathed, and to offer up the first creature that should meet him, he closed with the enemy, defeated them outright, and massacring pursued them up to the city of Maniath(e) ^e ; then, crossing into Ammanitis, he destroyed many cities, carried off spoil, and delivered his countrymen from a servitude which they had borne for eighteen years. But on returning

Victory of
Jephthah :
his
daughter's
fate.
Jd. xi. 30.

with its capital at Rabatha (Bibl. Rabbah) on the river Jabbok. Cf. A. iv. 98.

^c Text a little uncertain : possibly " saying that he would (not) quit that land " (Weill).

^d Or " making vows."

^e Bibl. Minnith (Jd. xi. 33) : site unknown.

JOSEPHUS

στρέφων δὲ συμφορᾷ περιπίπτει κατ' οὐδὲν ὁμοίᾳ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις αὐτῷ· ὑπήντησε γὰρ ἡ θυγάτηρ αὐτῷ, μονογενῆς δ' ἦν, ἔτι παρθένος. ὁ δὲ ἀνοιμῶ-
 ξας ἐπὶ τῷ μεγέθει τοῦ πάθους, κατεμέμφετο τῆς
 265 περὶ τὴν ὑπάντησιν σπουδῆς τὴν θυγατέρα· καθ-
 ιερῶσαι γὰρ αὐτὴν τῷ θεῷ. τῇ δὲ τὸ συμβησόμενον
 οὐκ ἀηδῶς προσέπεσεν, ἐπὶ νίκη τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ
 ἐλευθερίᾳ τῶν πολιτῶν τεθνηξομένη, παρεκάλεσε
 δὲ δύο μῆνας αὐτῇ παρασχόντα πρὸς τὸ μετὰ
 τῶν πολιτῶν ἀποθρηνῆσαι τὴν νεότητα, τότε ποιεῖν
 266 τὰ κατὰ τὴν εὐχὴν. συγχωρήσας δὲ τὰ κατὰ τὸν
 προειρημένον χρόνον μετὰ τοῦτον διελθόντα θύσας
 τὴν παῖδα ὠλοκαύτωσεν, οὔτε νόμιμον οὔτε θεῷ
 κεχαρισμένην θυσίαν ἐπιτελῶν, μὴ διαβασανίσας
 τῷ λογισμῷ τὸ γενησόμενον οἶόν τε τὸ¹ πραχθὲν
 δόξει τοῖς ἀκούσασι.

267 (11) Τῆς δ' Ἐφράνου² φυλῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν στρα-
 τευσάσης, ὅτι μὴ κοινώσαιτο τὴν ἐπ' Ἀμμανίτας
 ἔλασιαν³ αὐτοῖς, ἀλλὰ μόνος καὶ τὴν λείαν ἔχοι
 καὶ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς πεπραγμένοις δόξαν, πρῶτον μὲν
 ἔλεγεν, ὡς οὔτε λάθοιεν αὐτοὺς οἱ συγγενεῖς πολε-
 μούμενοι καλούμενοί τε πρὸς συμμαχίαν οὐ παρ-
 εγένοντο, δέον καὶ πρὸ δεήσεως ἐγνωκότας ἐπειχθῆ-
 268 ναι, ἔπειθ' ὡς ἄδικα πράττειν ἐπιχειροῦσι τοῖς
 πολεμίοις οὐ τολμήσαντες εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθειν, ἐπὶ
 δὲ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ὠρμηκότες· ἠπειλεῖ τε σὺν τῷ
 θεῷ λήψεσθαι δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν, ἂν μὴ σωφρονῶσιν.
 269 ὡς δ' οὐκ ἔπειθεν, ἀλλὰ συνέβαλεν αὐτοῖς ἐλθοῦσι

¹ τε τὸ] τε οἱ τὸ codd.

² R: Ἐφράμου (-αίμου) rell.

³ ἔλασιν RO.

^a Phraseology based on Thuc. iii. 113. 3.

he fell foul of a calamity far different from these fair achievements ; for it was his daughter who met him, his only daughter, a virgin yet. Wailing in anguish at the greatness of the blow,^a the father chid his daughter for her haste in meeting him, seeing that he had dedicated her to God. But she without displeasure learnt her destiny, to wit that she must die in return for her father's victory and the liberation of her fellow-citizens ; she but asked him to grant her two months wherein to bewail her youth with her fellow-citizens, and thereafter he should do in accordance with his vow. He accorded her the respite aforesaid, and at its close sacrificed his child as a burnt-offering—a sacrifice neither sanctioned by the law nor well-pleasing to God ; for he had not by reflection probed what might befall or in what aspect the deed would appear to them that heard of it.^b

(11) The tribe of Ephraim now took arms against him, because he had not imparted the news of his expedition against the Ammanites to them, but had reserved to himself alone the booty and the glory of the achievement. Thereto he replied first that they were not unaware that their kinsfolk were beset and that when called upon for aid they had not come, whereas they ought, even before being asked, to have learnt of the matter and sped to arms ; next that this was an iniquitous enterprise of theirs, after not having dared to face the foe, to rush upon their kinsmen ; and he threatened, God helping, to be avenged on them unless they showed themselves reasonable. Failing, however, to influence them, he met them, when they came, with an army

Jephthah's
war with
Ephraim.
Jd. xii. 1.

^b The rash vow is stigmatized in Rabbinical tradition (Weill, quoting *Genesis Rabba*, lx.).

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- μετὰ στρατιᾶς, ἣ μετάπεμptos ἐκ τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς ἐληλύθει, φόνον τε πολὺν αὐτῶν εἰργάσατο καὶ διώκων τραπέντας προλαβὼν μέρει τινὶ προαπεσταλμένῳ τοῦ Ἰορδάνου τὰς διαβάσεις κτείνει περὶ δισχιλίουσ καὶ τετρακισμυρίουσ γεγονότας.
- 270 (12) Αὐτὸς δὲ ἄρξας ἐξ ἔτη τελευτᾶ καὶ θάπτεται ἐν τῇ αὐτοῦ πατρίδι Σεβέη· τῆς Γαλαδηνῆς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη.
- 271 (13) Τελευτήσαντος δὲ Ἰάφθα τὴν ἀρχὴν Ἀψάνης παραλαμβάνει φυλῆς ὧν Ἰουδαϊκῆς Βηθλέμων δὲ πόλεως. τούτῳ δὲ παῖδες ἦσαν ἐξήκοντα, τριάκοντα μὲν ἄρρενες αἱ λοιπαὶ δὲ θυγατέρες, οὓς καὶ πάντας ζῶντας κατέλιπε τὰς μὲν ἀνδράσιω ἐκδοὺς τοῖς δὲ γυναῖκας ἡγμένος. πράξας δ' οὐδὲν ἐν τῷ ἑπταετεί γενομένῳ χρόνῳ λόγου καὶ μνήμης ἄξιον γηραιὸς ὧν ἀπέθανε καὶ ταφῆς ἐν τῇ πατρίδι τυγχάνει.
- 272 (14) Ἀψάνους δ' οὕτως ἀποθανόντος οὐδ' ὁ μετ' αὐτὸν παραλαβὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν Ἕλων¹ ἐπ' ἔτη δέκα κατασχὼν αὐτὴν φυλῆς ὧν τῆς Ζαβούλης ἔπραξέ τι σπουδῆς ἄξιον.
- 273 (15) Ἀβδῶν δὲ Ἕλωνος παῖς φυλῆς μὲν τῆς Ἐφραμίτιδος πόλεως δὲ τῆς Φαραθωνιτῶν γεγονώς, αὐτοκράτωρ ἡγεμὼν ἀποδειχθεὶς μετ' Ἕλωνα μόνης ἂν τῆς εὐπαιδίας μνημονευθεῖη, μηδὲν ἔργον διὰ τὴν εἰρήνην καὶ τὴν ἀδειαν τῶν πραγμάτων λαμπρὸν μηδ' αὐτὸς ἐργασάμενος.²
- 274 υἱεῖς δὲ ἦσαν αὐτῷ τεσσαράκοντα καὶ τούτων

¹ Hilonis Lat.

² ROML: εἰργασμένος SP.

^a Josephus omits the details in Jd. xii. 5-6 on the detection of the fleeing Ephraimites by their pronunciation of "shib-282

which he had recalled from Gilead, worked great havoc among them, and pursuing the fugitives, having sent a party in advance to occupy the fords of the Jordan, slew in all some two and forty thousand.^a

(12) After ruling for six years he died and was buried at his native place of Sebee,^b in the land of Gilead. His death.
Jd. xii. 7.

(13) Upon the death of Jephthah, the rulership passed to Apsanes^c of the tribe of Judah and the city of Bethlehem. He had sixty children, thirty sons and as many daughters, all of whom he left alive at his death,^d after bestowing wives and husbands upon all. Having achieved in his seven years of office nothing worthy of record and remembrance, he died in old age and was buried at his native place. Ibzan. 8.

(14) Apsanes having thus died, his successor, Elon of the tribe of Zabulon, held the leadership for ten years and likewise did nothing of moment. Elon. 11.

(15) Abdon, son of Elon,^e of the tribe of Ephraim and the city of Pharathon,^f who was appointed sovereign leader after Elon, calls for no mention save for his happy paternity, since, thanks to the prevailing peace and security of the state, he too did no brilliant deed. But he had forty sons and, born Abdon. 13.

boleth" as "sibboleth," probably because the difference in sound could not have been made clear to Greek readers.

^b The Heb. of Jd. xii. 7 "in the cities of Gilead" is corrupt: read probably "in his city, in Mizpah of Gilead." The loss of the M in Mizpah produced the reading found in some mss. of the LXX, ἐν Σεφέ (ἐν Σέφ), and through further corruption the name Sebee in Josephus.

^c Bibl. Ibzan. ^d Amplification (as in § 274).

^e Bibl. "son of Hillel."

^f Heb. "the Pirathonite": modern *Fer'atha*, 6 miles S.W. of Shechem.

γενεὰς καταλιπόντων¹ τριάκοντα, ἤλαυνέ τε σὺν αὐτοῖς οὖσιν ἑβδομήκοντα πᾶσιν ἱππάζειν ἀρίστοις γεγενημένοις, καὶ πάντα ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀπολιπὼν θνήσκει γηραιὸς καὶ ταφῆς ἐν Φαράθῳ λαμπρᾶς τυγχάνει.

275 (viii. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Παλαιστῖνοι τελευτήσαντα κρατοῦσι τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν καὶ φόρους παρ' αὐτῶν ἐλάμβανον ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα. ταύτης δ' ἐλευθεροῦνται τῆς ἀνάγκης τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ·

276 (2) Μανώχης τις Δανιτῶν ἐν ὀλίγοις ἄριστος καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ὁμολογουμένως² πρῶτος εἶχε γυναῖον ἐπ' εὐμορφία περίβλεπτον καὶ τῶν καθ' αὐτὸ διαφέρον. παίδων δ' οὐ γινομένων αὐτῷ, δυσφορῶν ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπαιδία τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευεν ἐπὶ τὸ προάστειον συνεχῶς φοιτῶν μετὰ τῆς γυναικὸς δοῦναι διαδοχὴν αὐτοῖς γνησίαν· μέγα δέ ἐστι

277 τοῦτο τὸ³ πεδίον. ἦν δὲ καὶ μανιώδης ὑπ' ἔρωτος ἐπὶ τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ζηλότυπος ἀκρατῶς. μονωθείσῃ δὲ τῇ γυναικὶ φάντασμα ἐπιφαίνεται, ἄγγελος⁴ τοῦ θεοῦ, νεανία καλῶ παραπλήσιον καὶ μεγάλῳ, εὐαγγελιζόμενον αὐτῇ παιδὸς γονὴν κατὰ θεοῦ πρόνοιαν καλοῦ τε καὶ ῥώμην ἐπιφανοῦς, ὑφ'
278 ᾧ πονήσειν Παλαιστίνους ἀνδρουμένῳ. παρήνει τε τὰς κόμας αὐτῷ μὴ ἀποκείρειν· ἔσται δ' αὐτῷ

¹ Text doubtful: et alios ex eorum semine descendentes Lat.

² ὁμολογούμενος codd.

³ conj.: om. codd.

⁴ MSPLÉ: τοῦ θεοῦ ἀστέρος RO.

^a Bibl. "rode on ass colts."

^b Bibl. "He judged Israel eight years."

^c Bibl. Manóah (LXX Μανώε): Josephus indifferently Manoches and Manochos.

of these, thirty grandsons, and was wont to ride with this family of seventy, all excellent horsemen^a; he left them all in the land of the living when he died in old age^b and was buried in state at Pharathon.

(viii. 1) After his death the Philistines conquered the Israelites and exacted tribute from them for forty years. From these straits they were delivered on this wise.

Israel
under the
Philistines.
Jd. xiii. 1.

(2) A certain Manoch,^c among the most notable of the Danites and without question the first in his native place, had a wife remarkable for her beauty and pre-eminent among the women of her time. But having no children by her and being distressed at the lack of them, he was wont, on his frequent visits with his wife to the outskirts—where there was a great plain^d—to entreat God to give them offspring of their wedlock.^e He was moreover madly enamoured of his wife and hence inordinately jealous.^f Now once when his wife was alone, a spectre appeared to her from God,^g in the likeness of a comely and tall youth, bringing her the good news of the approaching birth of a son through God's good providence—a son goodly and illustrious for strength, by whom, on his reaching man's estate, the Philistines would be afflicted. He further charged her not to cut the lad's locks, and that he was to renounce

An angel
announces
the birth of
a son to the
wife of
Manoah.
Jd. xiii. 2

^d Unscriptural topographical details.

^e Gr. "a legitimate succession."

^f The husband's jealousy and subsequent suspicions are unscriptural. Rabbinical legend attributes his complaints to his wife's barrenness, not to her beauty. For the quarrel between husband and wife *cf.* Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*, cap. xlii. (tr. M. R. James).

^g Or (with most mss.) "an angel of God."

JOSEPHUS

πρὸς ἄλλο μὲν πᾶν¹ ποτὸν ἀποστροφὴ τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦτο προστάσσοντος, πρὸς ὕδωρ δὲ μόνον οἰκειότης. καὶ ὁ μὲν ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ὤχετο, κατὰ βούλησιν ἔλθων τοῦ θεοῦ.

- 279 (3) Ἡ δὲ τάνδρῃ παραγενομένῳ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ ἀγγέλου ἐκδιηγῆσατο ἐκθαυμάζουσα τοῦ νεανίσκου τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος, ὡς ἐκείνον ἐκ τῶν ἐπαίνων εἰς ἔκπληξιν κατὰ ζηλοτυπίαν περιστῆναι καὶ ὑπόνοιαν τὴν ἐκ τοιοῦτου πάθους κινουμένην.
- 280 ἡ δὲ βουλομένη τὴν ἄλογον τάνδρὸς λύπην σταλῆναι τὸν θεὸν ἰκέτευε πάλιν πέμψαι τὸν ἄγγελον, ὡς ἂν καὶ τῷ ἀνδρὶ αὐτῆς ὄραθείη. καὶ παραγίνεται πάλιν κατὰ χάριν τοῦ θεοῦ ὁ ἄγγελος ὄντων ἐν τῷ προαστείῳ καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ φαίνεται τοῦ ἀνδρὸς μεμονωμένη. ἡ δ' ἐπιμεῖναι δεηθεῖσα ἕως² ἂν ἀγάγῃ³ τὸν ἄνδρα συγχωρήσαντος μέτεισι τὸν
- 281 Μάνωχον. ὁ δὲ θεασάμενος οὐδ' οὕτως ἐπαύετο τῆς ὑπονοίας ἡξίου τε καὶ αὐτῷ δηλοῦν ὅσα καὶ τῇ γυναικὶ μηνύσειεν. ἀρκέσειεν δὲ φράσαντος ταύτην μόνην εἰδέναι, τίς εἴη λέγειν ἐκέλευεν, ἵνα τοῦ παιδὸς γενομένου χάριν αὐτῷ καὶ δωρεὰν παρά-
- 282 σχωσι. τοῦ δὲ μηδέ τινων⁴ αὐτῷ δεῖσθαι φήσαντος, οὐδὲ γὰρ κατὰ χρεῖαν ταῦτα εὐαγγελίσασθαι περὶ τῆς τοῦ παιδὸς γονῆς, τοῦ δὲ μείναι παρακαλοῦντος καὶ ξενίων μετασχεῖν οὐκ ἐπένευσ', ἐπέισθη⁵ δ' ὁμῶς λιπαροῦντος ἐπιμεῖναι ὡς ἂν ξένιον αὐτῷ τι

¹ πᾶν om. ROE.

² Lat. donec: ὡς codd.

³ L: ἀγάγοι rell.

⁴ horum Lat.

⁵ Niese ex Lat.: πεισθεῖς codd.

^a In Jd. xiii. 8 it is Manoah who asks for a further vision of the angel.

all other form of drink (so God commanded) and to accustom himself to water only. And having thus spoken the visitor departed, having come but to execute God's will.

(3) The woman, when her husband arrived, reported what she had heard from the angel, extolling the young man's comeliness and stature in such wise that he in his jealousy was driven by these praises to distraction and to conceive the suspicions that such passion arouses. But she,^a wishing to allay her husband's unreasonable distress, entreated God to send the angel again that her husband also might see him. And again by the grace of God the angel came, while they were in the suburb,^b and appeared to the woman when parted from her husband. She besought him to stay until she could fetch her husband and, obtaining his assent, went in pursuit of Manoch. But the husband, on beholding the angel, even then did not desist from his suspicion, and he requested him to repeat to him too all that he had revealed to his wife. The angel having declared that it would suffice that it should be made known to her alone, Manoch bade him say who he was, in order that on the birth of the child they might tender him their thanks and make him a present. He replied that he had need of naught, for it was not from want that he had announced this good news of the birth of a child; and though Manoch invited him to stay and partake of hospitality, he consented not. Howbeit, at his earnest entreaty, he was persuaded to remain that some token of hospitality might be brought to him. So,

The angel's
second visit.
Jd. xiii. 6.

^b Bibl. "as she sat in the field."

JOSEPHUS

- 283 κομίση. καὶ θύσαντος ἔριφον τοῦ Μανώχου καὶ τοῦτον ὀπτᾶν τῇ γυναικὶ κελεύσαντος, ἐπεὶ πάντ' ἦν εὐτρεπῆ, προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τῆς πέτρας ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς τε ἄρτους καὶ τὰ κρέα χωρὶς τῶν ἀγγείων.
- 284 καὶ ποιησάντων ἄπτεται τῇ ῥάβδῳ ἣ εἶχε τῶν κρεῶν, τὰ δὲ λάμψαντος πυρὸς ἅμα τοῖς ἄρτοις ἐκαίετο καὶ ὁ ἄγγελος διὰ τοῦ καπνοῦ ὥσπερ ὀχήματος ἀνιῶν εἰς οὐρανὸν αὐτοῖς φανερὸς ἦν. Μανώχην δὲ φοβούμενον, μή τι σφαλερὸν αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῆς ὄψεως τοῦ θεοῦ γενήσοιτο, θαρσεῖν ἢ γυνὴ παρεκελεύετο· ἐπὶ γὰρ συμφέροντι τῷ αὐτῶν τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς ὄραθῆναι.
- 285 (4) Καὶ κύει τε ἐκείνη καὶ φυλακὴν εἶχε τῶν ἐντολῶν καὶ γενόμενον τὸ παιδίον Σαμψῶνα καλοῦσιν, ἰσχυρὸν δ' ἀποσημαίνει τὸ ὄνομα. ἠὔξετο δ' ὁ παῖς ῥαδίως καὶ δῆλος ἦν προφητεύσων ὑπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν δίαιταν σωφροσύνης καὶ τῆς τῶν τριχῶν ἀνέσεως.
- 286 (5) Ἀφικόμενος δὲ μετὰ τῶν γονέων εἰς Θάμνα¹ πόλιν τῶν Παλαιστίνων πανηγύρεως ἀγομένης ἐρᾷ παρθένου τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παρακαλεῖ τε τοὺς γονεῖς ἄγεσθαι πρὸς γάμον αὐτῷ τὴν κόρην. τῶν δὲ ἀρνούμενων διὰ τὸ μὴ ὁμόφυλον εἶναι, τοῦ θεοῦ κατὰ τὸ Ἑβραίων σύμφορον ἐπινοοῦντος τὸν γάμον,

¹ v.l. Θαμναθὰ (as also in § 296).

^a The angel's directions are unscriptural; "apart from (χωρὶς) the vessels" possibly has some connexion with the strange reading in some LXX MSS. καὶ διεχώρισεν ποιῆσαι (Jd. xiii. 19).

^b So Ps.-Philo, *Biblical Antiquities*, xlii. (tr. M. R. James) "the angel put forth (his hand) and touched it with the end of his sceptre."

Manoch having killed a kid and bidden his wife to cook it, when all was ready, the angel ordered them to set out the loaves and the meat upon the rock, without the vessels.^a That done, he with the rod which he held touched the meat ^b and, a fire blazing out, it was consumed along with the bread, while the angel, borne on the smoke as on a chariot, was plainly seen by them ascending into heaven. Manoch thereat fearing that some mischief might befall them from this vision of God, his wife bade him take heart, since it was for their good that it had been given them to see God.

(4) And the woman conceived and paid good heed to the injunctions laid upon her; and when the infant was born they called him Samson, a name which means "strong."^c And the child grew apace and it was plain from the frugality of his diet and his loosely flowing locks that he was to be a prophet.

Birth of Samson. Jd. xiii. 24.

(5) Now the lad having gone with his parents to Thamna,^d a town of the Philistines, during the celebration of a festival, became enamoured of a maiden of the country and begged his parents to get the damsel for him to wife. They were for refusing because she was not of their race: God, however, was designing this marriage in the interests of the

His courtship and encounter with a lion. Jd. xiv. 1.

^c One of the author's loose etymological statements. The connexion of the name (Heb. Shimshon: Gr. Σαμψών) with the Hebrew *shemesh* (= "sun") "may be considered certain" (Burney). But Josephus may have had in mind biblical passages in which the sun symbolizes strength. The Bab. Talmud (Soṭah 10a) says, "Samson received a name applied to God, for Scripture says (Ps. lxxxiv. 12) 'A sun and shield is the Lord God.'"

^d Heb. Timnah, לַחַם תִּמְנָה, modern *Tibneh*; a border town in the Shephelah held at various times by Dan, Judah and the Philistines.

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- 287 ἐκνικᾶ μνηστεύσασθαι τὴν παρθένον. συνεχῶς δ' ἀπερχόμενος πρὸς τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτῆς συντυγχάνει λέοντι καὶ γυμνὸς ὢν ἐκδεξάμενος αὐτὸν ἄγχει ταῖς χερσὶ καὶ εἰς τὸ χωρίον τὸ¹ ὑλῶδες ἐνδοτέρω τῆς ὁδοῦ ρίπτει τὸ θηρίον.
- 288 (6) Πάλιν τε ἀπιὼν πρὸς τὴν κόρην ἐπιτυγχάνει σμήνει μελιττῶν ἐν τῷ στήθει τοῦ λέοντος ἐκείνου νενοσσευκότων, καὶ ἀνελόμενος τρία μέλιτος κηρία σὺν τοῖς λοιποῖς δώροις οἷς ἐκόμιζε δίδωσι τῇ
- 289 παιδί. τῶν δὲ Θαμνιτῶν παρὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν τὴν τῶν γάμων, εἰστία γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἅπαντας, διὰ δέος τῆς ἰσχύος τοῦ νεανίσκου τριάκοντα δόντων αὐτῷ τοὺς ἀκμαιοτάτους λόγῳ μὲν ἐταίρους ἐσομένους ἔργῳ δὲ φύλακας, μὴ τι παρακινεῖν ἐθελήσειεν, τοῦ πότου προβάντος καὶ παιδιᾶς οὔσης, οἷα φιλεῖ παρὰ τοὺς τοιοῦτους καιροὺς, ὁ Σαμψὼν εἶπεν,
- 290 “ ἀλλὰ προβάλλοντος ἐμοῦ λόγον εἰ λύσετε τοῦτον ἐφ' ἡμέρας ἑπτὰ ποιούμενοι τὴν ζήτησιν, ὀθόνας τε καὶ στολὰς γέρας τῆς συνέσεως κατ' ἄνδρα ἕκαστον φέρεσθε παρ' ἐμοῦ.” φιλοτιμουμένων δὲ ὁμοῦ τε συνετῶν δόξαν καὶ κέρδος εὔρασθαι καὶ λέγειν ἀξιούντων, φησὶν ὅτι τὸ πάμβορον γεγεννηκοῖ βορὰν ἠδείαν ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ πάνυ ἀηδοῦς ὄντος.
- 291 τῶν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας² οὐ δυναμένων ἐξευρεῖν τὸ νοούμενον παρακαλούντων δὲ τὴν κόρην μαθοῦσαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς αὐτοῖς μηνῦσαι, καὶ γὰρ ἠπέιλουν πιμρήσειν αὐτὴν τοῦτο μὴ παρασχοῦσαν, ὁ Σαμψὼν δεομένης τῆς κόρης εἰπεῖν αὐτῇ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον

¹ εἰς τι χωρίον SPL.

² ἐπὶ τρισὶν ἡμέραις RO.

^a Gr. “ within ” or “ on the inner side of.”

^b Amplification, like other details in this narrative.

Hebrews, and so he won his way to woo the maid. In the course of his constant visits to her parents he encountered a lion and, unarmed as he was, grappled with it, strangled it with his hands, and flung the beast into the coppice on the border of ^a the road.

(6) On another of his journeys to the damsel he came upon a swarm of bees that had hived in that lion's breast, and, taking three ^b honeycombs, he gave them, along with the rest of the gifts which he bore, to the maiden. Now the Thamnites, on the occasion of the wedding feast—for he entertained them all—from fear of this young man's strength, presented him with thirty of their chief stalwarts, ostensibly as companions, in reality as his guardians, lest he should be minded to create any disturbance; and, when the drinking was far gone and joviality prevailed, as is customary on such occasions, Samson said, "Come, I will propound a riddle, and if ye solve it after seven days' search, ye shall receive every man from me fine linen and apparel as a reward for your sagacity." Ambitious to win at once a renown for sagacity and a prize, they begged him to state it, whereupon he said: "The omnivorous eater produced pleasant meat from himself though grossly unpleasant." ^c When the Philistines at the end of three days were unable to discover what it meant, they urged the damsel to find out from her husband and report to them: nay, they threatened to burn her should she fail to do so. Samson, upon the damsel's entreating him to tell her, at

His riddle.
Jd. xiv. 8.

^c Bibl. "Out of the eater came forth meat, and out of the strong came forth sweetness," Jd. xiv. 14. The Peshitto Syriac version, rendering the word "strong" by "bitter," presents, like Josephus, a double antithesis.

- 292 ἀντείχεν,¹ ἐγκειμένης δ' αὐτῆς καὶ εἰς δάκρυα προ-
 πιπτούσης καὶ τεκμήριον τιθεμένης τῆς πρὸς
 αὐτὴν δυσνοίας τὸ μὴ λέγειν αὐτῇ, μηνύει τὰ περὶ
 τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτῇ τοῦ λέοντος καὶ ὡς τὰ τρία
 βαστάσας ἐξ αὐτοῦ κηρία μέλιτος γεγονότα κομί-
 293 σειεν αὐτῇ. καὶ ὁ μὲν οὐδὲν ὑφορώμενος δολερὸν
 σημαίνει τὸ πᾶν, ἢ δ' ἐκφέρει τὸν λόγον τοῖς δεη-
 θεῖσι. κατὰ οὖν τὴν ἐβδόμην ἡμέραν, καθ' ἣν ἔδει
 τὸν προβληθέντα λόγον αὐτῷ διασαφεῖν, πρὶν ἢ
 δῦναι τὸν ἥλιον συνελθόντες φασίν “ οὔτε λέοντος
 ἀηδέστερόν τι τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσιν οὔτε ἡδίων
 294 μέλιτος χρωμένοις.” καὶ ὁ Σαμφῶν εἶπεν οὐδὲ
 γυναικὸς εἶναι τι δολερώτερον, “ ἦτις ὑμῖν ἐκφέρει
 τὸν ἡμέτερον λόγον.” κακείοις μὲν δίδωσιν ἅ
 ὑπέσχετο λείαν ποιησάμενος Ἀσκαλωνιτῶν τοὺς
 κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν αὐτῷ συντυχόντας, Παλαιστῖνοι δ'
 εἰσὶ καὶ οὗτοι, τὸν δὲ γάμον ἐκείνον παραιτεῖται·
 καὶ ἡ παῖς ἐκφαυλίσασα τῆς ὀργῆς αὐτὸν συνῆν
 αὐτοῦ φίλῳ νυμφοστόλῳ γεγονότι.
- 295 (7) Πρὸς δὲ τὴν ὕβριν ταύτην Σαμφῶν παρ-
 οξυνθεὶς ἅπαντας ἔγνω σὺν αὐτῇ Παλαιστίνους
 μετέρχεσθαι. θέρους δ' ὄντος καὶ πρὸς ἄμητον
 ἤδη τῶν καρπῶν ἀκμαζόντων συλλαβῶν τριακοσίας
 ἀλώπεκας καὶ τῶν οὐρῶν ἐξάψας λαμπάδας ἡμ-
 μένας ἐξαφίησιν² εἰς τὰς ἀρούρας τῶν Παλαιστίνων.
- 296 καὶ φθείρεται μὲν οὕτως αὐτοῖς ὁ καρπός, Παλαι-
 στῖνοι δὲ γνόντες Σαμφῶνος εἶναι τὸ ἔργον καὶ τὴν
 αἰτίαν δι' ἣν ἔπραξε, πέμψαντες τοὺς ἄρχοντας εἰς

¹ ἀντέχειν ἐπειράτο RO.

² ἐπαφίησιν E: ἀφίησιν RO.

^a Bibl. “ If ye had not plowed with my heifer, ye had not found out my riddle,” Jd. xiv. 18.

first resisted, but, when she pressed him and burst into tears and protested that his refusal to tell her proved his want of affection for her, he revealed the story of the slaying of the lion and how he had carried off the three honeycombs sprung from its carcase and brought them to her. Suspecting no fraud he recounted all, but she betrayed his story to her questioners. So on the seventh day, whereon they were required to give him the answer to the riddle, assembling before sunset they announced, "Nothing is more unpleasant to meet than a lion nor more pleasant to taste than honey." And Samson added, "Nor is ought more deceitful than a woman who betrays our speech to you." ^a And he gave them what he had promised, after despoiling certain Ascalonites who encountered him on the road (these too being Philistines); but he renounced those nuptials, and the girl, scorning him for his wrath, was united to that friend of his who had given her away. ^b

(7) Furious at this affront, ^c Samson resolved to visit it upon all the Philistines along with her. So, summer being come and the crops already ripening for harvest, he caught three hundred foxes and, fastening lighted torches to their tails, let them loose in the fields of the Philistines; and thus their crop was ruined. But the Philistines, on discovering that this was Samson's deed and for what cause he had done it, sent their magistrates to Thamna and burnt

He destroys
the crops
of the
Philistines.
Jd. xv. 3.

^b Or "who had been his best man." The Biblical narrative refers to "the friend of the bridegroom" (John iii. 29).

^c Josephus omits Samson's interview with his former father-in-law which provoked this outbreak, Jd. xv. 1 f.

Θάμνα, τὴν γενομένην αὐτοῦ γυναῖκα καὶ τοὺς συγγενεῖς ζῶντας κατέπρησαν ὡς αἰτίους τῶν κακῶν γεγονότας.

- 297 (8) Σαμψῶν δὲ πολλοὺς ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἀποκτείνας Αἰτὰν κατώκει, πέτρα δ' ἐστὶν ὄχυρὰ τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς. Παλαιστῖνοι δ' ἐστράτευον ἐπὶ τὴν φυλὴν. τῶν δ' οὐ δικαίως λεγόντων τιμωρίαν αὐτοὺς εἰσπράττεσθαι περὶ τῶν Σαμψῶνος ἀμαρτημάτων φόρους αὐτοῖς¹ τελοῦντας, εἰ βούλονται μὴ ἔχειν αἰτίαν ἔφασαν αὐτοῖς
- 298 ὑποχείριον Σαμψῶνα δοῦναι. οἱ δὲ ἀνεπίκλητοι βουλόμενοι τυγχάνειν παρήσαν ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν τρισχιλίους ὀπλίταις² καὶ καταμεμψάμενοι τῶν εἰς Παλαιστίνους αὐτῷ τετολμημένων ἀνδρας ἅπαντι τῷ γένει τῶν Ἑβραίων συμφορὰν ἐπενευκεῖν δυναμένους, ἤκειν τε λέγοντες ὅπως αὐτὸν λαβόντες ὑποχείριον δῶσιν αὐτοῖς, ἡξίου ἐκοντὶ τοῦθ'
- 299 ὑπομένειν. ὁ δὲ λαβὼν ὄρκους παρ' αὐτῶν μηδὲν τούτων ποιήσειν περισσότερον ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἐχθροῖς ἐγχειρεῖν³ μόνον, καταβὰς ἐκ τῆς πέτρας αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ τῶν φυλετῶν τίθησιν ἐξουσία, κάκεινοι δήσαντες αὐτὸν δυσὶ καλωδίῳς ἤγον παραδοῦναι
- 300 τοῖς Παλαιστῖνοις. καὶ γενομένων κατὰ τι χωρίον, ὃ Σιαγὼν καλεῖται νῦν διὰ τὴν Σαμψῶνος ἀνδραγαθίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενομένην, πάλαι δ' ἦν ἀνώνυμον, οὐκ ἄπωθεν ἐστρατοπεδευκότων τῶν Παλαιστίνων, ἀλλ' ὑπαντῶντων μετὰ χαρᾶς καὶ βοῆς ὡς ἐπὶ κατωρθωμένοις οἷς ἐβούλοντο, διαρρήξας τὰ δεσμὰ Σαμψῶν ἀρπασάμενος ὄνου σιαγὼνα παρὰ ποσὶν

¹ Niese: αὐτοὺς codd.

² τρισχιλιοι ὀπλίται RO.

³ Bekker: ἐγχειρεῖν codd.

her that had been his wife and her kinsfolk alive, as having been the cause of their disasters.

(8) Samson, after slaying multitudes of the Philistines in the plain, then settled at Aeta,^a a rocky stronghold within the tribe of Judah; whereupon the Philistines took the field against that tribe. These pleading that it was unjust to exact punishment for Samson's misdeeds from them that paid them tribute, the Philistines retorted that if they would keep clear of blame they must deliver Samson into their hands. And they, wishing to be above reproach, visited the rock with three thousand men-at-arms, and after roundly rebuking him for his outrageous treatment of the Philistines, people powerful enough to bring ruin upon the whole race of the Hebrews, and telling him that they were come to take and deliver him into their hands, they besought him to submit to this of his own free will. And he, after receiving an oath from them that they would do no more than merely commit him to the hands of the foe, descended from the rock and put himself at the mercy of these representatives of the tribe; and they, having bound him with two cords, led him off to deliver him to the Philistines. Then, when they were come to a spot which to-day is called Jawbone^b by reason of the exploit there performed by Samson but which of old was nameless, the Philistines being encamped not far off and coming to meet them with exultant cries, thinking to have achieved their end, Samson, bursting his bonds asunder and seizing the

His exploit
with the
jawbone.
Jd. xv. 8.

^b Bibl. Lehi = "Jawbone," as translated here and in the LXX (Σιαγών). "Probably the name was originally given to some hill or ridge on account of its resemblance to a jawbone" (Burney, adducing the similar name Ὀνον γνάθος given to a promontory in Laconia).

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οὐσαν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ὥσατο καὶ παίων αὐτοὺς τῇ σιαγόνι¹ κτείνει εἰς χιλίους, τοὺς δὲ ἄλλους τρέπεται ταραχθέντας.

- 301 (9) Σαμψὼν δὲ μείζον ἢ χρὴ ἐπὶ τούτῳ φρονῶν οὐ κατὰ θεοῦ συνεργίαν ἔλεγε τοῦτο συμβῆναι, τὴν δ' ἰδίαν ἀρετὴν ἐπέγραψε τῷ γεγονότι, σιαγόνι² τῶν πολεμίων τοὺς μὲν πεσεῖν τοὺς δ' εἰς φυγὴν
- 302 τραπήναι διὰ τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῦ δέους αὐχῶν. δύψους δ' αὐτὸν ἰσχυροῦ κατασχόντος κατανοῶν ὡς οὐδὲν ἔστιν ἀνθρώπειος ἀρετὴ, τῷ θεῷ πάντα προσεμαρτύρει καὶ καθικέτευε μηδὲν τῶν εἰρημένων πρὸς ὀργὴν λαβόντα τοῖς πολεμίοις αὐτὸν ἐγχειρίσαι, παρασχεῖν δὲ βοήθειαν πρὸς τὸ δεινὸν καὶ ρύσασθαι
- 303 τοῦ κακοῦ. καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἰκετείας ἐπικλασθεῖς ὁ θεὸς πηγὴν κατὰ τινος πέτρας ἀνίησιν ἠδέϊαν καὶ πολλήν, ὅθεν καὶ Σαμψὼν ἐκάλει τὸ χωρίον Σιαγόνα καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτο λέγεται.
- 304 (10) Μετὰ δὲ ταύτην τὴν μάχην Σαμψὼν καταφρονῶν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς Γάζαν ἀφικνεῖται καὶ ἔν τινι τῶν καταγωγίων διέτριβε. μαθόντες δὲ τῶν Γαζαίων οἱ ἄρχοντες τὴν αὐτόθι παρουσίαν αὐτοῦ τὰ πρὸ τῶν πυλῶν ἐνέδραις καταλαμβάνου-
- 305 σιν, ὅπως ἐξιῶν μὴ λάθῃ. Σαμψὼν δέ, οὐ γὰρ λανθάνουσι αὐτὸν ταῦτα μηχανησάμενοι, περὶ μεσοῦσαν ἤδη τὴν νύκτα ἀναστὰς ἐνράσσει ταῖς πύλαις, αὐταῖς τε φλιαῖς καὶ μοχλοῖς ὄση τε ἄλλη περὶ αὐταῖς ἦν ξύλωσις ἀράμενος κατωμαδὸν εἰς τὸ ὑπὲρ Ἐβρώνος ὄρος φέρων κατατίθησι.

¹ τῇ σιαγόνι om. MSP.

² om. ROE.

^a In Judges (xv. 19) En-hakkore ("the spring of him that called"), while Ramath-lehi ("hill of the jawbone") is the

jawbone of an ass that lay at his feet, rushed upon his enemies and smiting them with this weapon slew a thousand of them, routing the rest in dire dismay.

(9) Yet Samson, unduly proud of this feat, did not say that it was God's assistance that had brought it to pass, but ascribed the issue to his own valour, boasting of having with a jawbone prostrated some of his enemies and put the rest to rout through the terror that he inspired. But, being seized with a mighty thirst and recognizing that human valour is a thing of naught, he acknowledged that all was attributable to God and implored Him not, in anger at any words of his, to deliver him into his enemies' hands, but to lend him aid in his dire need and to rescue him from his distress. And God, moved by his supplications, caused a spring of water to well out of a rock, sweet and abundant; whence it was that Samson called that place Jawbone, a name which it bears to this day.^a

The
miraculous
spring.
Jd. xv. 16.

(10) After this combat Samson, scorning the Philistines, came to Gaza and lodged at one of the inns.^b Thereupon the chiefs of the Gazites, informed of his presence in the town, posted ambuscades before the gates to prevent his leaving it without their knowledge. But Samson, not unaware of these schemes, when midnight was come arose, flung himself against the gates, hoisted them—posts, bolts, woodwork and all—upon his shoulders, bore them to the mountain above Hebron^c and there deposited them.

Samson's
escape from
Gaza by
night.
Jd. xvi. 1.

name given to the place where he cast his weapon away (17).

^b Jd. "and saw there an harlot and went in unto her." For the interchange of "harlot" and "innkeeper" see § 8 note.

^c Nearly 40 miles away!

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- 306 (11) Παρέβαινε δ' ἤδη τὰ πάτρια καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 δίαιταν παρεχάρασεν ξενικῶν μιμήσει ἐθισμῶν,
 καὶ τοῦτ' ἀρχὴ αὐτῷ κακοῦ γίνεται· γυναικὸς γὰρ
 ἔταιριζομένης παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἔρασθεῖς
 307 Δαλάλης¹ τοῦνομα συνῆν αὐτῇ. καὶ τῶν Παλαιστί-
 νων οἱ τοῦ κοινοῦ προεστῶτες ἐλθόντες πρὸς αὐτὴν
 πείθουσιν ἐπαγγελίαις μαθεῖν παρὰ τοῦ Σαμφῶνος
 τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἰσχύος, ὑφ' ἧς ἄληπτός ἐστι τοῖς
 ἐχθροῖς. ἡ δὲ παρὰ πότον καὶ τοιαύτην συνουσίαν
 θαυμάζουσα τὰς πράξεις αὐτοῦ ἐτεχνίτευε μαθεῖν,
 308 τίνι τρόπῳ τοσοῦτον² προύχει κατ' ἀρετὴν. ὁ
 δὲ Σαμφῶν, ἔτι γὰρ φρονεῖν ἰσχυρὸς ἦν, ἀντ-
 ηπάτα τὴν Δαλάλην φάμενος,³ εἰ κλήμασιν ἑπτὰ
 δεθείη ἀμπελίνοις ἔτι καὶ περιελεῖσθαι δυναμένοις,
 309 ἀσθενέστερος ἂν πάντων ἔσοιτο. ἡ δὲ τότε μὲν
 ἠσύχασεν, ἀποσημήνασα δὲ τοῖς ἄρχουσι τῶν Πα-
 λαιστίνων ἐνήδρευσε τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἔνδον τινὰς
 καὶ μεθύοντα⁴ κατέδει τοῖς κλήμασι κατὰ τὸ
 310 ἰσχυρότατον, ἔπειτ' ἀνεγείρασα ἐδήλου παρεῖναι
 τινὰς ἐπ' αὐτόν. ὁ δὲ ῥήξας τὰ κλήματα βοηθεῖν
 ὡς ἐπερχομένων αὐτῷ τινῶν ἐπειράτο. καὶ ἡ γυνὴ
 συνεχῶς ὀμιλοῦντος αὐτῇ τοῦ Σαμφῶνος δεινῶς
 ἔχειν ἔλεγεν, εἰ κατ' ἀπιστίαν εὐνοίας τῆς πρὸς
 αὐτόν μὴ λέγει ταῦθ' ἄπερ δεῖται, ὡς οὐ σιγησο-
 μένης ὅσα μὴ γινώσκεσθαι συμφέρειν οἶδεν αὐτῷ.
 311 τοῦ δὲ πάλιν ἀπατῶντος αὐτὴν καὶ φήσαντος ἑπτὰ

¹ v.l. δαδάλης, δαληδῆς, etc.

² M: τοσοῦτων ROSPE. ³ + ὅτι Dindorf.

⁴ dormientem Lat.: pr. καθεύδοντα MSPL.

^a Bibl. Delilah, LXX Δαλειδά.

^b Heb. "with seven fresh bowstrings (or sinews) which have not been dried" (v. 7).

(11) Howbeit he was already transgressing the laws of his forefathers and debasing his own rule of life by the imitation of foreign usages; and this proved the beginning of his disaster. For, being enamoured of a woman who was a harlot among the Philistines, Dalala ^a by name, he consorted with her; and the presidents of the Philistine confederacy came and induced her by large promises to discover from Samson the secret of that strength which rendered him invulnerable to his foes. So she, over their cups and in like intercourse, by admiration of his exploits would craftily seek to discover by what means he had come by such extraordinary valour. But Samson, whose wits were yet robust, countered Dalala's ruse by another, telling her that were he bound with seven vine-shoots still flexible,^b he would be the weakest of men. At the moment she held her peace, but, after reporting this to the lords of the Philistines, she posted some soldiers in ambush within and while Samson was drunken ^c bound him with the shoots as firmly as possible, and then awoke him with the announcement that men were upon him. But he burst the shoots asunder and made ready for defence as though his assailants were coming. And then this woman, with whom Samson was continually consorting, would say that she took it ill that he had not confidence enough in her affection for him to tell her just what she desired, as though she would not conceal what she knew must in his interests not be divulged. But again he de- 11. luded her, telling her that were he bound with seven ^d

Delilah
delivers him
to the
Philistines.
Jd. xvi. 4.

^c Or, according to another reading, "asleep." Drunkenness, not mentioned in Scripture, indicates violation of his Nazirite vow (cf. § 306).

^d So LXX (many mss.): the Heb. mentions no number.

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- κάλοις δεθέντα τὴν ἰσχὺν ἀπολέσειν, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο ποιήσασα οὐδὲν ἤνυσεν, τρίτον ἐνυφῆναι¹ τὰς κόμας αὐτοῦ ἐμήνυσεν. ὡς δ' οὐδὲ τούτου γενομένου τάληθῆς² ἠύρισκετο, δεομένης τελευταῖον ὁ Σαμψῶν, ἔδει γὰρ αὐτὸν συμφορᾷ περιπεσεῖν, χαρίζεσθαι βουλόμενος τῇ Δαλάλῃ “ἐμοῦ,” φησί, “ὁ θεὸς κήδεται καὶ κατὰ τὴν ἐκείνου πρόνοιαν γεννηθεὶς κόμην ταύτην τρέφω παρεγγυήσαντος μὴ ἀποκείρειν τοῦ θεοῦ· τὴν γὰρ ἰσχὺν εἶναί μοι κατὰ τὴν ταύτης αὔξησιν καὶ παραμονήν.” ταῦτα μαθοῦσα καὶ στερήσασα τῆς κόμης αὐτὸν παραδιδοῖ τοῖς πολεμίοις οὐκέτ' ὄντα ἰσχυρὸν ἀμύνασθαι τὴν ἔφοδον αὐτῶν. οἱ δ' ἐκκόψαντες αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς δεδεμένον ἄγειν παρέδωσαν.
- 314 (12) Προϊόντος δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἠὔξετο ἡ κόμη τῷ Σαμψῶνι, καὶ ἐορτῆς οὔσης τοῖς Παλαιστίνιοις δημοτελοῦς καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων καὶ γνωριμωτάτων ἐν ταύτῳ εὐωχουμένων, οἶκος δ' ἦν δύο κιόνων στεγόντων αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄροφον, ἄγεται μεταπεμψαμένων ὁ Σαμψῶν εἰς τὸ συμπόσιον, ὅπως ἐν-
- 315 υβρίσωσιν αὐτῷ παρὰ τὸν πότον. ὁ δὲ δεινότερον τῶν κακῶν ὑπολαμβάνων τὸ μὴ δύνασθαι ὑβριζόμενος ἀμύνασθαι, τὸν χειραγωγοῦντα παῖδα πείθει, προσαναπαύσασθαι χρήζειν εἰπὼν ὑπὸ κόπου, τοῖς
- 316 κίοσιν αὐτὸν ἐγγὺς ἀγαγεῖν. ὡς δὲ ἦκεν, ἐνσεισθεὶς αὐτοῖς ἐπικαταβάλλει τὸν οἶκον ἀνατραπέντων τῶν κιόνων τρισχιλίους ἀνδράσιν, οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον, ἐν αὐτοῖς δὲ καὶ Σαμψῶν. καὶ τὸν μὲν

¹ συνηφῆναι RO.

² ἀληθῆς codd.: ἀληθῆς (ex Lat. verax) Niese.

^a Scripture says that “there were upon the roof [apparently overlooking an open courtyard] three thousand men and 300

cords he would lose his strength ; and when she had tried this too with no success, a third time he advised her to weave his locks into a web. But when even by this experiment the truth was not discovered, at last, at her petitions, Samson—since he must needs fall a victim to calamity—wishing to humour Dalala said : “ I am under God’s care : and under His 17. providence since birth, I nurse these locks, God having enjoined upon me not to cut them, for that my strength is measured by their growth and preservation.” The secret learnt, she reft him of his locks and delivered him to his enemies, being now powerless to repulse their assault ; and they, having put out his eyes, delivered him over to be led away in chains.

(12) But in course of time Samson’s locks grew ; Samson’s end. Jd. xvi. 22. and once when the Philistines were keeping a public festival and their lords and chief notables were feasting together in one place—a hall with two columns supporting its roof—Samson at their summons was led to the banquet, that they might mock at him over their cups. And he, deeming it direr than all his ills to be unable to be avenged of such insults, induced the boy who led him by the hand—telling him that from weariness he needed a stay whereon to rest—to conduct him close to the columns. And when he was come thither, flinging all his weight upon them, he brought down the hall, overturning the columns, upon three thousand men,^a who all perished and among them Samson. Such was his

women,” in addition to all the lords of the Philistines below, Jd. xvi. 27. Some commentators suspect that these three thousand on the roof “are an addition to the original narrative, exaggerating the catastrophe ” (G. F. Moore).

317 τοιοῦτον κατέσχε τέλος ἄρξαντα τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν
 εἴκοσιν ἔτη. θαυμάζειν δὲ ἄξιον τῆς ἀρετῆς καὶ
 τῆς ἰσχύος καὶ τοῦ περὶ τὴν τελευτὴν μεγαλόφρονος
 τὸν ἄνδρα καὶ τῆς ὀργῆς τῆς μέχρι τοῦ τελευτᾶν
 πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους. καὶ τὸ μὲν ὑπὸ γυναικὸς
 ἀλῶναι δεῖ τῇ φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων προσάπτειν
 ἥττονι ἀμαρτημάτων οὔσῃ, μαρτυρεῖν δὲ ἐκείνῳ
 τὴν εἰς τὰ ἄλλα πάντα τῆς ἀρετῆς περιουσίαν. οἱ
 δὲ συγγενεῖς ἀράμενοι τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ θάπτουσιν
 ἐν Σαρασᾶ τῇ πατρίδι μετὰ τῶν συγγενῶν.

318 (ix. 1) Μετὰ δὲ τὴν Σαμφῶνος τελευτὴν προέστη
 τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν Ἡλεῖς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς. ἐπὶ τούτου
 λιμῶ τῆς χώρας κακοπαθούσης αὐτῶν Ἀβιμέλεχος¹
 ἐκ Βηθλέμων, ἔστι δὲ ἡ πόλις αὕτη τῆς Ἰούδα
 φυλῆς, ἀντέχειν τῷ δεινῷ μὴ δυνάμενος τὴν τε
 γυναῖκα Ναάμιν καὶ τοὺς παῖδας τοὺς ἐξ αὐτῆς
 αὐτῷ γεγεννημένους Χελλιῶνα καὶ Μαλαῶνα ἐπ-

319 ἀγόμενος εἰς τὴν Μωαβίτιν μετοικίζεται. καὶ προ-
 χωροῦντων αὐτῷ κατὰ νοῦν τῶν πραγμάτων
 ἄγεται τοῖς υἱοῖς γυναῖκας Μωαβίτιδας Χελλιῶν
 μὲν Ὀρφάν Ῥούθην δὲ Μαλαῶνι. διελθόντων δὲ
 δέκα² ἐτῶν ὃ τε Ἀβιμέλεχος καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν οἱ
 320 παῖδες δι' ὀλίγου τελευτῶσι, καὶ ἡ Ναάμις πικρῶς
 ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι φέρουσα καὶ τὴν ὑπ' ὄψιν³
 τῶν φιλτάτων ἐρημίαν οὐχ ὑπομένουσα, δι' οὗς⁴

¹ Ἐλιμέλεχος L Lat. (et infra).

² decem et octo Lat.

³ om. Lat.

⁴ ed. pr. Lat.: ἦν codd.

^a Jd. xvi. 31 "between Zorah (LXX Σαραά or in one minuscule, as in Josephus, Σαρασά) and Eshtaol, in the burying-place of Manoah his father"; Zorah is the modern *Surah*, some 14 miles due W. of Jerusalem.

^b Bibl. simply "in the days when the judges judged";

end, after governing Israel for twenty years. And it is but right to admire the man for his valour, his strength, and the grandeur of his end, as also for the wrath which he cherished to the last against his enemies. That he let himself be ensnared by a woman must be imputed to human nature which succumbs to sins ; but testimony is due to him for his surpassing excellence in all the rest. His kinsfolk then took up his body and buried him at Sarasa,^a his native place, with his forefathers.

(ix. 1) After the death of Samson, the leader of the Israelites was Eli the high priest. In his days,^b their country was afflicted by a famine, and Abimelech^c of Bethlehem, a city of the tribe of Judah, being unable to withstand this scourge, took with him his wife Naamis^d and the sons whom he had begotten by her, Chellion^e and Malaon,^f and migrated to the land of Moab. His affairs there prospering to his heart's content, he took for his sons^g wives of the women of Moab, for Chellion Orpha^h and for Malaon Ruth. Ten years having passed, Abimelech died, and his sons not long after him ; and Naamis, sorely disheartened at her misfortunes and unable to bear that bereavement, ever before her eyes, in the loss of her dearest ones, for whose sakes she had

The widow Naomi returns to Bethlehem with Ruth. Ruth i. 1.

Josephus infers the date of this episode from the number of generations between Boaz and David (Reinach). One rabbinic tradition identifies Boaz with the judge Ibzan, others make him a contemporary of Deborah.

^a Bibl. Elimelech : the name Abimelech appears also in many mss. of the LXX.

^d Bibl. Naomi (or Noomi).

^e Bibl. Chilion.

^f Bibl. Mahlon (LXX Μααλών).

^g In Ruth i. 3 f. the father's death precedes the sons' marriages.

^h Bibl. Orpah (LXX Ὀρφά).

- καὶ τῆς πατρίδος ἐξεληλύθει, πάλιν εἰς αὐτὴν ἀπηλλάττετο· καὶ γὰρ ἤδη καλῶς τὰ κατ' αὐτὴν
 321 ἐπυνθάνετο χωρεῖν. οὐκ ἔκαρτέρον δὲ διαζευγνύμεναι αὐτῆς αἱ νύμφαι, οὐδὲ παραιτουμένη βουλομένης συνεξορμᾶν πείθειν ἐδύνατο, ἀλλ' ἐγκειμένων εὐξαμένη γάμον εὐτυχέστερον αὐταῖς οὐ διημαρτήκεσαν παισὶ τοῖς αὐτῆς γαμηθεῖσαι καὶ
 322 τῶν ἄλλων ἀγαθῶν κτήσιν, ὅτε τὰ¹ πρὸς αὐτὴν οὕτως ἐστί, μένειν αὐτόθι παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ συµμεταλαμβάνειν αὐτῇ βούλεσθαι πραγμάτων ἀδήλων τὴν πάτριον γῆν καταλιπούσας. ἡ μὲν οὖν Ὀρφὰ μένει, τὴν δὲ Ῥούθην μὴ πεισθεῖσαν ἀπήγαγε κοινωὸν παντὸς τοῦ προστυχόντος γενησομένην.
- 323 (2) Ἐλθοῦσαν δὲ Ῥούθην μετὰ τῆς πενθερᾶς εἰς τὴν Βηθλεέμων Βόαζος² Ἀβιμελέχου συγγενῆς ὧν δέχεται ξενία. καὶ ἡ Ναάμις, προσαγορευόντων αὐτὴν ὀνομασί,³ “δικαιότερον” εἶπε “Μαρὰν ἂν καλοῖητέ⁴ με”. σημαίνει δὲ καθ' Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ναάμις μὲν εὐτυχίαν, μαρὰ δὲ ὀδύνην.
- 324 ἀμήτου δὲ γενομένου⁵ ἐξῆι καλαμησομένη κατὰ συγχώρησιν τῆς πενθερᾶς ἡ Ῥούθη, ὅπως τροφῆς εὐποροῖεν, καὶ εἰς τὸ Βωώζου τυχαίως ἀφικνεῖται χωρίον. παραγενόμενος δὲ Βόαζος μετ' ὀλίγον καὶ θεασάμενος τὴν κόρην ἀνέκρινε τὸν ἀγροκόμον περὶ τῆς παιδός. ὁ δὲ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν παρ' αὐτῆς ἅπαντα προπευσμένος ἐδήλου τῷ δεσπότῃ.

¹ ὅτε (om. τὰ) RO: ὅτι τε τὰ rell.

² Ἀλεξῆς M: Ἀλεξίς Βόζος L.

³ + τῶν πολιτῶν MLE.

⁴ ἂν καλοῖητε Bekker: καλεῖσθαι RO: vocate Lat.: καλώ(ι)ητε rell.

⁵ RO: θυτος rell.

^a In Ruth i. 7 both daughters-in-law actually start with her.

left her country, thought to repair thither again, for she had learnt that all was now going well with it. But her daughters-in-law had not the heart to be parted from her, nor for all her pleading when they were fain to set out with her ^a could she prevail with them ; then, as they urged her yet, she prayed that they might find happier wedlock than that whereof they had been disappointed in marrying her sons, and obtain all blessings beside, but, seeing the case in which she lay, she implored them to remain where they were and not to crave to share her uncertain fortunes in quitting their native land. So Orpha stayed, but, since Ruth would not be persuaded, Naamis took her with her, to be her partner in all that should befall.

(2) Now when Ruth was come with her mother-in-law to the town of Bethlehem, Boaz, being a kinsman of Abimelech, hospitably received them.^b And Naamis, when folk addressed her by that name, said, " More rightly would ye call me Mara "— Naamis in the Hebrew tongue signifying " felicity " and Mara " grief."^c It being now harvest-time, Ruth by permission of her mother-in-law went out to glean, to provide for their sustenance, and by chance came to the ground of Boaz. Boaz arriving a little later and seeing the young woman, questioned the steward of his estate concerning this child ; and he, having just learnt all her story from herself, informed

Reception
of Ruth
by Boaz.
Ruth ii. 1.

i. 19.

ii. 2.

^b This statement, which appears inconsistent with the sequel, and is absent from other Biblical texts, recurs in the Armenian version, which appends to Ruth ii. 1 " et dedit Noomin domum viduitatis habitare in ea." We must suppose that Boaz provided a lodging but did not meet his guests.

^c Naomi = " my delight " : Mara = " bitter."

JOSEPHUS

- 325 ὁ δὲ τῆς περὶ τὴν πενθερὰν εὐνοίας ἄμα καὶ
 μνήμης τοῦ παιδὸς αὐτῆς ᾧ συνώκησεν ἀσπασά-
 μενος καὶ εὐξάμενος αὐτῇ πείραν ἀγαθῶν, καλα-
 μᾶσθαι μὲν αὐτὴν οὐκ ἠξίωσεν θερίζειν δὲ πᾶν ὅ-
 τι καὶ δύναιτο καὶ λαμβάνειν ἐπιτρέπει προστάξας
 τῷ ἀγροκόμῳ μηδὲν αὐτὴν διακωλύειν¹ ἄριστόν
 τε παρέχειν αὐτῇ καὶ ποτόν, ὅποτε σιτίζοι τοὺς
 326 θερίζοντας. Ῥούθη δὲ ἄλφιστα λαβοῦσα παρ'
 αὐτοῦ ἐφύλαξε τῇ ἐκυρᾷ καὶ παρῆν ὀψὲ κομίζουσα
 μετὰ τῶν σταχύων· ἐτετηρήκει δ' αὐτῇ καὶ ἡ
 Ναάμις ἀπομοίρας βρωμάτων τινῶν, οἷς αὐτὴν
 ἐπολυώρουσιν οἱ γειτονεύοντες· διηγεῖται δὲ αὐτῇ
 καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Βοάζου πρὸς αὐτὴν εἰρημένα.
 327 δηλωσάσης δ' ἐκείνης ὡς συγγενῆς ἐστὶ καὶ τάχα
 ἂν δι' εὐσέβειαν² προνοήσειεν αὐτῶν, ἐξῆει πάλιν
 ταῖς ἐχομέναις ἡμέραις ἐπὶ καλάμης συλλογὴν σὺν
 ταῖς Βοάζου θεραπαινίσιν.
- 328 (3) Ἐλθὼν τε μετ' οὐ πολλὰς ἡμέρας καὶ Βοά-
 ζος ἤδη τῆς κριθῆς λελικμημένης, ἐπὶ τῆς ἄλωσ
 ἐκάθευδε. τοῦτο πυθομένη ἡ Ναάμις τεχνᾶται
 παρακατακλίνει τὴν Ῥούθην αὐτῷ· καὶ γὰρ ἔσε-
 σθαι χρηστὸν αὐταῖς ὁμιλήσαντα τῇ παιδί· καὶ
 πέμπει τὴν κόρην ὑπνωσομένην αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῖς
 329 ποσί· ἡ δέ, πρὸς οὐδὲν γὰρ ἀντιλέγειν τῶν ὑπὸ
 τῆς ἐκυρᾶς κελευομένων ὄσιον ἠγεῖτο, παρα-
 γίνεται καὶ παραυτίκα μὲν λανθάνει τὸν Βοάζον
 βαθέως καθυπνωκότα, περιεγερθεὶς δὲ περὶ μέσην
 νύκτα καὶ αἰσθόμενος τῆς ἀνθρώπου παρακατακει-
 330 μένης ἀνέκρινε τίς εἶη. τῆς δ' εἰπούσης τοῦνομα
 καὶ φαμένης ὡς αὐτῆς³ δεσπότην συγχωρεῖν, τότε

¹ +λαμβάνειν ROMSP.

² εὐλάβειαν ROSP.

³ ROE: αὐτὸν tell.

his master. And Boaz, alike for her loyalty to her mother-in-law and for her^a remembrance of that son of hers to whom she had been united, bade her welcome and wished her enjoyment of blessings: he would not have her glean but permitted her to reap and carry away all that she could; while he charged his steward in no wise to hinder her and to provide her with lunch and drink when he fed the reapers. But Ruth, having received of him barley-meal, kept ii. 14, 18. thereof for her mother-in-law and brought it to her, on her return at even, along with her sheaves; while Naamis on her side had reserved for her portions of some food with which attentive neighbours had provided her.^b Ruth also recounted to her mother-in-law what Boaz had said to her. And Naamis having told her that he was a kinsman and might haply for piety's sake take care of them, she went out again on the following days to glean with the handmaids of Boaz.

(3) Not many days later Boaz himself came and, when the winnowing of the barley was done, slept on the threshing-floor. On learning of this, Naamis schemed to bring Ruth to his side, deeming that he would be gracious to them after consorting with the child; so she sent the damsel to sleep at his feet. And she, regarding it as a pious duty in nothing to gainsay the behests of her mother-in-law, repaired thither, and at the moment escaped the eye of Boaz, who was fast asleep; but, awaking towards midnight and becoming aware of the woman lying beside him, he inquired who she was. And she having mentioned her name and prayed him, as her master, to pardon

Boaz and
Ruth in the
threshing-
floor.
Ruth iii. 1.

^a Or perhaps "his"; Naomi's son was Boaz's kinsman as well as Ruth's husband.

^b Amplification.

- μὲν ἡσυχίαν ἄγει, ὄρθριος δὲ πρὶν ἢ τοὺς οἰκέτας ἄρξασθαι κινεῖσθαι πρὸς τὸ ἔργον, περιεγείρας αὐτὴν κελεύει τῶν κριθῶν λαβοῦσαν ὅτι καὶ δύναιτο πορεύεσθαι πρὸς τὴν ἑκυρὰν πρὶν ὀφθῆναι τισιν αὐτόθι κεκοιμημένην, φυλάττεσθαι¹ σῶφρον ὄν² τὴν ἐπὶ τοιούτοις διαβολὴν καὶ μάλιστ' ἐπὶ
- 331 μὴ γεγονόσι. “περὶ μέντοι τοῦ παντὸς οὕτω,” φησὶν, “ἔσται, ἐρωτᾶν³ τὸν ἔγγιστά μου τῷ γένει τυγχάνοντα, εἴ σου χρεία γαμετῆς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ, καὶ λέγοντι μὲν ἀκολουθήσεις ἐκείνῳ, παραιτουμένου δὲ νόμῳ σε συνοικήσουσαν ἄξομαι.”
- 332 (4) Ταῦτα τῇ ἑκυρᾷ δηλωσάσης εὐθυμία κατεῖχεν αὐτὰς ἐν ἐλπίδι τοῦ πρόνοιαν ἔξειν αὐτῶν Βοάζον γενομένης. κακείνος ἤδη μεσοῦσης τῆς ἡμέρας κατελθὼν εἰς τὴν πόλιν τὴν τε γερουσίαν συνῆγε καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος Ῥούθην ἐκάλει καὶ τὸν συγ-
- 333 γενῆ, καὶ παραγενομένου φησὶν. “Ἀβιμελέχου καὶ τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ κλήρων κρατεῖς;” ὁμολογήσαντος δὲ συγχωρούντων τῶν νόμων κατὰ ἀγχιστείαν, “οὐκοῦν,” φησὶν ὁ Βοάζος, “οὐκ ἐξ ἡμισείας δεῖ μεμνησθαι τῶν νόμων, ἀλλὰ πάντα ποιεῖν κατ' αὐτούς. Μαάλου⁴ γὰρ δεῦρ' ἦκει γύναιον, ὅπερ εἰ θέλεις τῶν ἀγρῶν κρατεῖν γαμείν σε δεῖ
- 334 κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.” ὁ δὲ Βοάζῳ καὶ τοῦ κλήρου καὶ τῆς γυναικὸς παρεχώρει συγγενεῖ μὲν ὄντι καὶ αὐτῷ τῶν τετελευτηκότων, εἶναι δὲ καὶ γυναιῖκα

¹ + γὰρ MSPL.

² ὄν conj.

³ om. RO Lat.

⁴ v.l. Μαλλίωνος, Μαλῶνος.

^a Niese's conjecture, σου for μου, is needless: the superlative in τὸν ἔγγιστά μου includes the comparative.

her, he for the time held his peace ; but at day-break, ere his servants began to move to their work, he roused her and bade her take as much of the barley as she could carry and be off to her mother-in-law, before anyone should see that she had slept there, since it was wise to guard against scandal of that kind, and the more so when nothing had passed. "But as concerning the whole matter," said he, "thus shall it be. He that is nearer of kin (to thee) than I,^a must be asked whether he would have thee to wife : if he says yea, thou shalt follow him ; if he declines, I will take thee for my lawful bride."

(4) Ruth having reported this to her mother-in-law, they were well content, in the expectation that Boaz would take them under his care. And he, having towards midday ^b gone down into the city, assembled the elders,^b sent for Ruth and summoned the kinsman also, upon whose coming he said to him, "Art thou the possessor of the heritage of Abimelech and his sons ?" "Yes," he admitted, "the laws cede it to me in virtue of nearness of kin." "Then," said Boaz, "thou oughtest not to remember but one half of those laws, but to do all that they require. Maalon's young wife is come hither : if thou wouldest retain those lands, thou must marry her in accordance with the laws." He, however, renounced both the heritage and the woman to Boaz, who was himself likewise a kinsman of the dead, on the plea that he had a wife and

Marriage of
Boaz and
Ruth : thei
descend-
ants.
Ruth iii. 16
iv. 1.

^b Amplification, like the question addressed to the kinsman below and other details in this narrative. The reference to the *γερονσια*, "council of elders" or "senate," has a parallel in the Targum which says that Boaz came before the court of the Sanhedrin. Scripture says merely "he took ten men of the elders of the city" (iv. 2).

JOSEPHUS

- 335 λέγων αὐτῷ καὶ παιῖδας ἤδη. μαρτυράμενος οὖν ὁ Βόαζος τὴν γερουσίαν ἐκέλευε τῇ γυναικὶ ὑπολῦσαι αὐτὸν προσελθοῦσαν κατὰ τὸν νόμον καὶ πτύειν εἰς τὸ πρόσωπον. γενομένου δὲ τούτου Βόαζος γαμεί τὴν Ῥούθην καὶ γίνεται παιδίον
- 336 αὐτοῖς μετ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἄρρεν. τοῦτο ἡ Ναάμις τιτθενομένη κατὰ συμβουλίαν τῶν γυναικῶν Ὠβήδην ἐκάλεσεν ἐπὶ γηροκομίᾳ τῇ αὐτῆς τραφησόμενον· ὠβήδης γὰρ κατὰ διάλεκτον τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀποσημαίνει δουλεύων. Ὠβήδου δὲ γίνεται¹ Ἰεσσαῖος, τούτου Δαυίδης ὁ βασιλεύσας καὶ παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταλιπὼν τὴν ἡγεμονίαν ἐπὶ μίαν καὶ
- 337 εἴκοσι γενεὰς ἀνδρῶν. τὰ μὲν οὖν κατὰ Ῥούθην ἀναγκαίως διηγησάμην, ἐπιδείξαι βουλόμενος τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ δύναμιν, ὅτι τούτῳ παράγειν ἐφικτόν ἐστιν εἰς ἀξίωμα λαμπρὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐπιτυχόντας, εἰς οἶον ἀνήγαγε καὶ Δαυίδην ἐκ τοιούτων γενόμενον.
- 338 (x. 1) Ἑβραῖοι δὲ τῶν πραγμάτων αὐτοῖς ὑπενεχθέντων πάλιν πόλεμον ἐκφέρουσι Παλαιστίνους διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν· Ἠλεὶ τῷ ἀρχιερεὶ δύο παῖδες
- 339 ἦσαν Ὀφνίης τε καὶ Φινεέσης. οὗτοι καὶ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους ὑβριστὰι γενόμενοι καὶ πρὸς τὸ θεῖον ἀσεβεῖς οὐδενὸς ἀπείχοντο παρανομήματος, καὶ τὰ μὲν ἐφέροντο τῶν γερῶν κατὰ τιμὴν, ἃ δ' ἐλάμβανον αὐτοῖς² ἀρπάγῃς τρόπῳ, γυναικᾶς τε τὰς ἐπὶ θρησκείᾳ παραγινόμενας ὑβριζον φθοραῖς, ταῖς μὲν βίαν προσφέροντες τὰς δὲ δώροις ὑπαγό-

¹ + παῖς RO.

² αὐτοῖς codd.

* Amplification: there is no mention in Scripture of a previous marriage.

children already.^a Boaz therefore, having taken the elders to witness, bade the woman loose the man's shoe, approaching him as the law ordained, and to spit in his face.^b That done, Boaz married Ruth, and a year after a boy was born to them. This infant was nursed by Naamis, who on the counsel of the women called him Obed, because he was to be brought up to be the stay of her old age; for *obed* in the Hebrew tongue signifies "one who serves." Of Obed was born Jesse, and of him David, who became king and bequeathed his dominion to his posterity for one and twenty generations. This story of Ruth I have been constrained to relate, being desirous to show the power of God and how easy it is for Him to promote even ordinary folk to rank so illustrious as that to which he raised David, sprung from such ancestors.

(x. 1) The Hebrews, whose affairs had declined, again made war upon the Philistines, the occasion being on this wise. Eli the high priest had two sons, Hophnies^c and Phinees.^c These, grown both insolent to men and impious to the Divinity, abstained from no iniquity: of the offerings some they carried off as the prizes of office, others they seized in robber fashion; they dishonoured the women who came for worship, doing violence to some and seducing

The iniquity
of Eli's sons.
1 Sam. ii. 12.

ii. 22.

^b This last detail is taken from the law (Deut. xxv. 9; A. iv. 256), but is not mentioned in Ruth, which describes a different ceremony, the giving of his shoe by the purchaser to the seller, as a symbol of exchange. In this case the kinsman should presumably not have been subjected to the humiliating ceremony prescribed by the law of levirate marriage in Deuteronomy, inasmuch as he was not a brother of Ruth's dead husband.

^c Bibl. Hophni, and Phinehas.

JOSEPHUS

- μενοι τυραννίδος δ' οὐθὲν ἀπέλειπεν ὁ βίος αὐτῶν.
- 340 ὃ τε οὖν πατήρ αὐτὸς¹ ἐπὶ τούτοις χαλεπῶς εἶχεν ὅσον οὐδέπω προσδοκῶν ἤξειν ἐκ θεοῦ τιμωρίαν αὐτοῖς ἐπὶ τοῖς πραττομένοις, τό τε πλῆθος ἐδυσφόρει, κάπειδῆ φράζει τὴν ἐσομένην συμφορὰν ὁ θεὸς τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ τῷ τε Ἡλεῖ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφήτῃ παιδὶ τότε² ὄντι, τότε φανερόν ἐπὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς πένθος ἤγε.
- 341 (2) Βούλομαι δὲ τὰ περὶ τοῦ προφήτου πρότερον διεξελθὼν ἔπειθ' οὕτως τὰ περὶ τοὺς Ἡλεῖ παῖδας εἰπεῖν καὶ τὴν δυστυχίαν τὴν τῷ παντὶ λαῷ
- 342 Ἑβραίων γενομένην. Ἀλκάνης Λευίτης ἀνὴρ τῶν ἐν μέσῳ πολιτῶν τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας Ἀραμαθᾶν³ πόλιν κατοικῶν ἐγάμει δύο γυναῖκας Ἄνναν τε καὶ Φενάνναν. ἐκ δὴ ταύτης καὶ παῖδες αὐτῷ γίνονται, τὴν δ' ἑτέραν ἄτεκνον οὔσαν ἀγαπῶν
- 343 διετέλει. ἀφικομένου δὲ μετὰ τῶν γυναικῶν τοῦ Ἀλκάνου εἰς Σιλὼ πόλιν θῦσαι, ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἡ σκηνὴ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐπεπήγει καθὼς προειρήκαμεν, καὶ πάλιν κατὰ τὴν εὐωχίαν νέμοντος μοίρας κρεῶν ταῖς τε γυναῖξί καὶ τοῖς τέκνοις, ἡ Ἄννα θεασαμένη τοὺς τῆς ἑτέρας παῖδας τῇ μητρὶ περικαθισαμένους, εἰς δάκρυνά τε προύπεσε καὶ τῆς ἀπαιδίας αὐτὴν ὠλοφύρετο καὶ τῆς μονώσεως.

¹ αὐτοῖς M: αὐτῶν LE (quorum Lat.).

² MLE: τε rell.: ἔτι Dindorf.

³ Ἰραμαθᾶν ROM: Aramath Lat.: forte l. Ἰραμαθᾶν.

^a The order of words is peculiar: the Greek might be rendered "when God announced to his servants, Eli and Samuel . . . the fate that was in store."

^b For this phrase with regard to the arrangement of the narrative cf. iv. 196.

^c Bibl. Elkanah.

^d 1 Chron. vi. 27 (not stated in Samuel).

others by presents ; in short, their manner of life differed in no whit from a tyranny. And so their father was himself in sore distress thereat, hourly expecting to see them visited by chastisement from God for their misdeeds, and the people were chafing ; and when God announced both to Eli and to Samuel the prophet, then but a child, the fate that was in store for his sons,^a then did Eli openly make mourning over his sons.

(2) But here I would first recount the story of the prophet and then proceed ^b to speak of the fate of Eli's sons and the disaster that befell the whole people of the Hebrews. Alkanes,^c a Levite ^d of the middle classes, of the tribe of Ephraim and an inhabitant of the city of Armatha,^e married two wives, Anna and Phenanna.^f By the latter he had children, but the other, though childless, remained beloved of her husband. Now when Alkanes was come with his wives to the city of Silo to sacrifice—for it was there that the tabernacle of God had been pitched, as we have said before^g—and when thereafter ^h at the banquet he was distributing portions of meat to his wives and children, Anna, beholding the children of the other wife seated around their mother, burst into tears and bewailed her barrenness and lonesome

Eli
announces
to Hannah
the birth of
a son.
1 Sam. i. 1.

^e Bibl. Ramathaim-zophim (LXX Ἀρμαθαίμ Σειφά), another name for Ramah and possibly identical with the N.T. Arimathaea : site disputed.

^f Bibl. Hannah and Peninnah (LXX, like Josephus, Φενάμμα).

^g A. v. 68.

^h πάλιν, probably an Aramaism ; Wellhausen notes that in Mark's Gospel " πάλιν, like Aramaic *tub*, means not only 'again,' but also 'further,' 'thereupon'" (*Einleitung in die drei ersten Evangelien*, ed. 2, pp. 21 f.). There are other indications that this Josephan narrative of the birth of Samuel is drawn from an Aramaic source.

JOSEPHUS

344 καὶ τῆς τάνδρὸς παραμυθίας τῇ λύπῃ κρατήσασα
 εἰς τὴν σκηνην ὥχετο τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύουσα δοῦναι
 γονὴν αὐτῇ καὶ ποιῆσαι μητέρα, ἐπαγγελλομένη
 τὸ πρῶτον αὐτῇ γενησόμενον καθιερώσειν ἐπὶ
 345 ποιησόμενον. διατριβούσης δ' ἐπὶ ταῖς εὐχαῖς
 πολὺν χρόνον Ἡλεῖς ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ
 πρὸ τῆς σκηνης, ὡς παροινούσαν ἐκέλευεν ἀπιέναι.
 τῆς δὲ πιεῖν ὕδωρ φαμένης, λυπουμένης δ' ἐπὶ
 παίδων ἀπορία τὸν θεὸν ἱκετεύειν, θαρσεῖν παρ-
 κελεύετο, παρέξειν αὐτῇ παῖδας τὸν θεὸν κατ-
 αγγέλλων.

346 (3) Παραγενομένη δ' εὐελπις πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα
 τροφήν χαίρουσα προσηνέγκατο, καὶ ἀναστρε-
 ψάντων εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κύειν ἤρξατο καὶ γίνεται
 παιδίον αὐτοῖς, ὃν Σαμούηλον προσαγορεύουσι·
 θεαίτητον ἂν τις εἴποι. παρήσαν οὖν ὑπὲρ τῆς
 τοῦ παιδὸς θύσοντες γενέσεως δεκάτας τ' ἔφερον.
 347 ἀναμνησθεῖσα δ' ἡ γυνὴ τῆς εὐχῆς τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ
 παιδί γεγενημένης παρεδίδου τῷ Ἡλεῖ ἀνατιθεῖσα
 τῷ θεῷ προφήτην γενησόμενον· κόμη τε οὖν αὐτῷ
 ἀνέιτο καὶ ποτὸν ἦν ὕδωρ. καὶ Σαμούηλος μὲν
 ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ διῆγε τρεφόμενος, Ἀλκάνη δ' ἐκ τῆς
 Ἄννας υἱεῖς τε ἄλλοι¹ γίνονται καὶ τρεῖς θυγατέρες.

¹ ἄλλοι om. ROM.

^a A close parallel from a Targum is supplied by Mr. (now Archdeacon) Hunkin, "a woman who begins to bear a first-born," *Journal of Theol. Studies*, xxv. (1924), p. 398, n. 2.

lot. And, her grief proving stronger than her husband's consolation, she went off to the tabernacle, to beseech God to grant her offspring and to make her a mother, promising that her first-born should be consecrated to the service of God and that his manner of life should be unlike that of ordinary men. And as she lingered a long time over her prayers, Eli the high priest, who was seated at the entrance of the tabernacle, taking her for a drunkard, bade her begone. But, on her replying that she had drunk but water and that it was for grief at the lack of children that she was making supplication to God, he exhorted her to be of good cheer, announcing that God would grant her children.

(3) Repairing thus in good hope to her husband, she took her food with gladness, and on their return to their native place she began to conceive ^a; and an infant was born to them, whom they called Samuel, as one might say "asked of God." ^b They came therefore again to offer sacrifices for the birth of the child and brought their tithes also. ^c And the woman, mindful of the vow which she had made concerning the child, delivered him to Eli, dedicating him to God to become a prophet; so his locks were left to grow and his drink was water. Thus Samuel lived and was brought up in the sanctuary, but Alkanes had by Anna yet other sons and three daughters. ^d

Birth and
dedication
of Samuel.
1 Sam. i. 18

ii. 21

^b This biblical etymology (1 Sam. i. 20) is now abandoned: "Name of God" is the probable meaning.

^c The offerings are specified in 1 Sam. i. 24: for the tithes *cf.* the addition in LXX to v. 21, *καὶ πᾶσας τὰς δεκάτας τῆς γῆς αὐτοῦ.*

^d Bibl. "three sons and two daughters": possibly a figure γ' (=3) has fallen out of the text of Josephus before *γίνονται.*

JOSEPHUS

- 348 (4) Σαμουήλος δὲ πεπληρωκῶς ἔτος ἤδη δωδέκατον προεφήτευε. καὶ ποτε κοιμώμενον ὀνομαστικῶς ἐκάλεσεν ὁ θεός· ὁ δὲ νομίσας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως πεφωνῆσθαι παραγίνεται πρὸς αὐτόν. οὐ φαινομένου δὲ καλέσαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως ὁ θεὸς εἰς τρεῖς τοῦτο
 349 ποιεῖ. καὶ Ἡλεῖς διαναγασθεῖς¹ φησι πρὸς αὐτόν, “ ἄλλ’ ἐγὼ μὲν, Σαμουήλε, σιγὴν ὡς καὶ τὸ πρὶν ἤγον, θεὸς δ’ ἐστὶν ὁ καλῶν, σήμαινέ τε² πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι παρατυγχάνω.” καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ φθεγγασμένου πάλιν ἀκούσας ἡξίου λαλεῖν ἐπὶ τοῖς χρωμένοις· οὐ γὰρ ὑστερήσειν αὐτόν ἐφ’ οἷς ἂν
 350 θελήσειε διακονίας. καὶ ὁ θεός “ ἐπεὶ,” φησί, “ παρατυγχάνεις, μάνθανε συμφορὰν Ἰσραηλίταις ἐσομένην λόγου μείζονα καὶ πίστεως τοῖς παρατυγχάνουσι, καὶ τοὺς Ἡλεῖ δὲ παῖδας ἡμέρα μιᾷ τεθνηξομένους καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην μετελευσομένην εἰς τὴν Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκίαν· Ἡλεῖς γὰρ τῆς ἐμῆς θεραπείας μᾶλλον τοὺς υἱοὺς καὶ παρὰ τὸ συμ-
 351 φέρον αὐτοῖς ἠγάπησε.” ταῦτα βιασάμενος ὄρκους εἰπεῖν αὐτῷ τὸν προφήτην Ἡλεῖς, οὐ γὰρ ἐβούλετο λυπεῖν αὐτόν λέγων, ἔτι μᾶλλον βεβαιωτέραν εἶχε τὴν προσδοκίαν τῆς τῶν τέκνων ἀπωλείας. Σαμουήλου δὲ ἠύξετο ἐπὶ πλέον ἢ δόξα πάντων ὧν προεφήτευσεν ἀληθινῶν βλεπομένων.
- 352 (xi. 1) Κατὰ τοῦτον δὴ τὸν καιρὸν³ Παλαιστῖνοι

¹ διυπνισθεῖς SPL.

² Niese (ex RO ἐσήμαινέ τε): ἀλλὰ σήμαινε rell.

³ + καὶ ROM.

^a Age not mentioned in Scripture.

^b Greek “speak upon (*i.e.* “concerning”) His oracles,” again suggesting a Semitic original; the Hebrew use of *dibber ‘al* is exactly parallel.

(4) Samuel had now completed his twelfth year ^a when he began to act as a prophet. And one night as he slept God called him by name; but he, supposing that he had been summoned by the high priest, went off to him. But the high priest replied that he had not called him, and God did this thing thrice. Then Eli, enlightened, said to him, "Nay, Samuel, I held my peace even as before: it is God that calleth thee. Say then to Him, Here am I." So, when God spake again, Samuel hearing Him besought Him to speak ^b His oracles, for he would not fail to serve Him in whatsoever He might desire. And God said, "Since thou art there, learn that a calamity will befall the Israelites passing the speech or belief of them that witness it, ^c aye and that the sons of Eli shall die on the selfsame day and that the priesthood shall pass to the house of Eleazar. ^d For Eli hath loved his sons more dearly than my worship, and not to their welfare." All this Eli constrained the prophet by oath to reveal to him—for Samuel was loth to grieve him by telling it—and he now awaited with yet more certainty than before the loss of his children. But the renown of Samuel increased more and more, since all that he prophesied was seen to come true.

^a God's revelation to Samuel. 1 Sam. iii. 2

^d For ii. 29.

^e All this iii. 15.

(xi. 1) This then was the time when the Philis- ^{Victory of the}

^c "Those on the spot" is the usual sense of the verb in Josephus and it has been so used twice just above ("Here am I," "thou art there"); others here render "anyone" ("any chance persons").

^d Cf. 1 Sam. ii. 30 ff.: the prophecy there made to Eli himself was, according to Scripture, fulfilled under king Solomon, when Abiathar of the house of Ithamar was replaced by Zadok of the house of Eleazar (1 Kings ii. 27, 35; A. viii. 11).

JOSEPHUS

στρατεύσαντες ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατοπεδεύονται κατὰ πόλιν Ἀμφεκᾶν, δεξαμένων δ' ἐξ ὀλίγου τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν συνήεσαν εἰς τὴν ἐχομένην καὶ νικῶσιν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κτείνουσι μὲν τῶν Ἑβραίων εἰς τετρακισχιλίους, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν πλήθος συνδιώκουσιν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

- 353 (2) Δείσαντες δὲ περὶ τῶν ὄλων Ἑβραῖοι¹ πέμπουσιν ὡς τὴν γερουσίαν καὶ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τὴν κιβωτὸν τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύοντες κομίζειν, ἵνα παρούσης αὐτῆς παρατασσόμενοι κρατῶσι τῶν πολεμίων, ἀγνοοῦντες ὅτι μείζων ἐστὶν ὁ καταψηφισάμενος αὐτῶν τὴν συμφορὰν τῆς κιβωτοῦ, δι' ὃν καὶ ταύ-
- 354 τὴν² συνέβαινε εἶναι. παρῆν τε οὖν ἡ κιβωτὸς καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῖς ἐπιστείλαντος, εἰ ληφθείσης τῆς κιβωτοῦ ζῆν ἐθέλουσιν,³ εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῶ μὴ παραγίνεσθαι. Φινεέσης δὲ ἤδη καὶ ἱεράτο, τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶ
- 355 παρακεχωρηκότος διὰ τὸ γῆρας. θάρσος οὖν ἐπιγίνεται πολὺ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ὡς διὰ τὴν ἄφιξιν τῆς κιβωτοῦ περιεσομένοις τῶν πολεμίων, κατεπλήττοντο δὲ οἱ πολέμοι δεδιότες τὴν παρουσίαν τῆς κιβωτοῦ τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις. ταῖς μέντοι γε ἑκατέρων προσδοκίαις οὐχ ὅμοιον ἀπήντησε τὸ
- 356 ἔργον, ἀλλὰ συμβολῆς γενομένης ἦν μὲν ἠλπίζον

¹ RO: pr. οἱ rell.

² + ἐν τιμῇ SP.

³ ἐθέλησουσιν SP.

^a Bibl. Aphek: in the plain of Sharon, perhaps the modern *el Mejdel*.

tines, taking the field against the Israelites, pitched their camp over against the city of Amphelas.^a The Israelites having hastily confronted them, the armies met on the following day, and the Philistines were victorious, slaying some four thousand of the Hebrews and pursuing the remainder of the host to their camp.

Philistines.
1 Sam. iv. 1

(2) Fearing a complete disaster, the Hebrews sent word to the council of elders^b and to the high priest to bring the ark of God, in order that, through its presence in their ranks, they might overcome their enemies, ignorant that He who had decreed their discomfiture was mightier than the ark, seeing that it was to Him indeed that it owed its being.^c And so the ark arrived, and with it the sons of the high priest, having received injunctions from their father, if they wished to survive the capture of the ark, not to venture into his sight. Phinees was already acting as high priest, his father having made way for him by reason of old age.^d Confidence then mightily revived among the Hebrews, who hoped through the coming of the ark to get the better of their enemies, while the enemy were in consternation, dreading that presence of the ark among the Israelites. Howbeit, the event did not answer to the expectations of either of them, but when the clash

Further
defeat of the
Hebrews
and capture
of the ark.
1 Sam. iv. 3

^b In scripture the elders at the camp suggest that the ark be brought from Shiloh.

^c Or, according to another reading, "for His sake that it was held in veneration."

^d Amplification (along with the father's injunctions to his sons). Rabbinic tradition also states that Phinehas officiated as High Priest in the lifetime of Eli. The latter's blindness (1 Sam. iii. 3) would have disqualified him from office according to Jewish law (Lev. xxi. 18, Josephus, *B.J.* i. 270).

JOSEPHUS

νίκην Ἑβραῖοι τῶν Παλαιστίνων αὕτη γίνεται, ἦν δ' ἐφοβοῦντο ἦταν οὗτοι, ταύτην Ἑβραῖοι παθόντες ἔγνωσαν αὐτοὺς μάτην ἐπὶ τῇ κιβωτῷ τεθαρσηκότας· ἐτράπησάν τε γὰρ εὐθὺς εἰς χεῖρας ἔλθόντες τῶν πολεμίων καὶ ἀπέβαλον εἰς τρισμυρίους, ἐν οἷς ἔπεσον καὶ οἱ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως υἱεῖς, ἧ τε κιβωτὸς ἦγετο πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων.

357 (3) Ἀπαγγελθείσης δὲ τῆς ἥττης εἰς τὴν Σιλῶ καὶ τῆς αἰχμαλωσίας τῆς κιβωτοῦ, Βενιαμίτης γάρ τις αὐτοῖς ἄγγελος ἀφικνεῖται νεανίας παρατετευχῶς τῷ γεγονότι, πένθους ἀνεπλήσθη πᾶσα
358 ἡ πόλις. καὶ Ἥλεις ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς, ἐκαθέζετο γὰρ καθ' ἑτέρας τῶν πυλῶν ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ θρόνου, ἀκούσας οἰμωγῆς καὶ νομίσας νεώτερόν τι πεπρᾶχθαι περὶ τοὺς οἰκείους καὶ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν νεανίαν, ὡς ἔγνω τὰ κατὰ τὴν μάχην, ῥάων ἦν ἐπὶ τε τοῖς παισὶ καὶ τοῖς συνενηνεγμένοις¹ περὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον ὡς ἂν προεγνωκῶς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸ συμβησόμενον καὶ προαπηγγελκῶς· συνέχει² γὰρ ἱκανῶς³ τὰ παρὰ τὴν⁴ προσδοκίαν συντυχόντα τῶν
359 δεινῶν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤκουσεν ἠχμαλωτίσθαι πρὸς τῶν πολεμίων, ὑπὸ τοῦ παρ' ἐλπίδας αὐτῷ τοῦτο προσπεσεῖν περιαλγῆσας ἀποκυλισθεῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου τελευτᾶ, ὀκτῶ καὶ ἐνενήκοντα βιώσας ἔτη τὰ πάντα καὶ τούτων τὰ⁵ τεσσαράκοντα κατασχὼν τὴν ἀρχήν.

360 (4) Θνήσκει δὲ κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν ἡμέραν καὶ ἡ Φινεέσου τοῦ παιδὸς γυνὴ μὴ καρτερήσασα ζῆν ἐπὶ τῇ τάνδρὸς δυστυχία. κούση μὲν αὐτῇ

¹ Text doubtful: ἐπὶ τῷ τοῖς παισὶ τοῖς αὐτοῦ συνενηνεγμένοις Niese.

² confundunt Lat.: συγγεί Naber.

³ ἀκριβῶς ROE.

⁴ τὰ κατὰ OE: τὰ R.

⁵ τὰ om. ROE.

came, that victory for which the Hebrews hoped went to the Philistines, and that defeat which these feared was sustained by the Hebrews, who learnt that their trust in the ark had been in vain. For soon as ever they closed with the enemy they were routed and lost some thirty thousand men, among the fallen being the sons of the high priest; and the ark was carried off by the énemy.

(3) When the defeat and the capture of the ark were reported in Silo—the news was brought by a young Benjamite who had been present at the action—the whole city was filled with lamentation. And Eli the high priest, who was sitting at one of the two gates on a lofty seat, hearing the wails and surmising that some grave disaster had befallen his offspring, sent for the young man; and when he learnt the issue of the battle, he bore with moderate composure the fate of his sons and that which had happened to the army, seeing that he had known beforehand from God and had forwarned them of that which was to come, for men are affected most by those shocks that fall unexpectedly. But when he heard moreover that the ark had been captured by the enemy, in an agony of grief at this unlooked for tidings, he tumbled from his seat and expired, having lived ninety and eight years in all and for forty ^a of them held supreme power.

Death of Eli.
1 Sam. iv. 12.

15.
18.

(4) That same day died also the wife of his son Phinees, having not the strength to survive her husband's misfortune. She was indeed with child

Death of
the wife of
Phinehas.
1 Sam. iv. 19.

^a So Heb. and some MSS. of LXX: the majority of the MSS. of the Greek Bible read "twenty."

JOSEPHUS

προσηγγέλη τὸ περὶ τὸν ἄνδρα πάθος, τίκτει δ' ἑπταμηνιαῖον παῖδα, ὃν καὶ ζήσαντα Ἰωχάβην¹ προσηγόρευσαν, σημαίνει δὲ ἀδοξίαν τὸ ὄνομα, διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν δύσκειαν τότε τῷ στρατῷ.

- 361 (5) Ἦρξε δὲ πρῶτος Ἡλείς Ἰθαμάρου τῆς ἑτέρου τῶν Ἀαρῶνος υἱῶν οἰκίας· ἡ γὰρ Ἐλεαζάρου οἰκία τὸ πρῶτον ἱερᾶτο παῖς παρὰ πατρὸς ἐπιδεχόμενοι τὴν τιμὴν, ἐκεῖνός τε Φινεέση τῷ
362 παιδί αὐτοῦ παραδίδωσι, μεθ' ὃν Ἀβιεζέρης υἱὸς ὢν αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμὴν παραλαβὼν παιδί αὐτοῦ Βόκκι τοῦνομα αὐτὴν κατέλιπε, παρ' οὗ διεδέξατο Ὀζις υἱὸς ὢν, μεθ' ὃν Ἡλείς ἔσχε τὴν ἱερωσύνην, περὶ οὗ νῦν ὁ λόγος, καὶ τὸ γένος τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τῶν κατὰ τὴν τοῦ² Σολόμωνος βασιλείαν καιρῶν. τότε δὲ οἱ Ἐλεαζάρου πάλιν αὐτὴν ἀπέλαβον.

¹ v.l. Ἰωαχάβην, Ἰαχώβην etc.

² τοῦ om. MSPLÉ.

° Unscriptural detail. Rabbinic tradition includes Samuel but not Ichabod, among seven months' children.

° Bibl. I-chabod (= "no glory").

when she was told of his fate, and she gave birth to a seven months' ^a son; and him, since he lived, they called Jochabes ^b (a name signifying "ingloriousness") because of the ignominy that then befell the army.

(5) Eli was the first to bear rule of the house of Ithamar, ^c the second ^d of Aaron's sons; for the house of Eleazar held the high priesthood at the first, the dignity descending from father to son. Eleazar transmitted it to Phinees his son, after whom Abiezer ^e his son received it, leaving it to his son, named Bokki, ^f from whom Ozis ^g his son inherited it; it was after him that Eli, of whom we have been speaking, held the priesthood, as also his posterity down to the times of the reign of Solomon. Then the descendants of Eleazar once more recovered it.

Succession
of the high
priests.

1 Chron.
vi. 4 f.

Cf. 1 Kings
ii. 27, 35.

^a Based not on Scripture, but on tradition (see M. Weill's note).

^d Gr. "one of two." Of the four sons of Aaron—Nadab, Abihu, Eleazar and Ithamar—the first two died young (1 Chron. xxiv. 1 f.).

^e Bibl. Abishua (1 Chron. vi. 4).

^f Bibl. Bukki.

^g Bibl. Uzzi.

ΒΙΒΛΙΟΝ Σ

(i. 1) Λαβόντες δ' οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τὴν τῶν πολεμίων κιβωτὸν αἰχμάλωτον, ὡς προειρήκαμεν μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν, εἰς Ἄζωτον ἐκόμισαν πόλιν καὶ παρὰ τὸν αὐτῶν θεὸν ὥσπερ τι λάφυρον, Δαγῶν
 2 δ' οὗτος ἐκαλεῖτο, τιθέασι. τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πάντες ὑπὸ τὴν τῆς ἡμέρας ἀρχὴν εἰσιόντες εἰς τὸν ναὸν προσκυνῆσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐπιτυγχάνουσι αὐτῷ τοῦτο ποιοῦντι τὴν κιβωτόν· ἔκειτο γὰρ¹ ἀποπεπτωκῶς τῆς βάσεως, ἐφ' ἧς ἐστὼς διετέλει· καὶ βαστάσαντες πάλιν ἐφιστᾶσι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ ταύτης, δυσφορήσαντες ἐπὶ τῷ γεγεννημένῳ. πολλάκις δὲ φοιτῶντες παρὰ τὸν Δαγῶν καὶ καταλαμβάνοντες ὁμοίως ἐπὶ τοῦ προσκυνούντος τὴν κιβωτὸν σχήματος κείμενον, ἐν ἀπορίᾳ δεινῇ καὶ συγχύσει
 3 καθίσταντο. καὶ τελευταῖον ἀπέσκηψεν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀζωτίων πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώραν αὐτῶν φθορὰν τὸ θεῖον καὶ νόσον· ἀπέθνησκον γὰρ ὑπὸ δυσεντερίας, πάθους χαλεποῦ καὶ τὴν ἀναίρεσιν ὀξυτάτην ἐπιφέροντος πρὶν ἢ τὴν ψυχὴν αὐτοῖς εὐθανάτως ἀπολυθῆναι τοῦ σώματος, τὰ ἐντὸς ἀναφέροντες² διαβεβρωμένα καὶ παντοίως ὑπὸ τῆς νόσου διεφθαρμένα· τὰ δ' ἐπὶ τῆς χώρας μυῶν πλήθος

¹ E: + ἀπ' αὐτῆς SP: + ἐπ' αὐτῆς rell.

² + ἐξεμοῦντες codd. (gloss).

BOOK VI

(i. 1) THE Philistines, having captured their enemies' ark, as we have said a while ago, carried it to the city of Azotus ^a and placed it as a trophy beside their own god, who was called Dagon. But on the morrow, when all at break of day entered the temple to adore their god, they found him doing the like to the ark ; for he lay prostrate, having fallen from the pedestal whereon he had always stood. So they lifted him and set him again thereon, sore distressed at what had passed. But when oft-times ^b visiting Dagon they ever found him in a like posture of prostration before the ark, they were plunged into dire perplexity and dismay. And in the end the Deity launched upon the city of the Azotians and upon their country destruction and disease. For they died of dysentery, ^c a grievous malady and inflicting most rapid dissolution, or ever their soul by blessed death was parted from the body, for they brought up their entrails all consumed and in every way corrupted by the disease. As for what was on the land, a swarm of

The ark in
Philistia
and the
plagues
arising
therefrom.
1 Sam. v. 1.

v. 6 LXX.

^a The Greek (LXX) name for the Heb. Ashdod.

^b The Bible mentions only a second visit, adding details on the shattering of the image.

^c The word used in Scripture probably means "plague boils."

JOSEPHUS

- ἀνελθὸν¹ κατέβλαψε μήτε φυτῶν μήτε καρπῶν
 4 ἀποσχόμενον. ἐν δὴ τούτοις ὄντες τοῖς κακοῖς
 οἱ Ἀζώτιοι καὶ πρὸς τὰς συμφορὰς ἀντέχειν οὐ
 δυνάμενοι συνῆκαν ἐκ τῆς κιβωτοῦ ταύτας αὐτοῖς
 ἀνασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν νίκην καὶ τὴν ταύτης αἰχμαλω-
 σίαν οὐκ ἐπ' ἀγαθῶ γεγενημένην. πέμπουσιν οὖν
 πρὸς τοὺς Ἀσκαλωνίτας ἀξιοῦντες τὴν κιβωτὸν
 5 αὐτοὺς παρὰ σφᾶς δέχεσθαι. τοῖς δὲ οὐκ ἀηδῆς
 ἢ τῶν Ἀζωτίων δέησις προσέπεσεν, ἀλλ' ἐπι-
 νεύουσι μὲν αὐτοῖς τὴν χάριν, λαβόντες δὲ τὴν
 κιβωτὸν ἐν τοῖς ὁμοίοις δεινοῖς κατέστησαν· συνεξ-
 εκόμισε γὰρ αὐτῇ τὰ τῶν Ἀζωτίων ἢ κιβωτὸς
 πάθη πρὸς τοὺς ἀπ' ἐκείνων αὐτὴν δεχομένους· καὶ
 πρὸς ἄλλους παρ' αὐτῶν ἀποπέμπουσιν Ἀσκαλω-
 6 νῖται. μένει δ' οὐδὲ παρ' ἐκείνοις· ὑπὸ γὰρ τῶν
 αὐτῶν παθῶν ἐλαυνόμενοι πρὸς τὰς ἐχομένας
 ἀπολύουσι πόλεις. καὶ τοῦτον ἐκπεριέρχεται τὸν
 τρόπον τὰς πέντε τῶν Παλαιστίνων πόλεις ἢ
 κιβωτὸς ὥσπερ δασμὸν ἀπαιτοῦσα παρ' ἐκάστης
 τοῦ πρὸς αὐτὰς ἐλθεῖν ἂ δι' αὐτὴν ἔπασχον.
 7 (2) Ἀπειρηκότες δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς οἱ πεπειρα-
 μένοι καὶ τοῖς ἀκούουσιν αὐτὰ διδασκαλία γινό-
 μενοι τοῦ μὴ προσδέξασθαι τὴν κιβωτὸν ποτε πρὸς
 αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τοιούτῳ μισθῶ καὶ τέλει, τὸ λοιπὸν
 ἐζήτουν μηχανὴν καὶ πόρον ἀπαλλαγῆς αὐτῆς.
 8 καὶ συνελθόντες οἱ ἐκ τῶν πέντε πόλεων ἄρχοντες,
 Γίττης καὶ Ἀκκάρων καὶ Ἀσκάλωνος ἔτι δὲ

¹ Lat.: + ἐπὶ (τὰ ἐπὶ M, ἀπὸ E, ἐκ SP) τῆς γῆς codd.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 3-8

mice,^a coming up from beneath, ravaged it all, sparing neither plant nor fruit. Being, then, in this evil plight and powerless to withstand their calamities, the Azotians understood that it was from the ark that they arose and that their victory and the capture of this trophy had not been for their welfare. They therefore sent to the men of Ascalon^b and begged them to receive the ark into their keeping. And these, listening not unwillingly to the request of the Azotians, consented to do them this service; but no sooner had they taken the ark than they found themselves in the like woes, for the ark carried along with it the plagues of the Azotians to those who received it from their hands. So the Ascalonites rid themselves of it, sending it off to others. But neither did it abide with these, for, being beset by the same sufferings, they dismissed it to the neighbouring cities. And on this wise the ark went the round of the five cities of the Philistines, exacting from each, as it were toll for its visit to them, the ills which it caused them to suffer.

(2) Exhausted by these miseries, the victims, whose fate was becoming a lesson to all who heard of it never to receive this ark among them at such a meed and price, henceforth sought ways and means to get rid of it. So the lords of the five cities—Gitta, Akkaron, Ascalon, along with Gaza and Azotus—

Deliberation and decision of the Philistines. Cf. 1 Sam. vi. 1.

^a Josephus agrees with the LXX in mentioning the mice at this point: the Hebrew text only alludes to them later (vi. 4 f.).

^b In Scripture, after a meeting of the lords of the Philistines, the ark is sent first to Gath and then to Ekron (LXX Ascalon).

JOSEPHUS

Γάζης καὶ Ἀζώτου, ἐσκόπουν τί δεῖ ποιεῖν. καὶ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐδόκει τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀποπέμπειν τοῖς οἰκείοις, ὡς ὑπερεκδικοῦντος αὐτὴν τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ συνεπιδημησάντων αὐτῇ τῶν δεινῶν διὰ τοῦτο καὶ συνεισβαλόντων μετ' ἐκείνης εἰς τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν· ἦσαν δὲ οἱ λέγοντες τοῦτο μὲν μὴ ποιεῖν 9 μηδ' ἐξαπατᾶσθαι τὴν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν εἰς ἐκείνην ἀναφέροντας· οὐ γὰρ ταύτην εἶναι τὴν δύναμιν αὐτῇ¹ καὶ τὴν ἰσχύν· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ποτ' αὐτῆς κηδομένου τοῦ θεοῦ ὑποχείριον ἀνθρώποις γενέσθαι. ἡσυχάζειν δὲ καὶ πράως ἔχειν ἐπὶ τοῖς συμβεβηκόσι παρήνουν, αἰτίαν τούτων οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ μόνην λογιζομένους τὴν φύσιν, ἢ καὶ σώμασι καὶ γῆ καὶ φυτοῖς καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς συνεστῶσι κατὰ χρόνων περιόδους τίκει τοιαύτας μεταβολάς.

10 νικᾷ δὲ τὰς προειρημένας γνώμας ἀνδρῶν ἔν τε τοῖς ἐπάνω χρόνοις συνέσει καὶ φρονήσει διαφέρειν² πεπιστευμένων συμβουλίᾳ καὶ τότε μάλιστα δοξάντων ἄρμοζόντως λέγειν τοῖς παροῦσιν, οἱ μῆτ' ἀποπέμπειν ἔφασαν τὴν κιβωτὸν μήτε κατασχεῖν, ἀλλὰ πέντε μὲν ἀνδριάντας ὑπὲρ ἐκάστης πόλεως χρυσοῦς ἀνθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ χαριστήριον, ὅτι προενόησεν αὐτῶν τῆς σωτηρίας καὶ κατέσχεν ἔν τῷ βίῳ διωκομένους ἐξ αὐτοῦ παθήμασιν, οἷς οὐκέτι ἦν ἀντιβλέψαι, τοσοῦτους δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν μῦας χρυσοῦς τοῖς καταμεμηθεῖσιν αὐτῶν

¹ ex Lat. Hudson: ὑγιῆ codd.

² om. ROM.

* In Scripture (vi. 2) the Philistines summon "the priests and the diviners," who propose the course which is followed. The meeting described in Josephus, with the views of the three parties, is an invention of the "Sophoclean" assistant: for a similar conflict of opinions cf. *A.* iii. 96 ff., where, as 328

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 8-10

met to deliberate what they ought to do.^a Their first resolution was to send the ark back to its own people, inasmuch as God was championing its cause and that was why these horrors had accompanied it and burst along with it into their cities. But there were others who said that they should not do thus nor be deluded into attributing the cause of their misfortunes to the ark: it possessed no such power and might, for, were it under the care of God, it would never have fallen into the hands of men. Their advice was to sit still and to bear these accidents with equanimity, accounting their cause to be no other than nature herself, who periodically produces such changes in men's bodies, in earth, and in plants and all the products of earth. However, both these proposals were defeated by the counsel of men who in times past had obtained credit for superior intelligence and sagacity, and who now above all seemed to say just what befitted the occasion. Their verdict was neither to send back the ark nor to detain it, but to dedicate to God five images^b of gold, ⁴ one on behalf of each city, as a thank-offering^c to Him for His care for their salvation and for having kept them in the land of the living when they were like to be harried out of it by plagues which they could no longer face, and withal as many golden mice like to those that had overrun and ruined their here (§ 9), one party is for retaining composure (*πρᾶως ἔχειν*). This assistant's love of trichotomy extends to details, e.g. the *τρίπους* (§ 11) and the division of the 5 cities into 3+2 by the insertion of *ἔτι δὲ* (§ 8).

^b Statuettes in human form: bibl. "tumours" or rather "boils," LXX *ἔδρας* (models of the *anus*, as symbols of the plague).

^c In Scripture as a "guilt-offering" (vi. 3), in compensation for the wrong done to the ark.

JOSEPHUS

- 11 καὶ διαφθείρασι τὴν χώραν ἐμφερεῖς· ἔπειτα βαλόντας εἰς γλωσσόκομον αὐτοὺς καὶ θέντας ἐπὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν, ἄμαξαν αὐτῇ καινὴν κατασκευάσαι, καὶ βόας ὑποζεύξαντας ἀρτιτόκους τὰς μὲν πόρτις ἐγκλείσαι καὶ κατασχεῖν, μὴ ταῖς μητράσιν ἐμποδῶν ἐπόμεναι γένωνται, πόθω δ' αὐτῶν ὀξυτέραν ποιῶνται τὴν πορείαν· ἐκείνας δ' ἐξελάσαντας τὴν κιβωτὸν φερούσας ἐπὶ τριόδου καταλιπεῖν αὐταῖς ἐπιτρέψαντας ἢ βούλονται τῶν
- 12 ὁδῶν ἀπελθεῖν· κἄν μὲν τὴν Ἑβραίων ἀπίωσι καὶ τὴν τούτων χώραν ἀναβαίνωσι, ὑπολαμβάνειν τὴν κιβωτὸν αἰτίαν τῶν κακῶν, “ἂν δὲ ἄλλην τράπωνται, μεταδιώξωμεν αὐτήν,” ἔφασαν, “μαθόντες ὅτι μηδεμίαν ἰσχὺν τοιαύτην ἔχει.”
- 13 (3) Ἐκρῖναν δ' αὐτὰ καλῶς εἰρήσθαι καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις εὐθύς τὴν γνώμην ἐκύρωσαν. καὶ ποιήσαντες μὲν τὰ προειρημένα προάγουσι τὴν ἄμαξαν ἐπὶ τὴν τρίοδον καὶ καταλιπόντες ἀνεχώρησαν, τῶν δὲ βοῶν τὴν ὀρθὴν ὁδὸν ὥσπερ ἡγουμένου τινὸς αὐταῖς ἀπιουσῶν, ἠκολούθουν οἱ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες, ποῦ ποτε στήσονται καὶ πρὸς τίνας
- 14 ἤξουσι βουλόμενοι μαθεῖν. κώμη δὲ τίς ἐστι τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς Βῆθης¹ ὄνομα· εἰς ταύτην ἀφικνουῦνται αἱ βόες, καὶ πεδίου μεγάλου καὶ καλοῦ τὴν πορείαν αὐτῶν ἐκδεξαμένου παύονται προσωτέρω χωρεῖν, στήσασαι τὴν ἄμαξαν αὐτόθι. θέα δὲ ἦν τοῖς ἐν τῇ κώμῃ καὶ περιχαρεῖς ἐγένοντο· θέρους γὰρ ὄρα πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν συγκομιδὴν τῶν καρπῶν

¹ Βηθσάμη SP, Bethsamis Lat.

^a Bibl. Beth-shemesh (LXX Βαιθσάμης), modern 'Ain Shems, on the border of Judah about 12 miles S.E. of Ekron.

country. Then, having placed these in a coffer and set it upon the ark, they should make for this a new wain, and should yoke thereto kine that had freshly calved, and should shut up and retain the calves, in order that these might not retard their mothers by following them, and they, through yearning for their young, might make the more speed upon their way. Then having driven them, drawing the ark, out to a place where three roads met, they should there leave them, suffering them to take which of the roads they would. Should the kine take the route to the Hebrews ⁹ and mount into their country, they must regard the ark as the cause of all these ills ; but should they turn elsewhere, " then," said they, " let us pursue after it, having learnt that it possesses no such power."

(3) Judging this to have been well spoken, they straightway ratified the counsel by acting thereon. Having made the objects aforesaid, they conducted the wain to the cross-roads, where they left it and retired. Then, seeing the kine go straight on, as though someone were leading them, the lords of the Philistines followed, fain to find out where they would halt and to whom they would betake themselves. Now there is a village of the tribe of Judah by name Bethes ^a: thither it was that the kine came: a great and beauteous plain awaited their footsteps ^b— they would proceed no further but stayed the wagon there. A sight was this for the villagers and they were overcome with joy ; for it being the summer season when all were out in the cornfields to gather

Return of
the ark to
Beth-
shemesh.
1 Sam.
vi. 10.

^b " The cart came into the field of Joshua the Bethshemite," 1 Sam. vi. 14.

JOSEPHUS

- ἐν ταῖς ἀρούραις ὑπάρχοντες, ὡς εἶδον τὴν κιβω-
 τόν, ὑφ' ἠδονῆς ἀρπαγέντες καὶ τὸ ἔργον ἐκ τῶν
 χειρῶν ἀφέντες ἔδραμον εὐθὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἄμαξαν.
 15 καὶ καθελόντες τὴν κιβωτὸν καὶ τὸ ἄγγος, ὃ τοὺς
 ἀνδριάντας εἶχε καὶ τοὺς μύας, τιθέασιν ἐπὶ τινος
 πέτρας, ἣτις ἦν ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ, καὶ θύσαντες λαμπρῶς
 τῷ θεῷ καὶ κατευωχηθέντες τὴν τε ἄμαξαν καὶ
 τοὺς βόας ὠλοκαύτωσαν. καὶ ταῦτ' ἰδόντες οἱ τῶν
 Παλαιστίνων ἄρχοντες ἀνέστρεψαν ὀπίσω.
 16 (4) Ὁργὴ δὲ καὶ χόλος τοῦ θεοῦ μέτεισι βδο-
 μήκοντα τῶν ἐκ τῆς Βήθης κώμης, οὓς¹ οὐκ
 ὄντας ἀξιόους ἄφασθαι τῆς κιβωτοῦ, ἱερεῖς γὰρ οὐκ
 ἦσαν, καὶ προσελθόντας αὐτῇ βαλὼν ἀπέκτεινεν.
 ἔκλαυσαν δὲ ταῦτα παθόντας αὐτοὺς οἱ κωμηταί,
 καὶ πένθος ἐπ' αὐτοῖς² ἤγειραν οἶον εἰκὸς ἐπὶ
 θεοπέμπτῳ κακῷ καὶ τὸν ἴδιον ἕκαστος ἀπεθρήνει.
 17 τοῦ τε μένειν τὴν κιβωτὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀναξίους
 ἀποφαίνοντες αὐτοὺς καὶ πρὸς τὸ κοινὸν τῶν
 Ἑβραίων πέμψαντες ἐδήλουν ἀποδεδοῦσθαι τὴν
 κιβωτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων. κακῆνοι γνόντες
 τοῦτο ἀποκομίζουσι αὐτὴν εἰς Καριαθιαρεῖμ
 18 γείτονα πόλιν τῆς Βήθης κώμης.³ ἐνθα τινὸς
 Λευίτου τὸ γένος Ἀμιναδάβου δόξαν ἔχοντος ἐπὶ
 δικαιοσύνη καὶ θρησκείᾳ καταβιούντος εἰς οἰκίαν

¹ Niese: ὡς codd.

² edd.: αὐτοὺς codd.

³ τῆς Β. κώμης] τοῖς Βηθσαμίταις M (Lat.): τοῖς Βηθάμης SP.

^a "To Ekron," *ib.* 16.

^b Bibl. "seventy men (and) fifty thousand men" (similarly LXX); an impossible reading. The larger figure is commonly rejected as a gloss, from which, it appears, the Biblical text of Josephus was free.

^c Not in Scripture, which merely says that "they had looked into (or rather "gazed upon") the ark." For the

in the crops, so soon as they saw the ark, they were transported with delight and, dropping their work from their hands, ran straight for the wain. Then, having taken down the ark and the vessel containing the images and the mice, they set them upon a rock which stood in the plain, and, after offering splendid sacrifice to God and keeping merry feast, consumed wagon and kine as a burnt-offering. And, having seen all this, the lords of the Philistines turned back again.^a

(4) Howbeit, the wrath and indignation of God visited seventy^b of them of the village of Bethes, whom He smote and slew for approaching the ark, which, not being priests,^c they were not privileged to touch. The villagers bewailed these victims, raising over them lamentation such as was fitting over a God-sent evil, and each man mourned for his own. Then, pronouncing themselves unworthy of retaining the ark among them, they sent word to the general assembly^d of the Hebrews that the ark had been restored by the Philistines. And these, on hearing thereof, conveyed it away to Kariathiareim,^e a neighbouring city of the village of Bethes; and since there lived there a man of the stock of Levi, Aminadab,^f reputed for his righteousness and piety,

The penalty for touching the ark: its removal to the house of Aminadab. 1 Sam. vi. 19.

vii. 1.

Rabbinical opinions concerning the nature of their crime see M. Weill's note.

^a In Scripture (1 Sam. vi. 21) word is sent, not to all the Hebrews, but only to the inhabitants of Kiriath-jearim.

^b So LXX: Heb. Kiriath-jearim, perhaps the modern *Kuryet el 'Enab*, some 9 miles N.E. of Beth-shemesh. Shiloh, the original home of the ark, was possibly now in Philistine hands.

^f So LXX: Heb. Abinadab. Scripture does not say that he was a Levite. A Levite Aminadab, contemporary with David, is mentioned in 1 Chr. xv. 11.

JOSEPHUS

τὴν κιβωτὸν ἤγαγον, ὥσπερ εἰς πρέποντα τῷ θεῷ τόπον ἐν ᾧ κατώκει δίκαιος ἄνθρωπος. ἔθεράπευον δὲ τὴν κιβωτὸν οἱ τούτου παῖδες, καὶ τῆς ἐπιμελείας ταύτης ἕως ἐτῶν εἴκοσι προέστησαν· τοσαῦτα γὰρ ἔμεινεν ἐν τῇ Καριαθιاريμ ποιήσασα παρὰ τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις μῆνας τέσσαρας.

- 19 (ii. 1) Τοῦ δὲ λαοῦ παντὸς ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ, καθ' ὃν εἶχεν ἡ τῶν Καριαθιاريμιτῶν πόλις τὴν κιβωτὸν, ἐπ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας τραπέντος τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ πολλὴν ἐμφανίζοντος τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν θρησκείαν καὶ φιλοτιμίαν, ὁ προφήτης Σαμουὴλος ἰδὼν αὐτῶν τὴν προθυμίαν, ὡς εὐκαιρον ὄν¹ πρὸς οὕτως ἔχοντας εἰπεῖν περὶ ἐλευθερίας καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ, χρῆται λόγοις οἷς ᾤετο μάλιστα τὴν διάνοιαν αὐτῶν προσάξεσθαι καὶ
- 20 πείσειν. “ἄνδρες,” γὰρ εἶπεν, “οἷς ἔτι νῦν βαρεῖς μὲν πολέμιοι Παλαιστῖνοι, θεὸς δ' εὐμενῆς ἄρχεται γίνεσθαι καὶ φίλος, οὐκ ἐπιθυμεῖν ἐλευθερίας δεῖ μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ ποιεῖν δι' ὧν ἂν ἔλθοι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὐδὲ βούλεσθαι μὲν ἀπηλλάχθαι δεσποτῶν ἐπιμένειν δὲ πράττοντας ἐξ ὧν οὗτοι διαμενοῦσιν.
- 21 ἀλλὰ γίνεσθε δίκαιοι, καὶ τὴν πονηρίαν ἐκβαλόντες τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ θεραπεύοντες αὐτάς,² ὅλαις ταῖς διανοαῖς προστρέπεσθε³ τὸ θεῖον καὶ τιμῶντες διατελεῖτε· ταῦτα γὰρ ὑμῖν ποιούσιν ἥξει τὰ ἀγαθὰ, δουλείας ἀπαλλαγὴ καὶ νίκη πολεμίων, ἃ λαβεῖν οὐθ' ὄπλοις οὔτε σωματῶν

¹ conj. Niese.

² ex Lat. easque purgantes: καὶ θεραπεύοντες (-σαντες RO) αὐτὴν codd.: καὶ θ. ἀρετὴν Weill.

³ Hudson: προτρέπεσθε codd.

^a Bibl. “Eleazar his son.”

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 18-21

they brought the ark into his house, as to a place beseeching God, being the abode of a righteous man. This man's sons ^a tended the ark and had the charge of it for twenty years ; for it remained all that time at Kariathiareim, after spending four months ^b among the Philistines.

(ii. 1) Now throughout the time when the city of Kariathiareim had the ark in its keeping, the whole people betook themselves to prayer and the offering of sacrifices to God, and displayed great zeal in serving Him. So the prophet Samuel, seeing their ardour and reckoning the occasion meet, while they were of this mind, to speak to them of liberty and the blessings that it brings, addressed them in words which he deemed most apt to win and to persuade their hearts. "Sirs," said he, "ye who yet to-day have grievous enemies in the Philistines, albeit God is beginning to be gracious to you and a friend, ye ought not to be content to yearn for liberty, but should do also the deeds whereby ye may attain it, nor merely long to be rid of your masters, while continuing so to act that they shall remain so. Nay, be ye righteous and, casting out wickedness ^c from your souls and purging them, ^d turn with all your hearts to the Deity and persevere in honouring Him. Do ye but so and there will come prosperity, deliverance from bondage and victory over your foes, blessings which are to be won neither by arms nor

Samuel
exhorts the
Hebrews
and musters
them to
Mizpah.
1 Sam. vii. 2.

^b Bibl. "seven months" (1 Sam. vi. 1).

^c Bibl. "put away the strange gods and the Ashtaroth from among you" (vii. 3).

^d Text a little doubtful : it has been proposed, by a slight change, to read "and cultivating virtue" (*ἀρετήν* in place of *αὐράς*).

JOSEPHUS

- ἀλκαῖς οὔτε πλήθει συμμάχων δυνατόν ἔστιν· οὐ γὰρ τούτοις ὁ θεὸς ὑπισχνεῖται παρέξειν αὐτά, τῷ δ' ἀγαθοὺς εἶναι καὶ δικαίους· ἐγγυητῆς δὲ
 22 αὐτοῦ τῶν ὑποσχέσεων ἐγὼ γίνομαι.” ταῦτ' εἰπόντος ἐπευφήμησε τὸ πλῆθος ἡσθὲν τῇ παραινέσει καὶ κατένευσεν αὐτὸ παρέξειν κεχαρισμένον τῷ θεῷ. συναγει δ' αὐτοὺς ὁ Σαμουῆλος εἰς τινα πόλιν λεγομένην Μασφάτην· κατοπτευόμενον τοῦτο σημαίνει κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων γλώτταν· ἐντεῦθεν ὑδρευσάμενοί τε σπένδουσι τῷ θεῷ καὶ διανοηστεύσαντες ὅλην τὴν ἡμέραν ἐπ' εὐχὰς τρέπονται.
- 23 (2) Οὐ λανθάνουσι δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐκεῖ συναχθέντες, ἀλλὰ μαθόντες οὗτοι τὴν ἄθροισιν αὐτῶν, μεγάλη στρατιᾶ καὶ δυνάμει κατ' ἐλπίδα τοῦ μὴ προσδοκῶσι μηδὲ παρεσκευασμένοις ἐπι-
 24 πεσεῖσθαι τοῖς Ἑβραίοις ἐπέρχονται. καταπλήττει δ' αὐτοὺς τοῦτο καὶ εἰς ταραχὴν ἄγει καὶ δέος, καὶ δραμόντες πρὸς Σαμουῆλον, ἀναπεπτωκένας τὰς ψυχὰς αὐτῶν ὑπὸ φόβου καὶ τῆς προτέρας ἡττητῆς ἔφασκον καὶ διὰ τοῦτ' ἡρεμεῖν, “ἵνα μὴ κινήσωμεν τὴν τῶν πολεμίων δύναμιν, σοῦ δ' ἀναγαγόντος ἡμᾶς ἐπ' εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας καὶ ὄρκους γυμνοῖς καὶ ἀόπλοις ἐπεστράτευσαν οἱ πολέμιοι· ἐλπίς οὖν ἡμῖν οὐκ ἄλλη σωτηρίας, ἢ μόνῃ ἢ παρὰ σοῦ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ἰκετευθέντος ὑπὸ

^a Bibl. Mizpah (= “watch-tower,” “outlook-point”), LXX Μασ(σ)ηφάθ: identified by some scholars with modern *Neby Samwil*, 5 miles N.W. of Jerusalem, by others with *Tell-en-Nasbeh*, about 8 miles due N. of Jerusalem.

^b Or “a conspicuous (place).”

^c Gr. “with a great army and strength,” an instance of hendiadys or the use of two words for one, which from

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 21-24

by personal prowess nor by a host of combatants ; for it is not for these that God promises to bestow those blessings, but for lives of virtue and righteousness. And as surety for His promises, here I take my stand." These words were acclaimed by the people, who were delighted with the exhortation and vowed to render themselves acceptable unto God. Samuel then gathered them to a city called Masphate,^a which in the Hebrew tongue signifies "espied."^b There, having drawn water, they made libations to God and, fasting throughout the day, gave themselves unto prayer. vii. 5.

(2) However their gathering at this spot did not pass unperceived by the Philistines, who, having learnt of their mustering, advanced upon the Hebrews with an army mighty in strength,^c hoping to surprise them while off their guard and unprepared. Dismayed by this attack and plunged into confusion and alarm, the Hebrews, hastening to Samuel, declared that their courage had flagged through fear and the memory of their former defeat. "That," said they, "was why we sat still, in order not to stir up the enemy's forces. But, when thou hadst brought us up hither for prayers, sacrifices and oaths, now the enemy are upon us while we are naked and unarmed. Other hope of salvation therefore have we none, save from thee alone and from God, should He be entreated

Hebrew
victory
over the
Philistines.
1 Sam. vii. 7.

this point onward characterizes this book : *cf.* § 24 *παραχή και δέος, γυμνοῖς και ἀόπλοις*, § 25 *νίκη και κράτος* etc. The preference for the double word distinguishes the writer of this portion—whether Josephus himself or another assistant—from the "Sophoclean" assistant who has a partiality for grouping in threes (*e.g.* § 21 *τὰ ἀγαθὰ, δουλειᾶς ἀπαλλαγὴ και νίκη . . . οὐθ' ὄπλοις οὐτε σωμαίων ἀλκαῖς οὐτε πλήθει*). See Vol. IV. Introduction.

- 25 σοῦ παρασχεῖν ἡμῖν διαφυγεῖν Παλαιστίνους.” ὁ δὲ θαρρεῖν τε προτρέπεται καὶ βοηθήσειν αὐτοῖς τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγγέλλεται, καὶ λαβὼν ἄρνα γαλαθηνὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν ὄχλων θύει καὶ παρακαλεῖ τὸν θεὸν ὑπερσχεῖν αὐτῶν τὴν δεξιὰν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστίνους μάχῃ καὶ μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς δεύτερον δυστυχήσαντας. ἐπήκοος δὲ γίνεται τῶν εὐχῶν ὁ θεὸς καὶ προσδεξάμενος εὐμενεῖ καὶ συμμαχῶ τῇ διανοίᾳ τὴν θυσίαν ἐπινεύει νίκην αὐτοῖς καὶ
- 26 κράτος. ἔτι δ’ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὴν θυσίαν ἔχοντας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μήπω πᾶσαν διὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς φλογὸς ἀπειληφότος, προῆλθεν ἐκ τοῦ στρατοπέδου ἡ τῶν πολεμίων δύναμις καὶ παρατάσσεται εἰς μάχην, ἐπ’ ἐλπίδι μὲν νίκης, ὡς ἀπειλημμένων ἐν ἀπορίᾳ τῶν Ἰουδαίων μήτε ὄπλα ἐχόντων μήτε ὡς ἐπὶ μάχῃ ἐκείσε ἀπηνητηκότων, περιπίπτουσι δὲ οἷς
- 27 οὐδ’ εἰ προῦλεγέ τις ραδίως ἐπέισθησαν. πρῶτον μὲν γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς κλονεῖ σεισμῶ καὶ τὴν γῆν αὐτοῖς ὑπότρομον καὶ σφαλερὰν κινήσας τίθησιν, ὡς σαλευομένης τε τὰς βάσεις ὑποφέρεσθαι καὶ διίσταμένης εἰς ἔνια τῶν χασμάτων καταφέρεσθαι, ἔπειτα βρονταῖς καταψοφήσας καὶ διαπύροις ἀστραπαῖς ὡς καταφλέξων αὐτῶν τὰς ὄψεις περιλάμψας καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐκκροτήσας τὰ ὄπλα,
- 28 γυμνοὺς εἰς φυγὴν ἀπέστρεψεν. ἐπεξέρχεται δὲ Σαμουήλος μετὰ τῆς πληθύος καὶ πολλοὺς κατασφάξας κατακολουθεῖ μέχρι Κορραίων τόπου τινὸς οὕτω λεγομένου, καὶ καταπήξας ἐκεῖ λίθον ὥσπερ

^a Gr. “ God still had the sacrifice upon the altar ” etc. ; a Semitic form of expression (sacrifice being conceived as the food of the Deity) here imported into the Biblical text, which has merely “ And as Samuel was offering up the burnt-offering.”

by thee to afford us escape from the Philistines." But Samuel bade them be of good cheer and promised that God would succour them. Then, taking a sucking lamb, he sacrificed it on behalf of the throng and besought God to extend His right hand over them in the battle with the Philistines and not suffer them to undergo a second reverse. And God hearkened to his prayers and, accepting the sacrifice in gracious and befriending spirit, gave them assurance of victory and triumph. God's victim was still upon the altar and He had not yet wholly consumed it through the sacred flame,^a when the enemy's forces issued from their camp and drew up for battle, expectant of victory, thinking to have caught the Jews^b in a hopeless plight, seeing that they were without arms and had assembled there with no intention of battle. But the Philistines encountered what, had one foretold it, they would scarcely have believed. For, first, God vexed them with earthquake,^c rocking and making tremulous and treacherous the ground beneath them, so that from its reeling their footsteps staggered and at its parting they were engulfed in sundry of its chasms. Next He deafened them with thunder-claps, made fiery lightning to flash around them as it were to burn out their eyes, struck the arms from their hands, and so turned them weaponless to flight. But Samuel now rushed upon them with his people and, having massacred many, pursued them to a certain place called Korraea^d; and there he set up

vii. 10.

^b A recurrent anachronism for "Hebrews" or "Israelites" (§§ 30, 40 etc.).

^c Scripture mentions only "a great thunder."

^d Bibl. Beth-car, LXX Βαιθχάρ: possibly modern 'Ain Karim, some 5 miles S. of Mizpah, and due W. of Jerusalem.

JOSEPHUS

ὄρον τῆς νίκης καὶ τῆς φυγῆς τῶν πολεμίων, ἰσχυρὸν αὐτὸν προσαγορεύει, σύμβολον τῆς παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένης αὐτοῖς κατὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἰσχύος.

29 (3) Οἱ δὲ μετ' ἐκείνην τὴν πληγὴν οὐκέτ' ἐστράτευσαν¹ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ δέους καὶ μνήμης τῶν συμβεβηκότων ἠσύχαζον· ὁ δ' ἦν πάλαι θάρσος τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραῖ-
30 ους, τοῦτ' ἐκείνων μετὰ τὴν νίκην ἐγένετο. καὶ Σαμουῆλος στρατεύσας ἐπ' αὐτοὺς ἀναιρεῖ πολλοὺς καὶ τὰ φρονήματ' αὐτῶν εἰς τὸ παντελὲς ταπεινοῖ καὶ τὴν χώραν ἀφαιρεῖται, ἦν τῶν Ἰουδαίων ἀπετέμοντο πρότερον κρατήσαντες τῇ μάχῃ· αὕτη δ' ἦν μέχρι πόλεως Ἀκκάρων ἀπὸ τῶν τῆς Γίττης ὄρων ἐκτεταμένη. ἦν δὲ κατ' ἐκείνον τὸν καιρὸν φίλια τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις τὰ ὑπολειπόμενα τῶν Χανααίων.

31 (iii. 1) Ὁ δὲ προφήτης Σαμουῆλος διακοσμήσας τὸν λαὸν καὶ πόλιν ἐκάστοις² ἀποδοὺς εἰς ταύτην ἐκέλευσε συνερχομένοις περὶ τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους κρίνεσθαι διαφορῶν, αὐτὸς δὲ δι' ἔτους³ ἐπερχόμενος τὰς πόλεις ἐδίκαζεν αὐτοῖς καὶ πολλὴν
32 ἐβράβευεν εὐνομίαν ἐπὶ χρόνον πολύν. (2) ἔπειθ' ὑπὸ γήρωσ βαρυνόμενος καὶ τὰ συνήθη πράττειν ἐμποδιζόμενος, τοῖς υἱοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τὴν προ-

¹ οὐκέτ' ἐστράτ. Niese: οὐκ ἐπεστράτευσαν codd.

² conj.: αὐτοῖς codd.

³ δι' ἔτους RO: δις τοῦ ἔτους rell., Lat., E (vid.).

^a Bibl. Eben-'ezer (= "stone of help"), LXX Ἀβενέζερ (adding the translation λίθος τοῦ βοηθοῦ, "stone of the helper"); in place of 'ezer Josephus probably read 'oz ("strength").

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 28-32

a stone as landmark of the victory and of the flight of the foe, and called it "Strong (stone)," ^a in token of the strength which God had lent them against their enemies.

(3) Those enemies, after that discomfiture, invaded the Israelites no more, but through fear and a remembrance of what had befallen them remained still; and that confidence which of old had animated the Philistines against the Hebrews passed after this victory to their opponents. And so Samuel, taking the field against them, slew multitudes, utterly humbled their pride, and took from them the country which they had erstwhile torn from the Jews after their victory in battle, to wit the region extending from the borders of Gitta to the city of Akkaron. ^b And at that time there was amity between the Israelites and the remnant of the Canaanites. ^c

Samuel
recovers
conquered
territory.
Sam. vii. 13.

(iii. 1) Moreover, the prophet Samuel, having re- divided the people and assigned a city to each group, ^d bade them resort thither for trial of the differences that arose between them. He himself going annually ^e on circuit to these cities judged their causes and so continued for long to administer perfect justice.

Samuel
as judge.
1 Sam.
vii. 15.

(2) Thereafter, oppressed with age and impeded from following his wonted course, he consigned the

Degeneracy
of Samuel's
sons.

^b *i.e.* "from Ekron even unto Gath" (1 Sam. vii. 14).

^c Bibl. "And there was peace between Israel and the Amorites."

^d With slight emendation of the Greek, which reads "a city to them." Scripture mentions three cities—Bethel, Gilgal, Mizpah—which Samuel annually visited from his home at Ramah.

^e Another reading is "twice a year." M. Weill, adopting this text, suggests that it is "a Haggadic deduction from the repetition of the word *shanah* (year) in the Hebrew (LXX κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐνιαυτὸν)."

JOSEPHUS

στασίαν τοῦ ἔθνους¹ παραδίδωσιν, ὧν ὁ μὲν
 πρεσβύτερος Ἰούλος² προσηγορεύετο, τῷ δὲ νεω-
 τέρῳ Ἀβίρα³ ὄνομα ἦν. προσέταξε δὲ τὸν μὲν ἐν
 Βεθήλῳ πόλει καθεζόμενον κρίνειν, τὸν δ' ἕτερον
 ἐν Βερσουβεί⁴ μερίσας τὸν ὑπακουσόμενον ἑκατέρῳ
 33 λαόν. ἐγένοντο δὲ σαφὲς οὗτοι παράδειγμα καὶ
 τεκμήριον τοῦ μὴ τὸν τρόπον ὁμοίους τοῖς φύσασι
 γίνεσθαι τινας, ἀλλὰ τάχα μὲν χρηστοὺς καὶ
 μετρίους ἐκ ποιηρῶν, τότε μὲν γε φαύλους ἐξ
 34 ἀγαθῶν παρέσχον αὐτοὺς γενομένους· τῶν γὰρ τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἐπιτηδευμάτων ἐκτραπόμενοι καὶ τὴν
 ἐναντίαν ὁδὸν ἀπελθόντες δώρων καὶ λημμάτων
 αἰσchrῶν καθυφίεντο τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ τὰς κρίσεις οὐ
 πρὸς τὴν ἀλήθειαν ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὸ κέρδος ποιού-
 μενοι καὶ πρὸς τρυφήν καὶ πρὸς διαίτας πολυτελεῖς
 ἀπονενευκότες, πρῶτον μὲν ὑπεναντία ταῦτα ἔπρα-
 σσον τῷ θεῷ, δεύτερον δὲ τῷ προφήτῃ πατρὶ δ'
 ἑαυτῶν, ὃς πολλὴν καὶ τοῦ τὸ πλῆθος εἶναι δίκαιον
 σπουδὴν εἰσεφέρετο καὶ πρόνοιαν.
 35 (3) Ὁ δὲ λαὸς ἐξυβριζόντων εἰς τὴν προτέραν
 κατάστασιν καὶ πολιτείαν τῶν τοῦ προφήτου
 παίδων, χαλεπῶς τε τοῖς πραττομένοις ἔφερε καὶ
 πρὸς αὐτὸν συντρέχουσι, διέτριβε δ' ἐν Ἀρμαθᾶ
 πόλει, καὶ τὰς τε τῶν υἱῶν παρανομίας ἔλεγον καὶ
 ὅτι γηραιὸς ὢν αὐτὸς ἤδη καὶ παρειμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ
 χρόνου τῶν πραγμάτων οὐκέτι τὸν αὐτὸν προ-
 36 εστάναι δύναται τρόπον· ἐδέοντό τε καὶ ἰκέτενον
 ἀποδειξαί τινα αὐτῶν βασιλέα, ὃς ἄρξει τοῦ ἔθνους
 καὶ τιμωρήσεται Παλαιστίνους ὀφείλοντας ἔτ' αὐ-

¹ RO: πλήθους rell. ² RO: Οθηλος vel Ἰώηλος (Ἰωήλ) rell.

³ M(SP): Ἐβίρα RO: Ἀβίας E Lat.: Ἀβία Zon.

⁴ Βαρσουβαί MSP: Bersabe Lat.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 32-36

government and direction of the nation to his sons, ^{1 Sam. viii. 1.} of whom the elder was called Iulus ^a and the younger bore the name of Abira ^b; and he charged the one to sit in judgement at the city of Bethel and the other at Bersubei, ^c apportioning the people that should come under the jurisdiction of each. Howbeit these youths furnished a signal illustration and proof that sons need not be like in character to their sires, nay, that maybe good, honest folk are sprung from knaves, while the offspring of virtuous parents have proved depraved. For they, turning from their father's ways and taking the contrary road, betrayed justice for bribes and filthy lucre, pronounced judgement with regard not to the truth but to their own profit, and abandoned themselves to luxury and sumptuous fare, thereby acting in defiance first of God and secondly of the prophet, their own father, who was devoting much zeal and care to instilling even into the multitude the idea of righteousness.

(3) But the people, ^d seeing these outrages upon their former constitution and government committed by the prophet's sons, brooked their proceedings ill and together sped to Samuel, then living in the city of Armatha. ^e They told him of his sons' iniquities and added that, old as he now was and enfeebled by age, he could no longer himself direct affairs as aforetime; they therefore begged and implored him to appoint from among them a king, to rule the nation and to wreak vengeance on the Philistines,

The people's
demand for
a king.
1 Sam.
viii. 4.

^a Bibl. Joel.

^b Bibl. Abijah (LXX 'Αβιδά, with *v.l.* 'Αβειρά as in Josephus).

^c Bibl. "They were judges in Beer-sheba" (Bethel not being mentioned).

^d Bibl. "all the elders of Israel."

^e Ramah.

JOSEPHUS

- τοῖς δίκαια τῶν προτέρων ἀδικημάτων. ἐλύπησαν δὲ σφόδρα τὸν Σαμουῆλον οἱ λόγοι διὰ τὴν σύμφυτον δικαιοσύνην καὶ τὸ πρὸς τοὺς βασιλέας μῖσος· ἥττητο γὰρ δεινῶς τῆς ἀριστοκρατίας ὡς θείας καὶ μακαρίου ποιούσης τοὺς χρωμένους αὐτῆς τῇ
- 37 πολιτείᾳ. ὑπὸ δὲ φροντίδος καὶ βασάνου τῆς ἐπὶ τοῖς εἰρημένοις οὔτε τροφῆς ἐμνημόνευσε οὔτε ὕπνου, δι' ὅλης δὲ τῆς νυκτὸς στρέφων τὰς περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἐννοίας διεκαρτέρει.
- 38 (4) Ἔχοντι δὲ οὕτως ἐμφανίζεται τὸ θεῖον καὶ παραμυθεῖται μὴ δυσφορεῖν ἐφ' οἷς ἠξίωσε τὸ πλῆθος, ὡς οὐκ ἐκείνον ὑπερηφανήσαντας ἀλλ' ἑαυτόν,¹ ἵνα² μὴ βασιλεύσῃ³ μόνος· ταῦτα δὲ ἀφ' ἧς ἡμέρας ἐξήγαγεν αὐτοὺς ἀπ' Αἰγύπτου μηχανᾶσθαι τὰ ἔργα· λήψεσθαι μέντοι γε οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν μετάνοιαν αὐτοὺς ἐπίπονον, “ὑφ' ἧς οὐδὲν μὲν ἀγένητον ἔσται τῶν ἐσομένων, ἐλεγχθήσονται δὲ καταφρονήσαντες καὶ βουλάς οὐκ εὐχαρίστους πρὸς
- 39 ἐμὲ καὶ τὴν σὴν προφητείαν λαβόντες. κελεύω δὴ σε⁴ χειροτονεῖν αὐτοῖς ὃν ἂν ἐγὼ⁵ προείπω βασιλέα προδηλώσαντα ποταπῶν τε πειραθήσονται βασιλεύόμενοι κακῶν καὶ διαμαρτυράμενον ἐφ' οἷαν σπεύδουσι μεταβολήν.”
- 40 (5) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας Σαμουῆλος ἅμα ἔω συγκαλέσας τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἀποδείξειν αὐτοῖς βασιλέα ὠμολόγησεν, ἔφη δὲ δεῖν πρῶτον μὲν αὐτοῖς ἐκδιηγῆσασθαι τὰ παρὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἐσόμενα καὶ ὅσοις συνενεχθήσονται κακοῖς· “γινώσκετε γὰρ

¹ ἢ αὐτόν SP: εἰς αὐτόν E: αὐτόν M.

² εἰ RO.

³ βασιλεύσει R: βασιλεὺς ἢ SP.

⁴ σοι SE.

⁵ +σοι SPE.

who yet owed them an accounting for past injuries. These words sorely grieved Samuel by reason of his innate righteousness and his hatred of kings ; for he was keenly enamoured of aristocratic government, accounting it divine and productive of bliss to those who adopted it. So, from the anxiety and the torment which these speeches caused him, he had no thought for food or sleep, but passed the whole night turning over these matters in his mind.^a

(4) Such was his state when the Deity appeared and consoled him, telling him not to take these demands of the multitude amiss, since it was not him whom they had spurned, but God Himself, not wishing Him to reign alone ; these deeds, moreover, they had (He said) been devising from the day when He had brought them forth from Egypt ; howbeit they would ere long be seized with painful remorse, “ a remorse by which nought will be undone of that which is to be, but which will convict them of contempt and of adopting a course ungrateful toward Me and to thy prophetic office. I therefore now charge thee to elect for them whomsoever I shall name as king, after forewarning them what ills they will suffer under kingly rule and solemnly testifying into what a change they are rushing.”

(5) Having heard these words, Samuel at daybreak called the Jews^b together and consented to appoint them a king, but he said that he must first set forth to them what would befall them at the hands of their kings and how many ills they would encounter. “ For ye must know,” said he, “ that first they will

God charges Samuel to elect a king. 1 Sam. viii. 7.

Samuel warns the people of the evils of monarchy. 1 Sam. viii. 10.

^a Amplification (*cf.* *A.* ii. 171) : Scripture says merely “ And Samuel prayed unto the Lord ” (1 Sam. viii. 6).

^b See § 26 note.

JOSEPHUS

- ὅτι πρῶτον μὲν ὑμῶν ἀποσπάσουσι τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὰ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀρματηλάτας εἶναι κελεύσουσι, τοὺς δ' ἵππεις καὶ σωματοφύλακας, δρομεῖς δὲ ἄλλους καὶ χιλιάρχους καὶ ἑκατοντάρχους, ποιήσουσι δὲ καὶ τεχνίτας ὀπλοποιούς καὶ ἀρματοποιούς καὶ ὀργάνων τέκτονας γεωργούς τε καὶ τῶν ἰδίων
- 41 ἀγρῶν ἐπιμελητὰς καὶ σκαπανεῖς ἀμπέλων, καὶ οὐδέν ἐστιν ὃ μὴ κελευόμενοι ποιήσουσιν ἀνδραπόδων ἀργυρωνήτων τρόπον· καὶ τὰς θυγατέρας δ' ὑμῶν μυρεψοὺς ἀποφανοῦσι καὶ ὄψοποιούς καὶ σιτοποιούς, καὶ πᾶν ἔργον ὃ θεραπευνοῦσιν ἐξ ἀνάγκης πληγὰς φοβούμεναι καὶ βασιάνους ὑπηρετήσουσι. κτήσιν δὲ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀφαιρήσονται καὶ ταύτην εὐνούχοις καὶ σωματοφύλαξι δωρήσονται καὶ βοσκημάτων ἀγέλας τοῖς αὐτῶν προσνεμοῦσι.
- 42 συνελόντι δ' εἰπεῖν, δουλεύσετε μετὰ πάντων τῶν ὑμετέρων τῷ βασιλεῖ σὺν¹ τοῖς αὐτῶν οἰκέταις· ὃς γενόμενος² μνήμην ὑμῖν τῶνδε τῶν λόγων γεννήσει καὶ τῷ³ πάσχειν αὐτὰ μεταγινώσκοντας ἱκετεῦσαι τὸν θεὸν ἐλεῆσαί τε ὑμᾶς καὶ δωρησασθαι ταχεῖαν ἀπαλλαγὴν τῶν βασιλέων· ὃ δ' οὐ προσδέξεται τὰς δεήσεις, ἀλλὰ παραπέμψας ἑάσει δίκην ὑποσχεῖν ὑμᾶς τῆς αὐτῶν κακοβουλίας."
- 43 (6) Ἦν δ' ἄρα καὶ πρὸς τὰς προρρήσεις τῶν συμβησομένων ἀνόητον τὸ πλῆθος καὶ δύσκολον ἐξελεῖν τῆς διανοίας κρίσιν ἤδη παρὰ τῷ λογισμῷ καθιδρυμένην· οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐπεστράφησαν οὐδ' ἐμέλλη-

¹ καὶ MSP: om. Lat.

² ὃς γενόμενος] ἴσοι γενόμενοι M Lat. (+ καὶ Lat. ut vid.).

³ τὸ ROSP.

^a "Hundreds" as in LXX (1 Sam. viii. 12), whereas the Heb. has "fifties."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 40-43

carry off your children and will order some of them to be charioteers, others horsemen and bodyguards, others runners or captains of thousands or of hundreds^a; they will make of them craftsmen also, makers of armour, of chariots and of instruments; husbandmen too, tillers of their estates, diggers of their vineyards; nay, there is nothing which your sons will not do at their behest, after the manner of slaves bought at a price. Of your daughters also they will make perfumers, cooks and bakers, and subject them to every menial task which handmaids must perforce perform from fear of stripes and tortures. They will moreover rob you of your possessions and bestow them upon eunuchs and bodyguards, and confer your herds of cattle upon their retainers. In a word, ye with all yours will be bond-servants to the king along with your own domestics; and he, when he is come,^b will beget in you a memory of these words of mine and (cause you) through these sufferings to repent and to implore God to take pity on you and to grant you speedy deliverance from your kings. Howbeit He will not hearken to your prayers, but will disregard them and suffer you to pay the penalty for your own perversity.”

(6) Yet even to these predictions of what was to come the multitude was deaf and obstinately refused^c to eradicate from their minds a resolution now deep-seated in their calculations. Nay, they would not be turned, nor recked they aught of the words of Samuel,

He yields
to their
insistence.
1 Sam.
viii. 19.

^b Text doubtful. According to another reading, “. . . to the king, being made equal to your own domestics; and your suffering will beget, etc., . . . and (cause you) to repent, etc.”

^c Or “and it was difficult.”

JOSEPHUS

σεν αὐτοῖς τῶν Σαμουήλου λόγων, ἀλλ' ἐνέκειντο
 λιπαρῶς καὶ χειροτονεῖν ἡξίου ἤδη τὸν βασιλέα
 44 καὶ μὴ φροντίζειν τῶν ἐσομένων· ἐπὶ γὰρ τιμωρία
 τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἀνάγκη τὸν πολεμήσοντα σὺν αὐτοῖς
 ἔχειν, καὶ οὐδὲν ἄτοπον εἶναι τῶν πλησιοχώρων
 βασιλευομένων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν αὐτοὺς πολιτείαν.
 ὁρῶν δ' αὐτοὺς μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν προειρημένων
 ἀπεστραμμένους ὁ Σαμουήλος, ἀλλ' ἐπιμένοντας
 “νῦν μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ἄπιτε πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστος,
 μεταπέμφομαι δὲ ὑμᾶς εἰς δέον, ὅταν μάθω παρὰ
 τοῦ θεοῦ τίνα δίδωσιν ὑμῖν βασιλέα.”
 45 (iv. 1) Ἦν δὲ τις ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς
 ἀνὴρ εὖ γεγονῶς καὶ ἀγαθὸς τὸ ἦθος, Κεῖς ὄνομα·
 τούτῳ παῖς ὑπῆρχεν, ἦν δὲ νεανίας τὴν μορφήν
 ἄριστος καὶ τὸ σῶμα μέγας, τό τε φρόνημα καὶ τὴν
 46 διάνοιαν ἀμείνων τῶν βλεπομένων· Σαοῦλον αὐτὸν
 ἐκάλου. οὗτος ὁ Κεῖς, ὄνων αὐτῷ ἐκ τῆς νομῆς
 καλῶν ἀποπλανηθεισῶν, ἦδετο γὰρ αὐταῖς ὡς
 οὐκ ἄλλῳ τινὶ τῶν κτημάτων, τὸν υἱὸν μεθ' ἐνὸς
 θεράποντος ἐπὶ ζήτησιν τῶν κτηνῶν ἐξέπεμψεν·
 ὁ δ' ἐπεὶ τὴν πάτριον περιῆλθε φυλὴν ἐξερευνῶν
 τὰς ὄνους¹ εἰς τὰς ἄλλας ἀφίκετο, οὐδ' ἐν ταύταις
 δ' ἐπιτυχῶν ἀπιέναι² διεγνώκει, μὴ ποιήσῃ περὶ
 47 αὐτοῦ τῷ πατρὶ λοιπὸν φροντίδα· τοῦ δ' ἐπομένου
 θεράποντος ὡς ἐγένοντο κατὰ τὴν Ἀρμαθὰ πόλιν
 εἶναι προφήτην ἐν αὐτῇ φήσαντος ἀληθῆ καὶ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν βαδίζειν συμβουλευσάντος, γνῶσεσθαι γὰρ
 παρ' αὐτοῦ τὸ περὶ τῶν ὄνων τέλος, οὐθὲν ἔχειν

¹ ἐξερ. τ. οὐνοὺς om. RO.

² ἀνίεναι conj. Boysen.

^a Gr. Keis (with LXX): Heb. Kish.

but pressed him importunately and insisted that he should elect their king forthwith, and take no thought for the future ; since for the punishment of their foes they must needs have one to fight their battles with them, and there could be nothing strange, when their neighbours were ruled by kings, in their having the same form of government. So Samuel, seeing that even by his predictions they were not turned from their intent but persisted therein, said, " For the present, depart ye each to his home : I will summon you at need, when I shall have learnt from God whom He gives you for your king."

(iv. 1) Now there was a man of the tribe of Benjamin of good birth and virtuous character, named Kis.^a He had a son, a youth of a noble presence and tall of stature, and withal gifted with a spirit and mind surpassing these outward advantages ; they called him Saul. This Kis, one day when some fine asses of his had strayed from the pastures, in which he took more delight than in all that he possessed, sent off his son with one servant in search of the beasts. And he, after going all over his father's tribe in quest of the asses, passed to the other tribes and failing there also to find them, resolved to return, lest he should now cause his father anxiety concerning himself. But when they were come over against the city of Armatha,^b the servant who accompanied him told him that there was there a true prophet, and counselled that they should go to him, since they would learn from him what had become of the asses. Whereto

SAUL, in
quest to his
father's
asses.
encounters
Samuel.
1 Sam. ix. 1.

^b Ramah (v. 342 note, vi. 35): bibl. " when they were come to the land of Zuph " (1 Sam. ix. 5), naming the district in Ephraim wherein Ramah lay, cf. 1 Sam. i. 1 " a certain man of Ramathaim-zophim."

JOSEPHUS

πορευθέντας εἶπεν ἀντὶ τῆς προφητείας ὃ παρά-
 σχωσιν αὐτῷ· κεκενωῶσθαι γὰρ ἤδη τῶν ἐφοδίων.
 48 τοῦ δ' οἰκέτου τέταρτον αὐτῷ παρεῖναι σίκλου
 φήσαντος καὶ τοῦτο δώσειν, ὑπὸ γὰρ ἀγνοίας τοῦ
 μὴ λαμβάνειν τὸν προφήτην μισθὸν ἐπλανῶντο,
 παραγίνονται καὶ πρὸς ταῖς πύλαις παρατυγχά-
 νοντες παρθένοις ἐφ' ὕδωρ βαδιζούσαις ἐρωτῶσιν
 αὐτὰς τοῦ προφήτου τὴν οἰκίαν. αἱ δὲ σημαίνουσι
 καὶ σπεύδειν παρεκελεύσαντο πρὶν αὐτὸν εἰς τὸ
 δεῖπνον κατακλιθῆναι· πολλοὺς γὰρ ἐστίαν καὶ
 49 προκατακλίεσθαι τῶν κεκλημένων. ὁ δὲ Σαμου-
 ῆλος διὰ τοῦτο πολλοὺς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίαν τότε
 συνήγαγε· δεομένῳ γὰρ κατὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν αὐτῷ
 τοῦ θεοῦ προειπεῖν τίνα ποιήσει βασιλέα τῇ
 παρελθούσῃ τοῦτον μηνύσαντος, πέμψειν γὰρ
 αὐτὸς τίνα νεανίσκον ἐκ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος φυλῆς
 κατὰ τήνδε τὴν ὥραν, αὐτὸς μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώ-
 ματος καθεζόμενος ἐξεδέχετο τὸν καιρὸν γενέσθαι,
 πληρωθέντος δ' αὐτοῦ καταβάς ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον
 50 ἐπορεύετο. συναντᾷ δὲ τῷ Σαούλῳ καὶ ὁ θεὸς
 αὐτῷ σημαίνει τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν ἄρξειν μέλλοντα.
 Σαούλος δὲ πρόσεισι τῷ Σαμουήλῳ καὶ προσ-
 αγορεύσας ἐδεῖτο μηνύειν τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ προφήτου·
 51 ξένος γὰρ ὢν ἀγνοεῖν ἔφασκε. τοῦ δὲ Σαμουήλου
 αὐτὸν εἶναι φράσαντος καὶ ἄγοντος ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον,
 ὡς τῶν ὄνων ἐφ' ὧν τὴν ζήτησιν ἐκπεμφθεῖν
 σεσωσμένων τά τε πάντα ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν αὐτῷ
 κεκυρωμένα, ὑποτυχών¹ “ἀλλ' ἦπτων,” εἶπεν,
 “ἐγώ, δέσποτα, ταύτης τῆς ἐλπίδος καὶ φυλῆς

¹ Holwerda: προστυχών codd.

• Scripture does not say that Samuel accepted no reward.

Saul replied that, if they went to the prophet, they had nothing to offer him in return for his oracle, since their supplies were by now exhausted. However, the servant said that he had a quarter of a shekel and would present that—for their ignorance that the prophet accepted no reward misled them ^a—and so they went and, meeting at the gates maidens going to draw water, they asked them which was the prophet's house. And these pointed it out and bade them make speed ere he sat down to supper, for he was entertaining many and would take his seat before his invited guests.^b Now the reason why Samuel had at that hour assembled so many to the feast was this: he had been praying daily to God to reveal to him whom He would make king and, on the day before, God had announced him, saying that He would Himself send him a young man of the tribe of Benjamin at that selfsame hour. So, seated upon the housetop, Samuel was awaiting the coming of the time, and when the hour was ripe he descended to go to the supper. And he met Saul, and God revealed to him that this was he that was to rule. But Saul approached Samuel and greeting him prayed him to show him the prophet's house, for he said that as a stranger he was ignorant of it. Samuel then told him that he was the prophet and led him to the supper, assuring him that the asses in quest of which he had been sent were safe and that for him (Saul) were destined all good things^c; whereat Saul broke in, "Nay, master, I am too lowly to hope for this, I come of a

^b According to Scripture, Samuel was not the host, but attended the feast as one in charge of public sacrifice.

^c The text is a little awkward, but the meaning is clear. Cf. 1 Sam. ix. 20, "To whom belong all the desirable things of Israel, if not to thee (Saul) and thy father's house?"

JOSEPHUS

μικροτέρας ἢ βασιλέας ποιεῖν καὶ πατριᾶς ταπει-
 νοτέρας τῶν ἄλλων πατριῶν. σὺ δὲ παίζεις καὶ
 γέλωτά με τίθεσαι περὶ μειζόνων ἢ κατὰ τὴν
 52 ἐμὴν χώραν¹ διαλεγόμενος.” ὁ δὲ προφήτης ἀγα-
 γῶν αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν ἐστίασιν κατακλίνει καὶ τὸν
 ἀκόλουθον ἐπάνω τῶν κεκλημένων· οὗτοι δ' ἦσαν
 ἑβδομήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμόν· προστάσσει δὲ τοῖς
 διακόνοις παραθεῖναι τῷ Σαούλῳ μερίδα βασιλικήν.
 ἐπεὶ δὲ κοίτης ὥρα προσῆγεν, οἱ μὲν ἀναστάντες
 ἀνέλκον πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἕκαστοι, ὁ δὲ Σαούλος παρὰ
 τῷ προφήτῃ σὺν τῷ θεράποντι κατεκοιμήθη.

53 (2) Ἐμα δὲ ἡμέρα Σαμουὴλος ἀναστήσας αὐτὸν
 ἐκ τῆς κοίτης προύπεμπε καὶ γενόμενος ἔξω τῆς
 πόλεως ἐκέλευσε τὸν μὲν θεράποντα ποιῆσαι
 προελθεῖν, ὑπολείπεσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν· ἔχειν γὰρ αὐτῷ
 54 τι φράσαι μηδεὸς ἄλλου παρόντος.² καὶ ὁ μὲν
 Σαούλος ἀποπέμπεται τὸν ἀκόλουθον, λαβὼν δ' ὁ
 προφήτης τὸ ἀγγεῖον,³ ἔλαιον καταχεῖ τῆς τοῦ
 νεανίσκου κεφαλῆς καὶ κατασπασάμενος “ἴσθι,”
 φησί, “βασιλεὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένος
 ἐπὶ τε Παλαιστίνους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ Ἑβραίων
 ἄμυναν. τούτων δὲ ἔσται σοι σημεῖον ὃ σε
 55 βούλομαι προγινώσκειν· ὅταν ἀπέλθῃς ἐντεῦθεν
 καταλήψῃ τρεῖς ἀνθρώπους ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ προσκυνῆσαι
 τῷ θεῷ πορευομένους εἰς Βέθηλα, ὧν τὸν μὲν
 πρῶτον τρεῖς ἄρτους ὄψει κομίζοντα, τὸν δὲ
 δεύτερον ἔριφον, ὁ τρίτος δὲ ἄσκον οἴνου φέρων

¹ χρεῖαν MSP.

² μηδεὸς παρόντος om. RO.

³ ROE Lat. (cf. 1 Sam. x. 1, LXX τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ἐλαίου):
 ἀγιον rell.

tribe too little to create kings, and of a family of humbler sort than all others. Thou but mockest and makest sport of me in speaking of matters too high for my station." Howbeit the prophet led him to the banquet-chamber, gave him and his attendant places above the invited guests, who were seventy ^a in number, and charged his henchmen to set a royal portion before Saul. Then, when bedtime came, the rest arose and departed each to his own home, but Saul and his servant slept at the prophet's house.^b

(2) At break of day Samuel roused him from his bed, escorted him on his way, and, when outside the town, bade him cause his servant to go on before and to remain behind himself, for he had somewhat to tell him privately. So Saul dismissed his companion, and the prophet, taking his vial, poured oil upon the young man's head and kissed him and said: "Know that thou art king, elected of God to combat the Philistines and to defend the Hebrews. And of this there shall be unto thee a sign which I would have thee learn beforehand. When thou art departed hence, thou shalt find on thy road three men ^c going to worship God at Bethel; the first thou shalt see carrying three loaves, the second a kid,^d and the third

Samuel
anoints
Saul.
1 Sam.
ix. 26.

x. 1.

^a So LXX: Heb. "about thirty," 1 Sam. ix. 22.

^b After LXX, which here preserves the true text, *καὶ διέστρωσαν τῷ Σαουλ ἐπὶ τῷ δώματι καὶ ἐκοιμήθη*, Heb. "he communed with S. upon the housetop," 1 Sam. ix. 25. In the Biblical narrative the sacrifice and subsequent feast are held at "the high place," whence Samuel and Saul descend to the city to the prophet's house.

^c Josephus reverses the Biblical order of the first two incidents: there the meeting with the messenger at Rachel's tomb comes first.

^d "One carrying three kids and another carrying three loaves," 1 Sam.

JOSEPHUS

ἀκολουθήσει. ἀσπάσονται δέ σε οὔτοι καὶ φιλο-
 φρονήσονται καὶ δώσουσί σοι ἄρτους δύο, σὺ δὲ
 56 λήψῃ. κακεῖθεν ἦξεις εἰς τὸ Ῥαχήλας καλού-
 μενον μνημείον, ὅπου συμβαλεῖς τῷ σεσῶσθαί
 σου τὰς ὄνους εὐαγγελιουμένῳ· ἔπειτ' ἐκεῖθεν
 ἔλθων εἰς Γαβαθὰ¹ προφήταις ἐκκλησιάζουσιν
 ἐπιτεύξῃ καὶ γενόμενος ἔνθεος προφητεύσεις σὺν
 αὐτοῖς, ὡς πάνθ' ὄντιν² ὁρῶντα ἐκπλήττεσθαί
 τε καὶ θαυμάζειν λέγοντα "πόθεν εἰς τοῦτο εὐ-
 57 δαιμονίας ὁ Κεισαίου παῖς παρῆλθεν;" ὅταν δέ
 σοι ταῦτα γένηται τὰ σημεῖα, τὸν θεὸν ἴσθι μετὰ
 σοῦ τυγχάνοντα, ἄσπασαί τε τὸν πατέρα σου καὶ
 τοὺς συγγενεῖς. ἦξεις δὲ μετάπεμptos εἰς Γάλγαλα
 ὑπ'³ ἐμοῦ, ἵνα χαριστήρια τούτων θύσωμεν τῷ
 θεῷ." φράσας ταῦτα καὶ προειπὼν ἀποπέμπει
 τὸν νεανίσκον· τῷ Σαούλῳ δὲ πάντα κατὰ τὴν
 Σαμουήλου προφητείαν ἀπήντησεν.

58 (3) Ὡς δ' ἦλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν, τοῦ συγγενοῦς
 αὐτοῦ Ἀβηνάρου, καὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνον τῶν ἄλλων
 οἰκείων μᾶλλον ἔστεργεν, ἀνερωτῶντος περὶ τῆς
 ἀποδημίας καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν⁴ γεγονότων, τῶν
 μὲν ἄλλων οὐδὲν ἀπεκρύψατο οὐδ' ὡς ἀφίκοιτο
 παρὰ Σαμουήλον τὸν προφήτην οὐδ' ὡς ἐκεῖνος
 αὐτῷ σεσῶσθαι τὰς ὄνους ἔφρασε, περὶ δὲ τῆς
 59 βασιλείας καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτήν, ἃ⁵ φθόνον ἀκού-

¹ Γεβαθὰ RO: Γαιβαθὰ SP.

² + οὖν MSP.

³ ἐξ OE.

⁴ αὐτὸν ROE.

⁵ ἃ καὶ MSP Lat.

^a Bibl. "two men."

^b Bibl. "to Gibeah (or "the hill," LXX τὸν βουνόν) of God." Cf. on § 95.

^c These last words are amplification. Scripture has "do what thy hand shall find."

will follow bearing a wine-skin. These men will salute thee, show thee kindness and give thee two loaves; and thou shalt accept them. And thence ² thou shalt come to the place called 'Rachel's tomb,' where thou shalt meet one ^a who will bring thee news that thy asses are safe. Thereafter, on coming thence to Gabatha, ^b thou shalt light upon an assembly ⁵ of prophets and, divinely inspired, thou shalt prophesy with them, insomuch that whosoever beholdeth thee *Cf. 11 f.* shall be amazed and marvel, saying, 'How hath the son of Kis come to this pitch of felicity?' And when ⁷ these signs are come unto thee, know thou that God is with thee; and go to salute thy father and thy kinsfolk. ^c But thou shalt come, when summoned by me, to Galgala, that we may offer thank-offerings to God for these mercies." After these declarations and predictions he let the young man go; and everything befell Saul as Samuel had foretold.

(3) But when he entered his ^d house and his kinsman Abēnar ^e—for he was of all his relatives the one whom he loved the best—questioned him concerning his journey and the events thereof, Saul concealed from him nothing of all the rest, how he had visited Samuel the prophet and how he had told him that the asses were safe. But concerning the kingdom and all relating thereto, deeming that the recital

Saul's
discreet
silence.
1 Sam.
x. 13.

^a Gr. "the"; perhaps render "the house of his kinsman A. . . and he questioned him." Josephus appears to have read in 1 Sam. x. 13 "he came to the house" (a reading preferred by modern critics) instead of "he came to the high place."

^e Scripture mentions his "uncle," here unnamed but elsewhere called Ner. Josephus speaks of his cousin Abner, the son of Ner and afterwards captain of Saul's host, 1 Sam. xiv. 50. *Cf.* § 130.

JOSEPHUS

μενα καὶ ἀπιστίαν ἔχειν ᾤετο, σιωπᾶ πρὸς αὐτὸν καὶ οὐδὲ πρὸς εὐνοὺν σφόδρα δοκοῦντα εἶναι καὶ περισσότερον τῶν ἀφ' αἵματος ὑπ' αὐτοῦ στεργόμενον ἀσφαλὲς ἢ σῶφρον ἔδοξε μηνύειν λογισάμενος, οἶμαι, τὴν ἀνθρωπίνην φύσιν οἷα ταῖς ἀληθείαις ἐστίν, ὅτι βεβαίως οὐδεὶς εὐνοῦς¹ οὔτε φίλων οὔτε συγγενῶν οὐδ' ἄχρι τῶν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ λαμπρῶν ἀποσώζει τὴν διάθεσιν, ἀλλὰ πρὸς τὰς ὑπεροχὰς κακοήθεις τυγχάνουσιν ἤδη καὶ βάσκανοι.

- 60 (4) Σαμουήλος δὲ συγκαλεῖ² τὸν λαὸν εἰς Μασφαθὰ πόλιν καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν διατίθεται λόγους, οὓς κατ' ἐντολὴν φράζειν ἔλεγε τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅτι τὴν ἐλευθερίαν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου παρασχόντος καὶ τοὺς πολεμίους δουλώσαντος ἀμνημονήσειαν τῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀποχειροτονοῦσι τῆς βασιλείας οὐκ εἰδότες ὡς συμφορώτατον ὑπὸ τοῦ
- 61 πάντων ἀρίστου προστατεῖσθαι, θεὸς δὲ πάντων ἄριστος, αἰροῦνται δ' ἔχειν ἀνθρωπον βασιλέα, ὃς ὡς κτήματι³ τοῖς ὑποτεταγμένοις κατὰ βούλησιν καὶ ἐπιθυμίαν καὶ τῶν ἄλλων παθῶν ὄρμην χρήσεται τῆς ἐξουσίας ἀφειδῶς ἐμφορούμενος, ἀλλ' οὐχ ὡς ἴδιον ἔργον καὶ κατασκευάσμα τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένος οὕτως διατηρῆσαι σπουδάσει, ὃ θεὸς δὲ κατὰ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀν⁴ κήδοιτο. “ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δέδοκται ταῦτα ὑμῖν καὶ κεκράτηκεν ἡ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ὕβρις, τάχθητε πάντες κατὰ φυλάσσετε καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ κλήρους βάλετε.”

¹ εὐνοῦς om. ROE.

² καλεῖ RO : ἐκάλει E.

³ κτήμασι ed. pr. : jumentis Lat.

⁴ ἀν om. codd.

^a The renewed strictures of Samuel are an amplification of Scripture. His earlier warning (1 Sam. viii. 10) is given above in § 40.

thereof would excite jealousy and distrust, he held his peace ; nay, even to one who seemed most loyal of friends and whom he loved more affectionately than all those of his blood, he judged it neither safe nor prudent to disclose this secret—reflecting, I ween, on what human nature in truth is, and how no one, be he friend or kinsman, shows unwavering loyalty or preserves his affection when brilliant distinctions are bestowed by God, but all men straightway regard these eminences with malice and envy.

(4) Samuel now called the people together to the city of Masphatha and made them an address, which he delivered, as he told them, at the commandment of God. He said that, albeit God had granted them liberty and enslaved their enemies, they had been unmindful of His benefits and rejected His sovereignty, unaware that it was to their highest interest to have the best of all rulers at their head and that the best of all was God ; nay, they chose to have a man for their king, who would treat his subjects as chattels at his will and pleasure and at the impulse of his other passions, indulging his power to the full ; one who, not being the author and creator of the human race, would not lovingly study to preserve it, while God for that very reason would cherish it with care.^a “ Howbeit,” he added, “ since it pleases you thus, and this intent to outrage God has prevailed, range yourselves all of you by tribes and families^b and cast lots.”

The
assembly at
Mizpah.
1 Sam. x. 17.

^b The Gr. *σκῆπτρον*, lit. “ staff,” is the usual LXX rendering of Heb. *shēbet* which means both “ staff” and “ tribe.” Josephus here reverses the order of words in the LXX, 1 Sam. x. 19, where *σκῆπτρον* = “ tribe” and *φυλή* = “ family” ; *φυλή* in the LXX usually = “ tribe,” less often = “ family.”

JOSEPHUS

- 62 (5) Ποιησάντων δὲ τοῦτο τῶν Ἑβραίων ὁ τῆς Βενιαμίτιδος κλῆρος ἐξέπεσε, ταύτης δὲ κληρωθείσης ἔλαχεν ἡ Ματρὶς καλουμένη πατριά, ἧς κατ' ἄνδρα κληρωθείσης λαγχάνει ὁ Κεισαίου
- 63 βασιλεύειν παῖς Σαούλος. γνούς δὲ τοῦθ' ὁ νεανίσκος φθάσας ἐκποδῶν αὐτὸν ποιεῖ μὴ βουλόμενος, οἶμαι, δοκεῖν τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐκὼν λαμβάνειν, ἀλλὰ τοσαύτην ἐνεδείξατο ἐγκράτειαν καὶ σωφροσύνην, ὥστε τῶν πλείστων οὐδ' ἐπὶ μικραῖς εὐπραγίαις τὴν χαρὰν κατασχεῖν δυναμένων, ἀλλ' εἰς τὸ πᾶσι γενέσθαι φανεροῦς προπιπτόντων,¹ ὁ δ' οὐ μόνον οὐδὲν ἐνέφηγε τοιοῦτον ἐπὶ βασιλείᾳ καὶ τῶ τοσοῦτων καὶ τηλικούτων ἐθνῶν ἀποδεδείχθαι δεσπότης, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς ὄψεως αὐτὸν τῆς τῶν βασιλευθησομένων ἐξέκλεψεν καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν καὶ περὶ
- 64 τοῦτο πονεῖν παρεσκεύασεν. ὧν ἀμηχανούντων καὶ φροντιζόντων ὅ τι καὶ² γένοιτο ἀφανῆς ὁ Σαούλος, ὁ προφήτης ἰκέτευε τὸν θεὸν δεῖξαι ποῦ ποτ' εἶη καὶ παρασχεῖν εἰς ἐμφανὲς τὸν νεανίσκον.
- 65 μαθὼν δὲ παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ τὸν τόπον ἔνθα κέκρυπται³ ὁ Σαούλος πέμπει τοὺς ἄξοντας αὐτὸν καὶ παραγενόμενον ἴστησι μέσον τοῦ πλήθους. ἐξεῖχε δὲ ἀπάντων καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἦν βασιλικώτατος.
- 66 (6) Λέγει δὲ ὁ προφήτης· “τοῦτον ὑμῖν ὁ θεὸς ἔδωκε βασιλέα· ὁρᾶτε δὲ ὡς καὶ κρείττων ἐστὶ πάντων καὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς ἄξιος.” ὡς δ' ἐπευφήμησε τῷ βασιλεῖ σωτηρίαν ὁ λαός, τὰ μέλλοντα συμβῆσεσθαι καταγράψας αὐτοῖς ὁ προφήτης ἀνέγνω τοῦ βασιλέως ἀκρωμένου καὶ τὸ βιβλίον τίθησιν

¹ RE: προσιπτόντων rell.

² καὶ om. MSP: ἔτι μὴ conj. Schmidt.

³ κρύπτεται ROE.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 62-66

(5) The Hebrews having so done, the lot fell to the tribe of Benjamin, and when lots had been cast for it the family called *Matris*^a was successful; and lots being cast for the individuals of that family Saul son of Kis obtained the kingdom. Learning thereof, the young man promptly took himself away, not wishing, I imagine, to appear eager to take the sovereignty. Nay, such was the restraint and modesty^b displayed by him that, whereas most persons are unable to contain their joy over the slightest success but rush to display themselves before all the world, he, far from showing any such pride on obtaining a kingdom and being appointed lord of all those mighty peoples, actually stole away from the view of his future subjects and forced them to search for him, not without trouble. These being baffled and perplexed at Saul's disappearance, the prophet besought God to show where the young man was and to bring him before their eyes. And having learnt from God the place where Saul lay in hiding, he sent to fetch him and, when he was come, set him in the midst of the throng. And he overtopped them all and in stature was indeed most kingly.

Saul chosen
king.
1 Sam. x. 20.

(6) Then said the prophet, "This is he whom God hath given you for king; see how he both excels all and is worthy of sovereignty!" But after the acclamations of the people, "Long live the king!" the prophet, having put in writing for them all that should come to pass, read it in the hearing of the king^c and then laid up the book in the tabernacle of

Saul is
acclaimed
and returns
home.
1 Sam. x. 24.

^a *Bibl. Matri, LXX Marrapel, etc.*

^b Rabbinic tradition (*cf.* Ginzberg, vi. 231) also emphasizes Saul's modesty.

^c 1 Sam. x. 25 "Then Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom and wrote it in a book."

JOSEPHUS

- ἐν τῇ τοῦ θεοῦ σκηνῇ ταῖς μετέπειτα γενεαῖς
 67 μαρτύριον ὧν προεῖρηκε. ταῦτ' ἐπιτελέσας ὁ
 Σαμουήλος ἀπολύει τὴν πληθύν· καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς
 Ἄρμαθὰ παραγίνεται πόλιν, πατὴρ γὰρ ἦν αὐτῷ,
 Σαούλω δὲ ἀπερχομένῳ εἰς Γαβαθὴν, ἐξ ἧς
 ὑπῆρχε, συνήρχοντο πολλοὶ μὲν ἀγαθοὶ τὴν
 προσήκουσαν βασιλεῖ τιμὴν νέμοντες, πονηροὶ δὲ
 πλείους, οἳ καταφρονοῦντες αὐτοῦ καὶ τοὺς
 ἄλλους¹ ἐχλεύαζον καὶ οὔτε δῶρα προσέφερον
 οὔτ' ἐν σπουδῇ καὶ λόγῳ τὸ ἀρέσκεσθαι τὸν
 Σαούλον ἐτίθεντο.
- 68 (v. 1) Μηνὶ δ' ὕστερον ἄρχει² τῆς παρὰ πάντων
 αὐτῷ τιμῆς ὁ πρὸς Ναάσην πόλεμος τὸν τῶν
 Ἀμμαιτῶν βασιλέα· οὗτος γὰρ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς
 πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου ποταμοῦ κατωκημένους τῶν
 Ἰουδαίων διατίθησι, μετὰ πολλοῦ καὶ μαχίμου
 69 στρατεύματος διαβὰς ἐπ' αὐτούς· καὶ τὰς πόλεις
 αὐτῶν εἰς δουλείαν ὑπάγεται, ἰσχύι μὲν καὶ
 βίᾳ πρὸς τὸ παρὸν αὐτούς χειρωσάμενος, σοφίᾳ
 δὲ καὶ ἐπινοίᾳ πρὸς τὸ μηδ' αὐτῆς ἀποστάντας
 δυνηθῆναι τὴν ὑπ' αὐτῷ δουλείαν διαφυγεῖν ἀσθε-
 νεῖς ποιῶν· τῶν γὰρ ἢ κατὰ πίστιν ὡς αὐτὸν
 ἀφικνουμένων ἢ λαμβανομένων πολέμου νόμῳ τοὺς
 70 δεξιούς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξέκοπτεν. ἐποίει δὲ τοῦθ',
 ὅπως τῆς ἀριστερᾶς αὐτοῖς ὄψεως ὑπὸ τῶν θυρεῶν
 71 καλυπτομένης ἄχρηστοι παντελῶς εἶεν. καὶ ὁ μὲν
 τῶν Ἀμμαιτῶν βασιλεὺς ταῦτ' ἐργασάμενος τοὺς
 πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου, ἐπὶ τοὺς Γαλαθηνοὺς λεγο-

¹ πολλοὺς ROE.

² SP: ἀρχὴ rell.

^a Josephus follows the LXX, which begins a new chapter (1 Sam. xi.) with the words *μετὰ μῆνα*, probably reading *mi-hōdesh* "after a month," whereas the Heb. (x. 27 = end of

God, as a testimony to after generations of what he had foretold. That task accomplished, Samuel dismissed the multitude and betook himself to the city of Armatha, his native place. Saul, for his part, departed for Gabatha, whence he was sprung; he was accompanied by many honest folk, tendering him the homage due to a king, but by knaves yet more, who, holding him in contempt, derided the rest and neither offered him presents nor took any pains or care to gain the favour of Saul.

(v. 1) However, a month later,^a he began to win the esteem of all by the war with Naas,^b king of the Ammanites. For this monarch had done much harm to the Jews who had settled beyond the river Jordan, having invaded their territory with a large and warlike army. Reducing their cities to servitude, he not only by force and violence secured their subjection in the present, but by cunning and ingenuity weakened them in order that they might never again be able to revolt and escape from servitude to him; for he cut out the right eyes of all who either surrendered to him under oath or were captured by right of war. This he did with intent—since the left eye was covered by the buckler—to render them utterly unservicable. Having then so dealt with the people beyond Jordan,^c the Ammanite king carried his arms against those called Galadenians.^d

War with
Nahash the
Ammonite.
1 Sam. xi. 1.

preceding chapter) has *maharish* “was silent,” referring to Saul’s attitude toward the disaffected elements.

^b Bibl. Nahash, LXX Naás.

^c These earlier conquests of Nahash are not mentioned in Scripture.

^d Bibl. Jabesh Gilead, that is the city Jabesh (perhaps modern *Wady Yābis*) in Gilead, the country east of the Jordan, extending north and south of the river Jabbok.

JOSEPHUS

- μένους ἐπεστράτευσε καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενος πρὸς τῇ μητροπόλει τῶν πολεμίων, Ἰαβὶς δ' ἐστὶν αὕτη, πέμπει πρὸς αὐτοὺς πρέσβεις κελεύων ἤδη¹ παραδοῦναι σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῷ τοὺς δεξιούς αὐτῶν ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐξορύξαι, ἢ πολιορκήσῃν² ἢ πείλει καὶ τὰς πόλεις αὐτῶν ἀναστήσῃν· τὴν δ' αἴρεσιν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, πότερόν ποτε βραχὺ τι τοῦ σώματος ἀποτεμεῖν θέλουσιν ἢ παντάπασι³ ἀπολωλέναι.
- 72 οἱ δὲ Γαλαθηνοὶ καταπλαγέντες πρὸς οὐδέτερον μὲν ἐτόλμησαν οὐδὲν εἰπεῖν, οὐτ' εἰ παραδιδόασιν αὐτοὺς οὐτ' εἰ πολεμοῦσιν, ἀνοχὴν δ' ἡμερῶν ἑπτὰ λαβεῖν ἠξίωσαν, ἵνα πρεσβευσάμενοι πρὸς τοὺς ὁμοφύλους παρακαλέσωσι συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς καὶ εἰ μὲν ἔλθοι βοήθεια πολεμῶσιν, εἰ δ' ἄπορα εἴη τὰ παρ' ἐκείνων, παραδώσειν αὐτοὺς ἔφασκον ἐπὶ τῷ παθεῖν ὃ τι ἂν αὐτῷ δοκῇ.
- 73 (2) Ὁ δὲ Ναάσης καταφρονήσας τοῦ τῶν Γαλαθῶν πλήθους καὶ τῆς ἀποκρίσεως αὐτῶν, δίδωστέ αὐτοῖς τὴν ἀνοχὴν καὶ πέμπειν πρὸς οὓς ἂν θέλωσι συμμαχοῦς ἐπιτρέπει. πέμψαντες⁴ οὖν εὐθὺς κατὰ πόλιν τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις διήγγελλον⁵ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ Ναάσου καὶ τὴν ἀμηχανίαν ἐν ἣ καθειστή-
- 74 κεσαν. οἱ δ' εἰς δάκρυα καὶ λύπην ὑπὸ τῆς ἀκοῆς τῶν περὶ τοὺς Ἰαβισσηνοὺς προήχθησαν καὶ πέρα τούτων οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἄλλο πράττειν συνεχώρει τὸ δέος· γενομένων δὲ τῶν ἀγγέλων καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως πόλει καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἐν οἷς εἶναι συνέβαινε τοὺς Ἰαβισσηνοὺς φρασάντων, ὁ μὲν λαὸς ταῦτὰ τοῖς πρώτοις ἔπασχεν· ὠδύρετο γὰρ

¹ RO: ἢ rell.

² conj. Niese: πολιορκῆσαι codd.

³ πάντες MSP Lat.

⁴ πέμπουσιν ROE.

⁵ οἱ ἠγγελλον RO.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI. 71-74

Pitching his camp near the capital of his enemies, to ^{1 Sam. xi. 2} wit Jabis, he sent envoys to them, bidding them instantly to surrender on the understanding that their right eyes would be put out: if not, he threatened to besiege and overthrow their cities: it was for them to choose, whether they preferred the cutting out a small portion of the body or to perish utterly. The Galadenians, terror-struck, durst not reply at all to either proposal, whether they would surrender or whether they would fight; but they asked for a seven days' respite, in order to send envoys to their countrymen and solicit their support: if assistance were forthcoming they would fight, but if there should be no hope from that quarter, they undertook to deliver themselves up to suffer whatsoever should seem good to him.

(2) Naas, contemptuous of these Galadenian people and their answer, gave them their respite and permission to send to whatever allies they would. They ^{Saul learns of the Gileadites plight. 1 Sam. xi. 4.} therefore straightway sent messengers to each city of the Israelites to report the menaces of Naas and the desperate straits whereto they were reduced. These, on hearing of the plight of the men of Jabis, were moved to tears and grief, but, beyond that, fear permitted them to do no more. When, however, the messengers reached the city of king Saul and recounted the peril wherein they of Jabis lay, the people here too were moved even as were those others,

JOSEPHUS

- 75 τὴν συμφορὰν τὴν τῶν συγγενῶν· ὁ δὲ Σαοῦλος ἀπὸ τῶν περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν παραγενόμενος ἔργων εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἐπιτυγχάνει κλαίουσι τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις, καὶ πυθόμενος τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς συγχύσεως καὶ κατηφείας αὐτῶν μαυθάνει τὰ παρὰ τῶν
- 76 ἀγγέλων. καὶ ἔνθεος γενόμενος ἀποπέμπει μὲν τοὺς Ἰαβισηγούς, ὑποσχόμενος αὐτοῖς ἥξειν βοηθὸς τῇ τρίτῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν καὶ πρὶν ἥλιον ἀνασχεῖν κρατήσῃ τῶν πολεμίων, ἵνα καὶ νενικηκότας ἦδη καὶ τῶν φόβων ἀπηλλαγμένους ὁ ἥλιος ἐπιτείλας ἴδῃ· ὑπομείναι δ' ἐκέλευσέ τινας αὐτῶν ἡγησομένους τῆς ὁδοῦ.
- 77 (3) Βουλόμενος δὲ φόβῳ ζημίας τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πρὸς Ἀμμανίτας ἐπιστρέψαι πόλεμον καὶ συνελθεῖν αὐτοὺς ὀξύτερον, ὑποτεμῶν τῶν αὐτοῦ βοῶν τὰ νεῦρα ταυτὰ¹ διαθήσειν ἠπειλήσῃ τοὺς ἀπάντων, εἰ μὴ πρὸς τὸν Ἰόρδανον ὀπλισμένοι κατὰ τὴν ἐπιουῶσαν ἀπαντήσουσιν ἡμέραν καὶ ἀκολουθήσουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ Σαμουήλῳ τῷ προφῆτῃ, ὅπου
- 78 ποτ' ἂν αὐτοὺς ἀγάγωσι. τῶν δὲ δι' εὐλάβειαν τῆς κατεπηγγελμένης ζημίας εἰς τὸν ὠρισμένον καιρὸν συνελθόντων ἐξαριθμεῖται ἐν Βαλαῖ τῇ πόλει τὸ πλῆθος· εὐρίσκει δὲ τὸν ἀριθμὸν χωρὶς τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς εἰς ἑβδομήκοντα μυριάδας συνειλεγμένους, τῆς δὲ φυλῆς ἐκείνης ἦσαν μυ-
- 79 ριάδες ἑπτὰ. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν Ἰόρδανον καὶ σχοίνων

¹ Niese: ταῦτα RO Lat.: ταὐτὸ SPE: τοῦτο M.

for they bewailed the calamity of their brethren ; but Saul, entering the city from his labours in husbandry, encountered his fellow-citizens in tears and, on asking the reason for their distress and dejection, learnt the messengers' report. Thereon, divinely inspired, he dismissed the men from Jabis with a promise to come to their aid on the third day^a and ere sunrise to defeat the foe, so that the ascending sun should see them already victors and freed from their fears. Some, however, among them he bade remain with him so that they might guide him on his march.

(3) Then wishing to urge the people, through fear of the penalty, to the war against the Ammanites and that they might come together more quickly he cut the sinews^b of his own oxen and threatened to do the like to the beasts of all who should fail to appear at the Jordan in arms on the following day and follow him and Samuel the prophet whithersoever they should lead them. But when they, through fear of the threatened penalty, mustered at the appointed hour, he had the host numbered at the city of Bala^c and found them to have gathered together to the number of 700,000,^d apart from the tribe of Judah : of that tribe there were 70,000.^e Then crossing the Jordan and accomplishing in an all-

1 Sam xl. 8

^a In Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 9) Saul (or, in the Heb., the Israelites) promises that deliverance will come on the morrow ; moreover, the promise is made after the tribes are summoned.

^b In Scripture (1 Sam. xi. 7) Saul dismembers a team of oxen and sends the pieces throughout the borders of Israel.

^c Bibl. Bezek, LXX Βέζεκ ('Αβιέζεκ etc.) ἐν Βαμά, perhaps the modern *Khirbet Ibziq*, about twelve miles N. E. of Shechem and a little W. of the Jordan, opposite Jabesh Gilead.

^d Heb. 300,000, LXX 600,000.

^e Heb. 30,000, LXX 70,000.

JOSEPHUS

δέκα δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς ἀνύσας ὁδὸν φθάνει μὲν ἥλιον ἀνίσχοντα, τριχῆ δὲ τὸ στράτευμα διελὼν ἐπιπίπτει πανταχόθεν αἰφνιδίως οὐ προσδοκῶσι τοῖς ἐχθροῖς, καὶ συμβαλὼν εἰς μάχην ἄλλους τε πολλοὺς ἀποκτείνει τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Ναάσην
 80 τὸν βασιλέα. τοῦτο λαμπρὸν ἐπράχθη τῷ Σαούλῳ τὸ ἔργον καὶ πρὸς πάντας αὐτὸν διήγγειλε τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἐπαινούμενον καὶ θαυμαστῆς ἀπολαύοντα δόξης ἐπ' ἀνδρεία· καὶ γὰρ εἴ τινες ἦσαν οἱ πρότερον αὐτοῦ κατεφρόνουσαν, τότε μετέστησαν ἐπὶ τὸ τιμᾶν καὶ πάντων ἄριστον νομίζειν· οὐ γὰρ ἤρκεσεν αὐτῷ τοὺς Ἰαβισηνοὺς σεσωκέναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ τῶν Ἀμμανιτῶν ἐπιστρατεύσας χώρα πᾶσαν αὐτὴν καταστρέφεται καὶ πολλὴν λαβὼν
 81 λείαν λαμπρὸς¹ εἰς τὴν οἰκειάν ὑπέστρεψεν. ὁ δὲ λαὸς ὑφ' ἡδονῆς τῶν Σαούλῳ κατωρθωμένων ἔχαιρε μὲν ὅτι τοιοῦτον ἐχειροτόνησε βασιλέα, πρὸς δὲ τοὺς οὐδὲν ὄφελος αὐτὸν ἔσεσθαι τοῖς πράγμασι λέγοντας ἐβόων “ποῦ νῦν εἰσιν οὗτοι” καὶ “δότησαν δίκην” καὶ πάνθ' ὅσα φιλεῖ λέγειν ὄχλος ἐπ' εὐπραγίαις ἡρμένος πρὸς τοὺς ἐξευτε-
 82 λίζοντας ἔναγχος τοὺς τούτων αἰτίους. Σαοῦλος δὲ τούτων μὲν ἠσπάζετο τὴν εὐνοίαν καὶ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν προθυμίαν, ὤμοσε δὲ μήτινα περιόψεσθαι τῶν ὁμοφύλων ἀναιρούμενον ἐπ' ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας· ἄτοπον γὰρ εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ δεδομένην νίκην αἵματι φῦραι καὶ φόνῳ τῶν ἐκ

¹ λαμπρῶς ROME.

night march a distance of ten *schoenoi*,^a he arrived before the sun was up and, dividing his army into three, fell suddenly from all sides upon the foe, who looked for no such thing, and having joined battle he slew multitudes of the Ammanites and king Naas himself.^b This brilliant exploit achieved by Saul spread his praises throughout all the Hebrews and procured him a marvellous renown for valiance ; for if there were some who before despised him, they were now brought round to honour him and to deem him the noblest of all men. For, not content with having rescued the inhabitants of Jabis, he invaded the country of the Ammanites, subdued it all, and, having taken much booty, returned in glory to his own land.^c The people, in their delight at Saul's achievements, exulted at having elected such a king, and, turning upon those who had declared that he would bring no profit to the state, they cried, " Where now are those men ? ", " Let them pay for it ! "— in short all that a crowd, elated by success, is wont to utter against those who were of late disparaging the authors of it. But Saul, while welcoming their goodwill and devotion to himself, yet swore that he would not suffer one of his countrymen to be put to death that day, for it were monstrous to defile that God-given victory with bloodshed and murder of men of

Saul's
victory over
Nahash the
Ammonite.
1 Sam. xi. 12.

^a The *schoenos* varied in length between thirty and forty stades, that is, roughly between four and five miles. The length of Saul's march, not given in Scripture, was, therefore, between forty and fifty miles. The distance between the supposed sites of Bezek and Jabesh Gilead is less than twenty miles.

^b 1 Sam. xi. 1 " not two men were left together."

^c This conquest of Ammonite territory is not mentioned in Scripture.

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- ταῦτοῦ γένους αὐτοῖς, πρέπειν δὲ μᾶλλον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐμενῶς διακειμένους¹ ἐορτάζειν.
- 83 (4) Σαμουήλου δὲ φήσαντος καὶ δευτέρᾳ δεῖν χειροτονίᾳ Σαούλω τὴν βασιλείαν ἐπικυρῶσαι συνίασι πάντες εἰς Γάλαγα πόλιν· ἐκεῖ γὰρ αὐτοὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἔλθειν. καὶ πάλιν ὄρωντος τοῦ πλήθους ὁ προφήτης χρίει τὸν Σαούλον τῷ ἁγίῳ ἐλαίῳ καὶ δεύτερον ἀναγορεύει βασιλέα. καὶ οὕτως ἢ τῶν Ἑβραίων πολιτεία εἰς βασιλείαν
- 84 μετέπεσεν. ἐπὶ γὰρ Μωυσέος καὶ τοῦ μαθητοῦ αὐτοῦ Ἰησοῦ, ὃς ἦν στρατηγός, ἀριστοκρατούμενοι διετέλουν· μετὰ δὲ τὴν ἐκείνου² τελευταίαν ἔτεσι τοῖς πᾶσι δέκα καὶ πρὸς τούτοις ὀκτὼ τὸ
- 85 πλῆθος αὐτῶν ἀναρχία κατέσχε. μετὰ ταῦτα δ' εἰς τὴν προτέραν ἐπανῆλθον πολιτείαν τῷ κατὰ πόλεμον ἀρίστῳ δόξαντι γεγενῆσθαι καὶ κατ' ἀνδρείαν περὶ τῶν ὄλων δικάζειν ἐπιτρέποντες· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τὸν χρόνον τοῦτον τῆς πολιτείας κριτῶν ἐκάλεσαν.
- 86 (5) Ἐκκλησίαν δὲ Σαμουήλος ποιήσας ὁ προφήτης τῶν Ἑβραίων “ἐπόμνυμαι,”³ φησὶν, “ὕμῖν τὸν μέγιστον θεόν, ὃς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς⁴ ἐκείνους, λέγω δὴ Μωυσῆν καὶ Ἀαρῶνα, παρήγαγεν εἰς τὸν βίον καὶ τοὺς πατέρας ἡμῶν ἐξήρπασεν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ τῆς ὑπ' αὐτοῖς δουλείας, μηδὲν μῆτ' αἰδοῦ χαρισαμένους μῆτε ὑποστειλαμένους φόβῳ μῆτε ἄλλῳ τινὶ πάθει παραχωρήσαντας εἰπεῖν, εἰ⁵ τί μοι πέπρακται σκαιὸν καὶ ἄδικον ἢ κέρδους ἕνεκα ἢ
- 87 πλεονεξίας ἢ χάριτος τῆς πρὸς ἄλλους· ἐλέγξαι δὲ

¹ τῶν ἐκ ταύτου . . . διακειμένους SP: τῶν πρὸς ἀλλήλους συγγενῶν RO. ² ἐκείνων SP Lat. ³ ἐπόμνυμι SPE.

⁴ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς om. RO.

⁵ εἰ om. ROME.

their own race, and it better beseemed them to keep feast in a spirit of mutual goodwill.^a

(4) Samuel having now declared it necessary to confirm the kingdom to Saul by a second election, all assembled at the city of Galgala,^b for thither had he bade them come. So yet again, in the sight of all the people, the prophet anointed Saul with the holy oil, and for the second time proclaimed him king. And thus was the government of the Hebrews transformed into a monarchy. For under Moses and his disciple Joshua, who was commander-in-chief, they remained under aristocratic rule: after Joshua's death for full eighteen years^c the people continued in a state of anarchy: whereafter they returned to their former polity, entrusting supreme judicial authority to him who in battle and in bravery had proved himself the best; and that is why they called this period of their political life the age of Judges.

(5) Samuel the prophet now called an assembly of the Hebrews and said: "I adjure you by the most High God, who brought those excellent brothers, I mean Moses and Aaron, into this world, and rescued our fathers from the Egyptians and bondage beneath their yoke, that without showing favour through respect, without suppressing aught through fear, without giving room to any other feeling, ye tell me if I have done anything sinister and unjust through love of lucre or cupidity or out of favour to others.

^a Variant reading (after "bloodshed"); "and to celebrate it (the victory) with the murder of their kinsmen."

^b Bibl. Gilgal. Probably the city near Jericho is meant. Cf. *A.* v. 20.

^c The only basis for this number seems to be the interval of Moabite oppression after the death of Kenaz, the first judge (according to Josephus). Cf. *A.* v. 187.

Samuel a second time proclaims Saul king. 1 Sam. xi. 14.

Samuel's address to the people. 1 Sam. xii. 1

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εἰ καὶ τῶν τοιούτων τι προσηκάμην, μόσχον ἢ πρόβατον, ἃ πρὸς τροφήν ἀνεμέσητον δοκεῖ λαμβάνειν, ἢ εἴ τις ὑποζύγιον εἰς ἐμὴν ἀποσπάσας χρεῖαν ἐλύπησα, τούτων ἔν τι κατειπεῖν παρόντος ὑμῶν τοῦ βασιλέως.” οἱ δὲ ἀνέκραγον τούτων οὐδὲν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ γεγονέναι, προστῆναι δὲ ὁσίως αὐτὸν καὶ δικαίως τοῦ ἔθνους.

- 88 (6) Σαμουήλος δὲ ταύτης ἐξ ἀπάντων τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτῷ γενομένης “ἐπεὶ δεδώκατέ μοι,” φησί, “τὸ μηδὲν ἄτοπον ἔθ’ ὑμᾶς περὶ ἐμοῦ δύνασθαι λέγειν, φέρε νῦν μετὰ παρρησίας ἀκούσατέ μου λέγοντος, ὅτι μεγάλα ἠσεβήσατε εἰς
89 τὸν θεόν, αἰτησάμενοι βασιλέα. διαμνημονεύειν δὲ ὑμᾶς προσῆκεν, ὅτι σὺν ἑβδομήκοντα μόνοις ἐκ τοῦ γένους ἡμῶν ὁ πάππος Ἰάκωβος διὰ λιμὸν εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἦλθε, κακεῖ πολλῶν μυριάδων ἐπιτεκνωθεισῶν, ἃς εἰς δουλείας καὶ χαλεπὰς ὕβρεις ἤγαγον οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι, ὁ θεὸς εὐξαμένων τῶν πατέρων χωρὶς βασιλέως παρέσχεν αὐτοῖς ρύσασθαι τῆς ἀνάγκης τὸ πλῆθος, Μωυσῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ Ἀαρῶνα πέμψας ἀδελφούς, οἱ ἤγαγον ὑμᾶς
90 εἰς τήνδε τὴν γῆν, ἣν νῦν ἔχετε. καὶ τούτων ἀπολαύσαντες ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ προδεδώκατε τὴν θρησκείαν καὶ τὴν εὐσέβειαν. οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ὑποχειρίους γενομένους ἠλευθέρωσε πρῶτον μὲν Ἀσσυρίων καὶ τῆς ἐκείνων ἰσχύος ὑπερτέρους ἀπεργασάμενος, ἔπειτα Ἀμμανιτῶν κρατῆσαι παρασχὼν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ τελευταίων¹ Παλαιστίνων. καὶ ταῦτ’ οὐ βασιλέως ἡγουμένου διεπράξασθε, ἀλλ’ Ἰεφθάου καὶ Γε-

¹ τελευταῖον MSP.

Convict me if I have accepted aught of such things, heifer or sheep, the acceptance of which for food is yet deemed void of offence ; or if I have aggrieved any man by purloining his beast of burden for my own use, convict me of any one such crime here in the presence of your king.” Thereat all cried out that he had done none of these things, but had governed the nation with holiness and justice.

(6) Then Samuel, having received this testimony from them all, said : “ Seeing that ye grant me that ye can lay no crime to my charge to this day, come now and hearken while I tell you with all boldness what great impiety ye have shown towards God in asking for a king. Nay, it behoved you to remember how that with but seventy souls of our race our grandsire Jacob, through stress of famine, came into Egypt ; and how there, when his posterity, increased by many myriads, had been subjected to bondage and grievous outrage by the Egyptians, God, at the prayer of our fathers, without any king, brought deliverance to the multitude from their distress by sending to them the brothers Moses and Aaron, who brought you into this land which ye now possess. And yet after enjoying these things from God, ye have been traitors to His worship and His religion. Yet for all that, when ye were fallen under the hand of your enemies, He delivered you, first by causing you to triumph over the Assyrians^a and their might, then by granting you victory over the Ammanites and Moabites, and last over the Philistines. And all this ye accomplished, not under the leadership of a king, but with Jephthah

Samuel protests against election of a king.
1 Sam. xii. 7.

^a A reference to the victory over King Cushan of Aram-Naharaim (Jd. iii. 8), whom Josephus, *A.* v. 180, calls “king of the Assyrians.”

- 91 δεῶνος στρατηγούντων. τίς οὖν ἔσχεν ὑμᾶς ἄνοια φυγεῖν μὲν τὸν θεόν, ὑπὸ βασιλέα δὲ εἶναι θέλειν; ἀλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπέδειξα τοῦτον ὃν αὐτὸς ἐπελέξατο. ἵνα μέντοι γε φανερόν ὑμῖν¹ ποιήσω τὸν θεὸν ὀργιζόμενον καὶ δυσχεραίνοντα τῇ τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν αἰρέσει, δηλώσαι τοῦθ' ὑμῖν τὸν θεόν² παρασκευάσω διὰ σημείων ἐναργῶς· ὁ γὰρ οὐδέπω πρότερον εἶδεν³ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς ἐνταῦθα γεγενημένον, θέρους ἀκμῇ χειμῶνα, αἰτησάμενος τὸν θεὸν
- 92 παρέξω τοῦτο νῦν ὑμῖν ἐπιγνῶναι." καὶ ταῦτα εἰπόντος πρὸς τὸ πλῆθος τοῦ Σαμουήλου, βρονταῖς σημαίνει τὸ θεῖον καὶ ἀστραπαῖς καὶ χαλάζης καταφορᾷ τὴν τοῦ προφήτου περὶ πάντων ἀλήθειαν, ὡς τεθαμβηκότας αὐτοὺς καὶ περιδεεῖς γινόμενους ἀμαρτεῖν τε ὁμολογεῖν καὶ κατ' ἄγνοιαν εἰς τοῦτο προπεσεῖν, καὶ ἰκετεύειν τὸν προφήτην ὡς πατέρα χρηστὸν καὶ ἐπιεικῆ, τὸν θεὸν αὐτοῖς εὐμενῆ καταστήσαι καὶ ταύτην ἀφεῖναι τὴν ἀμαρτίαν, ἣν πρὸς οἷς ἐξύβρισαν ἄλλοις καὶ παρ-
- 93 ἠνόμησαν προσεχειργάσαντο. ὁ δὲ ὑπισχνεῖται καὶ παρακαλέσειν τὸν θεὸν συγγνῶναι περὶ τούτων αὐτοῖς καὶ πείσειν, συνεβούλευε μέντοι δικαίους εἶναι καὶ ἀγαθοὺς καὶ μνημονεύειν αἰεὶ τῶν διὰ τὴν παράβασιν τῆς ἀρετῆς αὐτοῖς κακῶν συμπεσόντων καὶ τῶν σημείων τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τῆς Μωυσέος νομοθεσίας, εἰ σωτηρίας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς μετὰ τοῦ βασιλέως εὐδαιμονίας ἐστὶν ἐπιθυμία.
- 94 εἰ δὲ τούτων ἀμελήσουσιν, ἔλεγεν ἥξειν αὐτοῖς τε καὶ τῷ βασιλεῖ μεγάλην ἐκ θεοῦ πληγὴν. καὶ ὁ⁴ Σαμουήλος μὲν ταῦτα τοῖς Ἑβραίοις προφη-

¹ ὑμῖν om. RO.

² τὸν θεὸν om. RO.

³ οἶδεν conj. Niese.

⁴ ὁ om. RO.

and Gedeon for generals. What madness then possessed you to flee your God and to wish to be under a king? Nay, I have appointed him whom He Himself hath chosen. Howbeit, to manifest to you that God is wroth and ill-content at your choice of kingly rule, I will prevail with Him to reveal this to you by signs clearly. For that which not one of you ever saw befall here before—a tempest at midsummer—that through prayer to God I shall cause you now to witness.” Scarce had Samuel spoken these words to the people, when the Deity by thunderings, lightning, and a torrent of hail, attested the truth of all that the prophet had said; whereat astounded and terrified they confessed their sin, into which, they said, they had fallen through ignorance, and implored the prophet, as a kind and gentle father, to render God gracious to them that He might forgive this sin which they had committed in addition to all their other insolences and transgressions. And he promised that he would beseech God to pardon them in this thing and would withal move Him thereto; howbeit, he exhorted them to be righteous and good, and ever to remember the ills that their transgression of virtue had brought upon them, the miracles of God and the legislation of Moses, if they had any desire for continued salvation and continued felicity under their king. But should they neglect these things, there would come, said he, both on them and on their king a great visitation from God. And after thus prophesying to the Hebrews, Samuel dismissed them to their

The storm
attests
God's dis-
pleasure.
1 Sam. xii.
18.

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- τεύσας ἀπέλυσεν αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεία βεβαιώσας ἐκ δευτέρου τῷ Σαούλῳ τὴν βασιλείαν.
- 95 (vi. 1) Οὗτος δ' ἐπιλέξας ἐκ τοῦ πλήθους ὡς περὶ¹ τρισχιλίους, τοὺς μὲν δισχιλίους ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν² λαβὼν αὐτὸς διέτριβεν ἐν πόλει Βεθήβῳ,³ Ἰωνάθῃ δὲ τῷ παιδί τοὺς λοιποὺς δούς ὥστε σωματοφυλακεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς Γέβαλ⁴ ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δ' ἐκπολιορκεῖ τι φρούριον
- 96 τῶν Παλαιστίνων οὐ πόρρω Γεβάλων. οἱ γὰρ⁵ Παλαιστῖνοι καταστρεφόμενοι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τὰ τε ὄπλα αὐτοὺς ἀφηροῦντο καὶ τοὺς ὄχυρωτάτους τῆς χώρας τόπους φρουραῖς κατελαμβάνοντο καὶ σιδηροφορεῖν χρῆσθαι⁶ τε καθάπαξ ἀπηγόρευον σιδήρῳ, καὶ διὰ ταύτην τὴν ἀπόρρησιν⁷ οἱ γεωργοί, εἴποτε δεήσει⁸ αὐτοὺς ἐπισκευάσαι τι τῶν ἐργαλείων, ἢ ὕνιν ἢ δίκηλλαν⁸ ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν εἰς γεωργίαν χρησίμων, φοιτῶντες εἰς τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ταῦτα
- 97 ἔπραττον. ὡς δὲ ἠκούσθη τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἢ τῆς φρουρᾶς ἀναίρεσις ἀγανακτήσαντες καὶ δεινὴν ὕβριν τὴν καταφρόνησιν ἠγησάμενοι στρατεύουσιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους πεζῶν μὲν τριάκοντα μυριάσιν ἄρμασι δὲ τρισμυρίοις, ἵππον δὲ ἑξακισχιλίαν
- 98 ἐπήγοντο· καὶ στρατοπεδευσάμενων⁹ πρὸς πόλει Μαχμά, τοῦτο Σαούλος ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς

¹ περὶ om. RO.

² ὥστε . . . αὐτὸν om. Lat.

³ Bethleem Lat.

⁴ Γαβὰς MSP: Gabatha Lat.

⁵ + τῆς Γαβὰς MSP: Lat.

⁶ κεχρησθαι Schmidt cum RO.

⁷ πόρρησιν RO: causam Lat.

⁸ RO: μάκελλαν (-ην) rell.

⁹ στρατοπεδεύονται MSP Lat.

^a Gr. Bethēbos, bibl. Bethel.

^b The repetition of the Greek phrase "to guard his body" indicates a text corruption.

homes, having for the second time confirmed the kingdom to Saul.

(vi. 1) But Saul chose out of the multitude some three thousand men, and taking two thousand for his bodyguard abode for his part in the city of Bethēl(os)^a; the rest he gave as guards^b to his son Jonathan and sent him to Gebala.^c And Jonathan besieged and took a fortress of the Philistines not far from Gebala. For the Philistines, in their subjugation of the Jews, 19. had deprived them of their arms and occupied the strongest positions in the country with garrisons, further forbidding the vanquished to carry any weapon of iron or to make any use at all of iron. In consequence of this interdict, whenever the peasantry needed to repair any of their tools, ploughshare or mattock or other agricultural instrument, they would go to the Philistines to do this. So when the Philis- 5. tines heard of the destruction of their garrison, infuriated and deeming such scorn of them a monstrous affront, they marched against the Jews with 300,000 footmen,^d 30,000 chariots, and 6000 horse to support them, and pitched their camp beside the city of Machma.^e On learning of this, Saul, king of 3.

Saul pre-
pares for
war with
the
Philistines.
1 Sam. xiii. 2.

^c Bibl. Gibeath Benjamin, LXX Γαβεῆ (Γαβαὰ etc.) τοῦ Βενιαμὲν, perhaps a different site from the Gaba (bibl. Gibeah) mentioned in *A.* v. 140. Gibeah (of which Gibeath is a construct form in Hebrew) and Gaba or Geba are related words meaning "hill," *cf.* LXX βουνός. The relation of various sites by these names in the same territory is uncertain because of their confusion in Scripture.

^d Scripture gives no number for the foot-soldiers. *Cf.* 1 Sam. xiii. 5 "and people like the sand on the seashore in multitude."

^e Bibl. Michmash, LXX Μαχεμάς, Μαχμάς, etc., modern *Mukhmās*, about two miles N.W. of the supposed site of Geba, and eight miles N.W. of Jerusalem.

- μαθῶν εἰς Γάλαλα καταβαίνει πόλιν καὶ διὰ πάσης κηρύσσει τῆς χώρας, ἐπ' ἐλευθερίᾳ καλῶν τὸν λαὸν ἐπὶ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν πρὸς Παλαιστίνους, τὴν δύναμιν ἐκφραυρίζων αὐτῶν καὶ διασύρων ὡς οὐκ ἀξιόλογον οὐδ' ὥστε φοβεῖσθαι διακινδυνεύειν πρὸς
 99 αὐτούς. κατανοήσαντες δὲ τὸ πλήθος τῶν Παλαιστίνων οἱ τοῦ Σαούλου κατεπλάγησαν, καὶ οἱ μὲν εἰς τὰ σπήλαια καὶ τοὺς ὑπονόμους ἔκρυψαν αὐτούς, οἱ πλείους δὲ εἰς τὴν πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου γῆν ἔφυγον· αὕτη δ' ἦν Γάδου καὶ Ῥουβήλου.
- 100 (2) Πέμφας δὲ Σαούλος πρὸς τὸν προφήτην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτὸν συνδιασκεψόμενον περὶ τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. ὁ δὲ περιμένειν αὐτὸν ἐκέλευσεν αὐτόθι καὶ παρασκευάζειν θύματα· μετὰ γὰρ ἡμέρας ἕξ¹ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἦξειν, ὅπως θύσωσι τῇ ἑβδόμῃ τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἔπειθ' οὕτως
 101 συμβάλωσι τοῖς πολεμίοις. καὶ περιμένει μὲν ὡς ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι γε διατηρεῖ τὴν ἐντολήν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἑώρα βραδύνοντα μὲν τὸν προφήτην, αὐτὸν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατιωτῶν καταλειπόμενον, λαβὼν τὰ θύματα τὴν θυσίαν ἐπετέλει². ἐπεὶ δὲ τὸν Σαμουῆλον ἤκουσε προσιόντα ὑπ-
 102 αντησόμενος ἐξῆλθεν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ὀρθῶς αὐτὸν ἔφη πεποιηκέναι παρακούσαντα ὧν ἐπέστειλεν αὐτὸς καὶ φθάσαντα τὴν παρουσίαν, ἣν κατὰ βούλησιν γινομένην τοῦ θείου πρὸς τὰς εὐχὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ πλήθους προλάβοι, κακῶς
 103 ἱερουργήσας καὶ προπετῆς γενόμενος. ἀπολογουμένου δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ περιμεῖναι μὲν τὰς

¹ om. RO: septem Lat.² προσήγαγεν MSP.

the Hebrews, came down to the city of Galgala and sent heralds throughout all the country to call up the people in the name of liberty to the war against the Philistines, belittling and disparaging their strength as inconsiderable and not such that they need fear to hazard battle with them.^a But, on perceiving that 6. host of Philistines, Saul's recruits were in consternation ; and while some hid themselves in the caverns and cavities, the more part fled beyond the Jordan into the territory of Gad and Rubel.^b

(2) Saul then sent word to the prophet, summoning him to his presence to confer with him concerning the war and the situation. Samuel bade him wait where he was and make ready victims for sacrifice, for after six days he would come to him, that so they might sacrifice on the seventh day and, that done, join battle with the enemy. So Saul waited awhile as the prophet had enjoined upon him ; then, however, he would observe his command no longer, but when he saw that the prophet tarried and that his own soldiers were deserting him, he took the victims and performed the sacrifice himself. Then, hearing that Samuel was approaching, he went out to meet him. But the prophet told him that he had not done rightly in disobeying his injunctions and anticipating his advent : he was paying that visit in accordance with the will of the Deity to preside at the prayers and the sacrifices on behalf of the people, and now he had forestalled him by having offered sacrifice wrongly and by his precipitate haste. Thereat Saul excused himself, saying that he had waited during those

Saul's premature sacrifice. 1 Sam. xiii. 8.

x. 8.

xiii. 9.

^a Saul's disparaging remarks about the Philistines are an addition to Scripture.

^b 1 Sam. xiii. 7 "and the land of Gad and Gilead."

ἡμέρας ἃς ὤρισε λέγοντος, ὑπὸ δὲ ἀνάγκης καὶ ἀναχωρήσεως μὲν τῶν αὐτοῦ στρατιωτῶν διὰ φόβον, στρατοπεδείας δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐν Μαχμᾶ καὶ ἀκοῆς τῆς ἐπ' αὐτὸν εἰς Γάλγαλα καταβάσεως ἐπειχθῆναι πρὸς τὴν θυσίαν, ὑπολαβὼν δὲ ὁ

104 Σαμουῆλος “ἀλλὰ σύγε,” φησὶν, “εἰ δίκαιος ἦσθα καὶ μὴ παρήκουσας ἐμοῦ μηδ' ὧν ὑπέθετό μοι περὶ τῶν παρόντων ὁ θεὸς ὠλιγώρησας ταχύτερος ἢ συνέφερε τοῖς πράγμασι γεγονώς, σοὶ τ' αὐτῷ πλείστον ἂν βασιλεῦσαι χρόνον ἐξεγένετο

105 καὶ τοῖς σοῖς ἐγγόνοις.¹” καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀχθόμενος ἐπὶ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἀνεχώρησε παρ' αὐτόν, Σαοῦλος δὲ εἰς Γαβαὼν πόλιν ἔχων ἑξακοσίου² μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ μόνον ἦκε σὺν Ἰωνάθῃ τῷ παιδί. τούτων δὲ οἱ πλείους οὐκ εἶχον ὄπλα, τῆς χώρας σπανιζούσης σιδήρου καὶ τῶν ὄπλα χαλκεύειν δυναμένων· οὐ γὰρ εἶων οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ταῦτα εἶναι, καθὼς³ μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν δεδη-

106 λώκαμεν. διελόντες δ' εἰς τρία μέρη τὴν στρατιάν οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ κατὰ τοσαύτας ὁδοὺς ἐπερχόμενοι τὴν τῶν Ἑβραίων χώραν ἐπόρθουν, βλεπόντων τε Σαοῦλου τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου ἀμῦναί τε τῇ γῇ, μεθ' ἑξακο-

107 σίων γὰρ μόνων ἦσαν, οὐ δυναμένων. καθεζόμενοι δ' αὐτός τε καὶ ὁ παῖς αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς Ἀχίας,⁴ ἀπόγονος ὧν Ἠλὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἐπὶ βουνοῦ ὑψηλοῦ καὶ τὴν γῆν λεηλατουμένην ὀρῶντες ἐν ἀγωνίᾳ δεινῇ καθεστήκεσαν. συντίθεται δὲ ὁ Σαοῦλου παῖς τῷ ὄπλοφόρῳ, κρύφα πορευθέντες αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν τῶν πολεμίων παρεμβολὴν ἐκδρα-

¹ ἐγγόνοις MSP.

² + καὶ SP: καθὰ καὶ M.

³ διακοσίου E.

⁴ Ἐχίας RO.

days which Samuel had appointed, but that necessity, the desertion of his terrified troops, the enemy's encampment at Machma and a report of their intended descent upon him at Galgala, had impelled him to speed the sacrifice. Then Samuel rejoicing, "Nay, but for thy part," said he, "hadst thou been righteous and not disobeyed me nor lightly regarded the counsels which God has given me touching the present matter, by acting more hastily than befitted the matter, then would it have been given thee to reign exceeding long, and to thy posterity as well."

So Samuel, vexed at what had befallen, returned to his home, while Saul, with but six hundred followers, came with his son Jonathan to the city of Gabaon.^a

Saul and Jonathan encamp at Gibeah. 1 Sam. xiii. 16.

Most of his men had no arms, the country being destitute of iron and of men capable of forging arms; for the Philistines had prohibited this, as we said just now.^b

And now, dividing their army into three companies and advancing by as many routes,^c the Philistines proceeded to ravage the country of the Hebrews under the eyes of Saul, their king, and of his son Jonathan, who, with but six hundred followers, were powerless to defend their land. Seated on a lofty hill, Saul and his son and the high priest Achias,^d a descendant of Eli the high priest, as they watched the devastation of the land, were in a state of deepest anguish.

Saul's son then proposed to his armour-bearer that they should secretly sally out alone into the enemy's

Jonathan's exploit. 1 Sam. xiv. 1.

^a Bibl. Gibeath Benjamin. Cf. on § 95.

^b § 96.

^c 1 Sam. xiii. 17 specifies the roads to Ophrah, Beth Horon and "the way of the border looking toward the valley of Zeboim"—all in the territory N. of Jerusalem.

^d Bibl. Ahiah. His genealogy is given in 1 Sam. xiv. 3. Cf. on § 122.

JOSEPHUS

μείν και ταραχὴν ἐμποιῆσαι καὶ θόρυβον αὐτοῖς.¹
 108 τοῦ δὲ ὄπλοφόρου προθύμως ἐφέψεσθαι² φήσαντος
 ὅποι ποτ' ἂν ἡγήται, κἂν ἀποθανεῖν δέη, προσ-
 λαβὼν τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου συνεργίαν καὶ καταβάς
 ἀπὸ τοῦ βουνοῦ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐπορεύετο.
 ἦν δὲ τὸ τῶν πολεμίων στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ κρημνοῦ,³
 τρισὶν ἄκραις εἰς λεπτὸν ἀπηκονημέναις μῆκος
 πέτρας ἐν κύκλῳ περιστεφανούσης ὥσπερ προ-
 109 βόλοις τὰς ἐπιχειρήσεις ἀπομαχόμενον. ἔνθεν συν-
 ἔβαινεν ἡμεληθῆσαι τὰς φυλακὰς τοῦ στρατοπέδου
 διὰ τὸ φύσει περιεῖναι τῷ χωρίῳ τὴν ἀσφάλειαν
 καὶ παντὶ⁴ νομίζειν ἀμήχανον εἶναι κατ' ἐκείνας
 110 οὐκ ἀναβῆναι μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ προσελθεῖν. ὡς
 οὖν ἦκον εἰς τὴν παρεμβολὴν ὁ Ἰωνάθης παρ-
 εθάρσυνε τὸν ὄπλοφόρον καὶ “προσβάλωμεν τοῖς
 πολεμίῳις,” ἔλεγε, “κἂν μὲν ἀναβῆναι κελεύσωσι
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἡμᾶς ἰδόντες, σημεῖον τοῦτο νίκης
 ὑπολάμβανε,⁵ εἰάν δὲ φθέγγωνται μηδὲν ὡς οὐ
 111 καλοῦντες ἡμᾶς, ὑποστρέψωμεν.⁶” προσιόντων δὲ
 αὐτῶν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ τῶν πολεμίων ὑποφαι-
 νούσης ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἰδόντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι,
 πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔλεγον ἐκ τῶν ὑπονόμων καὶ τῶν
 σπηλαίων προῖεναι τοὺς Ἑβραίους, καὶ πρὸς
 Ἰωνάθην καὶ τὸν ὄπλοφόρον αὐτοῦ “δεῦτ’,” ἔφασαν,
 “ἀνέλθετε πρὸς ἡμᾶς, ἵνα ὑμᾶς τιμωρησώμεθα
 112 τῶν τετολμημένων ἀξίως.” ἀσπασάμενος δὲ τὴν
 φωνὴν ὁ τοῦ Σαοῦλου παῖς ὡς νίκην αὐτῷ ση-
 μαίνουσαν, παραυτίκα μὲν ἀνεχώρησαν ἐξ οὐπερ

¹ αὐτοῖς om. RO.

² SP: ἔπεσθαι rell.

³ S: κρημνῷ rell.

⁴ πάντῃ M: valde Lat.

⁵ M: ὑπολαμβάνειν SP.

⁶ ὑποστρέψομεν RO.

⁷ τῶν om. RO.

camp and create confusion and panic among them. When the armour-bearer replied that he would gladly follow whithersoever he led, though it were to his death, Jonathan, having gained the young man's support, descended from the hill and set off towards the enemy. Now the enemy's camp lay on a cliff, enclosed in a ring of rocks, with three^a peaks tapering to a long narrow ridge and serving as a bulwark to beat off all attacks. Consequently it came about that no care had been taken to guard the camp, because nature had given the place security and it was believed to be absolutely impossible for any man not merely to scale those crags but even to approach them. When therefore they were nearing the encampment, Jonathan encouraged his armour-bearer, saying: "Now let us attack the enemy; and if, on seeing us, they bid us mount up to them, take that for a presage of victory, but if they utter not a word, as though they invited us not, let us then return." But, as they drew nigh to the enemy's camp, just at the dawn of day,^b the Philistines espied them and said one to another, "Here are the Hebrews coming out of their holes and caverns," and then to Jonathan and his armour-bearer, "Come on," they cried, "come up to us, to receive the due punishment for your audacity."^c But Jonathan and his armour-bearer, welcoming that shout as a token of victory, they straightway withdrew from the spot where they

Jonathan
and his
armour-
bearer
rout the

^a Scripture mentions only two peaks, Bozez and Seneb.

^b The time of the attack is not given in Scripture.

^c 1 Sam. xiv. 12, "come up and we will show you a thing."

JOSEPHUS

- ὤφθησαν τόπου τοῖς πολεμίοις, παραμειψάμενοι¹
 δὲ τοῦτον ἐπὶ τὴν πέτραν ἤκον² ἔρημον οὖσαν τῶν
 113 φυλαττόντων διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα. κακεῖθεν ἀν-
 ερπύσαντες μετὰ πολλῆς ταλαιπωρίας ἐβιάσαντο
 τὴν τοῦ χωρίου φύσιν ὡς³ ἀνελθεῖν ἐπὶ τοὺς
 πολεμίους, ἐπιπεσόντες δ' αὐτοῖς κοιμωμένοις ἀπο-
 κτείνουσι μὲν ὡς εἴκοσι, ταραχῆς δὲ καὶ ἐκπλήξεως
 αὐτοὺς ἐγέμισαν, ὡς τινὰς μὲν φυγεῖν τὰς παν-
 114 σπλίας ἀπορρίψαντας, οἱ δὲ πολλοὶ μὴ γνωρίζοντες
 ἑαυτοὺς διὰ τὸ ἐκ πολλῶν ἔθνῶν εἶναι, πολεμίους
 ὑπονοοῦντες ἀλλήλους, καὶ γὰρ⁴ εἵκαζον ἀναβῆναι
 πρὸς αὐτοὺς τῶν Ἑβραίων οὐ⁵ δύο μόνους, εἰς
 μάχην ἐτράποντο. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἀπέθνησκον
 κτεινόμενοι, τινὲς δὲ φεύγοντες κατὰ τῶν πετρῶν
 ὠθούμενοι κατεκρημνίζοντο.
- 115 (3) Τῶν δὲ τοῦ Σαούλου κατασκόπων τετα-
 ράχθαι τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν Παλαιστίνων φρασάν-
 των τῷ βασιλεῖ, Σαούλος ἠρώτα μή τις εἴη τῶν
 αὐτοῦ κεχωρισμένος. ἀκούσας δὲ τὸν υἱὸν καὶ
 σὺν αὐτῷ τὸν ὄπλοφόρον ἀπεῖναι, κελεύει τὸν
 ἀρχιερέα λαβόντα τὴν ἀρχιερατικὴν στολὴν προ-
 φητεύειν αὐτῷ περὶ τῶν μελλόντων. τοῦ δὲ νίκην
 ἔσεσθαι καὶ κράτος κατὰ τῶν πολεμίων φράσαντος
 ἐπεξέρχεται τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις καὶ τεταραγμένοις

¹ παραμειψάμενος MSP.

² conj. Niese: ἤκεν codd. Lat.

³ ὡς om. RO.

⁴ + οὐκ SP.

⁵ οὐ om. SP.

^a Details of the fight are an amplification, in harmony with Josephus's rationalizing tendency.

^b The unscriptural details about the rocks are perhaps suggested by the LXX rendering, in some mss. (ἐν πετροβόλοις), of the obscure Hebrew text of 1 Sam. xiv. 14.

had been sighted by the enemy and, turning aside from it, reached the rock which by reason of its strength had been left destitute of guards. Thence, creeping up with great labour, they forced their way over the difficulties of the ground and mounted up to the enemy; falling upon these as they slept, they slew some twenty of them and filled the host with such tumult and alarm, that some flung off all their arms and fled, while the more part, not recognizing their comrades, because of the many nationalities of which their army was composed, and taking each other for enemies—for they did not suppose that there had come up against them two only of the Hebrews—they turned to fight one another.^a And some of them perished by the sword, others as they fled were driven over the rocks and hurled headlong.^b

Philistines.
1 Sam. xiv.
12.

(3) Saul's spies having now reported to the king that there was a commotion in the camp of the Philistines, Saul inquired whether any of his men had gone from him. Then, on hearing that his son and, with him, his armour-bearer were absent, he ordered the high priest to don his high-priestly robes^c and to prophesy to him what would befall. The high priest having declared that it would be victory and triumph over his enemies, the king set off against the Philistines and fell upon them while they were yet panic-

Saul's
oath of
allegiance.
1 Sam. xiv.
16.

^c In agreement with the LXX which reads "ephod" against the Heb. which has "ark," although the ark was presumably still at Kirjath Jearim. Josephus may, however, have read 'ephod for 'aron (ark) in his Heb. text, in which some scholars suspect a deliberate alteration to obviate the inference that there was more than one ark. (Cf. W. R. Arnold, *Ephod and Ark*.) The rabbinic commentaries on this passage explain that the ephod with the Urim and Thummin was in the ark.

- 116 προσβάλλει καὶ φονεύουσιν ἀλλήλους. προσρέουσι δ' αὐτῷ καὶ οἱ πρότερον εἷς τε τοὺς ὑπονόμους καὶ εἰς τὰ σπήλαια συμφυγόντες, ἀκούσαντες ὅτι νικᾷ Σαούλος· γενομένων δὲ ὡς μυρίων ἤδη τῶν Ἑβραίων διώκει τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ πᾶσαν ἐσκορπισμένους τὴν χώραν. εἴτε δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἐπὶ τῇ νίκῃ χαρᾶς οὕτω παραλόγως γενομένη (συμβαίνει γὰρ μὴ κρατεῖν τοῦ λογισμοῦ τοὺς οὕτως εὐτυχήσαντας) εἴθ' ὑπὸ ἀγνοίας, εἰς δεινὸν προ-
- 117 πίπτει¹ καὶ πολλὴν ἔχον κατὰμεμψιν ἔργον· βουλόμενος γὰρ αὐτῷ τε τιμωρῆσαι καὶ δίκην ἀπολαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπαρᾶται τοῖς Ἑβραίοις, ἵν' εἴ τις ἀποσχόμενος τοῦ φονεύειν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς φάγοι² μέχρι³ νύξ ἐπελθοῦσα τῆς ἀναιρέσεως καὶ τῆς διώξεως αὐτοὺς παύσει τῶν πολεμίων,
- 118 οὗτος ἐπάρατος ἦ. τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦτο φήσαντος, ἐπεὶ κατὰ τινα δρυμὸν ἐγένοντο βαθὺν καὶ μελισσῶν γέμοντα τῆς Ἐφράμου κληρουχίας, ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς οὐκ ἐπακηκοὺς τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀρᾶς οὐδὲ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτῇ τοῦ πλήθους ὁμολογίας,
- 119 ἀποθλίψας τι κηρίον τοῦ μέλιτος ἤσθιε. μεταξὺ δὲ γνοὺς ὅτι μετὰ δεινῆς ἀρᾶς ὁ πατὴρ ἀπέειπε μὴ γεύσασθαί τινα πρὸ ἡλίου δυσμῶν, ἐσθίων μὲν ἐπαύσατο, ἔφη δὲ οὐκ ὀρθῶς⁴ κωλύσαι τὸν πατέρα· μετὰ μείζονος γὰρ ἰσχύος ἂν καὶ προ-

¹ προσπίπτει MSP.

² + καὶ μὴ codd. Glycas: an leg. καὶ δὴ?

³ μέχρις οὐ MSP Glycas: ἕως οὐ E: antequam Lat.

⁴ + τοῦτο MSP

stricken and massacring one another. Moreover those who earlier had taken refuge in the tunnels and caves, on hearing that Saul was victorious, came streaming toward him; and with now some ten thousand^a Hebrews at his back, he pursued the enemy scattered over the whole countryside. But, whether through exultation at a victory so unexpected—for men are apt to lose control of reason when thus blest by fortune—or through ignorance,^b he rushed into a dreadful and very blameworthy deed. For, in his desire to avenge himself and to exact punishment from the Philistines, he invoked a curse upon the Hebrews, that should any man desist from slaughtering the foe and take food, before oncoming night should stay them from carnage and the pursuit of the enemy, he should be accursed. Now after that Saul had so spoken, when they were come to a dense oak-coppice^c swarming with bees in the portion of Ephraim,^d Saul's son, not having heard his father's curse nor the people's approbation thereof, broke off^e a piece of a honeycomb and began to eat it. But learning, as he did so, how his father under a dire curse had forbidden any man to taste aught before sundown, he ceased to eat,^f but said that his father's interdict was not right, for they would have had more strength and ardour for the pursuit, had they

Jonathan's
breach of
the oath.
1 Sam. xiv.
25.

^a So in the LXX; Heb. omits the number.

^b Cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 24 Σαούλ ἠγνόησεν ἀγνοίαν μεγάλην: Heb. has nothing corresponding.

^c The "oak-coppice" is taken from the LXX; Heb. has *ya'ar* which may mean either forest (so the Targum here) or honeycomb.

^d So the LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 23; not mentioned in Heb.

^e 1 Sam. xiv. 27, "put forth the end of the staff that was in his hand and dipped it in the honeycomb."

^f Scripture does not say that he ceased to eat.

θυμίας διώκοντας, εἰ τροφῆς μετελάμβανον, πολλῶ πλείονας καὶ λαβεῖν τῶν ἐχθρῶν καὶ φονεῦσαι.

- 120 (4) Πολλὰς γοῦν¹ κατακόψαντες μυριάδας τῶν Παλαιστίνων, δειλῆς ὀψίας ἐπὶ διαρπαγὴν τοῦ στρατοπέδου τῶν Παλαιστίνων τρέπονται, καὶ λείαν πολλὴν καὶ βοσκήματα λαβόντες κατασφάζουσι καὶ ταῦτ' ἔναιμα² κατήσθιον. ἀπαγγέλλεται δὲ τῷ βασιλεῖ ὑπὸ τῶν γραμματέων ὅτι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς τὸν θεὸν ἐξαμαρτάνει θύσαν καὶ πρὶν ἢ τὸ αἷμα καλῶς ἀποπλῦναι καὶ τὰς σάρκας ποιῆσαι
- 121 καθαρὰς ἐσθίον. καὶ ὁ Σαοῦλος κελεύει κυλισθῆναι λίθον μέγαν εἰς μέσον καὶ κηρύσσει θύειν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τὸν ὄχλον τὰ ἱερεῖα, καὶ τὰ κρέα μὴ σὺν τῷ αἵματι δαίνυσθαι· τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι τῷ θεῷ κεχαρισμένον. τοῦτο δὲ πάντων κατὰ τὴν πρόσταξιν τοῦ βασιλέως ποιησάντων ἴστησιν ἐκεῖ βωμὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος καὶ ὠλοκαύτωσεν ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ἐκεῖ³ τῷ θεῷ. τοῦτον πρῶτον βωμὸν κατεσκεύασεν.
- 122 (5) Ἄγειν δ' εὐθύς τὴν στρατιὰν ἐπὶ τὴν παρεμβολὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐπὶ τὴν διαρπαγὴν τῶν ἐν αὐτῇ βουλόμενος πρὶν ἡμέρας, καὶ τῶν στρατιωτῶν οὐκ ὀκνοῦντων ἔπεσθαι, πολλὴν δ' εἰς ἃ προστάττει προθυμίαν ἐνδεικνυμένων, καλέσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀχίτωβον τὸν ἀρχιερέα κελεύει⁴ αὐτὸν γνῶναι εἰ δίδωσιν αὐτοῖς ὁ θεὸς καὶ συγχωρεῖ βαδίσασιν ἐπὶ τὸ στρατόπεδον τῶν ἐχθρῶν

¹ RO: δ' οὖν MSP: οὖν E.

² SPE: ἐν αἵματι tell.

³ ἐκεῖ secl. edd.; cf. LXX, 1 Sam. xiv. 34.

⁴ ἐκέλευσεν MSP.

partaken of food, and would thus have captured and slain many more of the foe.

(4) Many, for all that, were the myriads of Philistines whom they cut down ere at dusk they turned to the pillage of the enemy's camp; where, having taken much booty and cattle, they slaughtered and set to devouring them all reeking with blood. Thereupon it was reported to the king by the scribes,^a that the host were sinning against God in that, having sacrificed, they were now eating, before they had duly washed away the blood and made the flesh clean.^b Then Saul ordered a great stone to be rolled into the midst and made proclamation to the throng to sacrifice their victims thereon and not to feast upon the flesh with the blood, since that was not well-pleasing to God. And when all had so done in obedience to the king's command, Saul set up an altar there and offered burnt-offerings^c thereon to God. This was the first altar that he built.

Plundering of the Philistines' camp. 1 Sam. xiv. 31.

(5) Being now desirous to lead his army forthwith to the enemy's encampment to plunder everything therein before daybreak, and seeing that his soldiers, far from hesitating to follow him, showed great alacrity to obey his orders, the king summoned Achitob^d the high priest and bade him ascertain whether God would grant and permit them to proceed to the camp of the foe and destroy such as were

Saul's discovery of Jonathan's error. 1 Sam. xiv. 36.

^a Not mentioned in Scripture.

^b Cf. *A.* iii. 260 on Lev. xix. 26, Deut. xii. 16.

^c Scripture does not specify that the sacrifices were burnt-offerings, as do Josephus and the rabbis in their discussion of this passage, Bab. Talmud, Zebahim 120 a.

^d Priest's name not mentioned in Scripture; according to § 107, the high priest at this time was Achias (bibl. Ahiah), the son of Achitob (bibl. Ahitub).

- 123 διαφθεῖραι τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ τυγχάνοντας. εἰπόντος δὲ τοῦ ἱερέως μὴ ἀποκρίνεσθαι τὸν θεόν “ἀλλ’ οὐ δίχα αἰτίας,¹” εἶπεν ὁ Σαούλος, “πυνθανομένοις ἡμῖν φωνὴν οὐ δίδωσιν ὁ θεός, ὃς πρότερον αὐτὸς προεμήνυσε πάντα καὶ μηδ’ ἐπερωτῶσιν ἔφθασε² λέγων, ἀλλ’ ἔστι τι λανθάνον ἐξ ἡμῶν ἀμάρτημα
- 124 πρὸς αὐτὸν αἴτιον τῆς σιωπῆς. καὶ ὁμνυμί γε τοῦτον αὐτόν, ἢ μὴν καὶ ὁ παῖς ὁ ἐμὸς Ἰωνάθης ἢ τὸ ἀμάρτημα τοῦτο ἐργασάμενος ἀποκτείνειν³ αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν θεὸν οὕτως ἰλάσασθαι,⁴ ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ παρ’ ἀλλοτρίου καὶ μηδὲν ἐμοὶ προσήκοντος τὴν
- 125 ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ δίκην ἀπελάμβανον.” τοῦ δὲ πλήθους τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπιβοήσαντος, παραχρῆμα πάντας ἴστησιν εἰς ἓνα τόπον, ἴσταται δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς σὺν τῷ παιδί κατ’ ἄλλο μέρος καὶ κλήρω τὸν ἡμαρτηκότα μαθεῖν ἐπεζῆται· καὶ λαγχάνει δοκεῖν οὗτος
- 126 εἶναι Ἰωνάθης. ἐπερωτῶμενος δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς τί πεπλημμέληκε καὶ τί⁵ παρὰ τὸν βίον οὐκ ὀρθῶς οὐδὲ ὀσίως αὐτῷ διαπραξαμένῳ συνέγνωκε “πάτερ,” εἶπεν, “ἄλλο μὲν οὐδέν,” ὅτι δὲ χθὲς ἀγνοῶν τὴν ἀρὰν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸν ὄρκον μεταξὺ διώκων τοὺς πολεμίους ἐγεύσατο κηρίων. Σαούλος δ’ ἀποκτείνειν αὐτὸν ὁμνυσι καὶ τῆς γενέσεως καὶ
- 127 τῆς φύσεως τῶν φίλτρων ἐτίμησε⁶ τὸν ὄρκον. ὁ δ’ οὐ καταπλήττεται τὴν ἀπειλήν τοῦ θανάτου, παραστησάμενος δ’ εὐγενῶς καὶ μεγαλοφρόνως “οὐδ’ ἐγὼ σε,” φησὶν, “ἵκετεύσω φείσασθαι μου, πάτερ, ἡδιστος δέ μοι ὁ θάνατος ὑπὲρ τε τῆς σῆς

¹ + τινός SP.

² edd.: ἔφθανε MSP: φθάσαι RO.

³ codd.: ἀποκτενεῖν Hudson. ⁴ ἰλάσασθαι Naber.

⁵ τί περ RO: τί πεποίηκε καὶ τί SP Glycas.

⁶ προτιμήσας ed. pr.: praeponeret Lat.

found therein. The priest having reported that there was no response from God, "Nay, but it is not without cause," said Saul, "that God gives no answer to our inquiry, He who ere now forewarned us of all Himself and spoke to us even before we inquired of Him. Nay, it is some secret sin against Him on our part that is the cause of this silence.^a Aye and I swear by God Himself that verily, be it my own son Jonathan who hath committed this sin, I will slay him and thus propitiate God, even as though it were from a stranger without kinship with me that I was taking vengeance on His behalf." The multitude thereon calling upon him so to do, he forthwith caused them all to stand in one place, and stood himself with his son in another, and sought by the lot to discover the sinner; and the lot indicated Jonathan. Being asked by his father wherein he had gone astray and of what wrong or unholy act in all his life he was conscious, "Of nothing, father," said he, "save that yesterday, all ignorant of that imprecation and oath of thine,^b while in pursuit of the enemy, I tasted a honeycomb." Saul thereat swore to slay him, respecting his oath more than the tender ties of fatherhood and of nature. Yet Jonathan quailed not before this menace of death, but surrendering himself nobly and magnanimously, "Neither will I," said he, "entreat thee to spare me, father. Very sweet to me were death undergone for thy

^a First part of Saul's speech is an addition to Scripture.

^b Here the Gr. changes to indirect speech.

JOSEPHUS

εὐσεβείας γινόμενος καὶ ἐπὶ νίκη λαμπρᾷ· μέγιστον γὰρ παραμύθιον τὸ καταλιπεῖν Ἑβραίους Παλαι-
 128 στίνων κεκρατηκότας." ἐπὶ τούτοις ὁ λαὸς πᾶς ἤλγησε καὶ συνέπαθεν, ὥμοσέ τε μὴ περιόψεσθαι τὸν αἴτιον τῆς νίκης Ἰωνάθην ἀποθανόντα. καὶ τὸν μὲν οὕτως ἐξαρπάξουσι τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀράς, αὐτοὶ δὲ εὐχὰς ὑπὲρ τοῦ νεανίσκου ποιοῦνται τῷ θεῷ ὥστ' αὐτὸν ἀπολύσαι τοῦ ἀμαρτήματος.

129 (6) Καὶ ὁ Σαοῦλος εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πόλιν ὑπέστρεψε διαφθείρας ὡσεὶ μυριάδας ἕξ τῶν πολεμίων. βασιλεύει δὲ εὐτυχῶς, καὶ τὰ πλησιόχωρα τῶν ἔθνων πολεμήσας χειροῦται τό τε Ἀμμανιτῶν καὶ Μωαβιτῶν καὶ¹ Παλαιστίνους, Ἰδουμαίους τε καὶ² Ἀμαληκίτας³ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῆς Σωβάς.⁴ ἦσαν δὲ παῖδες αὐτῷ τρεῖς μὲν ἄρσενες Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἰησοῦς καὶ Μέλχισος, θυγατέρες δὲ Μερόβη καὶ Μιχαάλ.⁵ στρατηγὸν δὲ εἶχε τὸν τοῦ θείου
 130 παῖδα Ἀβήναρον. Νῆρος δ' ἐκεῖνος ἐκαλεῖτο, Νῆρος δὲ καὶ Κεῖς ὁ Σαοῦλου πατὴρ ἀδελφοὶ ἦσαν, υἱοὶ δ' Ἀβελίου.⁶ ἦν δὲ καὶ πλήθος ἀρμάτων Σαοῦλω καὶ ἰππέων, οἷς⁷ δὲ⁸ πολεμήσειε νικήσας ἀπηλλάσσετο, καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους εἰς εὐπραγίας καὶ μέγεθος εὐδαιμονίας προηγάγετο καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέδειξεν ἔθνων δυνατωτέρους,⁹ καὶ τῶν¹⁰ νέων τοὺς δὴ καὶ μέγεθει καὶ κάλλει διαφέροντας φύλακας τοῦ σώματος ἐποιεῖτο.

¹ καὶ om. RO.

² τε καὶ SP: om. rell.

³ om. Lat.: +τε ROME.

⁴ Bosius ex Lat.: ὠβάς codd. E: σουβᾶ Zon.

⁵ M: μελχαά SP: χθαάλ RO.

⁶ Abihel Lat.: Ἀβιήλου conj. Hudson ex LXX. ⁷ οὖς SE.

⁸ RO: δ' ἂν rell.

⁹ ROE: δυνατωτάτους rell. Lat.

¹⁰ καὶ τῶν RO: τῶν δὲ MSP.

piety's sake and after brilliant victory ; for highest consolation were it to leave Hebrews triumphant over Philistines." ^a Thereupon all the people were moved to grief and sympathy and they swore that they would not suffer Jonathan, the author of that victory, to die. Thus then did they snatch him from his father's curse, and themselves offered prayers ^b for the young man to God, that He would grant him absolution from his sin.

(6) So Saul returned to his own city after destroying some sixty thousand of the enemy. He then reigned happily and, having made war on the neighbouring nations, subdued those of the Ammanites and Moabites, besides Philistines, Idumaeans and Amalekites, and the king of Sōba. He had three sons, Jonathan, Jesus ^c and Melchis, ^d and his daughters were Merobe ^e and Michael. ^f For commander of his army he had Abēnar, ^g his uncle's son ; that uncle was named Ner, and Ner and Kis, the father of Saul, were brothers, sons of Abelios. ^h Saul had, moreover, abundance of chariots and horsemen, and with whomsoever he fought he returned victorious ; and he brought the Hebrews to greatness of success and prosperity and rendered them more powerful than the other nations, and of the young men such as excelled in stature and beauty he took for his bodyguards.

Saul's
victories.
1 Sam. xiv.
46.

^a Jonathan's speech is unscriptural.

^b "snatch" and "offered prayers" combine the Heb. "redeemed" (or "rescued") and the LXX "prayed for" of 1 Sam. xiv. 45.

^c Bibl. Ishui, Heb. *Yishwi*, LXX 'Ιεσσιούλ (*v.l.* 'Ισουεϊ).

^d Bibl. Melchishua, LXX Μελχισά.

^e Bibl. Merab, LXX Μερόβ.

^f Bibl. Michal, LXX Μελχόλ.

^g Bibl. Abner, Heb. *Abiner*, LXX 'Αβεννήρ. Cf. § 58.

^h Bibl. Abiel.

- 131 (vii. 1) Σαμουήλος δὲ παραγενόμενος πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον πεμφθῆναι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφασκεν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὅπως αὐτὸν ὑπομνήσῃ ὅτι βασιλέα προκρίνας αὐτὸν ἀπάντων ὁ θεὸς ἀπέδειξε, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο πείθεσθαι καὶ κατήκοον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι, ὡς αὐτοῦ μὲν ἔχοντος τὴν τῶν ἔθνῶν ἡγεμονίαν, τοῦ δὲ θεοῦ τὴν καὶ¹ ἐκείνου καὶ τῶν ὄλων πραγμάτων.
- 132 λέγειν τοίνυν ἔφασκε τὸν θεόν· “ἐπεὶ πολλὰ κακὰ τοὺς Ἑβραίους Ἀμαληκῖται διέθηκαν κατὰ τὴν ἔρημον, ὅτε ἐξελθόντες ἀπ’ Αἰγύπτου εἰς τὴν νῦν ὑπάρχουσαν αὐτοῖς ἐστέλλοντο χώραν, κελεύω πολέμῳ τιμωρησάμενον τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας
- 133 καὶ κρατήσαντα μηδέν² αὐτῶν ὑπολιπεῖν, ἀλλὰ πάσης διεξελθεῖν ἡλικίας, ἀρξαμένους ἀπὸ γυναικῶν κτείνειν καὶ νηπίων καὶ τοιαύτην ὑπὲρ ὧν τοὺς προγόνους ὑμῶν εἰργάσαντο τιμωρίαν ἀπολαβεῖν, φείσασθαι δὲ μήτε ὑποζυγίων μήτε τῶν ἄλλων βοσκημάτων εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ κτήσιν ἰδίαν, ἅπαντα δ’ ἀναθεῖναι τῷ θεῷ καὶ τὸ Ἀμαλήκου ὄνομα ταῖς Μωυσέος κατακολουθήσαντ’ ἐντολαῖς ἐξαλείψαι.”
- 134 (2) Ὁμολογεῖ δὲ ποιήσῃ Σαοῦλος τὰ προστασσομένα, τὴν δὲ πειθαρχίαν τὴν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν οὐκ ἐν τῷ ποιήσασθαι τὴν πρὸς τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας στρατείαν λογιζόμενος εἶναι μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὴν ἐτοιμότητα καὶ τὸ τάχος ἀναβολῆς οὐ προσούσης ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐμφανίζειν,³ ἀθροίζει τε πᾶσαν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ ταύτην ἑξαριθμήσας ἐν Γαλγάλοις εὕρισκει τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν ἕξω τῆς Ἰούδα φυλῆς περὶ τεσσαράκοντα μυριάδας· ἦδε γὰρ ἡ φυλὴ καθ’

¹ τὴν καὶ conj. Niese: καὶ τὴν κατ’ codd.

² S: μηδὲν rell.

³ τῷ τὴν . . . ἐμφανίζειν ex Lat.: τὴν . . . ἐμφανίζει codd.

(vii. 1) Samuel now came to Saul and said that he had been sent to him by God to recall to him that God had preferred him above all others and created him king, and that he ought therefore to obey and give ear to Him, for, while he had dominion over the nations, God had dominion both over him and over the universe. He thereupon announced that God had spoken thus: "Forasmuch as the Amalekites did much evil to the Hebrews in the wilderness, when they were come out of Egypt and on their way to the land that now is theirs, I command thee to take vengeance on the Amalekites in war and, when victorious, to leave not one of them remaining; but you shall deal death to all of every age, beginning with the women and infants, and in this wise take vengeance for what they did to your forefathers; thou art to spare neither beasts of burden nor any cattle at all for private profit or possession, but to devote all to God and, in compliance with the behests of Moses,^a to blot out the name of Amalek."

Samuel
sends Saul
to exterminate the
Amalekites.
1 Sam. xv. 1.

(2) These injunctions Saul promised to fulfil; and reflecting that obedience to God lay not merely in making this campaign against the Amalekites, but would be displayed yet more by an alacrity and haste that brooked no delay, he mustered all his forces and, having numbered them at Galgala,^b found that the Israelites, apart from the tribe of Judah, were some 400,000 men; that tribe by itself furnished 30,000

Saul
musters his
troops at
Galgala.
1 Sam. xv. 4.

^a Cf. *A.* iii. 60 on Ex. xvii. 14, and *A.* iv. 304 on Deut. xxv. 17. Moses is not mentioned in Scripture at this point.

^b So the LXX; Heb. has Telaim, a city in southern Judah.

- 135 αὐτὴν ἔστι στρατιῶται τρισμῦριοι. Σαούλος δ' ἐμβαλὼν εἰς τὴν τῶν Ἀμαληκитῶν χώραν ἐνέδρας πολλὰς καὶ λόχους περὶ τὸν χειμάρρον τίθησιν, ὡς μὴ μόνον ἐκ τοῦ φανεροῦ μαχόμενος¹ αὐτοὺς κακῶς ποιεῖν, ἀλλὰ καὶ μὴ προσδοκῶσι κατὰ τὰς ὁδοὺς ἐπιπίπτων καὶ κυκλούμενος² ἀναιρεῖν· καὶ δὴ συμβαλὼν αὐτοῖς εἰς μάχην τρέπεται τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ διαφθείρει πάντας, φεύγουσιν ἐπ-
 136 ακολουθῶν. ὡς δ' ἐκείνο τὸ ἔργον αὐτῷ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ προφητείαν ἐχώρησε, ταῖς πόλεσι τῶν Ἀμαληκитῶν προσέβαλε καὶ τὰς μὲν μηχανήμασι, τὰς δὲ ὀρύγμασι ὑπονόμοις καὶ τείχεσιν ἔξωθεν ἀντωκοδομημένοις, τὰς δὲ λιμῷ καὶ δίψει, τὰς δὲ ἄλλοις τρόποις ἐκπολιορκήσας καὶ λαβῶν κατὰ κράτος, ἐπὶ σφαγὴν γυναικῶν καὶ νηπίων ἐχώρησεν, οὐδὲν ὠμὸν οὐδ' ἀνθρωπίνης σκληρότερον διαπράσσεσθαι φύσεως ἡγούμενος, πρῶτον μὲν πολεμίους ταῦτα δρῶν, ἔπειτα προστάγματι θεοῦ, ᾧ
 137 τὸ μὴ πείθεσθαι κίνδυνον ἔφερε. λαμβάνει δὲ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν ἐχθρῶν Ἀγαγον αἰχμάλωτον, οὗ θαυμάσας τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ σώματος σωτηρίας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐκέτι τοῦτο ποιῶν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, πάθει δὲ νικώμενος ἰδίῳ καὶ χαριζόμενος ἀκαίρως περὶ ὧν οὐκ εἶχεν
 138 ἀκίνδυνον ἐξουσίαν οἴκτω. ὁ μὲν³ γὰρ θεὸς οὕτως ἐμίσησε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκитῶν ἔθνος, ὡς μηδὲ

¹ conj. Niese ex Lat.: μαχομένους codd.

² conj. Niese: ἐπιπίπτειν καὶ κυκλουμένους codd.

³ μὲν om. MSP.

^a Both numbers in agreement with most mss. of the LXX; Heb. has 200,000 and 10,000 respectively.

^b Josephus here omits Saul's invitation to the Kenites to separate themselves from Amalek (1 Sam. xv. 6), before his

combatants.^a Having then invaded the country of the Amalekites,^b Saul posted numerous pickets and ambuscades around the ravine,^c with intent not only to molest them in open warfare, but also to fall upon them unexpectedly on the roads and envelop and destroy them; and in fact, on joining battle with them he routed the enemy and, pursuing the fugitives, destroyed them all. That task having, in accordance with God's prediction, been successfully achieved, he attacked the cities of the Amalekites; and when, some by engines of war, others by mining operations and exterior opposing walls, others by hunger and thirst, and yet others by other means,^d he had carried and stormed them all, he then proceeded to the slaughter of women and infants, deeming naught therein cruel or too savage for human nature to perform, first because they were enemies whom he was treating thus, and then because of the commandment of God, whom it was dangerous to disobey. But he also took prisoner the enemy's king, Agag, whom out of admiration for his beauty and his stature^e he accounted worthy to be saved; herein he was no longer acting in accordance with the will of God, but giving way to feelings of his own, and yielding inopportunely to compassion where it was not permitted to him without peril. For God so hated the race of the Amalekites that He had ordered him to spare not

Saul
captures
Agag.
1 Sam. xv 8.

attack upon the latter. In § 140 he alludes to this scriptural passage in mentioning the Sikimites. Cf. note *ad loc.*

^c Scripture does not tell us what ravine (Heb. *nahal*, "bed of a stream," cf. Arabic *wady*) is meant; the geographical details are vague throughout this account.

^d Details of the invasion and sieges are an amplification.

^e Saul's aesthetic motive for sparing Agag is an invention of Josephus.

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- νηπίων φείσασθαι κελεύσαι πρὸς ἃ μᾶλλον ἔλεος γίνεσθαι πέφυκε, Σαοῦλος δὲ αὐτῶν¹ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἡγεμόνα τῶν εἰς Ἑβραίους κακῶν ἔσωσε, τῆς μνήμης ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ θεὸς τὸ τοῦ πολεμίου
- 139 κάλλος ἐπίπροσθεν ποιησάμενος. συνεξήμαρτε δ' αὐτῷ καὶ τὸ πλῆθος· καὶ γὰρ ἐκείνοι τῶν ὑποζυγίων καὶ τῶν βοσκημάτων ἐφείσαντο καὶ διήρπασαν, μὴ τηρεῖν αὐτὰ τοῦ θεοῦ κελεύσαντος, τὰ τε ἄλλα χρήματα καὶ τὸν πλοῦτον ἐξεφόρησαν, εἰ δέ τι μὴ σπουδῆς ἦν ἄξιον ὥστε κεκτῆσθαι διέφθειραν.
- 140 (3) Νικήσας δὲ Σαοῦλος ἅπαντας τοὺς ἀπὸ Πηλουσίου τῆς Αἰγύπτου καθήκοντας ἕως τῆς Ἐρυθρᾶς θαλάσσης διέφθειρε πολεμίους,² παραλιπὼν τὸ τῶν Σικιμιτῶν ἔθνος· οὗτοι γὰρ ἐν τῇ Μαδινηῇ χώρα μέσοι κατώκηνται. πρὸ δὲ τῆς μάχης πέμψας παρήγγειλεν αὐτοῖς ἀναχωρεῖν, μὴ τοῖς Ἀμαληκίταις κοινωνήσωσι συμφορᾶς· συγγενεῖς γὰρ αὐτοὺς ὄντας Ῥαγουήλου τοῦ Μωυσέος πενθεροῦ σώζειν αἰτίαν ἔχειν.
- 141 (4) Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν ὡς μηδενὸς παρακούσας ὧν ὁ προφήτης ἐπέστειλε μέλλοντι τὸν πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας ἐκφέρειν πόλεμον, ἀλλ' ὡς ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκείνοις ἀκριβῶς πεφυλαγμένοις νενικηκῶς τοὺς πολεμίους οἴκαδε πρὸς αὐτὸν ὑπέστρεψε χαίρων

¹ αὐτὸν R¹S: regem Agag Lat.

² RO Lat.: τὴν τῶν πολεμιῶν M (+ χώραν E): τὰ τῶν πολεμιῶν SP.

* 1 Sam. xv. 7 "from Havilah until thou comest to Shur over against Egypt"; Josephus reverses the directions, assuming that Shur corresponds to Pelusium and that Havilah is somewhere near the Red Sea.

° 1 Sam. xv. 6 "Kenites." "Sikimites," which is geographically impossible (=inhabitants of Shechem), may 396

even the infants, to whom it is more natural that pity should be shown; but Saul saved their king, the author of all the injuries to the Hebrews, having had more regard for the beauty of his enemy than for memory of what God enjoined. The people too were his partners in sin; for they spared the beasts and the cattle and took for their prey what God had forbidden to be preserved, and carried off all the chattels and riches beside; but whatever was not worth coveting as a possession that did they destroy.

(3) Conquering the whole district extending from Pelusium in Egypt to the Red Sea,^a Saul destroyed the inhabitants as enemies, saving only the race of the Sikimites,^b who had settled in the heart of the country of Madian. To these he had, before the combat, sent messengers admonishing them to withdraw, lest they should share the fate of the Amalekites; for, being kinsmen of Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses, he had, as he said, good reason to spare them.^c

(4) So Saul, as though he had neglected none of the injunctions which he had received from the prophet when embarking on his campaign against the Amalekites, but had strictly observed them all in having conquered his enemies, returned homeward

Saul's
further
conquests.
1 Sam. xv.
6, 7.

God's anger
at Saul's
transgres-
sion.
1 Sam. xv.
10.

be due to corruption in Josephus's text. Rappaport makes the interesting suggestion that either Josephus wrote "Silitites," the Greek form of the Targum's name "Shalma'ah" for the Kenites, and that this was corrupted to "Sikimites," or that he connected Shalma'ah with Shechem on the basis of Gen. xxxiii. 18 "Shalem a city of Shechem."

^a Cf. *A.* v. 127. The reference to the kinship with Moses is paralleled in rabbinic tradition. Scripture ascribes Saul's consideration to the Israelites' memory of services rendered them by the Kenites in the Exodus.

JOSEPHUS

- 142 ἐπὶ τοῖς κατωρθωμένοις. ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἄχθεται τῇ τε¹ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Ἀμαληκитῶν σωτηρία καὶ τῇ τῶν βοσκημάτων διαρπαγῇ τοῦ πλήθους, ὅτι μὴ συγχωρήσαντος αὐτοῦ ταῦτ' ἐπράχθη· δεινὸν γὰρ ἠγείτο νικᾶν μὲν καὶ περιγίνεσθαι τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἐκείνου τὴν ἰσχὺν διδόντος αὐτοῖς, καταφρονεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ παρακούεσθαι μηδὲ ὡς ἄνθρωπον βασιλέα.
- 143 μετανοεῖν οὖν ἔλεγε πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον ἐπὶ τῷ χειροτονῆσαι βασιλέα τὸν Σαοῦλον, μηδὲν ὦν αὐτὸς κελεύει πράττοντα, τῇ δ' οἰκεία βουλήσει χρώμενον. σφόδρα ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σαμουῆλος συνεχύθη² καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς νυκτὸς παρακαλεῖν ἤρξατο τὸν θεὸν καταλλάττεσθαι τῷ Σαοῦλῳ καὶ
- 144 μὴ χαλεπαίνειν. ὁ δὲ τὴν συγγνώμην οὐκ ἐπένευσεν εἰς τὸν Σαοῦλον αἰτουμένῳ τῷ προφήτῃ, λογισάμενος οὐκ εἶναι δίκαιον ἁμαρτήματα³ χαρίζεσθαι παραιτήσει⁴. οὐ γὰρ ἐξ ἄλλου τινὸς φύεσθαι μᾶλλον ἢ τοῦ καταμαλακίζεσθαι⁵ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους· θηρωμένους γὰρ δόξαν ἐπιεικειᾶς καὶ χρηστότητος λανθάνειν αὐτούς⁶ ταῦτα γεννῶντας.
- 145 ὡς οὖν ἀπέειπεν ὁ θεὸς τῇ τοῦ προφήτου δεήσει καὶ δῆλος ἦν⁷ μεταμελόμενος, ἅμ' ἡμέρα Σαμουῆλος εἰς Γάλγαλα παραγίνεται πρὸς Σαοῦλον· θεασάμενος δ' αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς προστρέχει καὶ κατασπασάμενος “ τῷ θεῷ,” φησὶν, “ εὐχαριστῶ δόντι μοι τὴν νίκην, ἅπαντα μέντοι γε τὰ κελευσθέντα
- 146 ὑπ' αὐτοῦ πέπρακται.⁸” Σαμουῆλος δὲ πρὸς τοῦθ' ὑπολαβὼν “ πόθεν οὖν ἀκούω θρεμμάτων,” εἶπε,

¹ M Suidas: τῇ ROE: ἐπὶ τε τῇ SP.

² διεχύθη RO.

³ ed. pr.: ἁμαρτήμασι codd.

⁴ Niese: παραιτησιν.codd. (-τήσεσιν ed. pr.).

⁵ μαλακίζεσθαι O.

⁶ P²: αὐτούς rell.

⁷ + μὴ MSP Lat. vid.

⁸ O: πεπραχθαι rell.

exultant at his success. But God was ill pleased at his sparing the life of the king of Amalek and at the people's making plunder of the cattle, because these things had not been permitted by Him; for He deemed it an outrage that when they had conquered and defeated the foe through the might which He had given them, He should meet with such contempt and disobedience as they would show to no human king. He therefore told the prophet Samuel that He repented of having elected Saul as king, since he was in no wise executing His commands, but doing according to his own pleasure. On hearing this Samuel was sore troubled, and all night long set himself to entreat God to be reconciled to Saul and not wroth with him. But God would grant no pardon to Saul at the prophet's request, accounting it not just to condone sins at the intercession of another; for nothing more favoured their growth than laxity on the part of the wronged, who in seeking a reputation for mildness and kindness are unwittingly the begetters of crime. When therefore God had refused the prophet's prayer and showed that He repented Himself,^a Samuel at break of day repaired to Galgala to meet Saul. At sight of him, the king ran to him and embraced him. "I render thanks," said he, "to God who has given me victory; and moreover, all His commands have been performed." Whereto Samuel replied, "Whence comes it then

Samuel at
Galgala
prophesies
Saul's doom.
1 Sam. xv.
12.

^a *i.e.* of having made Saul king, *cf.* 1 Sam. xv. 35. The variant text *δῆλος ἦν μὴ μεταμελόμενος* "and showed no change of mind" is probably due to scribes who thought that Josephus was referring to God's decision to punish Saul in spite of Samuel's intercession.

“καὶ ὑποζυγίων βοῆς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ;” ὁ δὲ
 τὸν λαὸν ταῦτ’ εἰς θυσίας ἀπεκρίνατο τετηρηκέναι·
 τὸ μέντοι γε τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν γένος ἅπαν ἐξη-
 φανίσθαι κατὰ τὴν ἐντολὴν καὶ περιλείπεσθαι ἄλλον
 μηδένα, πρὸς δ’ αὐτὸν ἀγαγεῖν μόνον τηρήσαντα
 αὐτῶν τὸν βασιλέα, περὶ οὗ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν βουλευσε-
 147 σθαι¹ πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔφασκεν. ὁ δὲ προφήτης
 οὐχὶ θυσίαις ἔλεγεν ἤδεσθαι τὸ θεῖον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς
 ἀγαθοῖς καὶ δικαίοις· οὗτοι δέ εἰσιν οἱ τῇ βουλήσει
 καὶ ταῖς ἐντολαῖς αὐτοῦ κατακολουθοῦντες καὶ
 μηδὲν ἄλλο πραχθήσεσθαι καλῶς ὑφ’ ἑαυτῶν νομί-
 ζοντες ἢ ὅ τι ἂν ποιήσωσι τοῦ θεοῦ κεκελευκότος·
 καταφρονεῖσθαι γὰρ οὐχ ὅταν αὐτῷ μὴ θύῃ τις,
 148 ἀλλ’ ὅταν ἀπειθεῖν δοκῇ. “παρὰ δὲ τῶν οὐχ
 ὑποτασσομένων οὐδ’ ἀληθῆ καὶ μόνην τῷ θεῷ
 κεχαρισμένην θρησκευόντων θρησκείαν, οὐτ’ ἂν
 πολλὰ καὶ πιμελῆ καταθύσωσιν ἱερεῖα, οὐτ’ ἂν
 κόσμον ἀναθημάτων ἐξ ἀργύρου καὶ χρυσοῦ πε-
 ποιημένων προσφέρωσι, δέχεται ταῦτ’ εὐμενῶς,
 ἀλλ’ ἀποστρέφεται καὶ δείγματα τῆς πονηρίας οὐκ
 149 εὐσέβειαν ἡγεῖται. τοῖς δ’ ἐν καὶ μόνον τοῦθ’ ὅ τι
 περ ἂν φθέγγηται καὶ κελεύσῃ ὁ θεὸς διὰ μνήμης
 ἔχουσι καὶ τεθνάναι μᾶλλον ἢ παραβῆναί τι τούτων
 αἴρουμένοις ἐπιτέρπεται, καὶ οὔτε θυσίαν ἐπιζητεῖ
 παρ’ αὐτῶν καὶ παρὰ θυόντων δέ, κἂν ἦ λιτά, τῆς
 πενίας ἡδιον τὴν τιμὴν ἢ παρὰ τῶν πλουσιωτάτων
 150 δεξιούται. σὺ τοίνυν ἴσθι σαυτὸν δι’ ὀργῆς ὄντα
 τῷ θεῷ· κατεφρόνησας γὰρ καὶ κατημέλησας ὦν
 ἐπέστειλε. πῶς οὖν οἶει τὴν θυσίαν ἂν αὐτὸν
 προσβλέπειν ἐξ ὧν κατέκρινεν ἀπολέσθαι γινο-

¹ Ernesti ex Lat.: βουλευέσθαι codd.

that I hear sounds of cattle and beasts of burden in the camp?" The king answered that the people had reserved these for sacrifice, but that the race of the Amalekites had been utterly exterminated in accordance with the divine command, and that not one had been left alive, save only their king, whom he had preserved and brought to Samuel, and concerning whose fate they would, he said, take counsel together. But the prophet answered that the Deity took not delight in sacrifices, but in good and righteous men, namely such as follow His will and His commandments and deem that no act of theirs will have been rightly done save what they do at God's bidding; for contempt of God, he said, is shown not in withholding sacrifice but in appearing to disobey Him. "And from such as submit not nor offer the true worship that alone is acceptable to God, even though they sacrifice many fat victims, even though they present to Him sumptuous offerings wrought of silver and gold, yet does He not receive these gifts graciously, but rejects them and regards them as tokens of iniquity rather than as piety. But they who are mindful of this one thing alone, to wit what God has spoken and commanded, and who choose rather to die than to transgress aught thereof, in them does He rejoice; from them He requires no sacrifice, or, should they offer any, however modest, more gladly does He welcome this homage from poverty than that of the wealthiest. Know, then, that thou thyself hast incurred the wrath of God, for thou hast held lightly and neglected His commandments. How thinkest thou that He could look upon a sacrifice offered from those things which He doomed

- μένην; πλὴν εἰ μὴ νομίζεις ὅμοιον ὀλέθρω¹ τὸ
 θύεσθαι ταῦτα τῷ θεῷ. προσδόκα τοίνυν τὴν
 βασιλείαν ἀφαιρεθησόμενος καὶ τὴν ἐξουσίαν, ἀφ'
 ἧς ὀρμώμενος τοῦ παρασχόντος σοι θεοῦ ταύτην
 151 ἡμέλησας.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀδικεῖν ὠμολόγει καὶ τὴν
 ἁμαρτίαν οὐκ ἠρνεῖτο· παραβῆναι γὰρ τὰς ἐντολάς
 τοῦ προφήτου· κατὰ μέντοι γε δέος καὶ τὸν ἀπὸ
 τῶν στρατιωτῶν φόβον μὴ κωλύσαι διαρπάζοντας
 αὐτοὺς τὴν λείαν μηδ’ ἐπισχεῖν. “ἀλλὰ συγ-
 γίνωσκε καὶ πρᾶος ἴσθι.” φυλάξεσθαι γὰρ εἰς
 τοῦπιόν ἁμαρτεῖν, παρεκάλει δὲ τὸν προφήτην
 ὑποστρέψαντα θυσίας χαριστηρίου ἐπιτελέσαι τῷ
 θεῷ· ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἑώρα τὸν θεὸν διαλλαττόμενον,
 ἀπήει πρὸς ἑαυτόν.
- 152 (5) Σαοῦλος δὲ κατασχεῖν βουλόμενος τὸν Σα-
 μουῆλον ἐλλαμβάνεται² τῆς διπλοῖδος, καὶ βιαίας
 τῆς ὀλκῆς διὰ τὸ μεθ’ ὀρμῆς ἀπιέναι³ τὸν Σαμου-
 153 ῆλον γενομένης διασχίζει τὸ ἱμάτιον. τοῦ δὲ προ-
 φήτου τὴν βασιλείαν οὕτως αὐτοῦ διασχισθῆναι
 φήσαντος καὶ λήψεσθαι ταύτην ἀγαθὸν καὶ δίκαιον,
 ἐμμένειν γὰρ τὸν θεὸν τοῖς περὶ αὐτοῦ κεκριμένοις,
 ὡς τοῦ μεταβάλλεσθαι καὶ στρέφειν τὴν γνώμην
 154 ἀνθρωπίνου πάθους ὄντος οὐχὶ θείας ἰσχύος, ὃ⁴
 Σαοῦλος ἀσεβῆσαι μὲν ἔλεγεν, ἀγένητα δὲ ποιῆσαι
 τὰ πεπραγμένα μὴ δύνασθαι· τιμῆσαί γε μὴν αὐτὸν
 παρεκάλει, τοῦ πλήθους ὀρώντος, σὺν αὐτῷ παρα-
 γενόμενον τὸν θεὸν προσκυνῆσαι. δίδωσι δὲ τοῦτο
 Σαμουῆλος αὐτῷ καὶ συνελθῶν προσκυνεῖ τῷ θεῷ.

¹ SPM¹: ὀλέθρου M²: ὀλεθρον O.

² ἐπιλαμβάνεται S² Zon (cf. LXX codd.).

³ Dindorf: ἀπειναι codd.

⁴ + δὲ codd.

to destruction? Unless it be that thou regardest the sacrificing of them to God as equivalent to destroying them! Expect, therefore, that thou wilt be deprived of thy kingship and of the power upon which thou hast presumed in neglecting the God who gave it thee." Saul admitted that he had done wrong and did not deny his sin; yes, he said, he had transgressed the prophet's commands; yet indeed it was from fear and dread of his soldiers that he had not prevented them from plundering the spoils nor restrained them. "But," said he, "pardon me and be merciful," and promised to beware of offending in future. Then he besought the prophet to return (with him) and sacrifice thank-offerings^a to God. But Samuel, seeing that God was not to be reconciled, departed to his home.

(5) Then Saul, seeking to detain Samuel, laid hold upon his mantle and, since Samuel was hastening to be gone, pulled it so violently that he rent the garment in twain. Whereat the prophet said that even so had his kingdom been rent from him, and that one would succeed to it who was virtuous and just, for God would abide by what He had decreed concerning him, as change and reversal of judgement were the part of human frailty and not of divine power. Saul replied that, impious though he had been, he could not undo what had been done; howbeit he besought him at least to do him honour in the eyes of the multitude by coming with him to worship God.^b Samuel granted him this request and went with him and worshipped God. Then too was

Samuel has
Agag put to
death.
1 Sam. xv.
26.

^a 1 Sam. xv. 25 "that I may worship the Lord."

^b Josephus infers that Samuel also worshipped. Scripture says that Samuel returned with Saul and "Saul worshipped the Lord."

JOSEPHUS

155 ἄγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν βασιλεὺς Ἄγαγος πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ πυνθανομένου πῶς εἶη πικρὸς ὁ θάνατος, εἶπεν “ὡς σὺ πολλὰς μητέρας Ἑβραίων ἐπὶ τέκνοις ὀδύρεσθαι καὶ πένθος ἄγειν ἐποίησας, οὕτως ὀδυνήσεις ἐπὶ σαυτῷ διαφθαρέντι τὴν μητέρα.” καὶ κελεύει παραχρῆμα αὐτὸν ἐν Γαλιλαίοις ἀποθανεῖν. καὶ αὐτὸς δὲ εἰς Ἀρμαθὰν πόλιν ἀπαλλάσσεται.

156 (viii. 1) Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς αἰσθόμενος ὡς ἂν¹ πειραθείη κακῶν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ τὸν θεὸν κατασκευάσας, εἰς τὸ βασιλεῖον ἀναβαίνει Γαβᾶ, σημαίνει² βουνὸν ἐρμηνευόμενον τὸ ὄνομα, καὶ μετ’ ἐκείνην οὐκέτι τὴν ἡμέραν εἰς ὄψιν ἔρχεται τῷ

157 προφήτῃ. Σαμουήλῳ δὲ λυπουμένῳ περὶ αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι μὲν τῆς φροντίδος ἐκέλευσεν ὁ θεός, λαβόντι δὲ τὸ ἅγιον ἔλαιον³ εἰς Βηθλέμην ἀπελθεῖν πόλιν πρὸς Ἰεσσαῖον παῖδα Ὠβῆδου καὶ χρίσαι τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ ὃν ἂν αὐτὸς ἐπιδείξῃ βασιλέα γενησόμενον. ὁ δὲ εὐλαβεῖσθαι φήσας, μὴ τοῦτο μαθὼν Σαοῦλος ἀνέλη λοχήσας αὐτὸν ἢ καὶ φανερώς, ὑποθεμένου τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δόντος ἀσφα-

158 λείας ὁδὸν ἦκεν εἰς τὴν προειρημένην πόλιν. καὶ πάντες αὐτὸν ἠσπάζοντό τε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τῆς ἀφίξεως ἀνηρώτων, ἔλεγε δὲ ἦκεν ἵνα θύσῃ τῷ θεῷ. ποιήσας οὖν τὴν θυσίαν καλεῖ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον μετὰ τῶν τέκνων ἐπὶ τὰ ἱερά⁴ καὶ θεασάμενος

¹ ἂν ins. Niese.

² + δὲ MSP.

³ ἅγιον ἔλαιον] ἀγγεῖον τοῦ ἐλαίου E Lat.

⁴ ἱερεῖα MSP.

^a So, apparently, the LXX and Targum of 1 Sam. xv. 32. The Hebrew is obscure and is variously explained by Jewish interpreters.

brought to him Agag, king of the Amalekites ; and when the prisoner asked what manner of bitter death his would be,^a Samuel said, " As thou hast made many mothers of Hebrews to lament and mourn for their children, so shalt thou cause thy mother to grieve over thine own destruction." He then ordered him instantly to be put to death ^b in Galgala, and he himself departed to the city of Armatha.

(viii. 1) But King Saul, perceiving what ills he had incurred in making God his enemy, went up to his palace at Gaba ^c (a name which is interpreted to mean " hill ") and from that day onward came no more into the prophet's sight. As Samuel, however, yet grieved for him, God bade him banish his care and, taking the holy oil, to repair to the city of Bethlehem to Jesse son of Obed,^d and to anoint from among his sons him whom He Himself should point out as the future king. Samuel replied that he was fearful lest Saul on learning of this should slay him by ambush or even openly ; but, God having advised him ^e and provided him a way of safety, he came to the city aforesaid. Here all greeted him and questioned him concerning the cause of his coming, and he said that he was come to sacrifice to God. Having then performed the sacrifice, he called Jesse with his children to the sacred feast, and when

Samuel goes to Bethlehem to anoint a son of Jesse as king. 1 Sam. xv. 34.

^b Josephus discreetly passes over the details ; 1 Sam. xv. 33 " and Samuel hewed Agag in pieces before the Lord." Rabbinic tradition states that the execution was not in accordance with Jewish forms of justice.

^c So LXX ; Heb. Gibeah of Saul. Cf. § 95 note.

^d 1 Sam. xvi. 1 " Jesse the Bethlehemite." His father's name is given earlier, *A.* v. 336 (Ruth iv. 22).

^e Scripture explains more fully by mentioning, at this point, the pretext of sacrificing.

JOSEPHUS

αὐτοῦ τὸν πρεσβύτατον τῶν υἱῶν εὐμεγέθη καὶ
 καλόν, εἵκασεν ἐκ τῆς εὐμορφίας τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν
 159 μέλλοντα βασιλεύειν. διαμαρτάνει δὲ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ
 προνοίας· ἐπερωτήσαντι γὰρ αὐτὸν εἰ χρίσει τῷ
 ἐλαίῳ τὸν νεανίσκον ὃν αὐτὸς ἐτεθαυμάκει¹ καὶ τῆς
 βασιλείας ἄξιον ἔκρινεν, οὐ τὰ αὐτὰ βλέπειν
 160 ἀνθρώπους εἶπε καὶ θεόν· “ ἀλλὰ σὺ μὲν εἰς τὸ
 κάλλος ἀπιδὼν τοῦ νεανίσκου καὶ δὴ τοῦτον ἡγή
 ἄξιον τοῦ βασιλεύειν εἶναι, ἐγὼ δ’ οὐ σωματῶν
 εὐμορφίας ἔπαθλον ποιούμαι τὴν βασιλείαν ἀλλὰ
 ψυχῶν ἀρετῆς, καὶ ζητῶ ὅστις ταύτης² ἐστὶ τελέως
 εὐπρεπῆς, εὐσεβεία καὶ δικαιοσύνη καὶ ἀνδρεία καὶ
 πειθοί, ἐξ ὧν τὸ τῆς ψυχῆς συνίσταται κάλλος,
 161 κατακεκοσμημένος.” ταῦτα φράσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ
 πάντα ἐκέλευσεν αὐτῷ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον τοὺς υἱοὺς
 ἐπιδείξαι Σαμουῆλος· ὁ δὲ πέντε ἄλλους ἐποίησεν
 ἐλθεῖν, ὧν ὁ μὲν πρεσβύτερος Ἐλίαβος,³ ὁ δεύ-
 τερος Ἀμινάδαβος, Σάμαλος ὁ τρίτος, ὁ τέταρτος
 Ναθαναῆλος, καὶ Ῥάηλος ὁ πέμπτος ἐκαλείτο, ὁ δὲ
 162 ἕκτος Ἄσαμος. ἰδὼν δὲ καὶ τούτους ὁ προφῆτης
 μηδὲν χείρους τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου⁴ ταῖς μορφαῖς ἐπ-
 ηρώτησε τὸν θεὸν τίνα τούτων αἰρεῖται βασιλέα.
 εἰπόντος δ’ οὐδένα, πυνθάνεται τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου, μὴ
 163 πρὸς τούτοις αὐτῷ καὶ ἄλλοι παῖδές εἰσι. φήσαντος
 δὲ εἶναι Δαυίδην⁵ τοῦνομα, ποιμαίνειν δὲ καὶ τῆς

¹ αὐτὸς τε θαυμάζει RO.

² ταύτη Cocceji: ταύτην Ernesti.

³ Ταλίαβος RO.

⁴ πρεσβυτάτου Niese.

⁵ Δαβίδην RO et sic infra.

^a His name, Eliab, is given below, § 161.

^b These virtues, perhaps intended to correspond to the

he beheld his eldest son,^a well-grown and fair, he surmised from his comeliness that this was the destined king. But he mistook God's design; for, when he asked Him whether he should anoint with the oil this young man whom he himself had admired and accounted worthy of the kingship, He replied that men and God see not the same things. "Nay, thou, looking upon this young man's beauty, thinkest none other than him worthy to be king; but I make not of the kingdom a prize for comeliness of body, but for virtue of soul, and I seek one who in full measure is distinguished by this, one adorned with piety, justice, fortitude and obedience, qualities ^b whereof beauty of soul consists." When God had thus spoken, Samuel bade Jesse bring all his sons before him, and he caused five ^c others to appear. The eldest was called Eliab, the second Aminadab,^d the third Samal,^e the fourth Nathanael, the fifth Rael,^f and the sixth Asam.^g The prophet, seeing these to be in no way inferior to the eldest in appearance, asked God which among them He chose for king. When God answered, "None," he inquired of Jesse whether he had yet other children. He said that he had one named David, but that he was a

Platonic-Stoic cardinal virtues, are, of course, not specified in Scripture.

^a 1 Sam. xvi. 10 (*cf.* xvii. 12) mentions seven sons excluding David, and the chapter gives the names of only the three eldest; the others' names are supplied from 1 Chron. ii. 13 ff. which tells us that there were seven sons altogether.

^d So LXX; Heb. Abinadab.

^e Bibl. Shammah (Chron. *Shim'a*), LXX Σαμά (*v.l.* Σαμαά κτλ.).

^f Bibl. Raddai, LXX Ζαδδαί (*v.l.* Ζαβδαί, 'Ραδδαί), Luc. Ρεηλαί.

^g Bibl. Ozem (Heb. 'Osem), LXX Ἄσομ, Luc. Ἄσαμ.

JOSEPHUS

- τῶν βοσκημάτων φυλακῆς ἐπιμελείσθαι, κελεύει καλεῖν αὐτὸν ἐν τάχει· κατακλιθῆναι γὰρ εἰς εὐωχίαν οὐκ εἶναι δυνατόν αὐτοῖς ἐκείνου μὴ
- 164 παρόντος. ὡς δ' ἦκεν ὁ Δαυίδης μεταπεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρός, παῖς ξανθὸς μὲν τὴν χροῶν γοργὸς δὲ τὰς ὄψεις καὶ καλὸς ἄλλως “οὗτός ἐστιν,” εἰπὼν ἡσυχῇ πρὸς αὐτὸν Σαμουῆλος, “ὁ βασιλεύειν ἀρέσας τῷ θεῷ,” κατακλίνεται μὲν αὐτός, κατακλίνει δ' ὑφ' αὐτὸν τὸν νεανίσκον καὶ τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον
- 165 μετὰ καὶ τῶν παίδων. ἔπειτα λαβὼν ὀρώντος τοῦ Δαυίδου τὸ ἔλαιον ἀλείφει τ' αὐτὸν καὶ πρὸς τὸ οὖς ἡρέμα λαλεῖ καὶ σημαίνει τοῦθ', ὅτι βασιλεύειν αὐτὸν ὁ θεὸς ἤρηται. παρήγει δ' εἶναι δίκαιον καὶ κατήκοον αὐτοῦ τῶν προσταγμάτων· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτῷ παραμενεῖν τὴν βασιλείαν εἰς πολὺν χρόνον καὶ τὸν οἶκον λαμπρὸν καὶ περιβόητον γενήσεσθαι,¹ καταστρέφεσθαι² δὲ καὶ Παλαιστίνους, καὶ οἷς ἂν ἔθνεσι πολεμῇ νικῶντα καὶ περιόντα τῇ μάχῃ κλέος ἀοίδιμον ζῶντά τε ἔξειν καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτὸν ἀπολείψειν.
- 166 (2) Καὶ Σαμουῆλος μὲν ἀπαλλάσσεται ταῦτα παραινέσας, πρὸς δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην μεταβαίνει τὸ θεῖον καταλιπὼν Σαοῦλον. καὶ ὁ μὲν προφητεύειν ἤρξατο τοῦ θείου πνεύματος εἰς αὐτὸν μετοικισαμένου· τὸν Σαοῦλον δὲ περιήρχετο πάθη τινὰ καὶ δαιμόνια πνιγμοὺς αὐτῷ καὶ στραγγάλας ἐπιφέροντα, ὡς τοὺς ἰατροὺς ἄλλην μὲν αὐτῷ θεραπείαν μὴ ἐπινοεῖν, εἰ δέ τις ἐστὶν ἐξάδειν δυνάμενος καὶ ψάλλειν ἐπὶ κινύρα τοῦτον ἐκέλευσαν ζητή-

¹ Dindorf: παραμένειν . . . γενέσθαι codd.

² ed. pr.: καταστρέφασθαι MSP.

• 1 Sam. xvi. 12 “with beautiful eyes.”

shepherd and busied with keeping the flocks ; whereat Samuel bade him call him in haste, for it was not possible for them to sit down to the feast without him. Now so soon as David appeared at his father's summons,—a lad of ruddy colour, with piercing ^a eyes and in other ways handsome,—“ This,” said Samuel softly to himself, ^b “ is he whom it has pleased God to make king ” ; and he sat himself down and made the youth sit beside him, and then Jesse with his other sons. Then, in the sight of David, he took the oil and anointed him and spoke low into his ear, explaining that God had chosen him to be king. He also exhorted ^c him to be righteous and obedient to His commandments, for so would the kingship long continue to be his, and his house would become splendid and renowned ; he would subdue the Philistines and, victorious and triumphant over all nations with whom he might wage war, he would in his lifetime attain glorious fame and bequeath it to his posterity.

Samuel
anoints
David.
1 Sam. xvi.
12.

(2) So, after these exhortations, Samuel went his way, ^d and the Deity abandoned Saul and passed over to David, who, when the divine spirit had removed to him, began to prophesy. ^e But as for Saul, he was beset by strange disorders and evil spirits which caused him such suffocation ^f and strangling that the physicians ^g could devise no other remedy save to order search to be made for one with power to charm away spirits and to play upon the harp, and, whenso-

Saul takes
David as his
musician
and armour-
bearer.
1 Sam. xvi.
13.

^b In Scripture, God prompts Samuel to recognize David.

^c The exhortation is unscriptural. ^d To Ramah.

^e Scripture does not say that David prophesied.

^f After the LXX of 1 Sam. xvi. 14 *ἐπιπυγην* ; Heb. has simply “ troubled.”

^g Bibl. “ the servants of Saul.”

JOSEPHUS

- σαντας, ὅποταν αὐτῷ προσίῃ¹ τὰ δαιμόνια καὶ
 ταραττή,² ποιεῖν ὑπὲρ κεφαλῆς στάντα ψάλλειν τε
 167 καὶ τοὺς ὕμνους ἐπιλέγειν. ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἠμέλησεν,
 ἀλλὰ ζητεῖσθαι προσέταξε τοιοῦτον ἄνθρωπον·
 φήσαντος δὲ τινος αὐτῷ τῶν παρόντων ἐν Βηθ-
 λεέμῃ πόλει τεθεᾶσθαι Ἰεσσαίου μὲν υἷον ἔτι
 παῖδα τὴν ἡλικίαν, εὐπρεπῆ δὲ καὶ καλὸν τὰ τε
 ἄλλα σπουδῆς ἄξιον καὶ δὴ καὶ ψάλλειν εἰδότα
 καὶ ἄδειν ὕμνους καὶ πολεμιστὴν ἄκρον, πέμψας
 πρὸς τὸν Ἰεσσαῖον ἐκέλευσεν ἀποστέλλειν αὐτῷ
 τὸν Δαυίδην τῶν ποιμνίων ἀποσπάσαντα· βού-
 λεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἰδεῖν, περὶ τῆς εὐμορφίας καὶ
 168 τῆς ἀνδρείας ἀκούσας τοῦ νεανίσκου. ὁ δὲ
 Ἰεσσαῖος πέμπει τὸν υἷον καὶ ξένια δούς κομίσει
 τῷ Σαούλῳ. ἐλθόντι δὲ ἦσθη καὶ ποιήσας ὄπλο-
 φόρον διὰ πάσης ἡγε³ τιμῆς· ἐξῆδeto γὰρ ὑπ'
 αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν δαιμονίων ταραχήν,
 ὅποτε αὐτῷ ταῦτα προσέλθοι, μόνος ἰατρὸς ἦν
 λέγων τε τοὺς ὕμνους καὶ ψάλλων ἐν τῇ κινύρα
 169 καὶ ποιῶν ἑαυτοῦ γίνεσθαι τὸν Σαούλον. πέμπει
 τοίνυν πρὸς τὸν πατέρα τοῦ παιδὸς Ἰεσσαῖον ἑᾶσαι
 παρ' αὐτῷ τὸν Δαυίδην κελεύων· ἦδεσθαι γὰρ αὐτῷ
 βλεπομένῳ καὶ παρόντι· τὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντειπεῖν⁴ τῷ
 Σαούλῳ, συγχωρῆσαι⁵ δὲ κατέχειν.
 170 (ix. 1) Χρόνοις δ' ὕστερον οὐ πολλοῖς οἱ Παλαι-
 στῖνοι πάλιν συνελθόντες καὶ δύναμιν ἀθροίσαντες
 μεγάλην ἐπίασι τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις καὶ μεταξὺ
 Σωχοῦς καὶ Ἀζηκοῦς⁶ καταλαμβανόμενοι στρατο-

¹ προσίοι SPE.

² ταραττοι codd. E.

³ εἶχε MSP.

⁴ τὸν δ' οὐκ ἀντ.] ὁ δὲ οὐκ ἔν ἀντειπεῖν Holwerda.

⁵ RO: συνεχώρησε MSP (+ δὴ Holwerda).

⁶ Azeca Lat.

ever the evil spirits should assail and torment Saul, to have him stand over the king and strike the strings and chant his songs. Saul did not neglect this advice, but ordered search to be made for such a man. And when one of those present said that he had seen in the city of Bethlehem a son of Jesse, a mere boy in years, but of pleasing and fair appearance and in other ways worthy of regard, who was, moreover, skilled in playing on the harp and in the singing of songs, and an excellent soldier, Saul sent to Jesse and ordered him to take David from the flocks and send him to him; he wished, he said, to see the young man, having heard of his comeliness and valour. So Jesse sent his son, also giving him presents to carry to Saul. When he came, Saul was delighted with him, made him his armour-bearer and held him in the highest honour, for his illness was charmed away by him; and against that trouble caused by the evil spirits, whensoever they assailed him, he had no other physician than David, who, by singing his songs and playing upon the harp, restored Saul to himself. He accordingly sent to Jesse, the lad's father, desiring him to leave David with him, since the sight of the boy and his presence gave him pleasure. Jesse would not gainsay Saul, but permitted him to keep David.

(ix. 1) Not long afterwards the Philistines again assembled and mustered a great force, and marched against the Israelites; occupying the ground between Sochūs^a and Azēkūs^b they established their

Goliath challenges the Hebrews to combat. 1 Sam. xvii. 1.

^a Bibl. Sochoh (A.V. Shochoh), LXX Σοκχώθ.

^b Bibl. Azekah. Both places are in the valley of Elah (1 Sam. xvii. 2) on the border of Judah and Philistia, about 15 miles due W. of Bethlehem.

JOSEPHUS

- πεδεύονται. ἀντεπεξάγει δ' αὐτοῖς τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ Σαοῦλος καὶ ἐπὶ τινος ὄρους στρατοπεδευσάμενος ἀναγκάζει τοὺς Παλαιστίνους τὸ μὲν πρῶτον στρατόπεδον καταλιπεῖν, ὁμοίως δ' ἐπὶ τινος¹ ὄρους ἀντικρὺ τοῦ καταληφθέντος ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαοῦλου
- 171 στρατοπεδεύσασθαι. διέστησε² δ' ἀπ' ἀλλήλων τὰ στρατόπεδα μέσος αὐλῶν τῶν ὀρῶν ἐφ' ὧν ἦν. καταβὰς οὖν τις τῶν ἐκ τοῦ Παλαιστίνων στρατοπέδου, Γολιάθος³ ὄνομα πόλεως δὲ Γίττης, ἀνὴρ παμμεγεθέστατος· ἦν γὰρ πηχῶν τεσσάρων καὶ σπιθαμῆς, ὄπλα τῇ φύσει τοῦ σώματος ἀναλογοῦντα περικείμενος· θώρακα μὲν γὰρ ἐνεδέδυτο σταθμὸν ἄγοντα πέντε χιλιάδας σίκλων, κόρυθα δὲ καὶ κνημίδας χαλκίας ὁποίας εἰκὸς ἦν ἀνδρὸς οὕτω παραδόξου τὸ μέγεθος σκεπάσαι μέλη,⁴ δόρυ δὲ ἦν οὐ κοῦφον βάσταγμα δεξιᾶς, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων αὐτὸ αἴρων ἔφερον, εἶχε δὲ καὶ λόγχην ἐξακοσίων σίκλων, εἶποντο δὲ πολλοὶ βασιτάζοντες τὰ ὄπλα.
- 172 στὰς τοίνυν ὁ Γολιάθος οὗτος μεταξὺ τῶν παρατάξεων βοήν τε ἀφίησι μεγάλην καὶ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους λέγει· “μάχης μὲν ὑμᾶς καὶ κινδύνων ἀπαλλάττω· τίς γὰρ ἀνάγκη τὴν στρατιὰν ὑμῶν⁵ συμπεσοῦσαν κακοπαθεῖν;
- 173 δότε δ' ὅστις ἐμοὶ μαχεῖται τῶν ὑμετέρων, καὶ βραβευθήσεται τὰ τοῦ πολέμου⁶ ἐνὶ τῷ νενικηκότι·

¹ δ' ἐπὶ τινος Niese: δὲ τινος RO: ἐπὶ ὁμοίου δὲ τινος MSP.

² διέστη ROE: διίστη Niese.

³ Γολιάθης codd., sed infra Γολιάθος codd. plur.

⁴ Niese ex Lat.: μέρη codd. ⁵ SP: ἡμῶν rell.

⁶ τὸ τοῦ πολέμου τέλος MSP.

⁷ ἐνὶ ex Lat.: ἐν codd.

camp there. Saul, on his side, led out his army against them, and, having pitched his camp on a certain mountain, forced the Philistines to abandon their first camp^a and to take up a similar position on another mountain over against that which he had occupied himself. The two camps were separated by a valley between the hills on which they lay. And now there came down from the camp of the Philistines one by name Goliath, of the city of Gitta, a man of gigantic stature. For he measured four^b cubits and a span, and was clad in armour proportioned to his frame. He wore a breastplate weighing 5000 shekels, with a helmet and greaves of bronze such as were meet to protect the limbs of a man of such prodigious size. His spear was not light enough to be borne in the right hand, but he carried it elevated on his shoulders; he had also a spear weighing 600 shekels,^c and many followed him, carrying his armour.^d Standing, then, between the opposing forces, this Goliath gave a mighty shout and said to Saul and the Hebrews, "I hereby deliver you from battle and its perils. For what need is there for your^e troops to join arms and to suffer heavy losses? Give me one of your men to fight with me, and the issue of the war shall be decided by the single victor, and to

tain for the first time, that the Philistines had changed their camp.

^b So most MSS. of the LXX; Heb. and LXX A have "six." The figures here given equal about 6 ft. 8 in.

^c Or "and it had a head weighing 600 shekels"; whether the whole spear or the spearhead alone weighed 600 shekels is not clear either from the Heb. or LXX of 1 Sam. xvii. 7. The latter, like Josephus, has *λόγχη*, which means either "spear" or "spearhead."

^d Bibl. "and his shield-bearer went before him."

• Variant "our."

JOSEPHUS

- δουλεύσουσι γὰρ ἐκείνοι τοῖς ἑτέροις, ὧν ἂν ὁ
 νικήσας γένηται· πολὺ δὲ κρεῖττον οἶμαι¹ καὶ
 σωφρονέστατον ἑνὸς κινδύνῳ λαβεῖν ὃ βούλεσθε
 174 ἢ τῷ ἀπάντων.²” ταῦτ’ εἰπὼν ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὸ
 τῶν οἰκείων στρατόπεδον. τῇ δ’ ἑχομένη πάλιν
 ἔλθων τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἐποιήσατο λόγους καὶ μέχρι
 τεσσαράκοντα ἡμερῶν οὐ διέλειπε προκαλούμενος
 ἐπὶ τοῖς προειρημένοις τοὺς πολεμίους, ὡς κατα-
 πλαγῆναι αὐτόν τε τὸν Σαοῦλον καὶ τὴν στρατιάν.
 καὶ παρετάσσοντο μὲν ὡς εἰς μάχην, οὐκ ἦρχοντο
 δὲ εἰς χεῖρας.
- 175 (2) Τοῦ δὲ πολέμου συνεστηκότος τοῖς Ἑβραίοις
 καὶ τοῖς Παλαιστίνιοις Σαοῦλος ἀπέλυσε τὸν
 Δαυίδην πρὸς τὸν πατέρα Ἰεσσαῖον ἀρκούμενος
 αὐτοῦ τοῖς τρισὶν υἱοῖς, οὓς ἐπὶ συμμαχίαν καὶ
 176 τοὺς κινδύνους ἔπεμψεν. ὁ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐπὶ
 τὰ ποίμνια πάλιν καὶ τὰς νομὰς τῶν βοσκημάτων
 παραγίνεται, μετ’ οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἔρχεται εἰς τὸ στρα-
 τόπεδον τῶν Ἑβραίων πεμφθεὶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
 κομίσαι τε τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ἐφόδια καὶ γνῶναι τί
 177 πράττουσι. τοῦ δὲ Γολιάθου πάλιν ἔλθόντος καὶ
 προκαλουμένου καὶ ὀνειδίζοντος ὅτι μηδεὶς ἐστὶν
 ἀνδρείος ἐν αὐτοῖς, ὃς εἰς μάχην αὐτῷ τολμᾷ κατα-
 βῆναι, μεταξύ τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς ὀμιλῶν Δαυίδης περὶ
 ὧν ἐπέστειλεν ὁ πατήρ, ἀκούσας βλασφημούντος
 τὴν στρατιάν καὶ κακίζοντος τοῦ Παλαιστίνου
 ἠγανάκτησε καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφούς αὐτοῦ εἶπεν
 178 ἐτοίμως ἔχει μονομαχῆσαι τῷ πολεμίῳ. πρὸς
 τοῦθ’ ὁ πρεσβύτατος τῶν ἀδελφῶν Ἑλίαςβος³ ἐπ-
 ἐπληξεν αὐτῷ, τολμηρότερον παρ’ ἡλικίαν καὶ
 ἀμαθῆ τοῦ προσήκοντος εἰπὼν, ἐκέλευσέ τε πρὸς
 τὰ ποίμνια καὶ τὸν πατέρα βαδίζειν. κατ-

the people of the victor the other side shall be slaves. It is far better, I think, and more prudent to attain your end by the hazard of one man's life rather than of all." Having so spoken he retired to his own camp. On the morrow he came again and delivered the same speech, and so, for forty days, he did not cease to challenge his enemies in these same terms, to the utter dismay both of Saul and his army. And though they remained drawn up as for battle, they never came to close quarters. xvii. 16.

(2) Now, on the outbreak of the war between the Hebrews and the Philistines, Saul had sent David away to his father Jesse, being content with the latter's three sons whom he had sent to share the dangers of the campaign. David then returned at first to his flocks and cattle-pastures, but before long visited the camp of the Hebrews, being sent by his father to carry provisions to his brothers and to learn how they fared. Now when Goliath came again, challenging and taunting the Hebrews with not having among them a man brave enough to venture down to fight with him, David was talking with his brothers about the matters wherewith his father had charged him, and hearing the Philistine reviling and abusing their army, he became indignant and said to his brothers that he was ready to meet this adversary in single combat. Thereat the eldest of his brothers, Eliab, rebuked him, telling him that he was bolder than became his years and ignorant of what was fitting, and bade him be off to the flocks and to his

David asks
Saul for
permission
to fight
Goliath.
1 Sam. xvii.
13.

¹ Bekker: *είναι* codd.

² Niese: *τῶν πάντων* RO: *τῷ πάντων* SP.

³ MSP: *Ἰάναβος* RO: Aminadab Lat.

JOSEPHUS

- αιδεσθεῖς δὲ τὸν ἀδελφὸν ὑπεχώρησε καὶ πρὸς
 179 τινας τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀπελάλησεν ὅτι θέλοι μάχε-
 Σαούλῳ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου προαίρεσιν μεταπέμ-
 πεται αὐτὸν ὁ βασιλεὺς, καὶ πυθομένου τί βούλε-
 ται λέγει¹ “ μὴ ταπεινὸν ἔστω τὸ φρόνημα μηδ’
 εὐλαβές,² ὦ βασιλεῦ· καθαιρήσω γὰρ ἐγὼ τὴν
 ἀλαζονείαν τοῦ πολεμίου χωρήσας αὐτῷ διὰ μάχης
 καὶ τὸν ὑψηλὸν καὶ μέγαν ὑπ’ ἐμαυτῷ βαλῶν.
 180 γένοιτο μὲν ἂν αὐτὸς οὕτως καταγέλαστος, ἔνδοξον
 δὲ τὸ σὸν στράτευμα, εἰ μηδ’ ὑπ’ ἀνδρὸς πολεμεῖν
 ἤδη δυναμένου καὶ πιστευομένου παράταξιν καὶ
 μάχας, ἀλλ’ ὑπὸ παιδὸς ἔτι δοκοῦντος καὶ ταύτην
 ἔχοντος τὴν ἡλικίαν ἀποθάνοι.”
- 181 (3) Τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου τὸ μὲν τολμηρὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ
 τὴν εὐψυχίαν θαυμάζοντος, οὐ θαρροῦντος δὲ ἐπ’
 αὐτῷ διὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν, ἀλλ’ ἀσθενέστερον εἶναι διὰ
 ταύτην πρὸς εἰδότα πολεμεῖν μάχεσθαι λέγοντος,
 “ ταῦτ’,” εἶπε Δαυίδης, “ ἐπαγγέλλομαι τῷ θεῷ
 θαρρῶν ὄντι μετ’ ἐμοῦ· πεπείραμαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῆς
 182 βοηθείας. λέοντα γὰρ ἐπελθόντα μού ποτε τοῖς
 ποιμνίοις καὶ ἀρπάσαντα ἄρνα διώξας καταλαμ-
 βάνω καὶ τὸν μὲν ἄρνα τοῦ³ στόματος ἐξαρπάζω
 τοῦ θηρός, αὐτὸν δ’ ὀρμήσαντα ἐπ’ ἐμέ τῆς οὐρᾶς
 183 βαστάσας καὶ προσρῆξας τῇ γῇ διαφθείρω. ταῦτὸ
 δὲ καὶ ἄρκτον ἀμυνόμενος διατίθεμαι. νομιζέσθω
 δὴ καὶ ὁ πολέμιος ἐκείνων εἶναι τῶν θηρίων,
 ὄνειδίζων ἐκ πολλοῦ τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ βλασφημῶν
 ἡμῶν τὸν θεόν, ὃς αὐτὸν ὑποχείριον ἐμοὶ θήσει.”

¹ Niese: (καὶ) λέγειν codd.

² + εἶπεν SP.

³ ἐκ τοῦ MSPE.

father. Out of respect for his brother David withdrew, but gave out to some of the soldiers that he wished to fight with the challenger. As they straightway reported the lad's resolve to Saul, the king sent for him; and David, when asked by him what he wished, said, "Let not thy spirit be downcast nor fearful, O King, for I will bring down the presumption of the foe by joining battle with him and throwing this mighty^a giant down before me. Thus would he be made a laughing-stock, and thine army have the more glory, should he be slain, not by a grown man fit for war and entrusted with the command of battles, but by one to all appearance and in truth no older than a boy."^b

(3) Saul admired the lad's daring and courage, but could not place full confidence in him by reason of his years, because of which, he said, he was too feeble to fight with a skilled warrior. "These promises,"^c replied David, "I make in the assurance that God is with me; for I have already had proof of His aid. Once when a lion attacked my flocks and carried off a lamb, I pursued and caught him and snatched the lamb from the beast's jaws, and, when he sprang upon me, lifted him by the tail and killed him by dashing him upon the ground.^c And I did the very same thing in battle with a bear. Let this enemy then be reckoned even as one of those wild beasts, so long has he insulted our army and blasphemed our God, who will deliver him into my hands."

^a Or "lofty-vaunting," as Professor Capps suggests.

^b The last part of David's speech is an amplification of Scripture.

^c 1 Sam. xvii. 35 "I seized him by the beard (LXX and Targum "throat" or "jaws") and struck him and killed him."

David
answers
Saul's
doubts.
1 Sam. xvii.
33.

- 184 (4) Τῇ προθυμίᾳ τοιγαροῦν καὶ τῇ τόλμῃ τοῦ παιδὸς ὅμοιον γενέσθαι τέλος παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ Σαοῦλος εὐξάμενος “ ἄπιθι,” φησί, “ πρὸς τὴν μάχην.” καὶ περιθίεις αὐτῷ τὸν αὐτοῦ θώρακα καὶ περιζώσας τὸ ξίφος καὶ περικεφαλαίαν ἀρ-
 185 μόσας ἐξέπεμψεν.¹ ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης βαρυνόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ὄπλων, οὐκ ἐγεγύμναστο γὰρ οὐδ’ ἐμεμαθήκει φέρειν ὄπλα, “ ταῦτα μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ὦ βασιλεῦ, σὸς ἔστω κόσμος τοῦ καὶ βαστάζειν δυναμένου, συγχώρησον δὲ ὡς δούλῳ σου καὶ ὡς ἐγὼ βούλομαι μαχεσθῆναι.” τίθησιν οὖν τὰ ὄπλα καὶ τὴν βακτηρίαν ἀράμενος καὶ πέντε λίθους ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου βαλὼν εἰς τὴν πήραν τὴν ποιμενικὴν καὶ σφενδόνην ἐν τῇ δεξιᾷ χειρὶ φέρων ἐπὶ τὸν Γολιάθον
 186 ἐπορεύετο. καταφρονεῖ δὲ οὕτως ἰδὼν αὐτὸν ὁ πολέμιος ἐρχόμενον καὶ προσέσκωψεν, ὡς οὐχ οἷα πρὸς ἄνθρωπον² ὄπλα νενόμισται ταῦτ’ ἔχων μέλλοι μάχεσθαι, οἷς δὲ κύνας ἀπελαύνομεν καὶ φυλασσόμεθα. μὴ αὐτὸν ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου κύνα εἶναι δοκεῖ; ὁ δ’ οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον ἀλλὰ καὶ χεῖρῳ κυνὸς αὐτὸν νομίζειν ἀπεκρίνατο. κινεῖ δὲ πρὸς ὄργην τὸν Γολιάθον, καὶ ἀρὰς αὐτῷ τίθεται ἐκ τῆς προσηγορίας τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ δώσειν ἠπειλήσει τὰς σάρκας αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐπιγείοις καὶ τοῖς μεταρσίοις
 187 διασπάσασθαι· ἀμείβεται δ’ αὐτὸν ὁ Δαυίδης· “ σὺ μὲν ἐπέρχη μοι ἐν ῥομφαίᾳ καὶ δόρατι καὶ θώρακι, ἐγὼ δὲ χωρῶν ἐπὶ σέ τὸν θεὸν ὤπλισμαι, ὃς σέ τε καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν ὑμῶν στρατιὰν χερσὶ ταῖς ἡμετέραις διολέσει. κατατομήσω μὲν γάρ σε σήμερον καὶ τὸ

¹ SP: ἐξέπεμπεν ME: ἐπεμψεν RO.

² ἀνθρώπων Niese (ex Lat. hominum).

(4) So then Saul, praying that the lad's zeal and hardihood might be rewarded by God with a like success, said, "Go forth to battle."^a And he clad him in his own breastplate, girt his sword about him, fitted a helmet upon his head and so sent him out. But David was weighed down by this armour, for he had not been trained nor taught to wear armour, and said, "Let this fine apparel be for thee, O King, for thou indeed art able to wear it,^b but suffer me, as thy servant, to fight just as I will." Accordingly he laid down the armour and, taking up his staff, he put five stones from the brook into his shepherd's wallet, and with a sling in his right hand advanced against Goliath. The enemy, seeing him approaching in this manner, showed his scorn, and derided him for coming to fight, not with such weapons as men are accustomed to use against other men, but with those wherewith we drive away and keep off dogs. Or did he perhaps take him for a dog, and not a man? "No," replied David, "not even for a dog, but something still worse."^c This roused Goliath's anger, and he called down curses upon him in his god's name and threatened to give his flesh to the beasts of earth and the birds of heaven to rend asunder. But David answered him, "Thou comest against me with sword, spear and breastplate, but I, in coming against thee, have God for my armour, who will destroy both thee and all your host by our hands. For I will this day

David goes forth to meet Goliath. 1 Sam. xvii 37.

^a 1 Sam. xvii. 37 "Go forth and may the Lord be with thee." Weill's note, "in the Bible this prayer is put in David's mouth," overlooks the fact that David's brief prayer for deliverance is given by Josephus in the preceding sentence. Here he is amplifying Saul's blessing just quoted.

^b Amplification.

^c So the LXX; this reply is not found in the Hebrew.

JOSEPHUS

ἄλλο σῶμα τοῖς ὁμοφύλοις κυσὶ παραβαλῶ, μαθή-
 σονται δὲ πάντες ὅτι προέστηκεν Ἑβραίων τὸ θεῖον
 καὶ ὄπλα ἡμῖν καὶ ἰσχύς τοῦτ' ἔστι κηδόμενον,
 ἢ δ' ἄλλη παρασκευὴ καὶ δύναμις ἀνωφελῆς
 188 θεοῦ μὴ παρόντος." ὁ δὲ Παλαιστίνος ὑπὸ βάρους
 τῶν ὄπλων εἰς ὠκύτητα καὶ δρόμον ἐμποδιζόμενος
 βάδην ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην παραγίνεται καταφρονῶν
 καὶ πεπορθῶς γυμνὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ παῖδα ἔτι τὴν
 ἡλικίαν ἀπόνως ἀναιρήσειν.

189 (5) Ἀπαντᾷ δὲ ὁ νεανίσκος μετὰ συμμάχου μὴ
 βλεπομένου τῷ πολεμίῳ· θεὸς δ' ἦν οὗτος. καὶ
 ἀνελόμενος ἐκ τῆς πήρας ὧν εἰς αὐτὴν κατέθηκεν
 ἐκ τοῦ χειμάρρου λίθον ἓνα καὶ ἀρμόσας τῇ σφεν-
 δόνη βάλλει ἐπὶ τὸν Γολιάθον εἰς τὸ μέτωπον·
 καὶ διήλθεν ἕως τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου τὸ βληθέν, ὡς
 εὐθὺς καρωθέντα πεσεῖν τὸν Γολιάθον ἐπὶ τὴν
 190 ὄψιν. δραμῶν δ' ἐφίσταται τῷ πολεμίῳ κειμένῳ
 καὶ τῇ ῥομφαίᾳ τῇ ἐκείνου, μάχαιραν οὐκ ἔχων
 191 αὐτός, ἀποτέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ. πεσῶν δ'
 ὁ Γολιάθος ἦττα καὶ φυγὴ γίνεται Παλαιστίνοις·
 τὸν γὰρ δοκιμώτατον ἰδόντες ἐρριμμένον καὶ περὶ
 τῶν ὄλων δείσαντες οὐκέτι μένειν διέγνωσαν, ἀλλ'
 αἰσχυρᾷ καὶ ἀκόσμῳ φυγῇ παραδόντες ἑαυτοὺς
 ἐξαρπάξαι τῶν κινδύνων ἐπειρῶντο. Σαοῦλος δὲ
 καὶ πᾶς ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων στρατὸς ἀλαλάξαντες ἐκ-
 πηδῶσιν εἰς αὐτοὺς καὶ πολλοὺς ἀποσφάττοντες
 διώκουσιν ἄχρι τῶν Γίττης ὀρίων καὶ τῶν πυλῶν

• 1 Sam. xvii. 46 "I will give the carcass of the camp
 420

cut off thine head and fling thy carcase to the dogs, thy fellows,^a and all men shall learn that Hebrews have the Deity for their protection, and that He in His care for us is our armour and strength, and that all other armament and force are unavailing where God is not." And now the Philistine, impeded by the weight of his armour from running more swiftly, came on toward David at a slow pace,^b contemptuous and confident of slaying without any trouble an adversary at once unarmed and of an age so youthful.

(5) But the youth advanced to the encounter, accompanied by an ally invisible to the foe, and this was God. Drawing from his wallet one of the stones from the brook which he had put therein, and fitting it to his sling, he shot it at Goliath, catching him in the forehead, and the missile penetrated to the brain, so that Goliath was instantly stunned and fell upon his face. Then, running forward, David stood over his prostrate foe and with the other's broadsword, having no sword of his own, he cut off his head. Goliath's fall caused the defeat and rout of the Philistines; for, seeing their best warrior laid low and fearing a complete disaster, they resolved to remain no longer, but sought to save themselves from danger by ignominious and disorderly flight. But Saul and the whole Hebrew army, with shouts of battle, sprang upon them and with great carnage pursued them to the borders of Gitta^c and to the gates of Ascalon.^d

David slays Goliath; the Philistines are routed. 1 Sam. xvii. 49.

of the Philistines to the birds of heaven, etc." Josephus evidently read "thy carcase to the camp, etc."

^b Unscriptural details.

^c Bibl. Gath. Cf. *A.* v. 87.

^d So the LXX in the first occurrence of the name in 1 Sam. xvii. 52; in the second part of the verse it agrees with the Hebrew in reading Ekron.

JOSEPHUS

- 192 τῶν Ἀσκάλωνος. καὶ θνήσκουσι μὲν τῶν Παλαιστίνων εἰς τρισμυρίους, δις δὲ τοσοῦτοι τραυματῖαι γίνονται. Σαούλος δὲ ὑποστρέψας εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον αὐτῶν διαρπάζει τὸ χαράκωμα καὶ ἐνέπρησε· τὴν κεφαλὴν δὲ Γολιάθου¹ Δαυίδης εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν σκηνην ἐκόμισε καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν ἀνέθηκε τῷ θεῷ.
- 193 (x. 1) Φθόνον δὲ καὶ μῖσος τοῦ Σαούλου πρὸς αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες ἐρεθίζουσιν· ὑπαντῶσαι γὰρ τῇ στρατιᾷ νικηφόρῳ μετὰ κυμβάλων καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ παντοίας χαρᾶς ἦδον αἱ μὲν γυναῖκες, ὡς πολλὰς Σαούλος ἀπώλεσε Παλαιστίνων χιλιάδας, αἱ παρθένοι δέ, ὡς μυριάδας Δαυίδης ἀφανίσειε.
- 194 τούτων δὲ ἀκούων ὁ βασιλεὺς, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἔλαττον τῆς μαρτυρίας αὐτὸς λάβοι, τὸ δὲ τῶν μυριάδων πλῆθος ἀνατεθείη τῷ νεανίσκῳ, καὶ λογισάμενος μηδὲν οὕτω μετὰ λαμπρὰν εὐφημίαν ἢ τὴν βασιλείαν ὑστερεῖν αὐτῷ, φοβεῖσθαι καὶ ὑποπτεῦειν
- 195 ἤρξατο τὸν Δαυίδην. καὶ τῆς μὲν πρώτης τάξεως, ἐπεὶ τῷ δέει πλησίον αὐτοῦ καὶ λίαν ἐγγὺς ἐδόκει, ἐποίησε γὰρ αὐτὸν ὄπλοφόρον, μεταστήσας ἀποδείκνυσι χιλίαρχον δούς αὐτῷ χώραν ἀμείνονα μὲν ἀσφαλεστέραν² δὲ ὡς ἐνόμιζεν αὐτῷ³. ἐβούλετο

¹ RO: τὴν δὲ κεφαλὴν τοῦ Γ. rell.

² σφαλερὰν SP.

³ Niese: αὐτῷ codd.

^a Unscriptural numbers.

^b 1 Sam. xvii. 53 "The Israelites returned from pursuing the Philistines and plundered (LXX κατεπάτουν "trampled down") their camp." Perhaps Josephus took the Heb. root *dlq*, "pursue," in its other sense "burn" (cf. Latin version of Scripture, *comburentes*), or possibly read *κατέκαιον* instead of *κατεπάτουν*.

^c The reverse of Scripture, 1 Sam. xvii. 54 which reads "And David took the head of the Philistine and brought it to Jerusalem, but his armour he put in his tent." Later, in

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Of the Philistines 30,000^a were slain and twice as many wounded. Saul then returning to their camp destroyed the palisade and set fire to it^b; while David carried the head of Goliath to his own tent and dedicated his sword to God.^c

(x. 1)^d But envy and hatred of David were now aroused in Saul by the women. For they, coming to meet the victorious army with cymbals, timbrels and every sign of rejoicing, sang, the elder women how Saul had slain many thousands of the Philistines, but the maidens^e how David had destroyed tens of thousands. The king on hearing this, and how he was given the lesser portion of the credit, while the larger number, the myriads, was ascribed to the youth, thought within himself that after so splendid an acclamation nothing more was lacking to David save the kingship, and now began to fear him and to regard him with suspicion. So he removed him from his former station—for he had made him his armour-bearer—since in his alarm he thought this far too close to his person, and appointed him captain of a thousand,^f thus giving him a better post, but one, as he thought, safer for himself.^g For

Saul is made
envious by
David's
triumph.
1 Sam.
xviii. 6.

§ 244, Josephus tells us, in accordance with Scripture, 1 Sam. xxi. 9 (10), that David had dedicated Goliath's sword to God in the temple at Nob.

^a Josephus, with many MSS. of the LXX, omits the presentation of David by Abner and the covenant with Jonathan which follow immediately upon the close of the battle, 1 Sam. xviii. 1-4.

^e Scripture does not distinguish the women by age.

^f Gr. "chiliarch." In the Hebrew this change is made after Saul's attack on David while playing the harp, 1 Sam. xviii. 10-11. Josephus omits the incident, as do many MSS. of the LXX.

^g Variant "more treacherous for him (David)."

JOSEPHUS

γὰρ εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους αὐτὸν ἐκπέμπειν καὶ τὰς μάχας ὡς ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τεθνηξόμενον.

- 196 (2) Δαυίδης δὲ πανταχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ἐπαγόμενος ὅποι ποτ' ἀφίκοιτο κατώρθου καὶ διευπραγῶν ἐδείκνυτο,¹ ὡς δι' ὑπερβολὴν τῆς ἀνδρείας τὸν τε λαὸν αὐτοῦ² καὶ τὴν Σαούλου θυγατέρα παρθένον ἔτι οὖσαν λαβεῖν ἔρωτα καὶ τοῦ πάθους ὑπερκρατοῦντος γενέσθαι φανεράν καὶ διαβληθῆναι πρὸς
- 197 τὸν πατέρα. ὁ δ' ὡς ἀφορμῇ χρησόμενος³ τῆς ἐπὶ Δαυίδην ἐπιβουλῆς ἠδέως ἤκουσε καὶ δώσειν προθύμως αὐτῷ τὴν παρθένον πρὸς τοὺς τὸν ἔρωτα μηνύσαντας αὐτῆς ἔφη, γενησόμενον ἀπωλείας καὶ κινδύνων αἴτιον αὐτῷ ληψομένῳ. “κατεγγυῶ γάρ,” εἶπεν, “αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς θυγατρὸς μου γάμον, ἂν
- 198 ἔξακοσίας μοι κομίση κεφαλὰς τῶν πολεμίων. ὁ δὲ καὶ γέρως οὕτω λαμπροῦ προτεθέντος καὶ βουλόμενος ἐπ' ἔργῳ παραβόλῳ καὶ ἀπίστῳ λαβεῖν κλέος, ὀρμήσει μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν πράξιν, διαφθαρῆσεται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ χωρήσει μοι τὰ κατ' αὐτὸν εὐπρεπῶς· ἀπαλλαγῆσομαι γὰρ αὐτοῦ, δι' ἄλλων αὐτόν, ἀλλ' οὐχὶ δι' ἑμαυτοῦ κτείνας.”
- 199 διάπειραν δὴ τῆς τοῦ Δαυίδου διανοίας κελεύει τοὺς οἰκέτας λαμβάνειν, πῶς ἔχει πρὸς τὸ γῆμαι τὴν κόρην. οἱ δ' ἤρξαντο διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν, ὅτι στέργει μὲν αὐτόν ὁ βασιλεὺς Σαούλος καὶ ὁ λαὸς ἅπας, βούλεται δ' αὐτῷ κηδεῦσαι τὴν
- 200 θυγατέρα. ὁ δὲ “μικρὸν ἄρ' ὑμῖν,” εἶπε, “δοκεῖ γαμβρὸν γενέσθαι βασιλέως; ἐμοὶ δ' οὐχὶ τοιοῦτον

¹ RO: ἐβλέπετο rell. (Lat.).

² + ἐρᾶν M.

³ M: χρησόμενος rell.

he proposed to send him out against the enemy and into battle, in the hope that amidst these dangers he would meet his death.

(2) But David, being everywhere attended by God whithersoever he went, achieved success and showed himself so fortunate in all things that by his extraordinary valour he won the heart not only of the people but of Saul's daughter,^a who was still a virgin; and so overmastering was her passion that it betrayed her and was reported to her father. He, thinking to seize this occasion for plotting against David, welcomed the news and told those who had informed him of his daughter's love that he would gladly give David the maiden, since the match, should he accept it, would prove the cause of danger and destruction to him. "For," said he, "I pledge him my daughter in marriage, if he will but bring me the heads of six hundred ^b of the foe. Now, at the offer of a prize so splendid and in his desire to win renown for a hazardous and incredible exploit, he will rush to perform it and be killed by the Philistines; so will my designs against him succeed admirably, for I shall be rid of him, yet cause his death at the hands of others and not my own." He accordingly ordered his men to sound the mind of David touching marriage with the maid; and they began to speak with him, telling him that King Saul felt affection for him, as did all the people, and wished to unite his daughter with him in marriage. Whereto David replied, "Does it then seem to you a small thing to become a king's son-in-law? To me it does not appear so,

Saul's daughter Michal (Melcha) falls in love with David. 1 Sam. xviii. 20.

Saul treacherously lays down conditions for the marriage. 1 Sam. xviii. 22.

omits the Scriptural reference, 1 Sam. xviii. 17, to Saul's offer of his elder daughter, Merab.

^b Bibl. "a hundred foreskins of the Philistines."

- φαίνεται καὶ μάλιστα ὄντι ταπεινῶ καὶ δόξης καὶ τιμῆς ἀμοίρῳ.” Σαοῦλος δὲ ἀγγελιάντων αὐτῷ τῶν οἰκετῶν τὰς τοῦ Δαυίδου ἀποκρίσεις “οὐ χρημάτων,” ἔφη, “δεῖσθαί με φράζετε αὐτῷ οὐδὲ ἔδνων, ἀπεμπολᾶν γὰρ ἔστιν οὕτως¹ τὴν θυγατέρα μᾶλλον ἢ συνοικίζειν, γαμβροῦ δὲ ἀνδρείαν ἔχοντος καὶ τὴν ἄλλην ἀρετὴν ἀπασαν, ἣν ὄραν ὑπάρχουσαν
- 201 αὐτῷ. βούλεσθαι δὴ με παρ’ αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν ἀντὶ τοῦ γάμου τῆς θυγατρὸς οὐ χρυσὸν οὐδ’ ἄργυρον οὐδ’ ὅπως ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν τοῦ πατρὸς οἰκιῶν² κομίση, Παλαιστίνων δὲ τιμωρίαν καὶ κεφαλὰς
- 202 αὐτῶν ἑξακοσίας. αὐτῷ τε γὰρ ἐμοὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἂν οὔτε ποθεινότερον οὔτε λαμπρότερον³ δῶρον γένοιτο, τῇ τε παιδί μου πολὺ τῶν νενομισμένων ἔδνων ζηλωτότερον τὸ συνοικεῖν ἀνδρὶ τοιούτῳ καὶ μαρτυρουμένῳ τὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἦτταν.”
- 203 (3) Κομισθέντων δὲ τούτων πρὸς τὸν Δαυίδην τῶν λόγων ἡσθεῖς τὸν Σαοῦλον ἐσπουδακέναι νομίζων αὐτοῦ περὶ τὴν συγγένειαν, οὐδὲ βουλευσασθαι περιμείνας οὐδ’ εἰ δυνατὸν ἢ δύσκολόν ἐστι τὸ προκείμενον ἔργον τῷ λογισμῷ περινοήσας ὤρμησεν εὐθύς μετὰ τῆς ἑταιρίας ἐπὶ τοὺς πολεμίους καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ γάμου κατηγγελημένην πράξιν καὶ (θεὸς γὰρ ἦν ὁ πάντα ποιῶν εὐμαρῇ καὶ δυνατὰ τῷ Δαυίδῃ) κτείνας πολλοὺς καὶ κεφαλὰς ἑξακοσίων ἀποτεμῶν ἤκε πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα διὰ τῆς τούτων ἐπιδείξεως τὸν ἀντὶ τούτων γάμον ἀπαιτῶν.
- 204 Σαοῦλος δὲ οὐκ ἔχων ἀναφυγεῖν⁴ ἐκ τῶν ὑπεσχημένων, αἰσχροὺν γὰρ ὑπελάμβανεν ἢ ψεύσασθαι

¹ τοῦτο Ernesti.² ME: οἰκείων rell.³ +οὔτε προτιμότερον SPE.⁴ ἀναφυγὴν Naber.

especially as I am of such humble rank and with no portion of glory or honour." When Saul was informed by his men of David's response, "Tell him," he said, "that I desire no money nor wedding gifts—that would be to sell my daughter, not to give her in marriage—but a son-in-law possessed of fortitude and all other virtues, such as I see in him. I wish, therefore, to receive of him, in return for his marriage with my daughter, neither gold nor silver—not these would I have him bring from his father's house—but the punishment of the Philistines and six hundred of their heads. For to myself no gift could be more desirable or magnificent ^a than that, and to my child it would be far more pleasing than the customary wedding presents to be united to such a husband who has the credit for defeating our enemies." ^b

(3) When these words were reported to David, he was delighted at the thought that Saul was eager to be related to him, and without waiting to deliberate, without reasonably considering whether the proposed enterprise was possible or difficult, he straightway, with his companions, set upon the foe to accomplish the task that was appointed him as the condition of the marriage; and, thanks to God, who rendered all things possible and easy to David, he slew many men, cut off the heads of six hundred ^c and returned to the king, displaying these and claiming the bride as his recompense. So Saul, finding no way to evade his promises—since he saw that it would be disgraceful for him either to appear to have lied or to have held

David wins Michal by slaying six hundred Philistines. 1 Sam. xviii. 26.

^a Some mss. add "nor more precious."

^b Saul's speech is an amplification of 1 Sam. xviii. 25.

^c 1 Sam. xviii. 27 "he and his men . . . slew of the Philistines two hundred (LXX "one hundred") and David brought their foreskins."

δοκεῖν ἢ δι' ἐπιβουλήν ἰν' ¹ ἀδυνάτοις ἐπιχειρῶν ὁ Δαυίδης ἀποθάνη τὸν γάμον ἐπηγγέλλαι, δίδωσιν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα Μελχάν ² ὀνόματι.

- 205 (xi. 1) Ἐμελλε δὲ οὐκ ἐπὶ πολὺ τοῖς γεγενημένοις ἐμμένειν Σαοῦλος ἄρα· ὁρῶν γὰρ τὸν Δαυίδην παρὰ τῷ θεῷ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ὄχλοις εὐδοκιμοῦντα κατέδεισε, καὶ τὸν φόβον οὐκ ἔχων ἀποκρύψασθαι περὶ μεγάλων ὄντα, βασιλείας τε καὶ ζωῆς, ὧν καὶ θατέρου στερηθῆναι συμφορὰ δεινὴ, κτείνειν τὸν Δαυίδην διεγνώκει καὶ προστάσσει τὴν ἀναίρεσιν αὐτοῦ Ἰωνάθῃ τε τῷ παιδί καὶ τοῖς πιστοτάτοις
206 τῶν οἰκετῶν. ὁ δὲ τὸν πατέρα τῆς ἐπὶ τῷ Δαυίδῃ μεταβολῆς θαυμάσας οὐκ ἐπὶ μετρίοις ἀπὸ τῆς πολλῆς εὐνοίας ἀλλ' ἐπὶ θανάτῳ γενομένης, καὶ τὸν νεανίσκον ἀγαπῶν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καταιδούμενος λέγει πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸ τοῦ πατρὸς
207 ἀπόρρητον καὶ τὴν προαίρεσιν. συμβουλεύει μὲντοι φυλάσσεσθαι γενόμενον ἐκποδῶν τὴν ἐπιούσαν ἡμέραν· αὐτὸς γὰρ ἀσπάσσεσθαι ³ τὸν πατέρα καὶ καιροῦ παραφανέντος αὐτῷ διαλεχθήσεσθαι περὶ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν μαθήσεσθαι καὶ ταύτην
208 ἐκφαιλίσειν, ὡς οὐ δεῖν ἐπ' αὐτῇ κτείνειν τοσαῦτα μὲν ἀγαθὰ τὸ πλῆθος ἐργασάμενον εὐεργέτην δ' αὐτοῦ γεγενημένον, δι' ἃ καὶ συγγνώμην ἂν ἐπὶ τοῖς μεγίστοις ἀμαρτήμασιν εἰκότως εὔρατο. “ δηλώσω δέ σοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς γνώμην.” Δαυίδης δὲ πεισθεὶς συμβουλία χρηστῇ ὑπεξίσταται τῆς τοῦ βασιλέως ὄψεως.

- 209 (2) Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ πρὸς τὸν Σαοῦλον Ἰωνάθης

¹ + ὡς codd.

² Μελχώνην SP; Μελχῶ Glycas; Melchon Lat.

³ ed. pr., Lat.: ἀσπάσσεσθαι codd.

out this marriage merely in order to bring about David's death on an impossible enterprise ^a—gave him his daughter, Melcha ^b by name.

(xi. 1) However Saul was not for long to acquiesce in this state of things; for, seeing David in favour both with God and with the multitude, he took alarm and, being unable to conceal his fears—concerning, as they did, such great interests as his kingdom and his life, the loss of either of which would be a dreadful calamity—he resolved to slay David and charged Jonathan his son and the most trusted of his men to make away with him. Jonathan was amazed at this change in his father's feelings toward David from great benevolence to not merely moderate dislike but to the compassing of his death; and, loving the lad and reverencing him for his virtue, he told him of his father's secret plan and intent. He counselled him, moreover, to take heed to himself and to keep out of sight on the morrow, saying that he would himself go to greet his father and, when the opportunity presented itself, would converse with him about David, and discover the reason (of his dislike); he would then make light of this, representing that he ought not on such ground to put to death one who had rendered so many services to the people and proved a benefactor to Saul himself, on account of which he might well have secured pardon for even the gravest crimes. "And I will inform thee," he added, "what is my father's mind." David, in compliance with this excellent counsel, withdrew himself from the king's sight.

Jonathan warns David of Saul's plot; David flees.
1 Sam. xix. 1.

(2) The next day Jonathan went to Saul and, find-

* No such thoughts are attributed to Saul in Scripture.

^b Bibl. Michal, LXX Μελαχόλ.

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ἔλθων ὡς ἰλαρόν τε καὶ χαίροντα κατέλαβεν ἤρξατο
 λόγους αὐτῷ περὶ τοῦ Δαυίδου προσφέρειν· “ τί
 καταγνοὺς αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἢ μείζον ἀδίκημα, πάτερ,¹
 προσέταξας ἀνελεῖν ἄνδρα μέγα μὲν αὐτῷ πρὸς
 σωτηρίαν ὄφελος γεγενημένον, μείζον δὲ πρὸς τὴν
 210 Παλαιστίνων τιμωρίαν, ὕβρεως δὲ καὶ χλεύης ἀπ-
 ἀλλάξαντα τὸν Ἑβραίων λαὸν ἣν ἐπὶ τεσσαράκοντα
 ἡμέρας ὑπέμεινεν οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος² ὑποστῆναι
 τὴν τοῦ πολεμίου πρόκλησιν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα κομί-
 σαντα μὲν ὅσας ἐπετάχθη κεφαλὰς τῶν ἐχθρῶν,
 λαβόντα δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ γέρας τὴν ἐμὴν ἀδελφὴν
 πρὸς γάμον, ὡς ἂν ἀλγεινὸς³ αὐτοῦ γένοιθ' ἡμῖν ὁ
 θάνατος οὐ διὰ τὴν ἀρετὴν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ διὰ
 τὴν συγγένειαν· συναδικεῖται γὰρ αὐτοῦ τῷ θανάτῳ
 καὶ ἡ σὴ θυγάτηρ χηρείαν πρὶν ἢ τῆς συμβιώσεως
 211 εἰς ὄνησιν ἔλθειν μέλλουσα πειράζειν. ταῦτα λογι-
 σάμενος μεταβαλοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἡμερώτερον καὶ μηδὲν
 ποιήσης κακὸν ἄνδρα πρῶτον μὲν ἡμᾶς⁴ εὐεργεσίαν
 μεγάλην εὐεργετήσαντα τὴν σὴν σωτηρίαν, ὅτε σοι
 τοῦ πονηροῦ πνεύματος καὶ τῶν δαιμονίων ἐγκαθ-
 ἐζομένων τὰ μὲν ἐξέβαλεν, εἰρήνην δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῶν
 τῇ ψυχῇ σου παρέσχεν, δεύτερον δὲ τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν
 πολεμίων ἐκδικίαν· αἰσχροὺς γὰρ τούτων ἐπιλελή-
 212 σθαι.” τούτοις παρηγορεῖται τοῖς λόγοις Σαοῦλος
 καὶ μηδὲν ἀδικήσῃ τὸν Δαυίδην ὄμνυσι τῷ παιδί·
 κρείττων γὰρ ὀργῆς καὶ φόβου δίκαιος λόγος.
 Ἰωνάθης δὲ μεταπεμψάμενος τὸν Δαυίδην σημαίνει
 τε αὐτῷ χρῆστα καὶ σωτήρια τὰ παρὰ τοῦ πατρός,

¹ ὦ πάτερ MSP.

ing him cheerful and gay,^a began to address him concerning David. "What wrongdoing small or great, father, canst thou have found in him that thou hast ordered us to put to death one who has done so much in aiding thine own welfare and yet more in punishing the Philistines, and so has delivered the Hebrew people from the contumely and derision which for forty days they had endured when no one else dared face the enemy's challenge, and who thereafter brought thee the appointed number of enemy heads and received as his recompense my sister in marriage? Thus his death would be grievous to us, not only by reason of his merits, but also of the ties of kinship; for thy daughter will likewise be wronged by his death, destined to experience widowhood before even entering on the joy of wedded life. Let these reflections move thee to greater mildness; do no injury to one who first rendered us that great service of restoring thee to health, when he drove out the evil spirit and the demons that beset thee and brought peace from them to thy soul, and then avenged us upon our enemies. Shameful would it be to forget these things."^b By these words Saul was won over and he swore to his son that he would do David no wrong; so does a just cause prevail over anger and fear. Jonathan then sent for David and not only informed him of the kindly and reassuring attitude

Jonathan
persuades
Saul to take
David back.
1 Sam. xix. 4.

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b The references to Michal and to the healing of Saul are unscriptural.

² οὐδενὸς τολμῶντος ex Lat. Niese: μόνος τολμῶν codd.: μόνον τολμῶντα Naber.

³ ἀλγεινότερος MSP Lat.

⁴ ἡμᾶς om. RO.

ἄγει τε πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ παρέμενε τῷ βασιλεῖ Δαυίδης ὡσπερ ἔμπροσθεν.

- 213 (3) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαιστίνων στρατευσαμένων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους πέμπει μετὰ στρατιᾶς τὸν Δαυίδην πολεμήσοντα τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις, καὶ συμβαλὼν πολλοὺς αὐτῶν ἀπέκτεινε καὶ νικήσας ἐπάνεισι πρὸς τὸν βασιλέα. προσδέχεται δ' αὐτὸν ὁ Σαοῦλος οὐχ ὡς ἤλπισεν ἀπὸ τοῦ κατορθώματος, ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τῆς εὐπραγίας αὐτοῦ λυπηθεὶς ὡς ἐπισφαλέστερος αὐτὸς ἐκ τῶν
- 214 ἐκείνου πράξεων γενόμενος. ἐπεὶ δὲ πάλιν αὐτὸν προσελθὸν τὸ δαιμόνιον ἐθορύβει πνεῦμα καὶ συνετάραττε, καλέσας εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον ἐν ᾧ κατέκειτο, κατέχων τὸ δόρυ προσέταξε τῷ ψαλμῷ καὶ τοῖς ὕμνοις ἐξάδειν αὐτόν. ἐκείνου δὲ τὰ κελευσθέντα ποιούντος διατεινόμενος ἀκοντίζει τὸ δόρυ· καὶ τὸ μὲν προϊδόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης ἐξέκλινε, φεύγει δὲ εἰς τὸν οἶκον τὸν αὐτοῦ καὶ δι' ὅλης ἔμεινε ἡμέρας αὐτόθι.
- 215 (4) Νυκτὸς δὲ πέμπας ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν αὐτὸν ἄχρι τῆς ἕω φυλάττεσθαι μὴ καὶ λάθη παντελῶς ἀφανῆς γενόμενος, ἵνα παραγενόμενος¹ εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον καὶ κρίσει παραδοὺς ἀποκτείνῃ. Μελχὰ δὲ ἡ γυνὴ Δαυίδου θυγάτηρ δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς μαθοῦσα διάνοιαν τῷ ἀνδρὶ παρίσταται δειλὰς ἔχουσα τὰς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐλπίδας καὶ περὶ τῆς ἰδίας ψυχῆς ἀγωνιώσα· οὐδὲ γὰρ αὐτὴν
- 216 ζῆν ὑπομενεῖν² ἐκείνου στερηθεῖσαν. καὶ “ μὴ σε,” φησὶν, “ ὁ ἥλιος ἐνταυθοῖ καταλάβῃ³· οὐ γὰρ

¹ παραγόμενος conj. Thackeray.

² Dindorf: ὑπομένειν codd.

³ E: καταλάβοι codd.

of his father, but brought him into his presence ; and David stayed with the king as before.

(3) About this time the Philistines again took the field against the Hebrews, and Saul sent David with an army to fight against them, and he, having joined battle with them, slew many and returned victorious to the king. Saul, however, did not give him the reception which he expected after that achievement, but was aggrieved by his success, believing that David had become more dangerous to him by reason of his exploits. And when the evil spirit again came upon him to trouble and confuse him, he called David to the chamber wherein he lay, and, holding his spear in his hand, bade him charm away the spell with his harp and songs. Then, when David did as he had been commanded, Saul hurled his spear at him with all his might. David, seeing it coming, got out of its way ; then he fled to his own house and remained there all that day.

Saul attacks David on his return from battle with the Philistines.
1 Sam. xix.

(4) But at night the king sent officers with orders to guard him till dawn lest he escape and disappear altogether ; Saul's intent was to come before the court and deliver him to justice to be put to death.^a But when Melcha, the wife of David and daughter of the king, learned of her father's intent, she came to aid her husband, having faint hope for him and also feeling dreadful anxiety about her own life, for she could not endure to live if bereft of him.^b " Let not the sun," she said, " find thee here ; else it will never

Michal's stratagem saves David from arrest.
1 Sam. xix.
11.

^a Scripture says nothing of Saul's intention to have David put on trial ; 1 Sam. xix. 11 " Saul also sent messengers to David's house to watch him and to slay him in the morning."

^b This motive is supplied by Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

ἔτ' ὄψεταιί σε. φεῦγε δ' ἕως¹ τοῦτό σοι δύναται
 παρασχέιν ἢ παροῦσα νύξ· καὶ ποιήσεται² δέ σοι
 ταύτην ὁ θεὸς μακροτέραν· ἴσθι γὰρ σαυτὸν ἄν
 217 εὐρεθῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς ἀπολούμενον." καὶ καθ-
 μιήσασα διὰ θυρίδος αὐτὸν ἐξέσωσεν· ἔπειτα σκευ-
 άσασα τὴν κλίνην ὡς ἐπὶ νοσοῦντι καὶ ὑποθεῖσα
 τοῖς ἐπιβολαίοις ἦπαρ αἰγός, ἅμ' ἡμέρα τοῦ πατρὸς
 ὡς αὐτὴν³ πέμψαντος ἐπὶ τὸν Δαυίδην ὠχλῆσθαι
 διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς εἶπε τοῖς παροῦσιν, ἐπιδείξασα
 τὴν κλίνην κατακεκαλυμμένην καὶ τῷ πηδήματι
 τοῦ ἦπατος σαλεύοντι τὴν ἐπιβολὴν πιστωσαμένη
 218 τὸ κατακείμενον τὸν Δαυίδην ἀσθμαίνειν.⁴ ἀπ-
 αγγειλάντων δὲ τῶν πεμφθέντων ὅτι γένοιτο διὰ
 τῆς νυκτὸς ἀσθενέστερος, ἐκέλευσεν οὕτως ἔχοντα
 κομισθῆναι· βούλεσθαι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἀνελεῖν. ἐλθόν-
 τες δὲ καὶ ἀνακαλύψαντες τὴν κλίνην καὶ τὸ
 σόφισμα τῆς γυναικὸς εὐρόντες ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ
 219 βασιλεῖ. μεμφομένου δὲ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτὴν ὅτι
 σώσειε μὲν τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ κατασοφίσαιτο δ'⁵
 αὐτόν, ἀπολογίαὶν σκῆπτεται πιθανήν· ἀπειλήσαντα
 γὰρ αὐτὴν ἀποκτείνειν ἔφησε τυχεῖν ἐκ τοῦ δέους
 τῆς πρὸς τὸ σωθῆναι συνεργίας· ὑπὲρ ἧς συγ-
 γνῶναι καλῶς ἔχειν αὐτῇ, κατ' ἀνάγκην ἀλλὰ μὴ
 κατὰ προαίρεσιν γενομένης· "οὐ γὰρ οὕτως,"
 ἔλεγεν, "οἶμαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν ἐζήτεις ἀποθανεῖν, ὡς

¹ ex Lat. Niese: δὲ ὡς codd.

² ποιήσει RO: ποιήσοι MSP: faciat Lat.

³ ὡς αὐτὴν] αὐτῆς MSP.

⁴ M: ἀσθενεῖν rell.: dormire Lat.

⁵ ed. pr.: τ' codd.: vero Lat.

^a 1 Sam. xix. 13 "And Michal took the teraphim (A.V. "an image") and laid them in the bed and placed a goat's skin (?) at its head" (A.V. "put a pillow of goats' hair for his

look on thee again. Flee while the night which is still upon us permits, and may God prolong its hours for thee; for know that if thou art found by my father, thou art a lost man." And she let him down through a window and got him safely away. Next she made up the bed as for a sick person and put a goat's liver^a beneath the covers; and when at day-break her father sent to fetch David, she told those who came for him that he had been attacked by illness during the night, and she showed them the bed all covered up, and by the quivering of the liver which shook the bedclothes convinced them that what lay there was David gasping for breath.^b When the messengers reported to Saul that David had fallen ill during the night, he ordered him to be brought just as he was, for he wished to kill him. And when they came and uncovered the bed, they discovered the woman's trick, which they reported to the king. But when her father rebuked her for having saved his enemy and tricked himself, she resorted to a plausible defence; her husband, she declared, had threatened to kill her and so, by terrifying her, had secured her aid in his escape, for which she deserved pardon, seeing that she had acted under constraint and not of her own free will. "For," said she, "I cannot think that thou wert as desirous for thy enemy's death as for the safety of my life."

Michal
excuses her
conduct to
Saul.
1 Sam. xix.
17.

bolster"). The teraphim were probably household images in human form. The Heb. *kebir*, here rendered "skin," is of doubtful meaning, and was read as *kebēd*, "liver," by the LXX, followed by Josephus. The context shows that it must have been something round and hairy to give the appearance of a human head, and so it was understood by the rabbis.

^b The details of Michal's stratagem are invented by Josephus.

JOSEPHUS

- ἐμὲ σώζεσθαι.” καὶ συγγινώσκει δὲ τῇ κόρῃ
 220 Σαούλος. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ἐκφυγὼν τὸν κίνδυνον ἦκε
 πρὸς τὸν προφήτην Σαμουῆλον εἰς Ἄρμαθὰ καὶ
 τὴν ἐπιβουλήν αὐτῷ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως ἐδήλωσε
 καὶ ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν ὑπ’ αὐτοῦ τῷ δόρατι βληθεὶς
 ἀποθάνοι, μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς αὐτὸν κακὸς γενόμενος
 μήτ’ ἐν τοῖς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἀγῶσιν ἀνάνδρος,
 ἀλλ’ ἐν ἅπασιν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ¹ καὶ ἐπιτυχῆς.
 τοῦτο δ’ ἦν αἴτιον Σαούλω τῆς πρὸς Δαυίδην
 ἀπεχθείας.
- 221 (5) Μαθὼν δ’ ὁ προφήτης τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἀδικίαν καταλείπει μὲν τὴν πόλιν Ἄρμαθάν,
 ἀγαγὼν δὲ τὸν Δαυίδην ἐπὶ τινα τόπον Γαλβουάθ²
 ὄνομα ἐκεῖ διέτριβε σὺν αὐτῷ. ὡς δ’ ἀπηγγέλη
 τῷ Σαούλω παρὰ τῷ προφήτῃ τυγχάνων ὁ Δαυίδης,
 πέμψας ὀπλίτας πρὸς αὐτὸν ἄγειν προσέταξε συλ-
- 222 λαμβάνοντας.³ οἱ δ’ ἐλθόντες πρὸς τὸν Σαμουῆλον
 καὶ καταλαβόντες προφητῶν ἐκκλησίαν, τοῦ θείου
 μεταλαμβάνουσι πνεύματος καὶ προφητεύειν ἤρ-
 ξαντο· Σαούλος δ’ ἀκούσας ἄλλους ἔπεμψεν ἐπὶ
 τὸν Δαυίδην· κακείνων ταῦτο τοῖς πρώτοις παθόν-
 των πάλιν ἀπέστειλεν ἑτέρους· προφητευόντων δὲ
 καὶ τῶν τρίτων τελευταῖον ὀργισθεὶς αὐτὸς ἐξ-
- 223 ὤρμησεν. ἐπεὶ δ’ ἐγγὺς ἦν ἤδη, Σαμουῆλος πρὶν
 ἰδεῖν αὐτὸν προφητεύειν ἐποίησεν. ἐλθὼν δὲ πρὸς
 αὐτὸν Σαούλος ὑπὸ τοῦ πολλοῦ πνεύματος ἐλα-
 νόμενος ἔκφρων γίνεται καὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα περιδύσας
 ἑαυτὸν καταπεσὼν ἔκειτο δι’ ὅλης ἡμέρας τε καὶ
 νυκτὸς Σαμουήλου τε καὶ Δαυίδου βλεπόντων.
- 224 (6) Ἰωνάθης δὲ ὁ Σαούλου παῖς, ἀφικομένου πρὸς

¹ (τοῦ) θυμοῦ RO: et pronus Lat.

² Βαλγουάθ SP: Γελβουάθον E.

³ συλλαβόντας SP.

So Saul pardoned the girl. Meanwhile David, having escaped from danger, repaired to the prophet Samuel at Armatha, and recounted to him the king's plot against him, and how he had wellnigh been struck by his spear and killed, though he had never dealt ill with him nor been cowardly in combating his foes, but had ever with God's aid been indeed fortunate. Now that was the reason for Saul's hatred of David.

David finds refuge with Samuel at Ramah (Armatha). 1 Sam. xix. 18.

(5) On learning of the king's iniquity, the prophet left the city of Armatha and brought David to a place named Galbouath ^a and there abode with him. Now when it was told Saul that David was staying with the prophet, he sent armed men with orders to arrest him and bring him to him. But they, on coming to Samuel and finding there an assembly of prophets, were themselves possessed by the spirit of God and began to prophesy. Saul, hearing thereof, sent others after David, and when these met with the same experience as the first, he dispatched yet more ; but this third company prophesied likewise, and finally in a rage he set out himself. But so soon as he came near them, Samuel, even before seeing him, caused him too to prophesy.^b On reaching him, Saul, losing his reason under the impulse of that mighty spirit, stripped off his clothes and lay prostrate on the ground for a whole day and night in the sight of Samuel and David.

Saul and his men, pursuing David, are possessed and prophesy. *Ib.*

(6) Thence David betook himself to Jonathan, son

^a Bibl. Naioth (Heb. *Nawath* or *Nayōth*), LXX *Αὐὰθ* (*v.l.* *Ναιώθ* κτλ.) ἐν Παρά; these forms appear to be corrupt. The Targum renders it *Beth 'ulphānā* "house of instruction." The source of Josephus's form is unknown.

^b Josephus omits to state, as does Scripture, 1 Sam. xix. 24, that this incident explains the saying "Is Saul also among the prophets?"

JOSEPHUS

- αὐτὸν ἐκέιθεν Δαυίδου καὶ περὶ τῆς τοῦ πατρὸς ἀποδυρομένου ἐπιβουλῆς καὶ λέγοντος ὡς οὐδὲν ἀδικήσας οὐδ'¹ ἑξαμαρτῶν σπουδάζοιτο ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτοῦ φονευθῆναι, μήθ' ἑαυτῷ τοῦθ' ὑπονοοῦντι πιστεύειν παρεκάλει μήτε τοῖς διαβάλλουσιν, εἴ τινες ἄρα εἰσὶν οἱ τοῦτο πράττοντες, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ προσέχειν καὶ θαρρεῖν· μηδὲν γὰρ τοιοῦτον ἐπ' αὐτῷ φρονεῖν τὸν πατέρα· φράσαι γὰρ ἂν αὐτῷ περὶ τούτου καὶ σύμβουλον παραλαβεῖν,
- 225 τῇ κοινῇ γνώμῃ καὶ τὰλλα πράττοντα. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης ὤμνυεν ἢ μὴν οὕτως ἔχειν, καὶ πιστεύοντ' ἡξίου προνοεῖν αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον ἢ καταφρονοῦντ' ἐπ' ἀληθέσι τοῖς λόγοις τότε ἀληθὲς ὑπολαβεῖν, ὅταν ἢ θεάσῃται πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν² ἢ πύθῃται· μηδὲν λέγειν δ' αὐτῷ τὸν πατέρα περὶ τούτων ἔφασκεν εἰδότα τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν φιλίαν καὶ διάθεσιν.
- 226 (7) Λυπηθεὶς δ' ἐφ' ὅτῳ πιστωσάμενος τὴν τοῦ Σαούλου προαίρεσιν Ἰωνάθης οὐκ ἔπεισεν, ἐπηρώτα τίνος ἐξ αὐτοῦ βούλεται τυχεῖν. ὁ δὲ “οἶδα γάρ,” ἔφη, “πάντα σε χαρίζεσθαί μοι καὶ παρέχειν ἐθέλοντα· νομηνία μὲν εἰς τὴν ἐπιουσάν ἐστιν, ἔθος
- 227 δ' ἔχω δειπνεῖν σὺν τῷ βασιλεῖ καθήμενος· εἰ δὴ σοι δοκεῖ, πορευθεὶς ἔξω τῆς πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ λανθάνων διαμενῶ, σὺ δ' ἐπιζητήσαντος αὐτοῦ λέγε πορευθῆναί με εἰς τὴν πατρίδα Βηθλεέμην ἑορτὴν μου τῆς φυλῆς ἀγούσης, προστιθεὶς ὅτι σύ μοι συγκεχώρηκας. κὰν μὲν, οἶον εἰκὸς καὶ σύννηθές ἐστι λέγειν ἐπὶ φίλοις ἀποδημοῦσιν, ‘ἐπ' ἀγαθῷ

¹ Dindorf: οὐτ' codd.

² πεφονευμένον αὐτὸν om. RO Lat.

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of Saul, and complained to him of his father's designs, saying that though he had been guilty of no iniquity or crime, his father was making every effort to have him murdered. Jonathan entreated him to put no faith either in his own suspicions or in slanderers, if indeed there were any such, but to pay heed to him and take courage; for, he said, his father was meditating nothing of the sort, else he would have told him of it and taken him into his counsel, since in all else he acted in concert with him. But David swore^a that it was truly so, and he asked Jonathan to believe him and look out for his safety instead of contemptuously questioning the truth of his words and waiting to recognize their truth until he should actually behold or learn of his assassination. His father, he declared, had told him nothing of all this because he knew of his son's friendship and affection for himself.

David complains to Jonathan of Saul's enmity.
1 Sam. xx. 1.

(7) Grieved that his assurance of Saul's disposition failed to convince David, Jonathan asked him what he would have him do. "I know," he replied, "that thou art ready to grant me any favour or do any thing. Now to-morrow is the new moon, when my custom is to dine with the king. If, then, it please thee, I will go forth from the city and remain concealed in the plain; but do thou, if he ask for me, say that I am gone to my native Bethlehem, where my tribe^b is keeping a feast, adding that thou didst give me leave. Should he then say, as is proper and customary to say about friends going away, 'A good

Jonathan agrees to inform David secretly of Saul's intention.
1 Sam. xx. 4.

^a So the Hebrew; LXX "answered."

^b Or "clan"; cf. Heb. *mishpāḥāh* (A.V. "family"), which the LXX here renders, like Josephus, by *φυλή*, but the latter can mean "clan" (subdivision of a tribe) as well as "tribe," cf. § 62 note.

JOSEPHUS

βεβάδικεν ἔειπε, ἴσθι μηδὲν ὑπουλον παρ' αὐτοῦ εἶναι μηδ' ἐχθρόν· ἂν δ' ὡς ἄλλως ἀποκρίνηται τοῦτ' ἔσται τεκμήριον τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ βεβουλευ-
 228 μένων. μηνύσεις δέ μοι τὴν διάνοιαν τὴν τοῦ πατρός, οἴκτω τε νέμων τοῦτο καὶ φιλία, δι' ἣν πίστευς τε παρ' ἐμοῦ λαβεῖν ἡξιώκας αὐτὸς τε ἐμοὶ δοῦναι δεσπότης ὧν οἰκέτη σῶ.¹ εἰ δ' εὐρίσκεις τι ἐν ἐμοὶ πονηρόν, αὐτὸς ἄνελε καὶ φθάσον τὸν πατέρα."

229 (8) Πρὸς δὲ τὸ τελευταῖον δυσχεράνας τῶν λόγων Ἰωνάθης ποιήσεν ταῦτ' ἐπηγγεῖλατο κἄν τι σκυθρωπὸν ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀπέχθειαν ἐμφανίζον² ἀποκρίνηται μηνύσειν.³ ἵνα δ' αὐτῷ θαρρῆ μάλλον, ἐξαγαγὼν αὐτὸν εἰς ὑπαιθρον καὶ καθαρὸν ἀέρα οὐδὲν παρήσειν ὑπὲρ τῆς Δαυίδου
 230 σωτηρίας ὠμνε· "τὸν γὰρ θεόν," εἶπε, "τοῦτον ὄν πολὺν ὄρας καὶ πανταχοῦ κεχυμένον, καὶ πρὶν ἐρμηνεῦσαί με τοῖς λόγοις τὴν διάνοιαν ἤδη μου ταύτην εἰδότα, μάρτυρα ποιοῦμαι τῶν πρὸς σέ συνθηκῶν, ὡς οὐκ ἀνήσω τὸν πατέρα πολλάκις αὐτοῦ τῆς προαιρέσεως διάπειραν λαμβάνων, πρὶν ἢ καταμαθεῖν ἣτις ἐστὶ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἀπορρήτοις
 231 αὐτοῦ τῆς ψυχῆς γενέσθαι. καταμαθὼν δ' οὐκ ἀποκρύψομαι, καταμηνύσω δὲ πρὸς σέ καὶ πρᾶον ὄντα καὶ δυσμενῶς διακειμένον. οἶδε δὲ οὗτος⁴ ὁ θεὸς πῶς αὐτὸν εἶναι μετὰ σοῦ διὰ παντὸς εὐχομαι· ἔστι μὲν γὰρ νῦν καὶ οὐκ ἀπολείψει σε, ποιήσει δὲ τῶν ἐχθρῶν ἅντε ὁ πατήρ ὁ ἐμὸς ἢ⁵ ἄντ' ἐγὼ
 232 κρείττονα. σὺ μόνον μνημόνευε τούτων, κἄν ἀπο-

¹ οἰκέτη σῶ om. RO.

² ἐμφανίζων ROMS.

³ Niese: μηνύειν codd.

⁴ αὐτὸς Naber.

⁵ Niese: εἴη RO: om. MSP: est Lat.

journey to him,'^a know that he bears no hidden malice nor enmity ; but should he answer otherwise, that will be a sign of his designs against me. And thou shalt inform me of thy father's state of mind in token of thy pity and of that friendship for which thou hast seen fit to receive pledges from me and to grant me the like thyself, though thou art the master, and I thy servant. But if thou findest any wickedness in me, slay me thyself and so anticipate thy father."

(8) Although displeased by these last words, Jonathan promised to do this and said that if his father gave some sullen answer indicative of hate, he would inform David thereof. And, that he might have the more confidence in him, he brought him out into the open and pure air and swore to leave nothing undone for his safety. "This God," said he, "whom thou seest to be so great and everywhere extended, and who, before I have expressed my thought in words, already knows what it is,^b—Him do I take as witness of my covenant with thee, to wit, that I will not give up my constant endeavour to discover my father's purpose until I have clearly learnt it and come close to the secrets of his soul. And having learnt it, I will not hide it, but will disclose to thee whether he be graciously or evilly disposed. This God of ours knows how I pray that He may always be with thee. Indeed, He is with thee now and will not forsake thee, but will make thee stronger than thy foes, be it my father or be it myself. Do thou but remember this,

Jonathan swears an oath of friendship to David. 1 Sam. xx. 9.

^a A free rendering of 1 Sam. xx. 7 "It is well," perhaps suggested by the customary Hebrew salutation, "Go in peace."

^b These divine attributes are an amplification of the Scriptural "Lord God of Israel."

JOSEPHUS

- θανεῖν μοι γένηται τὰ τέκνα μου σῶζε, καὶ τὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν παρόντων μοι ἀμοιβὴν εἰς ἐκεῖνα κατά-
 θου.” ταῦτ’ ἐπομόσας ἀπολύει τὸν Δαυίδην εἰς
 τινα τόπον ἀπελθεῖν τοῦ πεδίου φράσας, ἐν ᾧ
 γυμναζόμενος διετέλει· γνοὺς γὰρ τὰ παρὰ τοῦ
 πατρὸς ἤξειν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔφησεν ἐκεῖ μόνον ἐπ-
 233 ἀγόμενος παῖδα. “ κὰν¹ τρία ἀκόντια δὲ βαλὼν
 ἐπὶ τὸν σκοπὸν κομίσει τῷ παιδὶ προστάσσω τὰ
 ἀκόντια (κεῖσθαι γὰρ ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ²), γίνωσκε
 μηδὲν εἶναι φαῦλον παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς· ἂν δὲ τὰ
 ἐναντία τούτων ἀκούσης μου λέγοντος, καὶ τὰ
 234 ἐναντία παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως προσδόκα. τῆς μέντοι
 γε ἀσφαλείας τεύξῃ παρ’ ἐμοῦ καὶ οὐδὲν μὴ πάθῃς
 ἄτοπον· ὅπως δὲ μνησθῆς τούτων παρὰ τὸν τῆς
 εὐπραγίας καιρὸν σκόπει καὶ τοῖς υἱοῖς μου γενοῦ
 χρήσιμος.” Δαυίδης μὲν οὖν ταύτας λαβὼν παρὰ
 Ἰωνάθου τὰς πίστεις εἰς τὸ συγκείμενον ἀπηλλάγη
 χωρίον.
- 235 (9) Τῇ δ’ ἐχομένη, νομηνία δ’ ἦν,³ ἀγνεύσας,
 ὡς ἔθος εἶχεν, ὁ βασιλεὺς ἤκεν ἐπὶ τὸ δεῖπνον, καὶ
 παρακαθεσθέντων αὐτῷ τοῦ μὲν παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου
 ἐκ δεξιῶν Ἀβενήρου δὲ τοῦ ἀρχιστρατήγου ἐκ τῶν
 ἐτέρων, ἰδὼν τὴν τοῦ Δαυίδου καθέδραν κενὴν
 ἠσύχασεν ὑπονοήσας οὐ καθαρεύσαντα αὐτὸν ἀπὸ
 236 συνουσίας ὑστερεῖν. ὡς δὲ καὶ τῇ δευτέρᾳ τῆς
 νομηνίας οὐ παρῆν ἐπυνθάνετο παρὰ τοῦ παιδὸς
 Ἰωνάθου ὅτι καὶ τῇ παρελθούσῃ καὶ ταύτῃ τοῦ
- ¹ S: καὶ rell. ² + καὶ ἂν ταῦτα φησὶν ἀκούσης RO.
³ δ’ ἦν ed. pr.: δ’ ἦν δι’ ἦν codd.

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b So, apparently, the LXX (σχίζαις ἀκοντίων); Heb. “arrows.”

and, should death befall me, preserve my children's lives and make over to them the recompense that is due me for my present services." After he had taken these oaths, he dismissed David, telling him to go to a certain place in the plain where he (Jonathan) was wont to exercise himself^a; there, he said, when he had learnt his father's mind, he would rejoin him, accompanied only by a lad. "And if, after throwing three darts^b at the mark, I order the lad to bring them to me, for they will be found lying in front of it,^c know that no mischief is to be feared from my father; but if thou hearest me say the contrary, then look thou also for the contrary from the king. Howbeit thou wilt find safety at my hands and thou shalt suffer no harm. But see that thou rememberest this in the time of thy prosperity, and deal kindly with my children." Then David, having received these pledges from Jonathan, departed to the appointed place.

(9) The next day, which was the new moon, the king, after purifying himself as the custom was, came to the feast; and when his son Jonathan had seated himself on his right side and Abener, the commander of the army, on his left, he marked that David's seat was empty, but held his peace, surmising that he had been delayed by not having finished his purification after sexual intercourse.^d But when, on the second day of the feast of the new moon, David again did not appear, he asked his son Jonathan why, both on the

Jonathan excuses David's absence at the feast. 1 Sam. xx. 24.

^c *i.e.* the mark, or perhaps "him," *i.e.* the lad; 1 Sam. xx. 21 "the arrows are this side of thee."

^d This interpretation of 1 Sam. xx. 26 "it is an accident" (A.V. "something hath befallen him") is similar to that of the rabbis, who took *migreh*, lit. "happening," in its physiological sense of nocturnal emission.

JOSEPHUS

- δείπνου καὶ τῆς ἐστιάσεως ὁ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παῖς ἀπολέλειπται. ὁ δὲ πεπορευῆσθαι κατὰ τὰς συνθήκας ἔφησεν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ πατρίδα, τῆς φυλῆς ἑορτὴν ἀγούσης, ἐπιτρέψαντος αὐτοῦ· παρακαλέσαι μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸν ἔλθειν ἐπὶ τὴν θυσίαν καὶ εἰ συγχωρηθεῖη φησὶν ἀπέρχεσθαι¹. “ τὴν γὰρ
- 237 εὐνοιάν μου τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπίστασαι.” τότε τὴν πρὸς Δαυίδην τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐπέγνω δυσμένειαν καὶ τρανῶς τὴν ὅλην αὐτοῦ βούλησιν εἶδεν· οὐ γὰρ κατέσχε Σαοῦλος τῆς ὀργῆς, ἀλλὰ βλασφημῶν ἐξ αὐτομόλων γεγενημένον καὶ πολέμιον ἀπεκάλει καὶ κοινωνὸν τοῦ Δαυίδου καὶ συνεργὸν ἔλεγεν καὶ μῆτ’² αὐτὸν αἰδεῖσθαι μῆτε τὴν μητέρα αὐτοῦ ταῦτα φρονούντα καὶ μηδὲ βουλόμενον πεισθῆναι τοῦθ’, ὅτι μέχρις οὗ περίεστι Δαυίδης ἐπισφαλῶς αὐτοῖς τὰ τῆς βασιλείας ἔχει. “ μετὰ-πεμψαι τοιγαροῦν αὐτόν,” ἔφησεν, “ ἵνα δῶ δίκην.”
- 238 ὑποτυχόντος δ’ Ἰωνάθου, “ τί δ’ ἀδικοῦντα κολάσαι θέλεις;” οὐκέτ’ εἰς λόγους καὶ βλασφημίας τὴν ὀργὴν ὁ Σαοῦλος ἐξήνεγκεν, ἀλλ’ ἀρπάσας τὸ δόρυ ἀνεπήδησεν ἐπ’ αὐτὸν ἀποκτεῖναι θέλων. καὶ τὸ μὲν ἔργον οὐκ ἔδρασε διακωλυθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων, φανερὸς δ’ ἐγένετο τῷ παιδί μισῶν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν, ὡς παρὰ μικρὸν δι’ ἐκείνον αὐτόχειρ καὶ τοῦ παιδὸς γεγονέναι.
- 239 (10) Καὶ τότε μὲν ὁ τοῦ βασιλέως παῖς ἐκπηδήσας ἀπὸ τοῦ δείπνου καὶ μηδὲν ὑπὸ λύπης προσενέγκασθαι δυνηθεὶς, κλαίων αὐτὸν μὲν τοῦ παρὰ μικρὸν ἀπολέσθαι τοῦ κατακεκρίσθαι δ’ ἀποθανεῖν Δαυίδην

¹ κὰν συγχωρῆς ἀπέρχομαι MSP (Lat. E).

² Dindorf: μηδ’ codd.

past day and on this, the son of Jesse had been absent from the festive meal. Jonathan replied, as had been agreed, that he had gone to his native place where his tribe was keeping festival, and with his (Jonathan's) permission. "What is more," he added, "he even invited me to attend that sacrifice, and, if leave be given me, I shall go; for thou knowest the affection that I bear to him." ^a Then did Jonathan discover all his father's malevolence toward David and plainly perceive his whole intent. For Saul did not restrain his wrath, but with curses denounced him as the offspring of renegades and an enemy, and accused him of being in league with David and his accomplice, and as having respect neither for himself nor for his mother in taking that attitude and in refusing to believe that, so long as David lived, their hold upon the kingdom was insecure. "Now then, send for him," said he, "that he may be punished." "But," Jonathan objected, "for what crime wouldst thou punish him?" Whereupon the wrath of Saul found vent no more in words and abuse, but, seizing his spear, he leapt toward him with intent to slay him. And although his friends prevented him ^b from perpetrating the deed, he had now made plain to his son how he hated David and craved to make away with him, seeing that on his account he had wellnigh become the slayer even of his own son.

Saul attacks Jonathan as David's accomplice. 1 Sam. xx. 80.

(10) The king's son instantly rushed from the feast and, prevented by grief from tasting a morsel, passed the night in tears at the thought that he himself had narrowly escaped death and that David was doomed

Jonathan secretly meets David in the fields to say farewell.

• David's invitation to Jonathan is unscriptural.
^b Unscriptural detail.

JOSEPHUS

- διενυκτέρευσεν. ἄμα δὲ ἡμέρα πρὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς τὸ πεδῖον ὡς γυμνασόμενος μὲν δηλώσων δὲ τῷ φίλῳ τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς διάθεσιν, ὡς συνέθετο, 240 πρόεισι. ποιήσας δὲ ὁ Ἰωνάθης τὰ συγκείμενα τὸν μὲν ἐπόμενον ἀπολύει εἰς τὴν πόλιν παῖδα, ἣν δ' ἡρεμία¹ τῷ Δαυίδῃ παρελθεῖν² εἰς ὄψιν αὐτῷ καὶ λόγους. ἀναφανείς δ' οὗτος πίπτει πρὸ τῶν Ἰωνάθου ποδῶν καὶ προσκυνῶν σωτήρα αὐτοῦ τῆς 241 ψυχῆς ἀπεκάλει. ἀνίστησι δ' ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς αὐτόν, καὶ περιπλακέντες ἀλλήλοις μακρά τε ἠσπάζοντο καὶ δεδακρυμένα, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν ἀποθρηνοῦντες αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν ἐφθονημένην ἑταιρίαν καὶ τὸν μέλλοντα διαχωρισμόν, ὃς οὐδὲν αὐτοῖς ἔδοκει θανάτου διαφέρειν. μόλις δ' ἐκ τῶν θρήνων ἀνανήψαντες καὶ μεμνήσθαι τῶν ὄρκων ἀλλήλοις παρακελευσάμενοι διελύθησαν.
- 242 (xii. 1) Δαυίδης δὲ φεύγων τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ θάνατον εἰς Ναβὰν παραγίνεται πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον³ τὸν ἀρχιερέα,⁴ ὃς ἐπὶ τῷ μόνον ἦκοντα ἰδεῖν καὶ μήτε φίλον σὺν αὐτῷ μήτ' οἰκέτην παρόντα ἐθαύμασε καὶ τὴν αἰτίαν τοῦ μηδένα εἶναι 243 σὺν αὐτῷ μαθεῖν ἤθελεν. ὁ δὲ πράξιν ἀπόρρητον ἐπιταγῆναι παρὰ τοῦ βασιλέως ἔφησεν, εἰς ἣν συνοδίας αὐτῷ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν οὐκ ἔδει. " τοὺς μέντοι θεράποντας εἰς τόνδε μοι τὸν τόπον ἀπαντᾶν

¹ ὁ δ' ἐν ἐρημία MSP (Lat.).

² παρῆλθεν MSP: ἦλθεν E.

³ ROE Zonaras: Ἀχιμέλεχον MSP (Lat.).

⁴ ἱερέα MSP Lat.

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b Josephus omits the account, 1 Sam. xx. 36-37, of Jona-

to die. But at daybreak he went out into the plain before the city, seemingly for exercise,^a in reality to make known to his friend, in accordance with their agreement, the temper of his father. Then, after doing what had been prearranged, Jonathan sent back the boy who attended him to the city,^b and David was undisturbed in coming out to meet him and to speak with him. Appearing in the open, he fell at Jonathan's feet and did him homage, calling him the preserver of his life. But Jonathan raised him from the ground, and, putting their arms about each other, they took a long and tearful farewell, bewailing their youth, the companionship which was begrudged them and their coming separation,^c which seemed to them nothing less than death. Then, hardly recovering from their lamentation and exhorting each other to remember their oaths, they parted.

(xii. 1) But David, fleeing from the king and death at his hands, now came to the city of Naba^d to Abimelech^e the high priest, who was astonished to see him arrive alone with neither friend nor servant in attendance, and desired to know the reason why no man accompanied him. He replied that he had been charged by the king with a secret matter for which he required no escort since he wished to remain unknown. "Howbeit," he added, "I have ordered my servants to join me at this place.^f" He also rethanh's shooting the arrows beyond the lad to indicate Saul's displeasure.

^e These details of their parting are an amplification.

^d Bibl. Nob, LXX Νόμβα. The exact site is uncertain, but it was probably a little north of Jerusalem, in the territory of Benjamin, cf. Neh. xi. 32.

^e Variant Achimelech, as in Scripture; the LXX MSS. also vary between the two forms.

^f Bibl. "at such and such a place."

1 Sam. xx.
34.

David receives help from the high priest Abimelech (Abimelech) at Nob (Naba).
1 Sam. xxi. 1
(2 Heb.).

JOSEPHUS

- προσέταξα.” ἤξιόν δὲ λαβεῖν ἐφόδια· φίλου γὰρ αὐτὸν ποιήσῃν ἔργον παρασχόντα καὶ πρὸς τὸ
 244 προκείμενον συλλαμβανομένου. τυχῶν δὲ τούτων ἦντι καὶ ὄπλον τι μετὰ χεῖρας ῥομφαίαν ἢ δοράτιον¹ παρῆν δὲ καὶ Σαούλου δούλος γένει μὲν Σύρος Δώηγος² δὲ ὄνομα τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως ἡμιόνους νέμων· ὁ δ’ ἀρχιερεὺς ἔχειν μὲν αὐτὸς οὐδέν τι εἶπε τοιοῦτον, εἶναι δὲ τὴν Γολιάθου ῥομφαίαν, ἣν ἀποκτεῖνας τὸν Παλαιστῖνον αὐτὸς ἀναθείη τῷ θεῷ.
- 245 (2) Λαβὼν δὲ ταύτην ὁ Δαυίδης ἔξω τῆς τῶν Ἑβραίων χώρας εἰς Γίτταν διέφυγε τὴν Παλαιστίνων, ἧς Ἄγχους ἐβασίλευεν.³ ἐπιγνωσθεῖς δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν τοῦ βασιλέως οἰκετῶν καὶ φανερὸς αὐτῷ γενόμενος, μηνυόντων ἐκείνων ὅτι Δαυίδης ὁ πολλὰς ἀποκτεῖνας Παλαιστίνων μυριάδας εἶη, δέισας μὴ πρὸς αὐτοῦ θάνῃ καὶ τὸν κίνδυνον ὃν ἐξέφυγε παρὰ Σαούλου παρ’ ἐκείνου πειράσῃ προσποιεῖται μανίαν καὶ λύσσαν, ὡς ἀφρὸν κατὰ τοῦ στόματος αὐτοῦ φερόμενον καὶ τὰ ἄλλα⁴ ὅσα συνίστησι μανίαν⁵ πίστιν παρὰ τῷ Γίττης βασιλεῖ γενέσθαι⁶ τῆς νόσου.
- 246 καὶ τοῖς οἰκέταις ὁ βασιλεὺς προσδυσχεράνας ὡς ἔκφρονα πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀγάγοιεν ἄνθρωπον ἐκέλευσε τὸν Δαυίδην ὡς τάχος ἐκβάλλειν.
- 247 (3) Διασωθεῖς δὲ οὕτως⁷ ἐκ τῆς Γίττης εἰς τὴν Ἰούδα παραγίνεται φυλὴν καὶ ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀδουλ-

¹ ῥομφ. ἢ δορ. om. Lat. E.

² Δώηκος SPE.

³ SP: ἐβασίλευσεν *rell.*

⁴ + δὲ MSP.

⁵ μανίας MSP.

⁶ Niese: γενήσεσθαι ROM: γεγενῆσθαι SP.

⁷ οὗτος ROME.

quested him to furnish him with provisions for a journey ; in so doing, he would, he said, be acting like a friend and assisting the cause in hand. Having obtained these,^a he further asked for any weapon in his keeping, sword or spear. Now there was present also a certain slave of Saul, of Syrian ^b race, by name Doeg, keeper of the king's mules.^c The high priest replied that he himself possessed no such thing, but that he had there that sword of Goliath which David himself, after slaying the Philistine, had dedicated to God.^d

(2) Taking this weapon, David fled beyond Hebrew territory to Gitta, a city of the Philistines, of which Anchūs ^e was king. Here he was recognized by the king's servants who then made his presence known to the king, reporting that this was that David who had slain many myriads of Philistines. Thereat David, fearing that he would be put to death by him and, after escaping that peril at the hands of Saul, meet the like fate at his hands, feigned raging madness, foaming at the mouth and displaying all the other symptoms of madness, so as to convince the king of Gitta of his malady. The king was exceedingly angry with his servants for having brought him a madman and gave orders for David's instant expulsion.

David flees to Gath (Gitta); feigning madness he is expelled. 1 Sam. xxi. 10 (11 Heb.)

(3) Having thus escaped with his life from Gitta, he betook himself to the tribe of Judah ^f and, taking

^a Josephus omits the Scriptural details about the hallowed bread which was the only food at the priest's disposal.

^b So the LXX ; Heb. "an Edomite."

^c So the LXX ; Heb. "chief of the shepherds" (A.V. "herdsmen").

^d Cf. § 192.

^e So the LXX (Luc. 'Ακχούς) ; bibl. Achish.

^f The reference to Judah is an added detail.

JOSEPHUS

- λάμη¹ πόλει σπηλαίῳ διατρίβων πέμπει πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς δηλῶν αὐτοῖς ἔνθα εἶη. οἱ δὲ μετὰ πάσης συγγενείας ἤκον πρὸς αὐτόν· καὶ τῶν ἄλλων δὲ ὅσοις ἢ χρεία ἦν ἢ φόβος ἐκ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως συνερρῦησαν πρὸς αὐτόν καὶ ποιεῖν τὰ ἐκείνῳ δοκοῦντα ἐτοίμως ἔχειν ἔλεγον. ἐγένοντο δὲ οἱ
- 248 πάντες ὡσεὶ τετρακόσιοι. θαρρήσας δὲ ὡς καὶ χειρὸς αὐτῷ καὶ συνεργίας ἤδη προσγεγεννημένης ἀπάρας ἐκεῖθεν ἀφικνεῖται πρὸς τὸν τῶν Μωαβιτῶν βασιλέα, καὶ τοὺς γονεῖς αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἑαυτοῦ χώραν προσδεξάμενον ἕως ἂν ἐπιγνῶ² τὸ καθ' αὐτόν τέλος ἔχειν παρεκάλει· κατανεύσαντος δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν καὶ πάσης τοὺς γονεῖς τοῦ Δαβίδου τιμῆς παρ' ὃν ἐτύγχανον παρ' αὐτῷ χρόνον ἀξιώσαντος.
- 249 (4) Αὐτὸς τοῦ προφήτου κελεύσαντος αὐτόν τὴν μὲν ἐρημίαν ἐκλιπεῖν, πορευθέντα δ' εἰς τὴν κληρουχίαν τῆς Ἰουδα φυλῆς ἐν αὐτῇ διάγειν πείθεται καὶ παραγενόμενος εἰς Σάριν³ πόλιν ἐν αὐτῇ
- 250 κατέμενε. Σαούλος δ' ἀκούσας ὅτι μετὰ πλήθους ὀφθειῆ ὁ Δαβίδης, οὐκ εἰς τυχόντα θόρυβον καὶ ταραχὴν ἐνέπεσεν, ἀλλ' εἰδὼς τὸ φρόνημα τοῦ ἀνδρὸς καὶ τὴν εὐτολμίαν οὐδὲν ἐξ αὐτοῦ μικρὸν ἀνακύψειν ἔργον, ὑφ' οὗ κλαύσεσθαι πάντως καὶ
- 251 πονήσειν, ὑπενόησε. καὶ συγκαλέσας τοὺς φίλους καὶ τοὺς ἡγεμόνας καὶ τὴν φυλὴν ἐξ ἧς αὐτὸς ἦν

¹ M: 'Αδολλαάμη RO: 'Αδουλλάμη SP.

² ἕως οὗ ἐπὶ RO: ἕως ἂν ἀπογνῶ rell. Lat.

³ Σάρην SP.

^a Called Odollam (as in the LXX) in *A.* viii. 246; bibl. "cave of Adullam." It has been identified by some with the modern *Khirbet 'Aid el-Ma*, 12 miles S.W. of Bethlehem, by others with *Khirbet esh-Sheikh Madhkūr* close by. Both

up his abode in a cave close to the city of Adullam,^a sent word to his brothers where he was to be found. They, with all his kinsfolk, came to him ; and besides them, all who were in want or in fear of King Saul streamed to him and declared themselves ready to obey his orders. They were in all about four hundred. Encouraged at now finding himself with a force to assist him, David departed thence and made his way to the Moabite king and besought him to receive his parents into his country and to keep them until he himself should know what was finally to become of him. This favour the king accorded him and showed all honour to David's parents so long as they were with him.

David's rebel camp in the cave of Adullam. 1 Sam. xxii. 1.

(4) David himself was bidden by the prophet ^b to quit the desert and repair to the territory of the tribe of Judah and remain there ; so, obedient to this counsel, he came to the city of Saris ^c and there abode. But Saul, on hearing that David had been seen with a large following, was thrown into no ordinary confusion and dismay ; for, knowing the mettle and hardihood of the man, he surmised that it would be no small labour that would arise from David's acts, but one that would surely cause him regret and suffering. So summoning to him his friends and chieftains and the tribe from which he himself came, to the hill ^d where

David in Judah ; Saul urges his friends to remain loyal. 1 Sam. xxii. 5.

places, incidentally, are at the southern end of the Valley of Elah, cf. § 170 note.

^b The prophet Gad, according to Scripture.

^c So, nearly, the LXX ; Heb. " forest of Hareth " ; the site is uncertain but is identified by some with the modern *Kharas*, 7 miles N.W. of Hebron, and a little S.E. of the supposed sites of Adullam.

^d Josephus, like the LXX, takes Gibeah (" hill ") as a common noun.

JOSEPHUS

- πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὸν βουνόν, οὗ τὸ βασίλειον εἶχε, καὶ καθίσας ἐπ' Ἀρούρης, τόπος δ' ἦν τις οὕτω προσαγορευόμενος,¹ τιμῆς πολιτικῆς περὶ αὐτὸν οὔσης καὶ² τάξεως σωματοφυλάκων λέγει πρὸς αὐτούς· “ ἄνδρες ὁμόφυλοι, μέμνησθε μὲν οἶδ' ὅτι τῶν ἐμῶν εὐεργεσιῶν, ὅτι καὶ ἀγρῶν τινὰς ἐποίησα δεσπότας καὶ τιμῶν τῶν ἐν τῷ πλήθει καὶ τάξεων
- 252 ἤξιῶσα. πυνθάνομαι τοιγαροῦν εἰ μείζονας τούτων δωρεὰς καὶ πλείονας παρὰ τοῦ Ἰεσσαίου παιδὸς προσδοκᾶτε· οἶδα γὰρ ὅτι πάντες ἐκείνῳ προστέθεισθε³ τοῦμοῦ παιδὸς Ἰωνάθου αὐτοῦ τε
- 253 οὕτως φρονήσαντος καὶ ὑμᾶς ταῦτά⁴ πείσαντος· οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοὺς ὄρκους καὶ τὰς συνθήκας τὰς πρὸς Δαυίδην αὐτῷ γεγενημένας, οὐδ' ὅτι σύμβουλος μὲν καὶ συνεργὸς Ἰωνάθης ἐστὶ τῶν κατ' ἐμοῦ συντεταγμένων, μέλει δὲ ὑμῶν οὐδενὶ περὶ τούτων, ἀλλὰ τὸ ἀποβησόμενον ἡσυχάζοντες σκοπεῖτε.”
- 254 σιωπήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως ἄλλος μὲν οὐδεὶς ἀπεκρίνατο τῶν παρόντων, Δώηγος δ' ὁ Σύρος ὁ τὰς ἡμιόλους αὐτοῦ βόσκων εἶπεν ὡς ἴδοι τὸν Δαυίδην εἰς Ναβὰν πόλιν πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον ἐλθόντα τὸν ἀρχιερέα τά τε μέλλοντα παρ' αὐτοῦ προφητεύσαντος μαθεῖν, καὶ λαβόντα ἐφόδια καὶ τὴν ῥομφαίαν τοῦ Γολιάθου πρὸς οὓς ἐβούλετο μετὰ ἀσφαλείας προπεμφθῆναι.
- 255 (5) Μεταπεμφθὴς οὖν τὸν ἀρχιερέα καὶ πᾶσαν αὐτοῦ τὴν γενεὰν Σαοῦλος “ τί παθὼν ἐξ ἐμοῦ,” εἶπε, “ δεινὸν καὶ ἄχαρι τὸν Ἰεσσαίου παῖδα προσεδέξω καὶ σιτίων μὲν αὐτῷ μετέδωκας καὶ ὀπλων

¹ οὕτω προσ. om. RO.

² καὶ om. codd.

³ (R)ME: προστεθήσεσθε O: προστίθεσθε SP Lat.

⁴ Ernesti: ταῦτα codd.

he had his palace, and seating himself at a certain spot called Arūra,^a with his officers of state ^b and his company of bodyguards ^b around him, he addressed them thus: "Fellow tribesmen, you remember, I doubt not, my benefactions, how I have made some of you owners of estates and to others have granted honours and high positions among the people. I ask you, therefore, if you look for larger and more bounties than these from the son of Jesse? I know very well that you have all gone over to him, because my own son Jonathan himself has taken this stand and has persuaded you to do the like. Nor am I ignorant of those oaths and covenants that he has made with David, nor that Jonathan is the counsellor and accomplice of those who are arrayed against me; and not one of you is concerned about these things, but you are quietly waiting to see what will happen." When the king was silent, no other of those present made reply; only Doeg the Syrian, the keeper of his mules, said that he had seen David when he came to the city of Naba to Abimelech the high priest, where through the priest's prophecies David had learnt what was to come, and, having received provisions and the sword of Goliath, he had safely been sent on his way to those whom he was seeking.

Doeg the
informer.
1 Sam.
xxii. 9.

(5) Saul, therefore, sent for the high priest and all his family, and said: "What wrong have I done thee or what injury that thou didst receive the son of Jesse and gavest food and arms to him who is a

Saul rebukes
Abimelech,
who excuses
himself.
1 Sam. xxii.
11.

^a "Plowland"; so the LXX translates Heb. 'ēshel, a kind of tree (A.V. "tamarisk"). Cf. § 377.

^b Bibl. "servants."

JOSEPHUS

- ὄντι τῆς ἐμῆς βασιλείας ἐπιβούλω, τί δὲ δὴ περὶ
 τῶν μελλόντων ἐχρημάτιζες; οὐ γὰρ δὴ σε φεύγων
 256 ἐμέ καὶ μισῶν τὸν ἐμὸν οἶκον ἐλάνθανεν." ὁ δ'
 ἄρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἐπ' ἄρνησιν ἐτράπη τῶν γεγονότων,
 ἀλλὰ μετὰ παρρησίας ταῦτα παρασχεῖν ὠμολόγει
 οὐχὶ Δαυίδῃ χαριζόμενος, ἀλλ' αὐτῷ· πολέμιον γὰρ
 σὸν οὐκ εἶδέναι ἔφασκε, πιστὸν δὲ ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα
 257 δούλον καὶ χιλιάρχον καὶ τὸ τούτων μείζον γαμ-
 βρόν τε ἦδη καὶ συγγενῆ. ταῦτα δ' οὐκ ἐχθροῖς
 παρέχειν τοὺς ἀνθρώπους, ἀλλὰ τοῖς εὐνοία καὶ
 τιμῇ τῇ πρὸς αὐτοὺς ἀρίστοις. προφητεῦσαι δὲ
 οὐ νῦν πρῶτον αὐτῷ, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ ἄλλοτε
 τοῦτο πεποιηκέναι· " φήσαντι δὲ ὑπὸ σοῦ πεμ-
 φθῆναι κατὰ πολλὴν σπουδὴν ἐπὶ πρᾶξιν, τὸ¹ μηδὲν
 παρασχεῖν ὧν ἐπέζητει, σοὶ μᾶλλον ἀντιλέγειν ἢ
 258 ἐκείνῳ περὶ αὐτῶν ἐλογιζόμεν. διὸ μηδὲν πονηρὸν
 κατ' ἐμοῦ φρονήσης μηδὲ πρὸς ἅ νῦν ἀκούεις
 Δαυίδην ἐγχειρεῖν πρὸς ταῦτα τὴν τότε μου
 δοκοῦσαν φιλανθρωπίαν ὑποπτέυσης· φίλῳ γὰρ καὶ
 γαμβρῷ σῶ καὶ χιλιάρχῳ παρέσχον, οὐ πολεμίῳ."
- 259 (6) Ταῦτα λέγων ὁ ἄρχιερεὺς οὐκ ἔπεισε τὸν
 Σαοῦλον (δεινὸς γὰρ ὁ φόβος μηδ' ἀληθεῖ πιστεύειν
 ἀπολογία), κελεύει δὲ τοῖς ὀπλίταις περιστάσιν²
 αὐτὸν μετὰ τὰς γενεᾶς³ ἀποκτεῖναι. μὴ θαρρουν-
 των δ' ἐκείνων ἄψασθαι τοῦ ἀρχιερέως, ἀλλὰ τὸ
 θεῖον εὐλαβουμένων μᾶλλον ἢ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ
 βασιλέως, τῷ Σύρῳ Δωήγῳ προστάσσει τὸν φόνον.
 260 καὶ παραλαβὼν ὁμοίως αὐτῷ⁴ πονηροὺς ἐκείνος
 ἀποκτείνει τὸν Ἀβιμέλεχον καὶ τὴν γενεὰν αὐτοῦ·

¹ τῷ ex Lat. Niese.

² περισταθείσιν ROME.

³ μετὰ τ. γεν. om. RO.

⁴ Niese: ὁμοίους αὐτῷ codd.

plotter against my realm? And why, pray, didst thou deliver oracles concerning the future? For assuredly thou wert not ignorant that he was fleeing from me and that he hated my house." The high priest did not resort to a denial of what had taken place, but frankly confessed that he had rendered those services, yet not to gratify David, but Saul. "I knew him not," said he, "for thine enemy, but as one of thy most faithful servants and thy captain, and, what is more, as thy son-in-law now and kinsman. Men bestow such dignities not on their enemies, but on those who show them the greatest goodwill and esteem. Nor was this the first time that I prophesied for him; often have I done so on other occasions as well. And when he told me that he had been sent by thee in great haste on a certain matter, had I refused any of his desires, I should have thought this to be gain-saying thee rather than him.^a Therefore, think not ill of me, nor, from what thou now hearest of David's designs, regard with suspicion what I then deemed an act of humanity; for it was to thy friend and to thy son-in-law and captain that I rendered it, not to thine enemy."

(6) These words of the high priest did not persuade Saul, for fear is strong enough to disbelieve even a truthful plea; and he ordered his soldiers to surround him and his kin, and slay them. But as they dared not lay hands on the high priest, dreading more to offend the Deity than to disobey the king, he charged Doeg the Syrian to carry out the murder. This fellow, taking to help him others as wicked as himself,^b slew Abimelech and his kin, who were in all

At Saul's order, Doeg slays Ahimelech and his kin; Nob is destroyed. 1 Sam. xxii. 16.

^a This last sentence is an addition to Scripture.

^b In Scripture, Doeg alone slays the priests.

JOSEPHUS

- ἦσαν δὲ πάντες ὡσεὶ πέντε καὶ τριακόσιοι.¹ πέμψας δὲ Σαοῦλος καὶ εἰς τὴν πόλιν τῶν ἱερέων Ναβὰν πάντας τε αὐτοὺς ἀπέκτεινεν, οὐ γυναικῶν οὐ νηπίων οὐδ' ἄλλης ἡλικίας φεισάμενος, αὐτὴν
- 261 δὲ ἐνέπρησε. διασώζεται δὲ παῖς εἰς Ἀβιμελέχου Ἀβιάθαρος ὄνομα. ταῦτα μέντοι γε συνέβη, καθὼς προεφήτευσεν ὁ θεὸς τῷ ἀρχιερεῖ Ἡλί, διὰ τὰς τῶν υἱῶν αὐτοῦ δύο παρανομίας εἰπὼν διαφθορήσεσθαι τοὺς ἐγγόνους.
- 262 (7) Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ βασιλεὺς ὠμὸν οὕτως ἔργον διαπραξάμενος καὶ γενεὰν ὅλην ἀρχιερατικῆς ἀποσφάξας τιμῆς καὶ μήτ' ἐπὶ νηπίοις λαβὼν οἶκτον μήτ' ἐπὶ γέρουσιν αἰδῶ, καταβαλὼν δὲ καὶ τὴν πόλιν, ἣν πατρίδα καὶ τροφὸν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ προφητῶν αὐτὸ² τὸ θεῖον ἐπελέξατο καὶ μόνην εἰς τὸ τοιοῦτους φέρειν ἄνδρας ἀπέδειξε, μαθεῖν ἅπασιν παρέσχε καὶ κατανοῆσαι τὸν ἀνθρώπινον τρόπον,
- 263 ὅτι μέχρις οὗ μὲν εἰσιν ἰδιῶταί τινες καὶ ταπεινοί, τῷ μὴ δύνασθαι χρῆσθαι τῇ φύσει μηδὲ τολμᾶν ὅσα θέλουσιν, ἐπιεικεῖς εἰσι καὶ μέτριοι καὶ μόνον διώκουσι τὸ δίκαιον, καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸ³ τὴν πᾶσαν εὐνοϊάν⁴ τε καὶ σπουδὴν ἔχουσι, τότε δὲ καὶ περὶ τοῦ θεοῦ πεπιστεύκασιν ὅτι πᾶσι τοῖς γινομένοις ἐν τῷ βίῳ πάρεστι καὶ οὐ τὰ ἔργα μόνον ὄρα τὰ πραττόμενα, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας ἤδη σαφῶς
- 264 οἶδεν, ἀφ' ὧν μέλλει ταῦτ' ἔσεσθαι. ὅταν δὲ εἰς ἐξουσίαν παρέλθωσι καὶ δυναστείαν, τότε πάντ' ἐκεῖνα μετεκδυσάμενοι καὶ ὥσπερ ἐπὶ σκηνῆς

¹ ex Lat. Niese (cf. lxx): πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα RO: πέντε καὶ ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ τριακόσιοι MSP: πεντακόσιοι καὶ τριάκοντα E.

² conj. edd.: αὐτόθι codd.: om. Lat.

³ αὐτῷ Niese.

⁴ ἐννοίαν Dindorf.

some three hundred and five.^a Moreover Saul sent men to Naba, the city of the priests, and slew all therein, sparing neither women nor infants nor those of any age, and burnt the town. One son of Abimelech alone escaped, Abiathar^b by name. Now all these things came to pass in full accordance with what God had foretold to Eli the high priest, when He declared that by reason of the iniquities of his two sons his posterity should be destroyed.^c

(7) ^a But as for King Saul, by perpetrating a deed so cruel as slaughtering a whole family of high-priestly rank, feeling neither pity for infants nor reverence for age, and then proceeding to demolish the city which the Deity Himself had chosen as the home and nurse of priests and prophets and set apart as the sole place to produce such men—Saul thereby gave all to know and understand the character of men, namely that so long as they are of private and humble station, through inability to indulge their instincts or to dare all that they desire, they are kindly and moderate and pursue only what is right, and turn thereto their every thought and endeavour; then too, concerning the Deity, they are persuaded that He is present in all that happens in life and that He not only sees the acts that are done, but clearly knows even the thoughts whence those acts are to come. But when once they attain to power and sovereignty, then, stripping off all those qualities and laying aside their habits and ways as if they were

Reflections on the changes in character caused by accession to power.

^a Emended text, agreeing with the LXX, 1 Sam. xxii. 18, where the Heb. has 85; the mss. vary between 85 and 385, while the Epitome has 530. Below, § 268, Josephus has 300.

^b Heb. *Ebyāthār*.

^c Cf. *A.* v. 350.

^d With this digression in criticism of Saul contrast the eulogy below, §§ 343 ff.

JOSEPHUS

προσωπεῖα τὰ ἦθη καὶ τοὺς τρόπους ἀποθέμενοι
 265 μεταλαμβάνουσι τόλμαν ἀπόνοϊαν καταφρόνησιν ἀν-
 θρωπίνων τε καὶ θείων, καὶ ὅτε μάλιστα δεῖ τῆς
 εὐσεβείας αὐτοῖς καὶ τῆς δικαιοσύνης, ἔγγιστα τοῦ
 φθονεῖσθαι γεγενημένοις καὶ πᾶσι φανεροῖς ἐφ'
 οἷς ἂν νοήσωσιν ἢ πράξωσι καθεστῶσι, τόθ' ὡς
 οὐκέτι βλέποντος αὐτοὺς τοῦ θεοῦ ἢ διὰ τὴν
 266 ἐξουσίαν δεδιότος οὕτως ἐμπαροinouσι τοῖς πράγ-
 μασιν. ἃ δ' ἂν ἢ φοβηθῶσιν ἀκούσαντες¹ ἢ
 μισήσωσι * * θελήσαντες² ἢ στέρξωσιν ἀλόγως,
 ταῦτα κύρια καὶ βέβαια καὶ ἀληθῆ καὶ ἀνθρώποις
 ἀρεστὰ καὶ θεῷ δοκοῦσι, τῶν δὲ μελλόντων λόγος
 267 αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ εἰς· ἀλλὰ τιμῶσι μὲν τοὺς πολλὰ
 ταλαιπωρήσαντας, τιμήσαντες δὲ φθονοῦσι, καὶ
 παραγαγόντες εἰς ἐπιφάνειαν οὐ ταύτης ἀφαιροῦνται
 μόνον τοὺς τετυχηκότας, ἀλλὰ διὰ ταύτην καὶ τοῦ
 ζῆν ἐπὶ πονηραῖς αἰτίαις καὶ δι' ὑπερβολὴν αὐτῶν
 ἀπιθάνοις· κολάζουσι δ' οὐκ ἐπ' ἔργοις δίκης
 ἀξίοις, ἀλλ' ἐπὶ διαβολαῖς καὶ κατηγορίαῖς ἀ-
 βασανίστοις, οὐδ' ὄσους³ ἔδει τοῦτο παθεῖν, ἀλλ'
 268 ὄσους ἀποκτεῖναι δύνανται. τοῦτο Σαοῦλος ἡμῖν
 ὁ Κεῖσου παῖς, ὁ πρῶτος μετὰ τὴν ἀριστοκρατίαν
 καὶ⁴ τὴν ἐπὶ τοῖς κριταῖς πολιτείαν Ἑβραίων βασι-
 λεύσας, φανερὸν πεποίηκε τριακοσίους ἀποκτείνας
 ἱερέας καὶ προφῆτας ἐκ τῆς πρὸς Ἀβιμέλεχον
 ὑποψίας, ἐπικαταβαλὼν δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ τὴν πόλιν,
 καὶ τὸν⁵ τρόπῳ τινὶ ναὸν σπουδάσας ἱερέων καὶ
 προφητῶν ἔρημον καταστήσαι, τοσοῦτους μὲν ἀν-

¹ ἀκούσιοι conj. Thackeray.

² ἐβελήσαντες SP: ἐβελοκακήσαντες Naber.

³ οὖς Niese.

⁴ καὶ om. RO.

⁵ + ἐν codd.

stage masks, they assume in their place audacity, recklessness, contempt for things human and divine ; and at the moment when they most need piety and righteousness, being now within closest reach of envy, with all their thoughts and acts exposed to all men, then, as though God no longer saw them or were overawed by their power, they break out into these riotous acts. Their fear of rumours, their wilful hates,^a their irrational loves—these they regard as valid, sure and true, acceptable to man and God, but of the future they take not the least account. They first honour those who have toiled in their service, and then envy them the honours which they have conferred ; and, after promoting men to high distinction, they deprive them not only of this, but, on its very account, of life itself, on malicious charges which their extravagance renders incredible. Their punishments are inflicted not for acts deserving of chastisement, but on the faith of calumnies and unsifted accusations, nor do they fall on those who ought so to suffer, but on whomsoever they can put to death. Of this we have a signal example in the conduct of Saul, son of Kis, the first to become king of the Hebrews after the period of aristocracy and the government under the judges, for he slew three hundred priests and prophets from suspicion of Abimelech, and further demolished their city and strove to leave what was virtually their temple ^b destitute of priests and prophets,^c by first slaying so many of

^a Text uncertain.

^b The first real temple was, of course, to be built later in Jerusalem by Solomon.

^c The reference to prophets is unscriptural.

JOSEPHUS

ελών, μείναι δ' ἑάσας οὐδὲ τὴν πατρίδα αὐτῶν πρὸς τὸ καὶ μετ' ἐκείνους ἄλλους γενέσθαι.

- 269 (8) Ὁ δ' Ἀβιάθαρος ὁ τοῦ Ἀβιμελέχου παῖς ὁ μόνος διασωθῆναι¹ δυναθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν ὑπὸ Σαούλου φονευθέντων ἱερέων φυγὼν πρὸς Δαυίδην τὴν τῶν οἰκείων αὐτοῦ συμφορὰν ἐδήλωσε καὶ τὴν
270 τοῦ πατρὸς ἀναίρεσιν. ὁ δ' οὐκ ἀγνοεῖν ἔφη ταῦτα περὶ αὐτοὺς ἐσόμενα ἰδὼν τὸν Δῶηγον· ὑπονοῆσαι γὰρ διαβληθῆσθαι πρὸς αὐτοῦ τὸν ἀρχιερέα τῷ βασιλεῖ, καὶ τῆς ἀτυχίας ταύτης αὐτοῖς αὐτὸν ἠτιᾶτο. μένειν² δ' αὐτόθι καὶ σὺν αὐτῷ διατρίβειν ὡς οὐκ ἐν ἄλλῳ τόπῳ λησόμενον οὕτως ἠξίου.
- 271 (xiii. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν ἀκούσας ὁ Δαυίδης τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἐμβεβληκότας εἰς τὴν Κιλλανῶν χώραν καὶ ταύτην διαρπάζοντας δίδωσιν ἑαυτὸν στρατεύειν ἐπ' αὐτούς, τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τοῦ προφήτου πυθόμενος εἰ ἐπιτρέπει νίκην. τοῦ δὲ σημαίνειν φήσαντος ἐξώρμησεν ἐπὶ τοὺς Παλαιστίνους μετὰ τῶν ἐταίρων καὶ φόνον τε αὐτῶν
272 πολὺν ἐξέχεε καὶ λείαν ἤλασεν. καὶ παραμείνας τοῖς Κιλλανοῖς, ἕως οὗ τὰς ἄλως³ καὶ τὸν καρπὸν συνείλον ἀδεῶς, Σαούλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μηνύεται παρ' αὐτοῖς ὦν· τὸ γὰρ ἔργον καὶ τὸ κατόρθωμα οὐκ ἔμεινε παρ' οἷς ἐγένετο, φήμη⁴ δ' ἐπίπαν εἰς τε τὰς τῶν ἄλλων ἀκοὰς καὶ πρὸς τὰς τοῦ βασιλέως διεκομίσθη αὐτό⁵ τε συνιστάνον καὶ τὸν πεποικη-
273 κότα. χαίρει δὲ Σαούλος ἀκούσας ἐν Κίλλᾳ τὸν

¹ διασωθ. om. RO.

² τὸ μένειν codd.

³ ἄλω codd.: ἀλώνας ed. pr.

⁴ φήμη Ernesti.

⁵ αὐτό Dindorf.

^a Cf. below on § 273.

^b In Scripture no mention is made at this point of a prophet,

them and then not suffering even their native place to remain, that others might come after them.

(8) Now Abiathar, the son of Abimelech, who alone of the family of priests slaughtered by Saul had been able to escape, fled to David and told him of the tragedy of his kin and the slaying of his father. David replied that he had known that this fate would befall them, when he saw Doeg ; he had, he said, suspected that the high priest would be denounced to the king by this man, and he blamed himself as the cause of this misfortune to them. Howbeit he besought Abiathar to abide there and to live with him, since nowhere else would he be so safely hidden.

Abiathar,
the high
priest's son,
flees to
David.
1 Sam. xxii.
20.

(xiii. 1) At this same time David, hearing that the Philistines had invaded the country of the Killanians ^a and were ravaging it, offered to take the field against them, after inquiring of God through the prophet ^b whether He would grant him victory. And when the prophet reported that God had so signified, he threw himself upon the Philistines with his companions, made a great slaughter of them and carried off their spoils. As he then remained with the Killanians until they had secured their threshing-floors and safely got in their crops,^c his presence there was reported to King Saul. For this exploit and its success did not remain confined to those who had witnessed them, but the fame of it was carried abroad to the ears of all, the king's included, with praise of the deed and the doer of it. Saul rejoiced to hear

David saves
Keilah
(Killa) from
the Phil-
istines.
1 Sam. xxiii
1.

but in 1 Sam. xxiii. 9 we read that David consulted God about leaving Keilah, through the priest Abimelech by means of the ephod—a detail omitted in Josephus's account below, § 274.

^c The safeguarding of the crops is an amplification of Scripture.

JOSEPHUS

Δαυίδην, καί “ θεὸς ἤδη χερσὶ ταῖς ἐμαῖς ὑπέθετο
 αὐτόν,” εἰπών, “ ἐπεὶ καὶ συνηνάγκασεν ἔλθειν
 εἰς πόλιν τεῖχην καὶ πύλας καὶ μοχλοὺς ἔχουσιν,”
 τῷ λαῷ παντὶ προσέταξεν ἐπὶ τὴν Κίλλαν ἔξορ-
 μῆσαι καὶ πολιορκήσαντι καὶ ἐλόντι τὸν Δαυίδην
 274 ἀποκτεῖναι. ταῦτα δὲ αἰσθόμενος ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ
 μαθὼν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ ὅτι μείναντα παρ’ αὐτοῖς
 οἱ Κιλλῆται ἐκδώσουσι τῷ Σαούλῳ, παραλαβὼν
 τοὺς τετρακοσίους ἀπῆρεν ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως εἰς
 τὴν ἔρημον ἐπάνω τῆς Ἐνγεδὼν¹ λεγομένης. καὶ ὁ
 μὲν βασιλεὺς ἀκούσας αὐτὸν πεφευγότα παρὰ τῶν
 Κιλλιτῶν ἐπαύσατο τῆς ἐπ’ αὐτὸν στρατείας.
 275 (2) Δαυίδης δὲ ἐκείθεν ἄρας εἰς τινα τόπον
 Καινὴν² καλουμένην τῆς Ζιφηνῆς παραγίνεται, εἰς
 ὃν Ἰωνάθης ὁ τοῦ Σαούλου παῖς συμβαλὼν αὐτῷ
 καὶ κατασπασάμενος θαρρεῖν τε καὶ χρηστὰς περὶ
 τῶν μελλόντων ἔχειν ἐλπίδας παρεκάλει καὶ μὴ
 κάμνειν τοῖς παροῦσι· βασιλεύσει γὰρ αὐτὸν καὶ
 πᾶσαν τὴν Ἑβραίων δύναμιν ἔξειν ὑφ’ ἑαυτῷ,
 φιλεῖν δὲ τὰ τοιαῦτα σὺν μεγάλοις ἀπαντᾶν πόνοις.
 276 πάλιν δ’ ὄρκους ποιησάμενος τῆς εἰς ἅπαντα τὸν
 βίον πρὸς ἀλλήλους εὐνοίας καὶ πίστεως καὶ τὸν
 θεὸν μάρτυρα καλέσας, ὧν ἐπήρασατο αὐτῷ παρα-

¹ Ἐνγελατν MS: Ἐνγαλατν P: Ἐνγεδατν Naber.

² M Lat.: Κενὴν ROSPE.

that David was in Killa.^a "At last," said he, "God has delivered him into my hands, since He has forced him to enter a city with walls, gates and bars," and he ordered the whole people to march against Killa and, when they had besieged and taken it,^b to kill David. But when David discovered this and learned from God that if he remained in Killa the inhabitants would give him up to Saul, he took his four hundred ^c men and withdrew from the city into the desert lying above a place called Engedōn.^d Thereupon the king, hearing that he had fled from the people of Killa, abandoned his campaign against him.

(2) David, departing thence, came to a place called Kainē ^e ("New") in the region of Ziphēnē.^f Here he was met by Jonathan, son of Saul, who, after embracing him, bade him take courage, hope well for the future and not be crushed by his present state, for (he assured him) he would yet be king and would have all the forces of the Hebrews under him, but such things were wont to demand great toil for their attainment. Then, having renewed his oaths of life-long, mutual affection and fidelity, and having called God to witness the curses which he invoked

Jonathan
renews his
pledge to
David at
Ziph.
1 Sam. xxiii.
16.

^a Bibl. Keilah, LXX Κεειλά, perhaps the modern *Khirbet Qila*, about 2 miles S. of the supposed site of Adullam (cf. § 247 note).

^b Or "besieged it and taken him."

^c So the LXX; Heb. 600.

^d Bibl. Engedi; mentioned below, § 282. 1 Sam. xxiii. 13 "and went whithersoever they could go."

^e So the LXX, reading Heb. *hadāshāh* "new" for *hōreshāh* "thicket" in 1 Sam. xxiii. 15; the latter is perhaps to be taken as a proper name, and may be the modern *Khirbet Khoreisa*.

^f Bibl. Ziph, LXX Ζεφ, probably the modern *Tell Zif*, 4 miles S.E. of Hebron.

JOSEPHUS

βάντι τὰ συγκείμενα καὶ μεταβαλλομένω¹ πρὸς
 τὰναντία, τὸν μὲν αὐτόθι καταλείπει μικρὰ τῶν
 φροντίδων καὶ τοῦ δέους ἐπικουφίσας, αὐτὸς δὲ
 277 πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπανέρχεται. οἱ δὲ Ζιφηνοὶ χαριζό-
 μενοι τῷ Σαούλῳ μηνύουσιν αὐτῷ παρ' αὐτοῖς
 διατρίβειν τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ παραδώσειν ἔφασαν ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν ἐλθόντι· καταληφθέντων γὰρ τῶν τῆς Ζιφηνῆς
 278 στενωῶν οὐκ εἶναι φυγεῖν αὐτὸν² πρὸς ἄλλους. ὁ δὲ
 βασιλεὺς ἐπήνεσεν αὐτούς, χάριν ἔχειν ὁμολογήσας
 τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτῷ μεμνηυκόσι, καὶ οὐκ εἰς μακρὰν
 ἀμείψασθαι³ τῆς εὐνοίας ὑποσχόμενος αὐτούς, ἔπεμ-
 ψε τοὺς ζητήσοντας τὸν Δαυίδην καὶ τὴν ἐρημίαν ἐξ-
 ερευνησόντας, αὐτὸς δ' ἀκολουθήσειν ἀπεκρίνατο.
 279 καὶ οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὴν θήραν καὶ τὴν σύλληψιν τοῦ
 Δαυίδου προῆγον τὸν βασιλέα σπουδάζοντες μὴ
 μόνον αὐτῷ⁴ μηνῦσαι τὸν ἐχθρὸν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ
 παρασχεῖν αὐτὸν εἰς ἐξουσίαν φανερωτέραν κατα-
 στήσαι αὐτῷ τὴν εὐνοίαν⁵. διήμαρτον δὲ τῆς ἀδίκου
 καὶ πονηρᾶς ἐπιθυμίας, οἱ μηδὲν κινδυνεύειν ἔμελ-
 280 λον ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ταῦτ' ἐμφανίσαι τῷ Σαούλῳ, διὰ
 δὲ κολακείαν καὶ κέρδους προσδοκίαν παρὰ τοῦ
 βασιλέως ἄνδρα θεοφιλῆ καὶ παρὰ δίκην ζητού-
 μενον ἐπὶ θανάτῳ καὶ λανθάνειν δυνάμενον διέβαλον
 καὶ παραδώσειν ὑπέσχοντο· γνοὺς γὰρ ὁ Δαυίδης
 τὴν τῶν Ζιφηνῶν κακοήθειαν καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως
 ἔφοδον ἐκλείπει μὲν τὰ στενὰ τῆς ἐκείνων χώρας,

¹ μεταβαλλομένῳ Bekker.

² φυγὴν αὐτῷ SP: φυγεῖν αὐτῷ M.

³ Niese: ἀμείψασθαι codd. (Lat. vid.).

⁴ αὐτῷ τῷ MSP.

⁵ αὐτῷ τὴν εὐνοίαν om. RO: post ἐχθρὸν (supra) rell.

upon himself should he violate their covenant and change to the contrary, he left him there, having a little lightened his cares and fear, and returned to his own home. But the men of Ziph, to win favour with Saul, reported to him ^a that David was sojourning among them, and promised, if he would come after him, to deliver him up ; for, if the passes into their country were occupied, it would be impossible for him to escape elsewhere. The king commended them and expressed his thanks for their having given him information of his enemy, and promised that their loyalty should not long await its reward ^b ; he then sent a party to search for David and to scour the desert, assuring them that he would himself follow. Thus they spurred the king on to the pursuit and capture of David, because they were anxious not merely to denounce his enemy to him, but to give more palpable proof of their loyalty to him by actually delivering David into his hands. They failed, however, in their iniquitous and base desire, which was the more so in that they would have incurred no risk by not informing Saul of these things ; yet, from obsequiousness and in the expectation of receiving gain from the king, they calumniated and promised to deliver up a God-favoured man whose death was being unjustly sought, and who might have remained concealed.^c For David, learning of the evil designs of the Ziphites and the king's approach, quitted the

The men of
Ziph betray
David to
Saul.
1 Sam. xxiii,
19.

^b This promise is not mentioned in Scripture.

^c These reflections on the conduct of the Ziphites are an addition to Scripture.

JOSEPHUS

φεύγει δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν μεγάλην πέτραν τὴν οὖσαν ἐν τῇ Σίμωνος ἐρήμῳ.

281 (3) Ὁρμησεν δὲ ἐπ' ἐκείνην διώκειν Σαούλος· κατὰ γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἀναχωρήσαντα ἐκ τῶν στενῶν μαθὼν τὸν Δαυίδην, ἐπὶ τὸ ἕτερον μέρος τῆς πέτρας ἀπῆρεν. ἀντιπεριέσπασαν δὲ τὸν Σαούλον ἀπὸ τῆς διώξεως τοῦ Δαυίδου μέλλοντος ἤδη συλλαμβάνεσθαι Παλαιστῖνοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τὴν Ἑβραίων ἐστρατευκέσαι χώραν ἀκουσθέντες· ἐπὶ γὰρ τούτους ἀνέστρεψε φύσει πολεμίους ὄντας, αὐτοὺς ἀμύνασθαι κρίνας ἀναγκαϊότερον ἢ τὸν ἴδιον σπουδάζοντα λαβεῖν ἐχθρὸν ὑπεριδεῖν τὴν γῆν κακωθεῖσαν.

282 (4) Καὶ Δαυίδης μὲν οὕτως ἐκ παραλόγου τὸν κίνδυνον διαφυγὼν εἰς τὰ στενὰ τῆς Ἑγγεδηνῆς ἀφικνεῖται· Σαούλῳ δὲ ἐκβαλόντι τοὺς Παλαιστίνους ἤκον ἀπαγγέλλοντές τινες τὸν Δαυίδην ἐν

283 τοῖς Ἑγγεδηνῆς διατρίβειν ὄροις. λαβὼν δὲ τρισχιλίους ἐπιλέκτους¹ ὀπλίτας ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἠπέιγετο, καὶ γενόμενος οὐ πόρρω τῶν τόπων ὄρα παρα τὴν ὁδὸν σπήλαιον βαθὺ καὶ κοῖλον, εἰς πολὺ καὶ μῆκος ἀνεωγὸς καὶ πλάτος, ἔνθα συνέβαινε τὸν Δαυίδην μετὰ τῶν τετρακοσίων κεκρύφθαι· ἐπειγόμενος οὖν ὑπὸ τῶν κατὰ φύσιν εἴσεισιν εἰς αὐτὸ μόνος θεαθεὶς

284 δ' ὑπὸ τινος τῶν μετὰ Δαυίδου· καὶ φράσαντος

¹ ἐπιλέκτους post ὀπλίτας MSP: om. E Lat.

^a 1 Sam. xxiii. 24 "in the wilderness of Maon, in the plain on the south (lit. "right") of Jeshimon," LXX ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ τῇ Μαῶν (v.l. Μαὼν, Luc. ἐν τῇ ἐπηκόῳ) καθ' ἐσπέραν ἐκ δεξιῶν τοῦ Ἰεσσαίμου. Thackeray, *Josephus the Man*, etc., p. 88, writes "both in Josephus and in Lucian an intrusive initial shin has converted the proper name [Maon] into *Shim'on* . . . Lucian translates it by ἐπήκοος 'into the

defiles of their country and fled to the great rock which is in the wilderness of Simon.^a

(3) Thither Saul hastened to pursue him ; for he had learnt on the way that David had withdrawn from the defiles, and so he set off for the other side of the rock. But, just as David was about to be caught, Saul was diverted from the pursuit by the news that the Philistines had made a fresh invasion into Hebrew territory. He accordingly returned to face them as his natural enemies, judging it more imperative to fight against them than, through his zeal to capture his personal enemy, to leave the land to be ravaged.^b

A Philistine invasion diverts Saul from pursuit of David. 1 Sam. xxiii. 26.

(4) David, after this unexpected escape from danger, repaired to the narrow passes of Engedēnē^c ; but, after Saul had expelled the Philistines, word was brought to him that David was sojourning within the borders of Engedēnē. So, with three thousand picked soldiers, he pressed on after him. And, when he was not far from the region, he saw by the wayside a deep and hollow cave, extending to a great distance both in length and breadth, where, as it chanced, David with his four hundred men lay concealed. Urged then by the needs of nature, Saul entered it alone, and was espied by one of David's companions.

David spares Saul's life at En-gedi (Engedene). 1 Sam. xxiii. 29 (xxiv. 1 Heb., LXX).

listening wilderness,' as in fact Josephus does elsewhere," and refers to *A. i.* 304 "the name Σεμέων signifies that God listened (ἐπήκοον γεγονέναι)." I think, however, that Josephus's *Simōn* represents the bibl. Jeshimon (Heb. *Yeshimōn*), which it might easily have done if Josephus had read it in a form like that of the Targum where, with the preposition *l*^o, it is *liyshimōn* (by a phonetic law, the consonant *y* is assimilated to the preceding vowel), from an apparent root *Shimōn* = Gr. *Simōn*.

^b The last sentence is an amplification of Scripture.

^c Bibl. En-gedi, LXX 'Ενγάδδει, modern 'Ain Jidy, a rocky height half-way down the west shore of the Dead Sea.

JOSEPHUS

τοῦ θεασαμένου πρὸς τὸν ἐχθρὸν αὐτοῦ παρὰ τοῦ
 θεοῦ καιρὸν ἔχειν ἀμύνης καὶ συμβουλευόντος τοῦ
 Σαούλου ἀποτεμεῖν τὴν κεφαλὴν καὶ τῆς πολλῆς
 ἄλης αὐτὸν ἀπαλλάξαι καὶ ταλαιπωρίας, ἀναστὰς
 ἀναίρει μὲν τὴν κροκύδα¹ τοῦ ἱματίου μόνον οὗ
 Σαούλος ἀμπείχετο, μετανοήσας δ' εὐθύς “οὐ
 δίκαιον,” εἶπε, “φονεύειν τὸν αὐτοῦ δεσπότην,
 οὐδὲ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ βασιλείας ἀξιωθέντα· καὶ
 γὰρ εἰ πονηρὸς οὗτος εἰς ἡμᾶς, ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐμέ
 285 δεῖ τοιοῦτον εἶναι πρὸς αὐτόν.” τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου
 τὸ σπήλαιον ἐκλιπόντος προελθῶν² ὁ Δαυίδης ἔκρα-
 γεν, ἀκοῦσαι τὸν Σαούλον ἀξιῶν. ἐπιστραφέντος
 δὲ τοῦ βασιλέως προσκυνεῖ τε αὐτὸν πεσὼν ἐπὶ
 πρόσωπον, ὡς ἔθος, καὶ φησιν· “οὐ πονηροῖς, ὦ
 βασιλεῦ, καὶ ψευδεῖς πλάττουσι διαβολὰς παρ-
 ἔχοντα δεῖ τὰς ἀκοὰς χαρίζεσθαι μὲν ἐκείνοις τὸ
 πιστεύειν αὐτοῖς, τοὺς δὲ φιλότατους δι' ὑπονοίας
 ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἔργοις σκοπεῖν τὴν ἀπάντων διά-
 286 θεσιν. διαβολὴ μὲν γὰρ ἀπατᾶ, σαφῆς δ' ἀπό-
 δεῖξις εὐνοίας τὰ πραττόμενα· καὶ λόγος μὲν ἐπ'
 ἀμφοτέρα πέφυκεν ἀληθῆς τε καὶ ψευδῆς, τὰ δὲ
 287 ἔργα γυμνὴν ὑπ' ὄψει τὴν διάνοιαν τίθησιν. ἴσθι
 τοίνυν ἐκ τούτων καλῶς ἔχειν με πρὸς σέ καὶ τὸν
 σὸν οἶκον κάμοι³ πιστεύσαι δεῖ, καὶ μὴ τοῖς κατ-
 ηγοροῦσιν ἅ μήτε εἰς νοῦν ἐβαλόμην μήτε δύναται
 γενέσθαι προσθέμενον μεταδιώκειν τὴν ἐμὴν ψυχὴν,
 καὶ μηδὲν μήθ' ἡμέρας μήτε νυκτὸς ἔχειν διὰ
 φροντίδος ἢ τὴν ἐμὴν ἀναίρεσιν, ἢ ἀδίκως μετα-

¹ ἀναίρει . . . κροκύδα] ἀποτέμνει . . . πτέρυγα SPE (Lat.).

² E: προσελθῶν codd. Lat.

³ ex Lat. conj. Thackeray: ἐμοι codd.

The man who saw him said to David that here was his God-sent opportunity for vengeance on his enemy and counselled him to cut off Saul's head^a and so deliver himself from his long wandering and misery, whereupon David arose and only pulled off some of the woollen nap^b of the mantle that Saul was wearing; but, repenting forthwith, said, "It is not right to murder one's own master or one whom God has accounted worthy of kingship. And even though he treats me ill, yet I must not do the like to him." Then, when Saul had left the cave, David came forth and cried aloud, beseeching Saul to hear him. And, as the king turned, he prostrated himself before him with his face to the ground, as the custom was, and said, "Thou oughtest not, O King, to give ear to miscreants and fabricators of lying charges and do them the honour of believing their lies, while holding thy best friends in suspicion; no, but by their actions shouldest thou judge the character of all men. For calumny only deceives, while actions clearly reveal the honest friend; words are of two-fold nature, either true or false, but deeds lay bare to sight the intention.^c Know then by these tokens that I wish well to thee and to thy house, and thou shouldst trust in me instead of putting faith in those who accuse me of things which I never took into my head to do and which could never even have been done, and constantly seeking my life, with no thought day or night except for my destruction, for which thou

David re-
proaches
Saul.
1 Sam. xxiv.
9 (10).

^a Bibl. "do to him as it shall seem good unto thee."

^b Variant (as in Scripture) "cut off the skirt" (*πτερυγα*); this latter text is found below, § 289.

^c The last remark, like some of the other moral reflections in David's speech, is an amplification of Scripture.

JOSEPHUS

- 288 πορεύη· πῶς γὰρ οὐχί¹ ψευδῆ περὶ ἐμοῦ δόξαν εἶληφας ὡς ἀποκτείνει σε θέλοντος; ἢ πῶς οὐκ ἀσεβεῖς εἰς τὸν θεόν, ἄνθρωπον τήμερον αὐτῷ τιμωρῆσαι δυνάμενον καὶ παρὰ σοῦ λαβεῖν δίκην καὶ μὴ θελήσαντα μηδὲ τῷ καιρῷ χρησάμενον, ὃν εἰ σοὶ κατ' ἐμοῦ περιέπεσεν οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς² παρήκας,
- 289 διαχρήσασθαι ποθῶν καὶ νομίζων πολέμιον; ὅτε γάρ σου τὴν πτέρυγα τοῦ ἱματίου ἀπέτεμον, τότε σου καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἠδυνάμην.” ἐπιδείξας δὲ τὸ ῥάκος ἰδεῖν πιστεύειν παρείχεν. “ ἄλλ' ἐγὼ μὲν ἀπεσχόμην δικαίας ἀμύνης,” φησί, “ σὺ δὲ μῖσος ἄδικον οὐκ αἰδῆ κατ' ἐμοῦ τρέφων.³ ὁ θεὸς ταῦτα δικάσειε καὶ τὸν ἑκατέρου τρόπον ἡμῶν ἐλέγξειε.”
- 290 Σαοῦλος δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ παραδόξῳ τῆς σωτηρίας θαυμάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ νεανίσκου μετριότητα καὶ φύσιν ἐκπλαγεῖς ἀνώμωξε· τὸ δ' αὐτὸ κάκεινου ποιήσαντος αὐτὸν εἶναι δίκαιον στένειν ἀπεκρίνατο· “ σὺ μὲν γάρ,” φησί, “ ἀγαθῶν αἴτιος ἐμοὶ γέγονας, ἐγὼ δὲ σοὶ συμφορῶν. ἐπεδείξω δὲ σήμερον τὴν ἀρχαίων ἔχοντα σαυτὸν δικαιοσύνην, οἱ τοὺς ἐχθροὺς ἐν ἐρημίᾳ λαβόντας⁴ σώζειν παραγγέλλον.
- 291 πέπεισμαι δὴ νῦν ὅτι σοὶ τὴν βασιλείαν ὁ θεὸς φυλάττει καὶ περιμένει σε τὸ πάντων τῶν Ἑβραίων κράτος. δὸς δὴ μοι πίστευς ἐνόρκους μὴ μου τὸ γένος ἐξαφανίσει μηδ' ἐμοὶ μνησικακοῦντα τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐγγόνους ἀπολέσαι, τηρῆσαι δέ μοι καὶ σῶσαι τὸν οἶκον.” ὁμόσας δὲ καθὼς ἠξίωκε⁵ Δαυίδης Σαοῦλον μὲν εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀπέλυσε βασιλείαν,

¹ οὐχί om. MSP.

² αὐτὸν RO: οὕτως ex Lat. conj. Naber.

³ E: φέρων rell.

⁴ Hudson: λαβόντες codd.

⁵ ἠξίωσε conj. Niese.

strivest so unjustly. How indeed could the opinion not be false which thou didst hold of me, namely that I wished to kill thee, or how canst thou be other than impious toward God when thou art eager to destroy, and accountest as an enemy, a man who this day had it in his power to avenge himself and to punish thee, and yet refused to do so or to avail himself of an opportunity, which, had it been given to thee to use against me, thou wouldst never have let slip? For when I cut off the skirt of thy mantle, I might at the same time have cut off thy head." And here he produced the piece of cloth in token of the truth of his words. "But yet," he continued, "I refrained from righteous vengeance, while thou art not ashamed to nurse unjust hatred against me. May God be judge thereof and examine the motives of us both." Thereupon Saul, in wonder at his extraordinary escape and amazed at the youth's forbearance and nature, wailed aloud. And when David did the like, he replied, "It is for me to moan,^a since thou hast brought me only good, while I have brought thee affliction. Thou hast shown thyself this day to have the righteousness of the ancients, who bade those who captured their enemies in a lonely place to spare their lives.^b Now, therefore, I fully believe that God is reserving the kingdom for thee and that dominion over all the Hebrews awaits thee. Give me then assurance on oath that thou wilt not exterminate my race nor, from rancour against me, destroy my posterity, but wilt save and preserve my house." David gave the desired oath and let Saul depart to his kingdom,

Saul is
reconciled
to David.
1 Sam. xxiv.
16 (17).

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b An amplification of 1 Sam. xxiv. 19 (20) (of which, however, the text seems to be defective), "If a man find his enemy will he let him go well away?"

JOSEPHUS

αὐτὸς δὲ μετὰ τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ εἰς τὴν Μασθηρῶν ἀνέβη στενήν.

292 (5) Ἀποθνήσκει δὲ κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν καιρὸν καὶ Σαμουήλος ὁ προφήτης, ἀνὴρ οὐ τῆς τυχοῦσης ἀπολαύσας¹ παρὰ τοῖς Ἑβραίοις τιμῆς· ἐνεφάνισε γὰρ τὴν ἀρετὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς αὐτὸν εὐνοίαν τὸ πένθος, ὃ ἐπὶ πολὺν χρόνον ὁ λαὸς ἤγετο, καὶ ἡ περὶ τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν τῶν νομιζομένων ἀναπλήρωσιν φιλοτιμία τε
293 καὶ σπουδή. θάπτουσι γὰρ αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι Ἀρμαθᾶ καὶ ἐπὶ πολλὰς πάνυ ἡμέρας ἔκλαυσαν, οὐ κοινὸν τοῦτο πάσχοντες ὡς ἐπ' ἄλλοτρίου τελευτῇ,
294 ὡς² οἰκεῖον δ' ἕκαστος ἴδιον ποθῶν. ἐγένετο δ' ἀνὴρ δίκαιος καὶ χρηστὸς τὴν φύσιν καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάλιστα φίλος τῷ θεῷ. ἤρξε δὲ καὶ προέστη τοῦ λαοῦ μετὰ τὴν Ἡλεὶ τοῦ ἀρχιερέως τελευτὴν μόνος μὲν ἔτη δώδεκα, μετὰ δὲ Σαούλου τοῦ βασιλέως δέκα πρὸς τοῖς ὀκτώ. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ Σαμουήλον οὕτω πέρασ ἔσχεν.

295 (6) Ἦν δέ τις τῶν Ζιφηνῶν ἐκ πόλεως Ἐμμᾶν³ πλούσιος καὶ πολυθρέμματος· τρισχιλίων μὲν γὰρ αὐτῷ⁴ ποιμνῆ προβάτων ἐνέμετο, χιλίων δ' αἰγῶν. ταῦτα Δαυίδης ἀσινῇ τηρεῖν τε καὶ ἀβλαβῇ παρ- ἡγγελλε τοῖς σὺν αὐτῷ καὶ μήτε ὑπὸ ἐπιθυμίας μήτε ὑπὸ ἐνδείας μήτε ὑπὸ τῆς ἐρημίας καὶ τοῦ δύνασθαι

¹ SP: ἀπολάβων RO: ἀπολαύων Niese cum Hudson.

² + εἰς MSP.

³ Ἐμμᾶ MSP Exc.: Ammon Lat.

⁴ Cocceji: αὐτοῦ codd. E.

^a Heb. 'al ha-mešûdâh " up to the stronghold "; Josephus follows the LXX which takes this as a proper name and, in a duplicate rendering, translates it as εἰς τὴν Μεσσαρὰ στενήν.

while he with his men went up to the pass of Masthera.^a

(5) About this time the prophet Samuel died, a man who had enjoyed no common esteem among the Hebrews. His virtue and the affection of the multitude for him were manifested by the prolonged mourning which the people made, and by the display and zeal given to his burial and to the observance of the customary rites. For they buried him in his native Armatha and wept for him very many days, with no mere public mourning as for the death of a stranger, but each privately grieving as for his own.^b He was a man of just and kindly nature and for that reason very dear to God. He was ruler and leader of the people after the death of the high priest Eli, for twelve years alone, and together with King Saul for eighteen more.^c Such then was the end of Samuel.

Death and burial of Samuel. 1 Sam. xxv. 1.

(6) Now there was a certain Ziphite of the city of Emman,^d who was wealthy and had much cattle; indeed he maintained a flock of three thousand sheep and a thousand goats. Now David had charged his men to see that these flocks should be safe and unharmed, and that neither through greed nor want nor because they were in the wilderness and could escape detection, should they do them any injury,

The wealthy Nabal churlishly refuses presents to David. 1 Sam. xxv. 2.

^b The details of the burial and mourning are additions to Scripture.

^c No figures are given in Scripture; the common rabbinic tradition fixes Samuel's term as prophet at 12 years, another, also found in Julius Africanus, makes it 40 years. Ginzberg plausibly suggests that the latter figure was reached by combining Josephus's statement that Samuel began to prophesy at 12 years, *A. v.* 348, with the rabbinic tradition that Samuel was 52 years old when he died.

^d *Bibl.* "A man of Maon"; his possessions were in Carmel, just south of Ziph.

JOSEPHUS

λανθάνειν καταβλάπτειν, τούτων δ' ἀπάντων ἐπάνω
 τίθεσθαι τὸ μηδέν¹ ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὸ τῶν ἄλλοτριῶν
 ἄπτεσθαι δεινὸν ἡγέισθαι καὶ πρόσαντες τῷ θεῷ.
 296 ταῦτα δ' ἐδίδασκεν αὐτοὺς οἰόμενος ἀνθρώπῳ χα-
 ρίζεσθαι ἀγαθῷ καὶ ταύτης τυγχάνειν ἀξίῳ τῆς
 προνοίας· ἦν δὲ Νάβαλος, τοῦτο γὰρ εἶχεν ὄνομα,
 σκληρὸς καὶ πονηρὸς τοῖς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἐκ κυνικῆς
 ἀσκήσεως πεποιημένος τὸν βίον, γυναικὸς δ' ἀγαθῆς
 καὶ σώφρονος καὶ τὸ εἶδος σπουδαίας λελογχώς.²
 297 πρὸς οὖν τὸν Νάβαλον τοῦτον καθ' ὃν ἔκειρε τὰ
 πρόβατα καιρὸν πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης ἄνδρας δέκα
 τῶν σὺν αὐτῷ διὰ τούτων αὐτὸν ἀσπάζεται καὶ
 συνεύχεται τοῦτο ποιεῖν ἐπ' ἔτη πολλά· παρασχεῖν
 δὲ ἐξ ὧν δυνατὸς ἐστὶν αὐτῷ παρεκάλει μαθόντα³
 παρὰ τῶν ποιμένων ὅτι μηδὲν αὐτοὺς ἠδίκησαν,⁴
 ἀλλὰ φύλακες αὐτῶν τε καὶ τῶν ποιμνίων γεγόνασι⁴
 πολὺν ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατρίβοντες ἤδη χρόνον· μετα-
 298 νοήσει δ' οὐδὲν Δαυίδῃ παρασχόμενος. ταῦτα δὲ
 τῶν πεμφθέντων διακονησάντων πρὸς τὸν Νάβαλον
 ἀπανθρώπως σφόδρα καὶ σκληρῶς ἀπήντησεν·
 ἐρωτήσας γὰρ αὐτούς, τίς ἐστὶ Δαυίδης, ὡς τὸν
 υἱὸν ἠκουσεν Ἰεσσαίου, “ νῦν ἄρα,” εἶπε, “ μέγα
 φρονοῦσιν ἐφ' αὐτοῖς οἱ δραπέται καὶ σεμνύνον-
 299 ται τοὺς δεσπότης καταλιπόντες.” ὀργίζεται δ'
 αὐτῶν φρασάντων ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ τετρακοσίους
 μὲν ὦπλισμένους αὐτῷ κελεύσας ἔπεσθαι, διακο-
 σίους δὲ φύλακας τῶν σκευῶν καταλιπών, ἤδη γὰρ
 εἶχεν ἑξακοσίους, ἐπὶ τὸν Νάβαλον ἐβάδιζεν ὁμόσας

¹ μηδένα Exc.: μηδέν codd. Lat.

² ὠραίας λελαχώς RO.

³ Exc., edd.: μαθόντι codd.

⁴ RO Lat.: ἠδικήσαμεν . . . γεγόναμεν rell.

but should hold it more important than all these things to wrong no man and should reckon it a crime and an offence against God to touch what belonged to another. These instructions he gave to his men in the belief that he was obliging a good man and one worthy of such consideration.^a But Nabal—such was his name—was a hard man and of bad character, who lived according to the practices of the cynics.^b He had, however, been blessed with a wife who was virtuous, discreet and good to look upon. At the time, then, when this Nabal was shearing his sheep, David sent ten of his men by whom he greeted him and joined him in praying that he might be so employed for many years to come. He then besought him to grant him somewhat from his abundant means; he would have learnt from his shepherds that David and his men had done them no wrong, but had been the guardians of their persons and of their flocks throughout their long sojourn in the wilderness, nor would he ever repent of having given anything to David. The messengers acquitted themselves of this mission to Nabal, but he gave them a very uncivil and harsh reception. He first asked them who this David was, and, on being told that he was the son of Jesse, said, “So then nowadays fugitives think much of themselves and boast about deserting their masters.” These words being reported to David aroused his indignation, and bidding four hundred of his men to follow him in arms and leaving two hundred to guard the baggage—for he had by now six hundred men—he marched against Nabal, having sworn utterly to

^a David's instructions are an amplification of Scripture.

^b Bibl. “and he was a Calebite”; LXX, reading Heb. *keleb* “dog,” *καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος κυνικός*, which Josephus takes in its technical philosophical sense.

JOSEPHUS

ἐκείνη τῇ νυκτὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ καὶ τὴν κτῆσιν ὄλην ἀφανίσειν· οὐ γὰρ ἄχθεσθαι μόνον ὅτι γέγονεν ἀχάριστος εἰς αὐτούς, μηδὲν ἐπιδούς πολλῇ φιλανθρωπία πρὸς αὐτὸν χρησαμένοις, ἀλλ' ὅτι καὶ προσεβλασφήμησε καὶ κακῶς εἶπε μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῶν λελυπημένους.

- 300 (7) Δούλου δέ τινος τῶν τὰ ποίμνια φυλασσόντων τὰ τοῦ Ναβάλου πρὸς τὴν δέσποιναν μὲν ἑαυτοῦ γυναικα δ' ἐκείνου κατειπόντος ὅτι πέμψας ὁ Δαυίδης αὐτῆς πρὸς τὸν ἄνδρα μηδενὸς τύχοι τῶν μετρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ προσυβρισθεῖη βλασφημίαις δειναῖς πάσῃ περὶ αὐτούς προνοία καὶ φυλακῇ τῶν ποιμνίων χρησάμενος, γέγονε¹ δὲ τοῦτο ἐπὶ κακῶ
- 301 τῷ τοῦ δεσπότου καὶ αὐτῆς². ταῦτ' ἐκείνου φήσαντος Ἀβιγαία, προσηγορεύετο γὰρ οὕτως, ἐπισάξασα³ τοὺς ὄνους καὶ πληρώσασα παντοίων ξενίων καὶ μηδὲν εἰποῦσα τάνδρι, ὑπὸ γὰρ μέθης ἀναίσθητος ἦν, ἐπορεύετο πρὸς Δαυίδην· καταβαινούσῃ δὲ τὰ στενὰ τοῦ ὄρους ἀπήντησε Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν
- 302 τετρακοσίων ἐπὶ Νάβαλον ἐρχόμενος. θεασαμένη δ' αὐτὸν ἢ γυνὴ κατεπήδησε καὶ πεσοῦσα ἐπὶ πρόσωπον προσεκύνει⁴ καὶ τῶν μὲν Ναβάλου λόγων ἐδεῖτο μὴ μνημονεύειν, οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοεῖν⁵ αὐτὸν ὅμοιον ὄντα τῷ ὀνόματι, Νάβαλος γὰρ κατὰ τὴν Ἑβραίων γλῶτταν ἀφροσύνην δηλοῖ, αὐτὴ δ' ἀπελογεῖτο μὴ θεάσασθαι τοὺς πεμφθέντας ὑπ' αὐτοῦ·
- 303 “διὸ συγγίνωσκέ μοι,” φησί, “καὶ τῷ θεῷ χάριν

¹ RO: γεγονέναι rell.

² αὐτῆς ex Lat. ins. Niese.

³ εὐθέως ἐπισ. SP.

⁴ προσεκύνησε ROE.

⁵ οὐ γὰρ ἀγν. om. ROE Lat.

^a The latter motive is not found in Scripture.

destroy his house and all his possessions that self-same night ; for he was angry not merely at his ingratitude in making no return to those who had shown him such great kindness, but also because he had further insulted and abused those from whom he had received no injury.^a

(7) But one of the slaves ^b that kept the flocks of Nabal brought word to his mistress, Nabal's wife, that David had sent a message to her husband and not only had failed to receive a fair answer but had been further insulted with shocking abuse, although he had shown all consideration to the shepherds and had protected their flocks. Such action, he added, would result in mischief for his master and for herself. At the servant's story, Abigaia ^c—such was her name—saddled her asses, loaded them with all manner of presents ^d and, without a word to her husband, who was insensible from drink,^e set off to find David. And as she was descending the defiles of the mountain, she was met by David coming against Nabal with his four hundred men. At sight of him the woman leapt to the ground, and falling on her face bowed down before him ; she entreated him not to mind the words of Nabal, for he could not be ignorant that the man was like his name (*Nabal* in the Hebrew tongue signifies “ folly ”),^f while for herself she pleaded that she had not seen David's messengers. “ Wherefore pardon me,” she said, “ and render thanks to God who has prevented thee

Abigail
(Abigaia),
Nabal's wife,
appeases
David by
presents.
1 Sam. xxv.
14.

^b Bibl. “ young men.”

^c Bibl. Abigail, LXX 'Αβειγαλα.

^d In the form of provisions, according to Scripture.

^e Unscriptural detail, anticipating 1 Sam. xxv. 36, cf. § 306.

^f So also the LXX translates.

JOSEPHUS

- ἔχε κωλύοντί σε μianθῆναι ἀνθρωπίνῳ αἵματι· μένοντα γάρ σε καθαρὸν ἐκείνος αὐτὸς ἐκδικήσει παρὰ τῶν πονηρῶν· ἃ γὰρ ἐκδέχεται κακὰ Νάβαλον ταῦτα καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐχθρῶν σου κεφαλαῖς ἐμπέσοι.
- 304 γενοῦ δὲ εὐμενῆς μοι κρίνας ἀξίαν τοῦ παρ' ἐμοῦ ταῦτα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὸν θυμὸν καὶ τὴν ὀργὴν τὴν ἐπὶ τὸν ἄνδρα μου καὶ τὸν οἶκον αὐτοῦ εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν τιμὴν ἄφες· πρέπει γὰρ ἡμέρῳ σοι καὶ φιλο-
θρώπῳ τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταῦτα μέλλοντι βασιλεύειν.”
- 305 ὁ δὲ τὰ δῶρα δεξάμενος “ ἀλλὰ σε,” φησὶν, “ ὦ γύναι, θεὸς εὐμενῆς ἤγαγε πρὸς ἡμᾶς τήμερον· οὐ γὰρ ἂν τὴν ἐπερχομένην ἡμέραν εἶδες, ἐμοῦ τὸν οἶκον τὸν Ναβάλου διὰ τῆσδε τῆς νυκτὸς ὁμόσαντος ἀπολέσειν¹ καὶ μηδένα ὑμῶν ἀπολείψειν ἀπὸ ἀνδρῶν² πονηροῦ καὶ ἀχαρίστου πρὸς ἐμέ καὶ τοὺς ἐμοὺς ἐταίρους γενομένου. νῦν δὲ φθάσασα προέλαβες καταμειλίξασθαί μοι τὸν θυμὸν κηδομένου σου τοῦ θεοῦ. ἀλλὰ Νάβαλος μὲν κἄν ἀφεθῆ διὰ σέ νῦν τῆς τιμωρίας οὐ φεύξεται τὴν δίκην, ἀλλ' ὁ τρόπος αὐτὸν ἀπολεῖ λαβὼν αἰτίαν ἄλλην.”
- 306 (8) Ταῦτ' εἰπὼν ἀπολύει τὴν γυναῖκα· ἣ δ' εἰς τὸν οἶκον ἐλθοῦσα καὶ καταλαβοῦσα τὸν ἄνδρα μετὰ πολλῶν εὐωχούμενον καὶ κεκαρωμένον ἤδη, τότε μὲν οὐδὲν τῶν γεγενημένων διεσάφει, τῇ δὲ ἐπι-
ούσῃ νήφοντι ἅπαντα δηλώσασα παρεθῆναι καὶ πᾶν αὐτῷ νεκρωθῆναι τὸ σῶμα ὑπὸ τῶν λόγων καὶ τῆς ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λύπης ἐποίησε· καὶ δέκα οὐ πλείους ἐπιζήσας ἡμέρας τὸν βίον κατέστρεψεν ὁ Νάβαλος
- 307 ἀκούσας δ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τελευτὴν ὁ Δαυίδης ἐκδικη-
θῆναι μὲν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ καλῶς ἔλεγεν· ἀπο-

¹ Niese: ἀπολέσαι codd.

² + ἕως τετραπόδου RO.

from soiling thy hands with human blood. For if thou remainest clean, He Himself will avenge thee on the wicked ; and may the evil that awaits Nabal fall likewise on the heads of thy foes. But be gracious to me in deigning to receive these presents from me, and, out of regard for me, dismiss thy indignation and wrath against my husband and against his house. For it becomes thee to show mildness and humanity, especially as thou art destined to be king." And David accepted the presents and said, " In truth, lady, it was gracious God who led thee to us this day ; else thou wouldst not have seen the coming day, for I had sworn to destroy the house of Nabal this very night and to leave not one of you, belonging as you do to a man who has been so mean and ungrateful to me and to my comrades. But now thou hast forestalled me and mollified my wrath, since thou art in God's care. But as for Nabal, though for thy sake to-day he be spared chastisement, yet will he not escape retribution, but his conduct will find another occasion to prove his ruin." ^a

(8) Having so spoken, he dismissed the woman. And she, returning to her home, found her husband carousing with a large company and already heavy with drink, and so, at the moment, she revealed nothing of what had passed ; but on the morrow, when he was sober, she told him all, causing him to collapse and his whole body to become dead through her words and the pain they produced. Ten days and no more did Nabal remain alive and then departed this life. And when David heard of his death, he said that he had been well avenged by God, for Nabal

Death of
Nabal ;
David
marries
Abigail.
1 Sam. xxv.
36.

◦ This prediction is unscriptural.

JOSEPHUS

θανεῖν γὰρ Νάβαλον ὑπὸ τῆς ἰδίας πονηρίας καὶ
 δοῦναι δίκην αὐτῷ καθαρὰν ἔχοντι τὴν δεξιάν·
 ἔγνω δὲ καὶ τότε τοὺς πονηροὺς ἐλαυνομένους ὑπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ,¹ μηδενὸς τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώποις ὑπερορῶντος,
 διδόντος δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἀγαθοῖς τὰ ὅμοια, τοῖς δὲ
 308 πονηροῖς ὀξείαν² ἐπιφέροντος τὴν ποινὴν. πέμψας
 δ' αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα συνοικήσουσαν καὶ
 γαμηθησομένην ἐκάλει πρὸς αὐτόν· ἡ δὲ ἀναξία
 μὲν εἶναι καὶ ποδῶν ἄψασθαι τῶν ἐκείνου πρὸς
 τοὺς παρόντας ἔλεγεν, ὅμως δὲ μετὰ πάσης τῆς³
 θεραπείας ἦκε. καὶ συνώκησε μὲν αὐτῷ ταύτην
 λαβοῦσα τὴν τιμὴν καὶ διὰ τὸ τὸν τρόπον σώφρονα
 εἶναι καὶ δίκαιον, τυχοῦσα δ' αὐτῆς καὶ διὰ τὸ
 309 κάλλος. εἶχε δὲ Δαυίδης γυναῖκα πρότερον, ἣν ἔξ
 Ἀβισάρου πόλεως ἔγημε· Μελχὰν δὲ τὴν Σαούλου
 τοῦ βασιλέως θυγατέρα τὴν γενομένην τοῦ Δαυίδου
 γυναῖκα ὁ πατὴρ τῷ Φελτίῳ υἱῷ Λίσου συνέζευξεν
 ἐκ πόλεως ὄντι Γεθλαῖς.⁴

310 (9) Μετὰ ταῦτά τινες ἐλθόντες τῶν Ζιφηνῶν
 ἀπήγγειλαν τῷ Σαούλῳ, ὡς εἶη πάλιν ὁ Δαυίδης
 ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ αὐτῶν καὶ δύνανται συλλαβεῖν αὐτόν
 βουλομένῳ συνεργῆσαι. ὁ δὲ μετὰ τρισχιλίων
 ὀπλιτῶν ἐβάδιζεν ἐπ' αὐτόν καὶ νυκτὸς ἐπελθούσης
 ἔστρατοπέδευσεν ἐπὶ τινι τόπῳ Σικέλλα⁵ λεγο-

¹ + καὶ codd.

² ROP: ἀξίαν MS Exc. Lat.

³ + ἰδίας E Lat.

⁴ Goliath Lat. (cf. LXX^b).

⁵ Σικέλλα M: Σεκελλά (Σεκελά *infra*) SP: Sicela Lat.

• Variant "condign."

^b 1 Sam. xxv. 41 "let thine handmaid be a servant to wash the feet of the servants of my lord."

^c Called Achima below, § 320; Bibl. Ahinoam, LXX Ἀχεινάαι (v.l. Ἀχινάαι).

had died through his own wickedness and had given him revenge, while he himself still had clean hands. At the same time he learnt that the wicked are pursued by God who overlooks no act of man but repays the good in kind, while He inflicts swift^a punishment upon the wicked. David then sent to the woman, inviting her to live with him and become his wife. She replied to the messengers that she was unworthy so much as to touch his feet,^b but came nevertheless with all her servants. And so she lived with him, having attained that honour because of her modest and upright character and also because of her beauty. David already had a wife,^c whom he had taken from the city of Abisar^d; as for Melcha, the daughter of Saul and once the wife of David, her father had given her in marriage to Pheltias^e son of Lisos^f of the city of Gethla.^g

(9)^h After this certain of the Ziphites came and informed Saul that David was again in their country and that they could catch him, if Saul would lend them aid. So with three thousand soldiers he marched against him and, on the approach of night, encamped at a place called Sikella.ⁱ David, hearing

David spares Saul's life a second time. 1 Sam. xxvi. 1.

^a Bibl. Jezreel, LXX 'Ιεζραέλ (*v.l.* 'Ισραήλ κτλ.).

^b Bibl. Phalti, LXX Φαλτει (Φελτει).

^c Bibl. Laish, LXX 'Αμεις, Luc. 'Ιώας.

^d Bibl. Gallim, LXX 'Ρομμά, Luc. Γολιάθ.

^h The following account of David's second encounter with Saul (1 Sam. xxvi.) is obviously a variant of that found in 1 Sam. xxiv., *cf.* §§ 282 ff.

ⁱ In 1 Sam. xxvi. 1 Heb. has Hachilah, LXX Χελμάθ (*v.l.* 'Αχιλά), Luc. 'Εχελά; in vs. 4 Heb. has "Saul came in readiness" (A.V. "in very deed"), LXX ετοιμος εις Κεειλά, Luc. Σεκελάγ. Josephus either followed a LXX reading similar to Lucian's, or confused the name here with Σεκέλλα = bibl. Ziklag mentioned below, § 322.

JOSEPHUS

- 311 μένω. Δαυίδης δὲ ἀκούσας τὸν Σαούλον ἐπ' αὐτὸν ἤκοντα πέμψας κατασκόπους ἐκέλευσε δηλοῦν αὐτῷ, ποῦ τῆς χώρας Σαούλος ἤδη προεληλύθει.¹ τῶν δ' ἐν Σικέλλα φρασάντων διανυκτερεύειν διαλαθῶν τοὺς ἰδίους εἰς τὸ τοῦ Σαούλου στρατόπεδον παραγίνεται ἐπαγόμενος τὸν ἐκ τῆς ἀδελφῆς αὐτοῦ Σαρούϊας Ἀβισαῖον καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον² τὸν Χετ-
 312 ταῖον. τοῦ δὲ Σαούλου κοιμωμένου καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν ἐν κύκλῳ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν καὶ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ Ἀβεννήρου κειμένων, ὁ Δαυίδης εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον τὸ τοῦ βασιλέως οὔτ' αὐτὸς ἀναιρεῖ τὸν Σαούλον, ἐπιγνοὺς αὐτοῦ τὴν κοίτην ἐκ τοῦ δόρατος, τοῦτο γὰρ αὐτῷ παρεπεπήγει, οὔτε τὸν Ἀβισαῖον βουλόμενον φονεῦσαι καὶ πρὸς τοῦτο ὠρμηκότα εἶασεν, ἀλλὰ τὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κεχειροτονημένον βασιλέα φήσας εἶναι δεινὸν ἀποκτεῖναι καὶ ἢ πονηρός, ἤξειν γὰρ αὐτῷ παρὰ τοῦ δόντος τὴν ἀρχὴν σὺν χρόνῳ τὴν δίκην, ἐπέσχε τῆς ὀρμῆς.
 313 σύμβολον δὲ τοῦ κτεῖναι δυνηθεῖς ἀποσχέσθαι λαβὼν αὐτοῦ τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ὃς ἦν παρ' αὐτῷ κείμενος³ τῷ Σαούλῳ, μηδενὸς αἰσθομένου τῶν ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ πάντων δὲ κατακοιμωμένων ἐξῆλθεν, ἀδεῶς πάντ' ἐργασάμενος ὅσα καὶ τοῦ καιροῦ δόντος αὐτῷ καὶ τῆς
 314 τόλμης διέθηκε τοὺς τοῦ βασιλέως. διαβὰς δὲ τὸν χεῖμαρρον καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ἀνελθὼν τοῦ ὄρους,

¹ Niese: προσεληλύθει, -ει codd.

² Ἀχιμέλεχον MSP Lat.

³ ὃς . . . κειμ.] + κοιμωμένῳ P(S): ὃς κοιμωμένῳ παρέκειτο M: appositum dormienti Saul Lat.

^a Bibl. Abishai, LXX Ἀβισσαί (v.l. Ἀβεισαί κτλ.).

that Saul was coming against him, sent out scouts with orders to report what part of the country Saul had now reached ; and when they told him that he was passing the night at Sikella, he set off, without the knowledge of his men, for Saul's camp, taking with him Abisai,^a son of his sister Saruia,^b and Abimelech^c the Hittite. Saul was sleeping, with his soldiers and their commander Abenner lying in a circle around him, when David penetrated to the king's camp ; yet he would not himself slay Saul, whose sleeping-place he recognized from the spear fixed in the ground at his side, nor would he permit Abisai, who wished to kill him and darted forward with that intent, to do so. He objected that it was monstrous to slay the king elected of God, even if he was a wicked man, saying that from Him who had given him the sovereignty punishment would come in due time ; and so he stayed Abisai from his purpose. However, in token that he might have slain him and yet had refrained, he took the spear and the flask of water that was placed just beside Saul and, unseen by any in the camp where all lay fast asleep, he passed out, having safely accomplished all the things that the favourable opportunity and his daring had enabled him to inflict on the king's men. Then, after crossing a stream^d and climbing to the top of

David rebukes Abner

^b Bibl. Zeruah (Heb. *Şerûyâh*), LXX = Josephus. That she was David's sister is stated in 1 Chron. ii. 16.

^c Variant (as in Scripture) Achimelech ; the LXX MSS. also vary between the two forms. According to Scripture, however, only Abishai accompanied David.

^d 1 Sam. xxvi. 13 " Then David went over to the other side and stood on the top of a hill afar off ; a great space being between them." Josephus naturally thought of the space as being a *wady*, the bed of a winter stream (*χειμάρρους*), such as are common in Palestine.

ὄθεν ἔμελλεν ἐξάκουστος εἶναι, ἐμβοήσας τοῖς στρατιώταις τοῦ Σαούλου καὶ τῷ στρατηγῷ Ἀβεννήρῳ διανίστησιν αὐτοὺς ἐκ τοῦ ὕπνου τοῦτόν τε ἐφώνει καὶ τὸν λαόν. ἐπακούσαντος δὲ τοῦ στρατηγοῦ καὶ τίς ὁ καλέσας αὐτόν ἐστιν ἐρομένου

315 Δαυίδης εἶπεν· “ ἐγώ, παῖς μὲν Ἰεσσαίου, φυγὰς δὲ ὑμέτερος. ἀλλὰ τί δήποτε μέγας τε ὢν καὶ τὴν πρώτην ἔχων παρὰ τῷ βασιλεῖ τιμὴν, οὕτως ἀμελῶς τὸ τοῦ δεσπότητος φυλάσσεις σῶμα, καὶ ὕπνος ἡδίων ἐστὶ σοι τῆς τούτου σωτηρίας καὶ προνοίας; θανάτου γὰρ ἄξια ταῦτα καὶ τιμωρίας, οἳ γε μικρὸν ἔμπροσθεν εἰσελθόντας τινὰς ὑμῶν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον ἐπὶ τὸν βασιλέα καὶ πάντας τοὺς ἄλλους¹ οὐκ ἐνοήσατε. ζήτησον οὖν τὸ δόρυ τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ τὸν φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ μαθήσῃ πηλίκον ὑμᾶς ἔλαθε κακὸν ἐντὸς γενόμενον.”

316 Σαούλος δὲ γνωρίσας τὴν τοῦ Δαυίδου φωνὴν καὶ μαθὼν ὅτι λαβὼν αὐτὸν ἔκδοτον ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου καὶ τῆς τῶν φυλασσόντων ἀμελείας οὐκ ἀπέκτεινεν, ἀλλ’ ἐφείσατο δικαίως ἂν αὐτὸν ἀνελών, χάριν ἔχειν αὐτῷ τῆς σωτηρίας ἔλεγε καὶ παρεκάλει θαρροῦντα καὶ μηδὲν ἔτι πείσεσθαι δεινὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φοβούμενον ἀναχωρεῖν ἐπὶ τὰ οἰκεῖα·

317 πεπεισθαι γὰρ ὅτι μηδ’ αὐτὸν² οὕτως ἀγαπήσειεν, ὡς ὑπ’ ἐκείνου στέργεται, ὃς³ τὸν μὲν φυλάττειν αὐτὸν δυνάμενον καὶ πολλὰ δείγματα τῆς εὐνοίας παρεσχημένον ἐλαύνει καὶ τοσοῦτον ἐν φυγῇ χρόνον καὶ ταῖς περὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀγωνίαις ἠνάγκασε ζῆσαι φίλων καὶ συγγενῶν ἔρημον· αὐτὸς δ’ οὐ παύεται

¹ ἐπὶ . . . ἄλλους om. RO: καὶ . . . ἄλλους om. E.

² ex Lat. Bekker: αὐτὸν codd.

³ ὡς RO.

a hill from which his voice could be heard, he shouted to the troops of Saul and to their commander Abenner, and, awaking them from their sleep, addressed him and his people. When the commander heard this and asked who was calling him, David replied, "I, son of Jesse, the fugitive from you.^a But how comes it that one so great as thou, holding the first rank in the king's service, art so negligent in guarding the person of thy master, and that sleep is more to thy liking than his safety and protection? This conduct indeed merits the punishment of death, for a little while since some men penetrated right through your camp to the king's person and to all the others, and you did not even perceive it. Look now for the king's spear and his flask of water and thou wilt learn what mischief has befallen in your midst without your knowing of it." Then Saul, when he recognized the voice of David and learned that though he had had him at his mercy, being asleep and neglected by his guards, he had yet not slain him but spared the life which he might justly have taken, gave him thanks for his preservation and exhorted him to be of good courage and, without fear of suffering further injury from himself, to return to his home.^b For, he said, he was now persuaded that he did not love his own self so well as he was loved by David, seeing that he had pursued this man who might have been his safeguard and who had given many proofs of his loyalty, and that he had forced him to live so long in exile, in terror of his life, bereft of friends and of kindred, while he himself had been repeatedly spared by him

for his neglect of Saul.
1 Sam. xxvi. 13.

Saul is again reconciled to David.
1 Sam. xxvi. 17.

^a This phrase is unscriptural. There is also some amplification in the rest of David's speech.

^b Josephus omits David's protest against Saul's treatment of him, 1 Sam. xxvi. 18-20.

JOSEPHUS

- πολλάκις¹ ὑπ' αὐτοῦ σωζόμενος, οὐδὲ τὴν ψυχὴν
 318 φανερώς ἀπολλυμένην λαμβάνων. ὁ δὲ Δαυίδης
 πέμψαντα ἀπολαβεῖν ἐκέλευσε τὸ δόρυ καὶ τὸν
 φακὸν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐπειπὼν ὡς “ ὁ θεὸς ἐκατέρω
 τῆς ἰδίας φύσεως καὶ τῶν κατ' αὐτὴν πεπραγ-
 μένων ἔσται δικαστής, ὃς ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τὴν παρούσαν
 ἡμέραν ἀποκτεῖναί σε δυνηθεὶς ἀπεσχόμεν οἶδε.”
- 319 (10) Καὶ Σαοῦλος μὲν δεύτερον διαφυγὼν τὰς
 Δαυίδου χεῖρας εἰς τὰ βασίλεια καὶ τὴν οἰκίαν
 ἀπηλλάσσετο, φοβηθεὶς δὲ Δαυίδης μὴ μένων
 αὐτόθι συλληφθῆ ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαοῦλου, συμφέρειν
 ἔκρινεν εἰς τὴν Παλαιστίνην καταβὰς² διατρίβειν
 ἐν αὐτῇ, καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων, οἱ περὶ αὐτὸν
 ἦσαν, παραγίνεται πρὸς Ἀγχοῦν τὸν Γίττης βασι-
 320 λέα· μία δ' ἦν αὕτη τῶν πέντε πόλεων. δεξαμένου
 δ' αὐτὸν τοῦ βασιλέως σὺν τοῖς ἀνδράσι καὶ δόντος
 οἰκητήριον, ἔχων ἅμα καὶ τὰς δύο γυναῖκας Ἀχι-
 μὰν καὶ Ἀβιγαίαν διῆγεν ἐν τῇ Γίττη. Σαοῦλω
 δὲ ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντι λόγος οὐκέτ' ἦν πέμπειν ἐπ'
 αὐτὸν ἢ βαδίζειν· δις γὰρ ἤδη κινδυνεύσαι παρὰ
 μικρὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνῳ γεγόμενον, συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν σπου-
 321 δάσαντα. Δαυίδῃ δ' οὐκ ἔδοξεν ἐν τῇ πόλει τῶν
 Γιττῶν μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐδεήθη τοῦ βασιλέως αὐτῶν,
 ἵν' ἐπειδὴ φιλανθρώπως αὐτὸν ὑπεδέξατο καὶ τοῦτο
 χαρίσῃται, τόπον τινὰ τῆς χώρας δοῦς αὐτῷ πρὸς
 κατοίκησιν· αἰδεῖσθαι γὰρ διατρίβων ἐν τῇ πόλει
 322 βαρῦς αὐτῷ καὶ φορτικὸς εἶναι. δίδωσι δὲ Ἀγχοῦς

¹ πολλάκις om. RO.

² ex Lat. Niese: ἀναβὰς codd.

^a Saul's speech is greatly amplified by Josephus.

and had received at his hands a life clearly marked for destruction.^a David then bade him send someone to fetch the spear and the flask of water,^b adding, "God shall be judge of the character of either of us and of the actions arising therefrom. He knows that when this day I had power to slay thee I refrained."

(10) So Saul, having for the second time escaped from David's hands, returned to his palace and his country; but David, fearful of being captured by Saul if he remained where he was, deemed it wise to go down to the land of the Philistines and abide there. With his band of six hundred followers he betook himself to Anchūs,^c king of Gitta, which was one of their five cities.^d The king welcomed him and his men and gave them a habitation; and so, along with his two wives, Achima^e and Abigaia, he settled in Gitta. Saul, on hearing of this, thought no more of sending or marching against him, for twice already he had been in imminent danger of falling into his hands while striving to catch him.^f David, however, was not minded to remain in the city of Gitta, but besought its king, since he had given him kindly welcome, to grant one favour more and give him some place in his country to dwell in; he had scruples, he said, about being a burden and encumbrance to him by continuing to live in that city.^g So Anchūs gave

David is welcomed by Achish (Anchus), king of Gath, and settles in Philistia. 1 Sam xxvii. 1.

^b The return of the flask of water is not mentioned in Scripture.

^c Bibl. Achish, *cf.* § 245 note.

^d The five Philistine cities were Gath (Gitta), Ekron (Akkaron), Ascalon, Gaza, Ashdod (Azotus), *cf.* *A.* v. 128, vi. 8.

^e Bibl. Ahinoam, *cf.* § 309 note.

^f This reason is not mentioned in Scripture.

^g David's scrupulous request is an amplification of 1 Sam. xxvii. 5.

αὐτῷ κώμην τινὰ Σέκελλαν καλουμένην, ἣν βασιλεύσας ὁ Δαυίδης ἀγαπῶν ἴδιον κτῆμα ἐτίμησεν εἶναι καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ. ἀλλὰ περὶ μὲν τούτων ἐν ἄλλοις δηλώσομεν· ὁ δὲ χρόνος ὃν κατώκησε Δαυίδης ἐν Σεκέλλα τῆς Παλαιστίνης ἐγένετο
 323 μῆνες τέσσαρες πρὸς ταῖς εἴκοσιν ἡμέραις. ἐπ-
 ερχόμενος δὲ λάθρα τοῖς πλησιοχώροις τῶν Πα-
 λαιστίνων Σερρίταις καὶ Ἀμαληκίταις διήρπαζεν
 αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν καὶ λείαν πολλὴν κτηνῶν καὶ
 καμήλων λαμβάνων ὑπέστρεφεν· ἀνθρώπων γὰρ
 ἀπείχετο δεδιὼς μὴ καταμηνύσωσιν αὐτὸν πρὸς
 Ἀγχοῦν τὸν βασιλέα, τὸ μέντοι γε τῆς λείας μέρος
 324 αὐτῷ δωρεὰν ἔπεμπε. τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως πυθο-
 μένου τίσιν ἐπιθέμενος τὴν λείαν ἀπήλασε; τοῖς
 πρὸς τὸν νότον τῶν Ἰουδαίων τετραμμένοις καὶ
 ἐν τῇ πεδιάδι κατοικοῦσιν εἰπὼν πείθει τὸν Ἀγχοῦν
 φρονῆσαι οὕτως· ἤλπισε γὰρ οὗτος ὅτι Δαυίδης
 ἐμίσησε τὸ ἴδιον ἔθνος, καὶ δούλον ἕξειν παρ' ὃν
 ζῆ χρόνον ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ καταμένοντα.
 325 (xiv. 1) Κατὰ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν καιρὸν τῶν Παλαι-
 στίνων ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἰσραηλίτας στρατεύειν διεγνω-
 κότων καὶ περιπεμφάντων πρὸς τοὺς συμμάχους
 ἅπαντας, ἵνα παρῶσιν¹ αὐτοῖς εἰς τὸν πόλεμον εἰς

¹ συμπαρῶσιν MSP.

^a Bibl. Ziklag (Heb. *Siqlag*), LXX Σεκέλλακ. The site is uncertain; it may be the modern *Khirbet Zuheilqah*, about 10 miles S.E. of Gaza.

^b 1 Sam. xxvii. 6 "Wherefore Ziklag pertaineth to the kings of Judah unto this day."

^c The only other reference to Ziklag is in §§ 356 ff. where its sack by the Amalekites is described.

^d Heb. "a year (lit. "days") and four months," LXX "four months."

him a certain village called Sekella,^a which David so well liked after becoming king that he regarded it as his private domain, as did his sons after him.^b But of that we shall speak elsewhere.^c Now the time during which David dwelt in Sekella in Philistia was four months and twenty days.^d He made clandestine raids on the neighbours of the Philistines, the Serrites^e and Amalekites, ravaging their country and returning with abundant booty of cattle and camels; he refrained from (taking captive)^f any men, for fear that they would denounce him to King Anchūs, to whom, however, he sent a present of a portion of the spoils.^g And when the king inquired whom he had attacked to have carried off all this booty, he said it was the people lying southward of the Judaeans, inhabiting the plain,^h and succeeded in making Anchūs believe this. For the king had hopes that David had come to hateⁱ his own nation and that he would have him for his servant so long as he lived, settled among his own people.

David makes raids from Ziklag (Sekella) on neighbouring tribes. 1 Sam. xxvii. 8.

(xiv. 1) About the same time the Philistines resolved to take the field against the Israelites and sent word around to all their allies to join them at

Achish enlists David in Philistine

^a Bibl. the Geshurite and Girzite (Targum Gizrite, A.V. Gezrite), LXX τὸν Γεσσειῶν, Luc. τὸν Ἰεσουραϊῶν καὶ τὸν Ἰεζραϊῶν.

^f A euphemism for "killed," cf. 1 Sam. xxvii. 9, 11 "and left neither man nor woman alive." Other translators take ἀπέλιχον in its usual sense of "spared" and note the contradiction to Scripture.

^g Scripture does not say that David sent Achish a portion of the spoils.

^h 1 Sam. xxvii. 10 specifies the peoples involved.

ⁱ So the Targum of 1 Sam. xxvii. 12; Heb. "is in bad odour among his people" (A.V. "made his people Israel utterly to abhor him"), LXX "is put to shame among his people."

JOSEPHUS

Ῥεγάν,¹ ἔνθεν ἔμελλον ἀθροισθέντες ἐξορμᾶν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους, ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς Ἀγχοῦς συμμαχῆσαι τὸν Δαυίδην αὐτῷ μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων
 326 ὀπλιτῶν ἐκέλευσε.² τοῦ δὲ προθύμως ὑποσχομένου καὶ φήσαντος παραστῆναι καιρόν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν ἀμοιβὴν αὐτῷ τῆς εὐεργεσίας καὶ τῆς ξενίας ἀποδώσει, ποιήσῃ αὐτὸν καὶ³ φύλακα τοῦ σώματος μετὰ τὴν νίκην καὶ τοὺς ἀγῶνας τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους κατὰ νοῦν χωρήσαντας αὐτοῖς ἐπηγγείλατο, τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πίστεως ὑποσχέσει τὸ πρόθυμον αὐτοῦ μᾶλλον αὔξων.

327 (2) Ἐτυχε δὲ Σαοῦλος ὁ τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλεὺς τοὺς μάντις καὶ τοὺς ἐγγαστριμύθους καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην τέχνην ἐκ τῆς χώρας ἐκβεβληκῶς ἔξω τῶν προφητῶν. ἀκούσας δὲ τοὺς Παλαιστί-
 νους ἤδη παρόντας καὶ ἔγγιστα Σούνης πόλεως ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ⁴ ἐστρατοπεδευκότας ἐξώρμησεν ἐπ'
 328 αὐτοὺς μετὰ τῆς δυνάμεως. καὶ παραγενόμενος πρὸς ὄρει τινὶ Γελβουὲ καλουμένῳ βάλλεται στρα-
 τόπεδον ἀντικρὺ τῶν πολεμίων. ταραττει δ' αὐτὸν

¹ Ῥεγγᾶν MS: Ῥέγγαν P: Ῥιγάν O: Rella Lat.: φάραγγα(ν) conj. Mez.

² ἐκέλευε E: ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἡξίλου MSP Lat.

³ ἀποδώσει . . . καὶ] ex Lat. Niese: ἀποδώσειν αὐτὸν καὶ RO: ἀποδώσειν καὶ ποιήσῃ αὐτὸν M: αὐτὸν ἀποδώσειν καὶ ποιήσῃ αὐτὸν SP.

⁴ + κειμένης SP Exc. Lat. (-η M).

^a No such place is mentioned in Scripture; it is explained by Mez *op. cit.* p. 88 n. 39, as a corruption of φάραγγα(ν) "valley," which was, in turn, a mistranslation of the Targum *hēlā* meaning both "valley," and "warfare"

Rega ^a whence they would make a combined assault upon the Hebrews. Accordingly Anchūs, king of Gitta, bade David aid him with his own soldiers. David promptly promised to do so, declaring that here was an opportunity for him to repay Anchūs for his good offices and hospitality, whereupon the king undertook to make him his bodyguard ^b after the victory, if the outcome of the struggle against the enemy should be favourable to them. ^c By this promise of honour and confidence he hoped to increase David's ardour still more.

army.
1 Sam.
xxviii. 1.

(2) Now Saul, the king of the Hebrews, had, as it happened, banished from the country the diviners, ventriloquists ^d and all practitioners of such arts, except the prophets. ^e Hearing now that the Philistines were upon him and had encamped quite close to the city of Sūnē ^f in the plain, he went out against them at the head of his forces, and, on reaching a mountain called Gelboue, ^g pitched his camp over against the enemy. But here he was greatly dis- or "host"—the latter rendering being called for by the Heb. *ṣābā'* "warfare" in 1 Sam. xxviii. 1.

Saul and
the witch
of Endor.
1 Sam.
xxviii. 3.

^b Bibl. "keeper of my head," LXX ἀρχισωματοφύλακα "chief of the bodyguard."

^c In Scripture, Achish does not make the conferring of the title conditional upon victory in battle.

^d So the LXX translates Heb. 'ōb (A.V. "one that had familiar spirits"); the exact meaning is unknown, but its Biblical use and Jewish tradition show that a talisman as an instrument of divination is meant, rather than a person—the latter being called in Hebrew *ba'al 'ōb* "possessor of the 'ōb."

^e The prophets are not expressly excepted in Scripture.

^f Bibl. Shunem, LXX Σωμάν (*v.l.* Σωνάμ); the modern *Solam* in the Plain of Esdraelon, about half-way between Nazareth and Mt. Gilboa in a N.W.-S.E. line.

^g So the LXX; bibl. Gilboa, modern *Jebel Fuki'a*.

JOSEPHUS

οὐχ ὡς ἔτυχεν ἰδόντα¹ ἢ τῶν ἐχθρῶν δύναμις πολλή τε οὖσα καὶ τῆς οἰκείας κρείττων ὑπονοουμένη, καὶ τὸν θεὸν διὰ τῶν προφητῶν ἠρώτα περὶ τῆς μάχης καὶ τοῦ περὶ ταύτην ἔσομένου τέλους

329 προειπεῖν. οὐκ ἀποκρινομένου δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ἔτι μᾶλλον ὁ Σαοῦλος κατέδεισε καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέπεσε, τὸ κακὸν οἶον εἰκὸς οὐ παρόντος αὐτῷ κατὰ χεῖρα τοῦ θείου προορώμενος. ζητηθῆναι δ' αὐτῷ κελεύει γύναιόν τι τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων καὶ τὰς τῶν τεθνηκότων ψυχὰς ἐκκαλουμένων ὡς οὕτως γνωσομένῳ ποῖ χωρεῖν αὐτῷ μέλλει τὰ πράγματα.

330 τὸ γὰρ τῶν ἐγγαστριμύθων γένος ἀνάγον τὰς τῶν νεκρῶν ψυχὰς δι' αὐτῶν προλέγει τοῖς δεομένοις τὰ ἀποβησόμενα. μηνυθέντος δ' αὐτῷ παρά τινος τῶν οἰκετῶν εἶναί τι γύναιον τοιοῦτον ἐν πόλει Δώρῳ,² λαθῶν πάντας τοὺς ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ καὶ μετεκδύς τὴν βασιλικὴν ἐσθήτα δύο παραλαβῶν οἰκέτας, οὓς ἦδει πιστοτάτους ὄντας,³ ἤκεν εἰς τὴν Δῶρον πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ παρεκάλει μαντεύεσθαι καὶ ἀνάγειν

331 αὐτῷ ψυχὴν οὐπὲρ ἂν αὐτὸς εἶπη. τῆς δὲ γυναικὸς ἀπομαχομένης καὶ λεγούσης οὐ καταφρονήσειν τοῦ βασιλέως, ὃς τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῶν μάντεων ἐξήλασεν, οὐδ' αὐτὸν δὲ ποιεῖν καλῶς ἀδικηθέντα μηδὲν ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ἐνεδρεύοντα δὲ εἰς τὰ κεκωλυμένα λαβεῖν αὐτὴν ἵνα δῶ δίκην, ὡμοσε μηδένα γνώσεσθαι μηδὲ παρ' ἄλλον ἄγειν αὐτῆς τὴν μαντείαν, ἔσεσθαι δ'

332 ἀκίνδυνον. ὡς δὲ τοῖς ὄρκοις αὐτὴν ἔπεισε μὴ δεδιέναι, κελεύει τὴν Σαμουήλου ψυχὴν ἀναγαγεῖν αὐτῷ. ἢ δ' ἀγνοοῦσα τὸν Σαμουήλον ὅστις ἦν καλεῖ τοῦτον ἐξ ἄδου· φανέντος δ' αὐτοῦ θεα-

¹ ἰδόντα om. ROE.

² Ἀενδώρῳ MSP: Endor Lat.

³ ἄνδρας RO: om. Lat.

mayed at sight of the hostile force which was very large and, as he surmised, superior to his own; and he asked through the prophets for an oracle from God concerning the battle and its issue. But, as no response came from God, Saul was yet more afraid and his heart failed him, foreseeing inevitable disaster since the Deity was no longer at his side. However, he gave orders to search out for him a woman among the ventriloquists and those who call up the spirits of the dead, that so he might learn how matters would turn out for him. For this sort of ventriloquist raises up the spirits of the dead and through them foretells the future to those who inquire of them. Being informed by one of his servants that there was such a woman in the city of Dor,^a Saul, without the knowledge of any in the camp, stripped off his royal robes and, accompanied by two servants whom he knew to be quite trustworthy, came to Dor to this woman and besought her to bring up for him by divination the soul of whomever he should name. The woman, however, objected, saying that she would not defy the king, who had expelled that class of diviners; nor was it fair on his part, who had suffered no wrong from her, to lay this snare to catch her in forbidden acts and cause her to be punished. Thereupon Saul swore that none should know of it, that he would tell no one else of her divination and that she should be in no danger. Having by these oaths persuaded her to forget her fears, he bade her bring up for him the soul of Samuel. The woman, ignorant who Samuel was, summoned him from Hades. And when he

The witch
raises the
spirit of

^a Bibl. Endor, LXX 'Αελδῶρ (*v.l.* 'Αενδῶρ, *cf. v.l.* in Josephus); modern 'Endor, about 3 miles N.E. of Shunem, on the slopes of *Jebel Dūhy*.

JOSEPHUS

σάμενον τὸ γύναιον ἄνδρα σεμνὸν καὶ θεοπρεπῆ
 ταραττεται, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ὄψιν ἐκπλαγέν, “ οὐ σύ,”
 φησίν, “ ὁ βασιλεὺς εἶ Σαούλος;” ἐδήλωσε γὰρ
 333 αὐτὸν Σαμουήλος. ἐπινεύσαντος δ’ ἐκείνου καὶ
 τὴν ταραχὴν αὐτῆς ἐρομένου πόθεν γένοιτο, βλέ-
 πειν εἶπεν ἀνελθόντα τῷ θεῷ τινα τὴν μορφήν
 ὅμοιον. τοῦ δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα φράζειν¹ καὶ τὸ σχῆμα
 τοῦ θεαθέντος καὶ τὴν ἡλικίαν κελεύσαντος,² γέ-
 ροντα μὲν ἤδη καὶ ἔνδοξον ἐσήμαιεν, ἱερατικὴν
 334 δὲ περικείμενον διπλοῖδα. ἐγνώρισεν ἐκ τούτων ὁ
 βασιλεὺς τὸν Σαμουήλον ὄντα καὶ πεσὼν ἐπὶ τὴν
 γῆν ἠσπάζετο καὶ προσεκύνησε· τῆς δὲ Σαμουήλου
 ψυχῆς πυθομένης διὰ τί κινήσειεν αὐτὴν καὶ ἀν-
 αχθῆναι ποιήσειεν, τὴν³ ἀνάγκην ἀπωδύρετο· τοὺς
 πολεμίους γὰρ⁴ ἐπικεῖσθαι βαρεῖς αὐτῷ, αὐτὸν δὲ
 ἀμηχανεῖν τοῖς παροῦσιν ἐγκαταλελειμμένον ὑπὸ
 τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ μηδὲ⁵ προρρήσεως τυγχάνοντα μήτε
 διὰ προφητῶν μήτε δι’ ὄνειράτων, “ καὶ διὰ τούτο
 ἐπὶ σὲ τὸν⁶ ἐμοῦ προνοησόμενον⁷ κατέφυγον.”
 335 Σαμουήλος δὲ τέλος αὐτὸν ἔχοντα ἤδη τῆς μετα-
 βολῆς ὄρων “ περισσὸν μὲν,” εἶπεν, “ ἔτι καὶ παρ’
 ἐμοῦ βούλεσθαι μαθεῖν τοῦ θεοῦ καταλελοιπότες
 αὐτόν· ἀκούε γε μὴν ὅτι βασιλεῦσαι δεῖ Δαυίδην
 336 καὶ κατορθῶσαι τὸν πόλεμον, σὲ δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν

¹ + εἰπόντος SPE.

² κελεύσαντος om. ROE.

³ τὴν om. ROE.

⁴ γὰρ Hudson cum cod. Vat.: om. rell.

⁵ Dindorf: μήτε codd.

⁶ + ἀεὶ M Lat.

⁷ προνοησόμενον ed. pr. Lat.

^a Scripture does not tell us how the witch recognized Saul; 1 Sam. xxviii. 12 “ Why hast thou deceived me? for thou art Saul.” Rabbinic tradition accounts for it by the legend

appeared, the woman, beholding a venerable and godlike man, was overcome and, in her terror at the apparition, cried, "Art thou not King Saul?" for Samuel revealed who he was.^a When Saul indicated that it was so and asked whence came her alarm, she replied that she saw someone arise in form like God. Saul then bade her describe the appearance, the dress and the age of the man she saw, and she represented him as of advanced age, of distinguished aspect and clad in a priestly mantle.^b By these tokens the king recognized him to be Samuel and, falling to the ground, saluted him and made obeisance. Being asked by the shade of Samuel wherefore he had disturbed him and caused him to be brought up, Saul bewailed his necessity; the enemy, he said, was pressing heavily upon him and he was helpless in his present plight, being abandoned by God and failing to obtain an oracle whether through prophets or through dreams. "That is why I have betaken myself to thee, for thou wilt provide for me." But Samuel, seeing that Saul was now approaching a final change of fortune,^c said, "It is idle to seek to learn any more from me, since God has abandoned thee. But this much thou mayest hear, that David is destined to be king and to achieve success in this war, while thou must lose both thy sovereignty and thy

Samuel, who foretells Saul's doom
1 Sam. xxviii. 11.

that spirits appear head downward unless summoned by a king.

^b Heb. *mé'íl* "upper garment" (A.V. "mantle"), *lxx* *διπλοῖς*. Josephus adds the word "priestly" because *mé'íl* is the word used regularly in later Hebrew of the priest's robe. Tradition states that this garment worn by Samuel's spirit was the same as that made for him by his mother when he was a child (1 Sam. ii. 19) and that he had been buried in.

^c Lit. "having already an end of change."

JOSEPHUS

καὶ τὴν ζωὴν ἀπολέσαι, τοῦ θεοῦ παρακούσαντα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πολέμῳ καὶ τὰς ἐντολὰς αὐτοῦ μὴ φυλάξαντα, καθὼς προεφήτευσά σοι καὶ ζῶν. ἴσθι τοίνυν καὶ τὸν λαὸν ὑποχείριον τοῖς ἐχθροῖς γενησόμενον καὶ σαυτὸν μετὰ τῶν τέκνων αὔριον πεσόντα ἐπὶ τῆς μάχης μετ' ἐμοῦ γενησόμενον.”

- 337 (3) Ταῦτ' ἀκούσας ὁ Σαοῦλος ἄφωνος ὑπὸ λύπης ἐγένετο καὶ κατενεχθεὶς εἰς τοῦδαφος, εἴτε διὰ τὴν προσπεσοῦσαν ἐκ τῶν δεδηλωμένων ὀδύνην, εἴτε διὰ τὴν ἔνδειαν, οὐ γὰρ προσενήνεκτο τροφήν τῇ παρελθούσῃ ἡμέρᾳ τε καὶ νυκτί, ῥαδίως ἔκειτο
- 338 νέκυσ ὡς τις.¹ μόλις δὲ ἑαυτοῦ γενόμενον συνηγάκασεν ἢ γυνὴ γεύσασθαι, ταύτην αἰτουμένη παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν χάριν ἀντὶ τῆς παραβόλουμαντείας, ἣν οὐκ ἐξὸν αὐτῇ ποιήσασθαι διὰ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ φόβον ἀγνοουμένου τίς ἦν, ὅμως ὑπέστη καὶ παρέσχεν. ἀνθ' ὧν παρεκάλει τράπεζάν τε αὐτῷ παραθεῖναι καὶ τροφήν, ὡς ἂν τὴν ἰσχὺν συλλεξάμενος εἰς τὸ τῶν οἰκείων ἀποσωθῆ ἰσχυρὸν ἄντεχοντα δὲ καὶ τελέως ἀπεστραμμένον
- 339 ὑπὸ ἀθυμίας ἐβιάσατο καὶ συνέπεισεν. ἔχουσα δὲ μόσχον ἕνα συνήθη καὶ τῆς κατ' οἶκον ἐπιμελείας καὶ τροφῆς ἀξιούμενον ὑπ' αὐτῆς, ὡς γυνὴ χερνήτις καὶ τούτῳ μόνῳ προσαναπαυομένη τῷ κτήματι,

¹ Niese: ἔκειτο νέκυσ ὅστις RO: κατενήνεκτο MSP (Exc.): non facile valebat exurgere Lat.

^a Text uncertain.

^b Or “joined (his servants) in constraining”; cf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 23 “But his servants, together with the woman, compelled him.”

life, because thou disobeyedst God in the war with the Amalekites and didst not observe His commandments, even as I foretold to thee while I was alive. Know then that thy people shall be delivered into the hands of their foes and that thou thyself with thy sons shalt fall to-morrow in the battle, and thou shalt be with me."

(3) On hearing these words, Saul was made speechless by grief and, falling to the ground, whether from the shock inflicted by these revelations or through exhaustion—for he had taken no food during the past day and night—lay inert^a as a corpse. Then, when with difficulty he had come to himself, the woman constrained^b him to partake of food, asking this favour of him in return for that hazardous act of divination, which though not lawful for her to perform through fear of him so long as she had not recognized him,^c she had nevertheless undertaken to carry out. Wherefore she entreated him to let her set a table with food before him, that so having collected his strength he might return safely to his own camp; and, when in his despondency he refused and resolutely turned away, she insisted and helped to persuade him. Though she owned but one calf, which she had brought up^d and had taken trouble to care for and feed beneath her roof, for she was a labouring woman and had to be content with this as her sole

The witch
of Endor
succours
Saul.
1 Sam.
xxviii. 20.

^a The language of Josephus is ambiguous. It may mean that the witch feared to defy the king, whom she did not recognize in the person of Saul, or that she had been afraid to do Saul's bidding so long as she was ignorant of his identity.

^b Lit. "familiar" or "tame"; Heb. *marbeq* "tied up" (A.V. "fat," cf. Targum "fatted"), LXX *δαμαλις νομάς* "grazing heifer" (Luc. *μοσχάριον γαλαθηνόν* "sucking calf").

JOSEPHUS

κατασφάξασα τοῦτον καὶ τὰ κρέα παρασκευάσασα τοῖς οἰκέταις αὐτοῦ καὶ αὐτῷ παρατίθησι. καὶ Σαούλος μὲν διὰ τῆς νυκτὸς ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον.

- 340 (4) Δίκαιον δὲ ἀποδέξασθαι τῆς φιλοτιμίας τὴν γυναῖκα, ὅτι καίπερ τῇ τέχνῃ κεκωλυμένη χρῆσασθαι ὑπὸ τοῦ βασιλέως, παρ' ἧς ἂν αὐτῇ τὰ κατὰ τὸν οἶκον ἦν ἀμείνω καὶ διαρκέστερα, καὶ μηδέποτε αὐτὸν πρότερον τεθεαμένη οὐκ ἐμνησικάκησε τῆς ἐπιστήμης ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καταγνωσθείσης, οὐκ ἀπεστράφη δὲ ὡς ξένον καὶ μηδέποτε ἐν
- 341 συνηθείᾳ γεγεννημένον, ἀλλὰ συνεπάθησέ τε καὶ παρεμυθήσατο καὶ πρὸς ἃ διέκειτο λίαν ἀηδῶς προετρέψατο, καὶ τὸ μόνον αὐτῇ παρὸν ὡς ἐν πενία τοῦτο παρέσχεν ἐκτενῶς καὶ φιλοφρόνως, οὔθ' ὑπὲρ εὐεργεσίας ἀμειβομένη τινὸς γεγεννημένης οὔτε χάριν μέλλουσαν θηρωμένη, τελευτήσοντα γὰρ αὐτὸν ἠπίστατο, φύσει τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἀγαθὸν τι παρεσχημένους φιλοτιμωμένων, ἢ παρ' ὧν ἂν τι δύνωνται λαβεῖν ὄφελος
- 342 τούτους προθεραπευόντων. καλὸν οὖν ἐστὶ μιμεῖσθαι τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ ποιεῖν εὖ πάντας τοὺς ἐν χρεῖᾳ γενομένους, καὶ μηδὲν ὑπολαμβάνειν ἄμεινον μηδὲ μᾶλλον τι προσήκειν τῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένει τούτου μηδ' ἐφ' ᾧ¹ τὸν θεὸν εὐμενῇ καὶ χορηγὸν τῶν ἀγαθῶν ἔξομεν.² καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τῆς γυναικὸς
- 343 ἐν τοσοῦτοις ἀρκεῖ δεδηλώσθαι· τὸν δὲ πόλεσι καὶ δήμοις καὶ ἔθνεσι συμφέροντα λόγον καὶ προσ-

¹ ὅτω S² Vat. ap. Hudson.

² μᾶλλον ἔξομεν conj. Naber.

* The following eulogy of the witch of Endor is, of course, an addition to Scripture.

possession, she slaughtered it, prepared the meat and set it before his servants and himself. And Saul that night returned to his camp.

(4) ^a Here it is but right to commend the generosity of this woman who, though she had been prevented by the king from practising an art which would have made it easier and more comfortable for her at home, and though she had never seen Saul before, yet bore him no resentment for having condemned her profession nor turned him away as a stranger and as one with whom she had never been acquainted; but instead she gave him sympathy and consolation, exhorted him to do that which he regarded with great unwillingness,^b and offered him with open friendliness the one thing which in her poverty she possessed. And this she did, not in return for any benefit received, nor in quest of any favour to come—for she knew that he was about to die—, whereas men are by nature wont either to emulate those who have bestowed some kindness upon them or to be beforehand in flattering those from whom they may possibly receive some benefit. It is well, then, to take this woman for an example and show kindness to all who are in need, and to regard nothing as nobler than this or more befitting the human race or more likely to make God gracious and ready to bestow upon us His blessings. Concerning this woman, then, let these words suffice. ^c But now I shall touch on a subject profitable to states, peoples and nations, and of

Eulogy of
the witch
of Endor.

Reflections
on the
heroism of
Saul.

^b That is, to partake of food.

^c Contrast the eulogy of Saul which follows (and is an addition to Scripture) with the characterization above, §§ 262 ff. So also rabbinic tradition is divided between blame of Saul's pride and praise of his heroism.

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ἦκοντα τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς, ὑφ' οὗ προαχθήσονται πάντες
 ἀρετὴν διώκειν¹ καὶ ζηλοῦν τὰ² δόξαν καὶ μνήμην
 αἰώνιον παρασχεῖν δυνησόμενα,³ ποιήσομαι, πολλήν
 καὶ βασιλευσιν ἔθνων καὶ ἄρχουσι πόλεων ἐπι-
 θυμίαν καὶ σπουδὴν τῶν καλῶν ἐνθήσοντα, καὶ
 πρὸς τε κινδύνους καὶ τὸν ὑπὲρ τῶν πατρίδων
 θάνατον προτρεψόμενον, καὶ πάντων καταφρονεῖν
 344 διδάξοντα τῶν δεινῶν. ἔχω δ' αἰτίαν τοῦ λόγου
 τούτου Σαοῦλον τὸν τῶν Ἑβραίων βασιλέα· οὗτος
 γὰρ καίπερ εἰδὼς τὰ συμβησόμενα καὶ τὸν ἐπι-
 κείμενον θάνατον τοῦ προφήτου προειρηκότος οὐκ
 ἔγνω φυγεῖν αὐτὸν οὐδὲ φιλοψυχήσας προδοῦναι
 μὲν τοὺς οἰκείους τοῖς πολεμίοις καθυβρίσαι δὲ
 345 τὸ τῆς βασιλείας ἀξίωμα, ἀλλὰ παραδοὺς αὐτὸν
 πανοικὶ μετὰ τῶν τέκνων τοῖς κινδύνοις καλὸν
 ἠγήσατο εἶναι πεσεῖν μετὰ τούτων ὑπὲρ τῶν
 βασιλευομένων μαχόμενος, καὶ τοὺς παῖδας ἀπο-
 θανεῖν μᾶλλον ἀγαθοὺς ὄντας ἢ καταλιπεῖν ἐπ'
 ἀδῆλῳ τῷ ποδαποὶ γενήσονται τὸν τρόπον· διά-
 δοχον⁴ γὰρ καὶ γένος τὸν ἔπαινον καὶ τὴν ἀγήρω
 346 μνήμην ἔξειν. οὗτος οὖν δίκαιος καὶ ἀνδρείος καὶ
 σώφρων ἔμοι γε δοκεῖ μόνος καὶ⁵ εἴ τις γέγονε
 τοιοῦτος ἢ γενήσεται τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐπ' ἀρετῇ καρ-
 ποῦσθαι παρὰ πάντων ἄξιος· τοὺς γὰρ μετ' ἐλπίδων
 ἐπὶ πόλεμον ἐξελθόντας ὡς καὶ κρατήσοντας καὶ
 σώσ⁶ ὑποστρέψοντας,⁷ ἐπειδάν τι διαπράξωνται
 λαμπρόν, οὗ μοι δοκοῦσι καλῶς ποιεῖν ἀνδρείους

¹ Dindorf: διώξειν codd.

² [ζηλοῦν τὰ] Bekker: ζηλοῦντα vel δηλοῦντα codd.: ζηλοῦν τὸ Niese.

³ δυνησόμενον ROS² Exc.

⁴ διαδοχὴν MSP Exc.

⁵ δοκεῖν καὶ μόνος conj. Niese.

⁶ ἴσως RO: σώους MSP Exc.

⁷ Bekker: ἐπιστρέψοντας codd.

interest to all good men—one whereby all should be induced to pursue virtue and to aspire to those things which may procure them glory and eternal renown, one, moreover, that should instil into the hearts of kings of nations and rulers of cities a great desire and zeal for noble deeds, should stimulate them to face dangers and death for their country's sake, and teach them to despise all terrors. The occasion for this discourse I find in the person of Saul, king of the Hebrews. For he, although he knew of what was to come and his impending death, which the prophet had foretold, yet determined not to flee from it or, by clinging to life, to betray his people to the enemy and dishonour the dignity of kingship; instead, he thought it noble to expose himself, his house and his children to these perils and, along with them, to fall fighting for his subjects.^a He preferred to have his sons meet death as brave men rather than leave them behind, while still uncertain what kind of men they might prove to be; for thus, as successors and posterity, he would obtain glory and an ageless name.^b Such a man alone, in my opinion, is just, valiant and wise, and he, if any has been or shall be such, deserves to have all men acknowledge his virtue. For men who have gone forth to war with high hopes, thinking to conquer and return in safety, and have accomplished some brilliant feat are, to my mind, mistakenly de-

^a The rabbis also emphasize Saul's heroism in exposing himself and his sons to danger in battle.

^b That is, glory etc. would take the place of physical posterity. The last phrase is perhaps a conscious echo of ἀγῆρων ἐπαινον in Pericles' funeral oration, Thucydides ii. 43.

- ἀποκαλοῦντες, ὅσοι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων ἐν ταῖς
 ἱστορίαις καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συγγράμμασιν εἰρήκασιν·
 347 ἀλλὰ δίκαιοι μὲν εἰσι καὶ κείνοι τυγχάνειν ἀποδοχῆς,
 εὐψυχοὶ δὲ καὶ μεγαλότολμοι καὶ τῶν δεινῶν κατα-
 φρονηταὶ μόνοι δικαίως ἂν λέγωντο πάντες οἱ
 Σαοῦλον μιμησάμενοι. τὸ μὲν γὰρ οὐκ εἰδότας τί
 μέλλει συμβῆσθαι κατὰ τὸν πόλεμον αὐτοῖς μὴ
 μαλακισθῆναι περὶ αὐτόν, ἀλλ' ἀδήλω τῷ μέλλοντι
 παραδόντας αὐτοὺς ἐπ' αὐτοῦ σαλεύειν οὐπω¹ γεν-
 348 ναῖον, κἂν ἔργα πολλὰ διαπραξάμενοι τύχῳσι· τὸ
 δὲ μηδὲν τῇ διανοίᾳ χρηστὸν προσδοκῶντας, ἀλλὰ
 προειδότας ὡς δεῖ θανεῖν καὶ τοῦτο παθεῖν μαχο-
 μένους, εἶτα μὴ φοβηθῆναι μηδὲ καταπλαγῆναι τὸ
 δεινόν, ἀλλ' ἐπ' αὐτὸ χωρῆσαι προγινωσκόμενον,
 τοῦτ' ἀνδρείου ἀληθῶς τεκμήριον ἐγὼ κρίνω.
 349 Σαοῦλος τοίνυν τοῦτο ἐποίησεν ἐπιδείξας ὅτι πάν-
 τας μὲν προσήκει τῆς μετὰ τὸν θάνατον εὐφημίας
 γλιχομένους ταῦτα ποιεῖν, ἐξ ὧν ἂν αὐτοῖς ταύτην
 καταλείποιεν,² μάλιστα δὲ τοὺς βασιλέας, ὡς οὐκ
 ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ἀρχῆς οὐ μόνον
 οὐ κακοῖς εἶναι περὶ τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ
 350 μετρίως χρηστοῖς. ἔτι τούτων πλείω περὶ Σαοῦλου
 καὶ τῆς εὐψυχίας λέγειν ἠδυνάμην, ὕλην ἡμῖν χορη-
 γησάσης τῆς ὑποθέσεως, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ φανῶμεν
 ἀπειροκάλως αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαι τοῖς ἐπαίνοις, ἐπάνειμι
 πάλιν ἀφ' ὧν εἰς τούτους ἐξέβην.
- 351 (5) Κατεστρατοπεδευκότων γὰρ τῶν Παλαιστί-
 νων, ὡς προεῖπον, καὶ κατὰ ἔθνη καὶ βασιλείας
 καὶ σατραπείας ἐξαριθμούντων τὴν δύναμιν, τελευ-

¹ οὐδ' οὐτω(s) M Exc.: οὐχ οὕτως SP: non valde Lat.

² καταλίποιεν SP: -λίποιε M.

scribed as valiant by the historians and other writers who have spoken of such persons. Certainly it is just that these too receive approbation; but the terms "stout-hearted," "greatly daring," "contemtuons of danger" can justly be applied only to such as have emulated Saul. That men, not knowing what is to happen to them in war, should not flinch from it, but should commit themselves to an uncertain future and ride the stormy seas of chance—all this still falls short of magnanimity,^a however many the exploits they may accomplish. On the other hand, to harbour in one's heart no hope of success, but to know beforehand that one must die and die fighting, and then not to fear nor be appalled at this terrible fate, but to meet it with full knowledge of what is coming—that, in my judgement, is proof of true valour. And this Saul did, thereby showing that it behoves all men who aspire to fame after death so to act as to leave such a name after them; especially should kings do so, since the greatness of their power forbids them not merely to be bad to their subjects, but even to be less than wholly good. I might say still more than this about Saul and his courage, for they are subjects which afford us ample material; but, lest we should appear to lack good taste in delivering this panegyric, I will return again to the point from which I made this digression.

(5) The Philistines had pitched their camp, as I said before, and were reviewing their forces by nations, kingdoms and satrapies,^b when last of all

The
Philistines
compel
Achish

^a Variant "is not so magnanimous."

^b Suggested by the LXX σατράπαι τῶν ἀλλοφύλων = Heb. *šarne Pelishtim* (A.V. "lords of the Philistines"); cf. 1 Sam. xxix. 2 "And the lords of the Philistines passed on by hundreds and by thousands."

ταῖος βασιλεὺς παρήλθεν Ἀγχοῦς μετὰ τῆς ἰδίας
 στρατιᾶς καὶ¹ Δαυίδης μετὰ τῶν ἑξακοσίων ὀπλιτῶν
 352 εἶπετο. θεασάμενοι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ στρατηγοὶ τῶν
 Παλαιστίνων, πόθεν εἶσαν ἤκοντες οἱ Ἑβραῖοι
 καὶ τίνων καλεσάντων ἠρώτων τὸν βασιλέα. ὁ δὲ
 Δαυίδην ἔλεγεν εἶναι, ὃν² φυγόντα Σαοῦλον τὸν
 ἑαυτοῦ δεσπότην καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐλθόντα δέξασθαι,
 καὶ νῦν τῆς χάριτος ἀμοιβὴν ἐκτίσαι βουλόμενον
 καὶ τιμωρήσασθαι τὸν Σαοῦλον συμμαχεῖν αὐτοῖς.
 353 ἐμέμφθη δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν στρατηγῶν ἄνδρα παρειληφῶς
 ἐπὶ συμμαχία πολέμιον, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν συνεβού-
 λευον, μὴ καὶ λάθῃ μέγα δι' αὐτὸν κακὸν τοὺς
 φίλους ἐργασάμενος· καιρὸν³ γὰρ αὐτῷ⁴ παρέξειν
 τοῦ καταλλαγῆναι⁵ πρὸς τὸν δεσπότην κακώσαντι⁶
 354 τὴν ἡμετέραν δύναμιν. ὁ δὲ καὶ προορώμενον εἰς
 τὸν τόπον ὃν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ κατοικεῖν ἐκέλευον
 ἀποπέμπειν σὺν τοῖς ἑξακοσίοις ὀπλίταις· τοῦτον
 γὰρ εἶναι τὸν⁷ Δαυίδην, ὃν ἄδουσιν αἱ παρθένοι
 πολλὰς μυριάδας Παλαιστίνων ἀπολέσαντα. ταῦτ'
 ἀκούσας ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ καλῶς εἰρήσθαι
 λογισάμενος καλέσας τὸν Δαυίδην “ ἐγὼ μὲν,”
 355 εἶπε, “ μαρτυρῶ σοι πολλὴν περὶ ἐμὲ σπουδὴν καὶ
 εὐνοίαν καὶ διὰ τοῦτό σε σύμμαχον ἐπηγόμην· οὐ
 δοκεῖ δὲ ταῦτό τοις στρατηγοῖς. ἀλλ' ἄπιθι μεθ'
 ἡμέραν εἰς ὃν ἔδωκά σοι τόπον μηδὲν ὑπονοῶν
 ἀτοπον, κακεῖ φύλαστέ μοι τὴν χώραν, μὴ τινες
 εἰς αὐτὴν τῶν πολεμίων ἐμβάλωσιν. ἔστι δὲ καὶ

¹ + μετὰ τοῦτον (αὐτὸν) δ' (δὲ) ὁ MSPE: et post eum Lat.

² Niese: τὸν codd.

³ M Lat.: καὶ rell.

⁴ οὕτω RO.

⁵ + πρόφασιν SP.

⁶ Naber: κακώσαντα vel κακώσοντα codd.

⁷ τὸν om. MSPE.

appeared King Anchūs with his own troops, followed by David with his six hundred soldiers. On seeing him, the Philistine generals asked the king whence these Hebrews^a had come and who had summoned them. The king replied that this was David who had fled from Saul, his master, and had come to him; he had received him, and now David, wishing to repay that favour and to be avenged on Saul, was fighting in their ranks.^b The generals, however, reproached him for having taken as an ally one that was their enemy, and they advised him to dismiss him lest on David's account he should unwittingly do grave mischief to his friends; for he would be affording David an opportunity of becoming reconciled to his master by injuring their army. Accordingly they bade him with this in mind to send David with his six hundred soldiers back to the place which he had given him for his habitation; for this was that same David of whom the virgins sang that he had slain many myriads of the Philistines. Having listened to these words and considering them well spoken, the king of Gitta called David and said, "For myself, I can testify to the great zeal and friendliness which thou hast shown to me, and it was for that reason that I brought thee as an ally; but such is not the view of our chiefs. Now then, go within a day's time to the place which I have given thee, and suspect nothing untoward. There keep guard for me over the country, lest any of the enemy invade it. That too

to dismiss
David from
his army.
1 Sam.
xxix. 1.

^a So the Hebrew, 'Ibrīm; LXX, reading 'óbrīm "passers-by," has διαπορευόμενοι.

^b This explanation of David's motives is added by Josephus.

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- 356 τοῦτο συμμαχίας μέρος.” καὶ Δαυίδης μὲν, ὡς ἐκέλευσεν ὁ τῶν Γιττῶν βασιλεύς, ἦκεν εἰς Σέκελλαν. καθ’ ὃν δὲ καιρὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμμαχήσων τοῖς Παλαιστίνοις ἀπῆλθε τὸ τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἔθνος ἐπελθὼν αἰρεῖ τὴν Σέκελλαν κατὰ κράτος, καὶ ἐμπρήσαντες καὶ πολλὴν λείαν¹ ἐκ τ’ αὐτῆς ἐκείνης καὶ τῆς ἄλλης τῶν Παλαιστίνων χώρας λαβόντες ἀνεχώρησαν.
- 357 (6) Ἐκπεπορθημένην δὲ τὴν Σέκελλαν καταλαβὼν ὁ Δαυίδης καὶ διηρπαγμένα πάντα καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τὰς ἑαυτοῦ, δύο γὰρ ἦσαν, καὶ τὰς γυναῖκας τῶν ἐταίρων σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις ἡχμαλω-
- 358 τισμένας, περιρρήγνυται εὐθύς τὴν ἐσθῆτα. κλαίων δὲ καὶ ὀδυρόμενος μετὰ τῶν φίλων ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον παρείθη τοῖς κακοῖς, ὥστε αὐτὸν ἐπιλιπεῖν ἤδη καὶ τὰ δάκρυα· ἐκινδύνευσεν² δὲ καὶ βληθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν ἐταίρων ἀλγούντων ἐπὶ ταῖς αἰχμαλωσίαις τῶν γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν τέκνων ἀποθανεῖν· αὐτὸν γὰρ
- 359 τῶν γεγονότων ἠτιῶντο· ἀνασχὼν δ’ ἐκ τῆς λύπης καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν πρὸς τὸν θεὸν ἀναστήσας παρεκάλεσε τὸν ἀρχιερέα Ἀβιάθαρὸν ἐνδύσασθαι τὴν ἱερατικὴν στολὴν καὶ ἐπερωτῆσαι τὸν θεὸν καὶ προφητεῦσαι εἰ διώξαντι τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας δίδωσι καταλαβεῖν καὶ σῶσαι μὲν τὰς γυναῖκας καὶ τὰ
- 360 τέκνα, τιμωρήσασθαι δὲ τοὺς ἐχθρούς. τοῦ δ’ ἀρχιερέως διώκειν κελεύσαντος ἐκπηδήσας μετὰ τῶν ἐξάκοσίων ὀπλιτῶν εἶπετο τοῖς πολεμίοις· παραγενόμενος δ’ ἐπὶ τινα χειμάρρου Βάσελον λεγό-

¹ λείαν ἄλλην codd.: ἄλλην om. Lat.

² κινδυνεύσαι RO.

^a This last instruction to guard Philistine territory is an amplification of the LXX addition to 1 Sam. xxix. 11, φν-506

is the part of an ally." ^a So David, as the king of Gitta ordered, went to Sekella. But at the very time when he had left there to lend aid to the Philistines, the Amalekite nation had made an invasion and taken Sekella by storm, and, after setting fire to it and capturing much booty both from that town and from the rest of the Philistine territory, had retired.

David finds Ziklag sacked by the Amalekites. 1 Sam. xxx. 1.

(6) Now when David found that Sekella had been sacked and everything therein pillaged and that his two wives and the wives of his comrades along with their children had been taken captive, he straightway rent his clothes, ^b and, wailing and lamenting with his friends, he was so utterly undone by this calamity that at length even tears failed him. Moreover he was not far from being stoned to death by his comrades, who were deeply grieved by the capture of their wives and children, and held him responsible for what had happened. Recovering from his grief, however, and lifting his thoughts to God, he besought the high priest Abiathar to put on his priestly robe ^c and to inquire of God and predict to him whether, if he pursued the Amalekites, He would grant him to overtake them, and to rescue the women and children and avenge himself on his foes. And when the high priest bade him pursue, he rushed off with his six hundred soldiers on the track of the enemy. On reaching a stream called Baselos, ^d he came upon

The Israelites mourn for their captured wives and children. 1 Sam. xxx. 4.

God commands David to pursue the Amalekites. 1 Sam. xxx. 8.

λάσσειν τὴν γῆν; the Hebrew says merely "And David and his men rose early in the morning to return to the land of the Philistines."

^b The rending of the clothes is an unscriptural detail.

^c 1 Sam. xxx. 7 "bring me hither the ephod."

^d Bibl. Besor, LXX Βοσόρ; site unknown.

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μενον καὶ πλανωμένω τινὶ περιπεσὼν Αἰγυπτίῳ
 μὲν τὸ γένος ὑπ' ἐνδείας δὲ καὶ λιμοῦ παρει-
 μένω, τρισὶ γὰρ ἡμέραις ἐν τῇ ἐρημίᾳ πλανώμενος
 ἄσιτος διεκαρτέρησε, πρῶτον αὐτὸν ποτῶ καὶ
 τροφῇ παραστησάμενος καὶ ἀναλαβὼν ἐπύθετο
 361 τίς¹ τε εἶη καὶ πόθεν. ὁ δὲ γένος μὲν ἐσήμαιεν
 Αἰγύπτιος ὢν, καταλειφθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ δεσπότου
 κατ' ἄρρωστίαν ἔπεσθαι μὴ δυνάμενον· ἐδήλου δ'
 αὐτὸν² τῶν καταπρησάντων καὶ διηρπακόντων ἄλλα
 362 τε τῆς Ἰουδαίας καὶ τὴν Σέκελλαν εἶναι. χρησά-
 μενος οὖν ὁ Δαυίδης τούτῳ ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἀμαληκίτας
 ὀδηγῶ καὶ καταλαβὼν αὐτοὺς³ ἐπὶ γῆς ἐρριμ-
 μένους, καὶ τοὺς μὲν ἀριστῶντας, τοὺς δὲ καὶ
 μεθύοντας ἤδη καὶ λελυμένους ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου καὶ
 τῶν λαφύρων καὶ τῆς λείας ἀπολαύοντας, ἐπιπεσὼν
 αἰφνιδίως πολὺν αὐτῶν φόνον εἰργάσατο· γυμνοὶ
 γὰρ ὄντες καὶ μηδὲν προσδοκῶντες τοιοῦτον, ἀλλὰ
 πρὸς τὸ πιεῖν καὶ εὐωχεῖσθαι τετραμμένοι πάντες
 363 ἦσαν εὐκατέρωσται. καὶ οἱ μὲν αὐτῶν ἔτι τῶν
 τραπέζων παρακειμένων ἐπικαταλαμβανόμενοι παρ'
 αὐταῖς ἀνηροῦντο καὶ παρέσυρεν αὐτοῖς τὰ σιτία
 καὶ τὴν τροφὴν τὸ αἷμα, τοὺς δὲ δεξιουμένους
 ἀλλήλους ταῖς προπόσεσι διέφθειρεν, ἐνίοις δὲ καὶ
 πρὸς ὕπνον ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀκράτου κατενηγεμένους.
 ὁπόσοι δ' ἔφθασαν περιθέμενοι τὰς πανοπλίας ἐξ
 ἐναντίας αὐτῶ⁴ στήναι, τούτους οὐδὲν ἤττον εὐχερῶς
 364 τῶν γυμνῶν κατακειμένων ἀπέσφαττε.⁵ διέμειναν
 δὲ οἱ σὺν τῷ Δαυίδῃ καὶ αὐτοὶ⁶ ἀναιροῦντες ἀπὸ

¹ τίνος MSP Lat. (cf. LXX).

² Edd.: αὐτὸν ROM: αὐτῶ SP.

³ αὐτοὺς om. RO.

⁴ ed. pr.: τε (τ') αὐτῶ codd.

⁵ ἀπέσφαττον RO.

⁶ αὐτοὺς conj. Niese.

a straggler, an Egyptian by race, who was exhausted from want and hunger, having endured three days' wandering in the wilderness without food. After he had first revived him and restored him with food and drink, David asked him who he was ^a and whence he came. He revealed that he was of Egyptian race and had been left behind by his master, being unable to follow because of sickness ; he further made known that he was one of those who had burnt and ravaged Sekella as well as parts of Judaea. So David made use of the man to guide him to the Amalekites, and came upon them lying around on the ground, some at their morning meal, others already drunken and relaxed with wine, regaling themselves with their spoils and booty. Falling suddenly upon them, he made a great slaughter of them, for, being unarmed and expecting no such thing but intent upon drinking and revelry, they were all an easy prey. Some, being surprised at the outspread tables, were massacred beside them, and their streaming blood swept victuals and food away ; others were drinking each other's health when he slew them ; still others, under the influence of strong drink, were plunged in sleep ; while those who had been quick enough to put on their armour and make a stand against him—these too he cut to pieces with no less ease than those who lay defenceless on the ground.^b David's companions too continued the slaughter from the first

David's men surprise the Amalekites and massacre them. 1 Sam. xxx. 15.

^a Variant (as in Scripture) "to whom he belonged."

^b The details of the massacre are an amplification of Scripture.

JOSEPHUS

πρώτης ὥρας ἕως ἑσπέρας, ὡς μὴ περιλειφθῆναι
 τῶν Ἀμαληκιτῶν πλείονας ἢ τετρακοσίους· καὶ
 οὗτοι δὲ δρομάσι καμήλοις ἐπιβάντες διέφυγον.
 ἀνέσωσε δὲ τὰ τ' ἄλλα¹ πάντα ἃ διήρπασαν αὐτῶν
 οἱ πολέμιοι καὶ τὰς τε αὐτοῦ γυναῖκας καὶ τὰς
 365 τῶν ἐταίρων. ὡς δὲ ἀναστρέφοντες ἦκον ἐπὶ τὸν
 τόπον, ἔνθα διακοσίους μὴ δυναμένους αὐτοῖς
 ἔπεσθαι καταλελοίπεσαν ἐπὶ τῶν σκευῶν, οἱ μὲν
 τετρακόσιοι τῆς μὲν ἄλλης ὠφελείας τε καὶ λείας
 οὐκ ἠξίουσαν αὐτοῖς ἀπομερίζειν· οὐ συνακολουθή-
 σαντας γὰρ ἀλλὰ μαλακισθέντας περὶ τὴν δίωξιν
 ἀγαπήσειν ἀνασεσωσμένας τὰς γυναῖκας ἀπολαμ-
 366 βάνοντας ἔλεγον· Δαυίδης δὲ πονηρὰν καὶ ἄδικον
 αὐτῶν ταύτην ἀπέφηνε τὴν γνώμην· εἶναι γὰρ
 ἀξίους, τοῦ θεοῦ παρασχόντος αὐτοῖς ἀμύνασθαι
 μὲν τοὺς πολεμίους, κομίσασθαι δὲ πάντα τὰ
 αὐτῶν, πᾶσιν ἐξ ἴσου τοῖς συστρατευσαμένοις μερί-
 ζεσθαι τὴν ὠφέλειαν, καὶ ταῦτ' ἐπὶ φυλακῇ τῶν
 367 σκευῶν μεμενηκότων. καὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου νόμος οὗτος
 ἐκράτησε παρ' αὐτοῖς ἵνα ταῦτὰ τοῖς μαχομένοις
 λαμβάνωσιν οἱ τὰ σκευὴ φυλάσσοντες. γενόμενος
 δ' ἐν Σεκέλλα Δαυίδης διέπεμψε πᾶσι τοῖς ἐν τῇ
 Ἰούδα φυλῇ συνήθεσι καὶ φίλοις ἀπομοίρας τῶν
 λαφύρων. καὶ τὰ μὲν περὶ τὴν Σεκέλλων πόρθησιν
 καὶ Ἀμαληκιτῶν ἀναίρεσιν οὕτως ἐγένετο.
 368 (7) Τῶν δὲ Παλαιστίνων συμβαλόντων καὶ καρ-
 τεράς μάχης γενομένης νικῶσιν² οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ
 πολλοὺς ἀναιροῦσι τῶν ἐναντίων, Σαοῦλος δὲ ὁ

¹ Niese: τὰ ἄλλα vel τὰλλα codd.

² νικῶσι μὲν SP Lat.

hour until evening, so that there were left of the Amalekites no more than four hundred ; these, by mounting swift camels, had escaped. So David recovered not only the booty which the enemy had carried off, but also his wives and those of his companions. When, on their return, they arrived at the spot where they had left in charge of the baggage two hundred men who were unable to follow, the other four hundred were unwilling to share with them in their gains and booty, saying that, as they had not gone along but had been unequal to the pursuit, they ought to be content with getting back their wives who had been rescued. But David pronounced this view of theirs wicked and unjust ; for, he said, seeing that God had enabled them to avenge themselves on their enemies and to recover all their possessions, they were bound to give an equal share of their gains to all who had taken part in the expedition, especially as they had remained to guard the baggage. And thenceforward this law has prevailed among them, that those who guard the baggage receive the same share as those who do the fighting. Moreover, on his return to Sekella, David sent around portions of the spoils to all his acquaintances and friends in the tribe of Judah.^a Such, then, was the affair of the sacking of Sekella and the slaughter of the Amalekites.

A dispute about spoils is equitably decided by David. 1 Sam. xxx. 21.

(7) Meanwhile^b the Philistines had joined battle with the Israelites and, after a sharp contest, the Philistines were victorious and slew multitudes of

The Philistines defeat the Israelites at

^a Bibl. "to the elders of Judah, to his friends" (LXX "kinsmen"). Josephus omits the names of the favoured cities, 1 Sam. xxx. 27-30.

^b Continuing the account of the battle near Mt. Gilboa from §§ 327 ff.

τῶν Ἰσραηλιτῶν βασιλεὺς καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ γενναίως ἀγωνιζόμενοι καὶ πάσῃ προθυμίᾳ χρώμενοι, ὡς ἐν μόνῳ τῷ καλῶς ἀποθανεῖν καὶ παραβόλως διακινδυνεύσαι τοῖς πολεμίοις τῆς ὅλης αὐτοῖς δόξης ἀποκειμένης, οὐδὲν γὰρ τούτου περισσώτερον εἶχον,
 369 ἐπιστρέφουσι πᾶσαν εἰς αὐτοὺς τὴν τῶν ἐχθρῶν φάλαγγα καὶ περικυκλωθέντες ἀποθνήσκουσι πολλοὺς τῶν Παλαιστίνων καταβαλόντες. ἦσαν δὲ οἱ παῖδες¹ Ἰωνάθης καὶ Ἀμινάδαβος καὶ Μέλχιος. τούτων πεσόντων τρέπεται τὸ τῶν Ἑβραίων πλῆθος καὶ ἀκοσμία καὶ σύγχυσις γίνεται καὶ φόνος ἐπι-
 370 κειμένων τῶν πολεμίων. Σαούλος δὲ φεύγει τὸ καρτερόν ἔχων² περὶ αὐτόν· καὶ τῶν Παλαιστίνων ἐπιπεμφάντων ἀκοντιστὰς καὶ τοξότας πάντας μὲν ἀποβάλλει πλὴν ὀλίγων, αὐτὸς δὲ λαμπρῶς ἀγωνισάμενος καὶ πολλὰ τραύματα λαβών, ὡς μηκέτι διακαρτερεῖν μηδ' ἀντέχειν ταῖς πληγαῖς, ἀποκτεῖναι μὲν αὐτὸν ἠσθένει, κελεύει δὲ τὸν ὄπλοφόρον σπασάμενον τὴν ῥομφαίαν ταύτην αὐτοῦ διελάσαι, πρὶν
 371 ζῶντα συλλαβεῖν αὐτὸν τοὺς πολεμίους. μὴ τολμῶντος δὲ τοῦ ὄπλοφόρου κτεῖναι τὸν δεσπότην, αὐτὸς τὴν ἰδίαν σπασάμενος³ καὶ στήσας ἐπὶ τὴν ἀκμὴν ρίπτει κατ' αὐτῆς ἑαυτόν· ἀδυνατῶν δὲ⁴ μήτ'⁵ ὤσασθαι⁶ μήτ' ἐπερείσας διαβαλεῖν αὐτοῦ τὸν σίδηρον ἐπιστρέφεται, καὶ νεανίσκου τινὸς ἐστῶτος πυθόμενος τίς εἶη καὶ μαθὼν ὡς Ἀμαλη-

¹ Σαούλου παῖδες MSP Lat.

² καρτερόν στίφος ἔχων M: καρτερόν ἔχων στίφος SP.

³ + μάχαιραν SP Lat. Glycas.

⁴ δὲ ins. Niese: ἀδυνατῶν RO: καὶ μὴ δυνάμενος MSPE.

⁵ μηδ' codd.

⁶ ἴστασθαι RO.

^a So most mss. of the LXX (v.l. Ἰωναδάβ); bibl. Abinadab.

^b Bibl. Melchishua (Heb. *Malki-shua*), LXX Μελχισιά.

their adversaries. Saul, king of Israel, and his sons struggled valiantly and threw all their ardour into the fight, as though their entire glory rested solely on their dying nobly and desperately hazarding all against the enemy, for nothing else was left them. Thus they drew upon themselves the whole line of the foe and, so surrounded, perished, after laying many of the Philistines low. Now his sons were Jonathan, Aminadab^a and Melchis.^b When these fell, the Hebrew host took flight, disorder and confusion ensued, and there was a massacre as the enemy fell upon them. But Saul fled, having the ablest men around him; of these, when the Philistines sent javelin-throwers and archers after him, he lost all but a few. He himself, after fighting magnificently and receiving numerous wounds,^c until he could no longer hold out nor endure under these blows, was too weak to kill himself and bade his armour-bearer draw his sword and thrust it through him before the enemy should take him alive. But, as the armour-bearer did not dare to slay his master, Saul drew his own sword himself and, fixing it with its point toward him, sought to fling himself upon it, but was unable either to push it in or, by leaning upon it, to drive the weapon home. Then he turned^d and, seeing a youth standing there, asked him who he was, and, on learning that he was an Amalekite,

Mt. Gilboa.
Saul's sons
are slain.
1 Sam.
xxxi. 1.

Saul, too
weak to kill
himself, bids
an Amale-
kite slay
him.
1 Sam. xxxi.
4; 2 Sam.
i. 6.

^a So the LXX *ἐτραυματίσθη*, 1 Sam. xxxi. 3, translating Heb. *waggyāhel*, which the Targum and Jewish interpreters render "was afraid." The details of the rout are unscriptural.

^d Josephus has combined the contradictory accounts of Saul's death given by Scripture in 1 Sam. xxxi. and 2 Sam. i. In the earlier account Saul kills himself after his armour-bearer declines to do so through fear; in the later chapter he is slain, at his own request, by the Amalekite. Josephus repeats the second account below, *A.* vii. 1 ff.

- κίτης ἐστὶ παρεκάλεσεν ἐπερείσαντα τὴν ῥομφαίαν, διὰ τὸ μὴ ταῖς χερσὶν αὐτὸν τοῦτο δύνασθαι ποιῆσαι,¹ παρασχεῖν αὐτῷ τελευτὴν ὁποίαν αὐτὸς
 372 βούλεται. ποιήσας δὲ τοῦτο καὶ περιελόμενος τὸν περὶ τὸν βραχίονα αὐτοῦ χρυσοῦν καὶ τὸν βασιλικὸν στέφανον ἐκποδῶν ἐγένετο. θεασάμενος δ' ὁ ὄπλοφόρος Σαοῦλον ἀνηρημένον ἀπέκτεινεν ἑαυτόν· διεσώθη δ' οὐδεὶς τῶν σωματοφυλάκων τοῦ βασιλέως, ἀλλὰ πάντες ἔπεσον περὶ τὸ καλούμενον Γελβουέ
 373 ὄρος. ἀκούσαντες δὲ τῶν Ἑβραίων οἱ τὴν κοιλάδα πέραν τοῦ Ἰορδάνου κατοικοῦντες καὶ οἱ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ τὰς πόλεις ἔχοντες, ὅτι Σαοῦλος πέπτωκε καὶ οἱ παῖδες αὐτοῦ, καὶ τὸ σὺν αὐτῷ πλῆθος ἀπόλωλε, καταλιπόντες τὰς ἑαυτῶν πόλεις εἰς ὄχυρότητας² ἔφυγον. οἱ δὲ Παλαιστῖνοι τὰς καταλελειμμένας ἐρήμους εὐρόντες κατώκησαν.
 374 (8) Τῇ δ' ἐπιούσῃ σκυλεύοντες οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι τοὺς τῶν πολεμίων νεκροὺς ἐπιτυγχάνουσι τοῖς τοῦ Σαοῦλου καὶ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ σώμασι καὶ σκυλεύσαντες ἀποτέμνουσιν αὐτῶν τὰς κεφαλὰς, καὶ κατὰ πᾶσαν περιήγγειλαν τὴν χώραν πέμψαντες ὅτι πεπτώκασιν οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ τὰς μὲν πανοπλίας αὐτῶν ἀνέθηκαν εἰς τὸ Ἀστάρτειον ἱερόν, τὰ δὲ σώματα ἀνεσταύρωσαν πρὸς τὰ τεῖχη τῆς Βηθσάν³ πόλεως, ἣ νῦν Σκυθόπολις καλεῖται.
 375 ἐπεὶ δὲ ἤκουσαν οἱ ἐν Ἰαβεῖ⁴ πόλει τῆς Γαλαδίτιδος κατοικοῦντες, ὅτι λελώβηνται τὸν Σαοῦλου νεκρὸν

¹ τοῦτο . . . ποιῆσαι MSP: δύνασθαι RO: διὰ τὸ . . . ποιῆσαι om. E Lat.

² Cocceii: ὄχυροτάτας (-ωτάτας) codd.

³ RO: Βηθσιῶν rell.: Bessam Lat.

⁴ E: Ναβεῖ RO: Ἰαβ(ε)ισσῶ SP: Iabes Lat.

begged him to force the sword in, since he could not do this with his own hands, and so procure him such a death as he desired. This he did, and, after stripping off the bracelet of gold on Saul's arm and his royal crown, disappeared. Then the armour-bearer, seeing that Saul was dead, killed himself; and of the king's bodyguard not a man escaped, but all fell on that mountain called Gelboue. And when the Hebrews who inhabited the valley across the Jordan and those who had their cities in the plain^a heard that Saul and his sons had fallen and that all his host had perished, they forsook their cities and fled to the strongholds^b; and the Philistines, finding these cities deserted, settled therein.

1 Sam.
xxx. 7.

(8) On the morrow the Philistines, while stripping the corpses of their enemies, came upon the bodies of Saul and his sons; these they stripped and cut off their heads, and then sent tidings throughout all the country round about that their enemies had fallen. Their armour they set up as an offering in the temple of Astarte,^c and impaled their bodies to the walls of the city of Bethsan,^d which is now called Scythopolis. But when the inhabitants of Jabis^e in the region of Galaditis heard that they had mutilated the corpses

The men of
Jabesh-
Gilead bury
the
mutilated
bodies of
Saul and
his sons.
1 Sam. xxxi.
11.

^a Of Esdraelon.

^b Emended text; mss. "to the strongest (cities)." Scripture says simply "they fled."

^c 1 Sam. xxxi. 10 does not make clear where the temple was; 1 Chron. x. 10 reads "And they put his armour in the house of their gods, and fastened his head in the temple of Dagon," that is, in Philistia. Recent excavations have uncovered a Canaanite temple of the fifteenth century B.C. and figures of Astarte (bibl. Ashtoreth) in Beth Shan.

^d Bibl. Beth-Shan, LXX Βαιθσάν (*v.l.* Βαιθέμ), modern *Beisan*, *cf.* A. v. 83 note.

^e Bibl. Jabesh-Gilead, *cf.* § 71 note.

καὶ τοὺς τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ, δεινὸν ἠγησάμενοι
 περιῦδεῖν ἀκηδεύτους, ἐξελθόντες οἱ ἀνδρειότατοι
 καὶ τόλμη διαφέροντες (ἢ δὲ πόλις αὕτη καὶ σώ-
 μασιν ἀλκίμους καὶ ψυχαῖς φέρει) καὶ δι' ὅλης τῆς
 376 νυκτὸς ὀδεύσαντες ἦλθον εἰς Βηθσάν· καὶ προσ-
 ελθόντες τῷ τείχει τῶν πολεμίων καὶ καθελόντες
 τὸ σῶμα Σαούλου καὶ τὰ τῶν παίδων αὐτοῦ κομί-
 ζουσιν εἰς Ἰάβησαν μὴδὲ τῶν πολεμίων αὐτοὺς
 κωλύσαι δυνηθέντων ἢ¹ τολμησάντων διὰ τὴν ἀν-
 377 δρεϊάν. οἱ δὲ Ἰαβησηνοὶ πανδημεὶ κλαύσαντες²
 θάπτουσι τὰ σώματα ἐν τῷ καλλίστῳ τῆς χώρας
 τόπῳ Ἀρούρης λεγομένῳ, καὶ πένθος ἐφ' ἡμέρας
 ἑπτὰ σὺν γυναιξὶ καὶ τέκνοις ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἤγον
 κοπτόμενοι καὶ θρηνοῦντες τὸν βασιλέα καὶ τοὺς
 παῖδας αὐτοῦ μήτε τροφῆς μήτε ποτοῦ γευσάμενοι.
 378 (9) Τοῦτο Σαούλος τὸ τέλος ἔσχε προφητεύσαντος
 Σαμουήλου διὰ τὸ παρακοῦσαι τοῦ θεοῦ τῶν ἐπ'
 Ἀμαληκίταις ἐντολῶν, καὶ ὅτι τὴν Ἀβιμελέχου
 τοῦ ἀρχιερέως γενεὰν καὶ Ἀβιμέλεχον αὐτὸν καὶ
 τὴν τῶν ἀρχιερέων πόλιν ἀνεῖλεν. ἐβασίλευσε δὲ
 Σαμουήλου ζῶντος ἔτη ὀκτὼ πρὸς τοῖς δέκα, τελευ-
 τήσαντος δὲ δύο καὶ εἴκοσι.³ καὶ Σαούλος μὲν
 οὕτω κατέστρεψε τὸν βίον.

¹ δυν. ἢ om. ROE.

² κλαύσαντες conj. Niese (cf. LXX).

³ δ. καὶ εἴκοσι] duos Lat.

^a Unscriptural detail.

^b So the mss., κλαύσαντες; Niese conjectures κλαύσαντες
 "having burnt," to make Josephus agree with Scripture,
 1 Sam. xxxi. 12.

^c So the LXX; Heb. 'eshel, a kind of tree; cf. § 251 note.

^d Cf. § 336.

^e Josephus agrees with rabbinic tradition in making the

of Saul and his sons, they were horrified at the thought of leaving them unburied, and so the most valiant and hardy among them—and this city breeds men stalwart of body and soul—set forth and, having marched all night, reached Bethsan. Then, having advanced to the enemy's ramparts and taken down the bodies of Saul and his sons, they bore them to Jabēsa, and the enemy was neither able nor dared to hinder them, because of their prowess.^a The Jabē-sēnians with public mourning^b buried the bodies in the fairest spot in their country, called Aroura^c ("Plowland"), and, with their wives and children, continued for seven days to mourn for them, beating the breast and bewailing the king and his sons, without touching either meat or drink.

(9) To such an end did Saul come, as Samuel had predicted, because he had disobeyed God's commandments touching the Amalekites,^d and because he had destroyed the family of Abimelech the high priest and Abimelech himself and the city of the high priests.^e He reigned eighteen years during the lifetime of Samuel and for twenty-two^f years more after the latter's death. Thus then did Saul depart this life. slaughter of the priests of Nob one of the reasons for Saul's doom, but omits reference to the sin of consulting the witch, *cf.* 1 Chron. x. 13.

^f Or (with Lat.) "two," *i.e.* 20 years in all, instead of 40. This would agree with *A.* x. 143 and with later Jewish tradition (*Sepher Yuhasin*) citing this passage. No figures are given in Scripture, but *cf.* the LXX addition to 1 Sam. xiii. 1 stating that Saul reigned 2 years (Luc. 30 years). On the other hand the tradition in Acts xiii. 21 gives 40 years. Rappaport suggests that a Christian scribe has changed the text of Josephus here to "twenty-two" to make it conform to the New Testament, and that the author of *Sepher Yuhasin* is indirectly combating this view.

Brief
summary of
Saul's reign.
Cf. 1 Chron.
c. 13.

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α'. Ἐβραίων δίχα τῆς Μωυσέος γνώμης μάχη πρὸς Χανααίους καὶ ἦττα.

β'. Στάσις Κορέου καὶ τοῦ πλήθους πρὸς Μωυσῆν καὶ τὸν ἀδελφὸν αὐτοῦ περὶ τῆς ἱερωσύνης.

γ'. Τὰ συμβάντα τοῖς Ἐβραίοις ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ ἕτεσιν ὀκτῶ καὶ τριάκοντα.¹

δ'. Ὡς Σηχῶνα καὶ Ὡγην τοὺς Ἀμορραίων βασιλεῖς νικήσας Μωυσῆς καὶ τὴν στρατιὰν [ἄπασαν]² αὐτῶν διαφθείρας κατεκλήρωσεν αὐτῶν τὴν χώραν δυσὶ φυλαῖς καὶ ἡμισείᾳ τῶν Ἐβραίων.³

ε'. Μωυσέος πολιτεία καὶ πῶς ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἠφανίσθη.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος αὕτη ἅ χρόνον ἐτῶν τριάκοντα καὶ ὀκτώ.

¹ + δ' (om. P) ὡς οἱ μὲν τῆς στάσεως κατάρξαντες διεφθάρησαν κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ, τὴν δ' ἱερωσύνην Ἰααρὼν ὁ Μωϋσέως ἀδελφὸς κάτεσχε καὶ οἱ ἔγγονοι (ἐκγ. P) αὐτοῦ: L inserts this section between (ii) and (iii).

² om. Lat.: trs. αὐτῶν ἄπασαν SP.

³ + ε' (om. PL) περὶ Βαλάμου τοῦ μάντεως καὶ ποταπὸς (ποταπὸν S) ἦν τὸ εἶδος. ὡς ἐπὶ Μαδιανίτας Ἐβραῖοι στρατεΐσαντες ἐκράτησαν αὐτῶν SPL.

⁴ R Lat.: om. rell.

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This books covers a period of thirty-eight years.

^a Gr. Sēchon and Oges; the latter is more precisely described in the text (*A.* iv. 96) as "king of Galadene and Gaulanitis."

BIBLION E

α'.¹ Ὡς Ἰησοῦς ὁ στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων πολεμήσας πρὸς Χανααίους καὶ κρατήσας αὐτῶν τοὺς μὲν διέφθειρε τὴν δὲ γῆν κατακληρουχήσας διένειμε ταῖς φυλαῖς.

β'. Ὡς ἀποθανόντος τοῦ στρατηγοῦ παραβαίνοντες οἱ Ἰσραηλίται τοὺς πατρίους νόμους μεγάλων ἐπειράθησαν συμφορῶν, καὶ στασιασάντων ἢ Βενιαμὶς διεφθάρη φυλὴ χωρὶς ἀνδρῶν ἑξακοσίων.

γ'. Πῶς μετὰ ταύτην τὴν κακοπραγίαν ἀσεβήσαντας αὐτοὺς ὁ θεὸς Ἀσσυρίοις ἐδούλωσεν.

δ'. Ἡ διὰ Κενίζου τοῦ Ἀθνιήλου² παιδὸς αὐτοῖς ἐλευθερία γενομένη ἄρξαντος ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα λεγομένου δὲ παρά τε Ἑλλησι καὶ Φοίνιξι κριτοῦ.

ε'. Ὅτι πάλιν ὁ λαὸς ἡμῶν ἐδούλευσε Μωαβίταις ὀκτωκαίδεκα ἔτη καὶ ὑπὸ τινος Ἰούδου³ τῆς

¹ Numeros om. MSPL.

² Bernard: Ἀεινήλου ROML: Ναθαναήλου S: Ναθαήλου P.

³ Niese: Ἰουδοῦς ROL: Ἰουδοῦς MS: Ἰουδοῦ, *i ex* ἢ corr. P: Aod Lat.

^a Bibl. Othniel, the son of Kenaz; *cf.* A. v. 182 note.

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BOOK V

	SECTION HERE
(i) How Jēsūs (Joshua), the commander of the Hebrews, fought against the Canaanites, and how, after defeating them, he destroyed them, while their land he divided by lot and distributed among the tribes	1
(ii) How, upon the death of their commander, the Israelites transgressed against their fathers' laws and experienced great misfortunes, and how, as a result of civil war, the tribe of Benjamin was destroyed excepting six hundred men	132
(iii) How, after this disaster, God, because of their impiety, made them subject to the Assyrians	179
(iv) The deliverance wrought for them by Kenizos, the son of Athniēlos, ^a who ruled forty years, and by the Greeks and Phoenicians is called a "judge"	182
(v) How our people were again subject to the Moabites for eighteen years, and how they were delivered from this	

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V

δουλείας ἀπηλλάγη τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐπ' ἔτη κατασχόντος ὀγδοήκοντα.

ς'. Ὡς Χανααίων αὐτοὺς καταδουλωσαμένων ἐπ' ἔτη εἴκοσιν ἠλευθερώθησαν ὑπὸ Βαράκου καὶ Δεβώρας, οἱ ἦρξαν αὐτῶν ἐπ' ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

ζ'. Ὅτι πολεμήσαντες Ἀμαληκῖται τοῖς Ἰσραηλίταις ἐνίκησάν τε καὶ τὴν χώραν ἐκάκωσαν ἔτη ἑπτὰ.

η'. Ὡς Γεδεὼν αὐτοὺς ἠλευθέρωσεν ἀπὸ Ἀμαληκῖτῶν καὶ ἦρξε τοῦ πλήθους ἐπὶ ἔτη τεσσαράκοντα.

θ'. Ὅτι μετ' αὐτὸν πολλοὶ γενόμενοι διάδοχοι τοῖς πέριξ ἔθνεσιν ἐπολέμησαν ἱκανῶ χρόνῳ.

ί'. Περὶ τῆς Σαμφῶνος ἀνδρείας καὶ ὄσων κακῶν αἴτιος Παλαιστῖνοις ἐγένετο.

ια'. Ὡς οἱ υἱοὶ Ἡλὶ τοῦ ἱερέως ἐσφάγησαν ἐν τῇ πρὸς Παλαιστῖνους μάχῃ.

ιβ'. Ὡς ὁ πατὴρ αὐτῶν ἀκούσας τὴν συμφορὰν βαλὼν ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ θρόνου ἀπέθανεν.

ιγ'. Ὡς νικήσαντες ἐν τούτῳ τῷ πολέμῳ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι καὶ τὴν κιβωτὸν αὐτῶν αἰχμάλωτον ἔλαβον.

ιδ'. Ὡς οἱ ἀπὸ Κενίζου¹ ἄρξαντες πάντες κριταὶ ἐκλήθησαν.²

¹ Κενέζου SP.

² Caput XIV om. Lat.

^a The Amalekites are mentioned only incidentally as allies of the Midianites in *A.* v. 210 ff.

^b These were Abimelech, Jair, Jephthah, Ibzan, Elon and Abdon.

^c This table omits special mention of the stories of Ruth, §§ 318-337; and Samuel, §§ 341-351.

^d "Tumbled" in *A.* v. 359.

ANCIENT TABLE OF CONTENTS

	SECTION
subjection by a certain Jūdēs (Ehud), who held power for eighty years	188
(vi) How, after the Canaanites had held them subject for twenty years, they were delivered by Barak and Debora, who ruled over them for forty years	198
(vii) How the Amalekites, ^a after making war on the Israelites, conquered them and ravaged their country seven years	210
(viii) How Gedeōn (Gideon) delivered them from the Amalekites and ruled over the people for forty years	213
(ix) How the many rulers who succeeded him ^b fought with the surrounding nations for a considerable length of time	233
(x) Concerning the prowess of Samson and the many evils which he caused the Philistines	276
(xi) ^c How the sons of Eli the priest were slain in battle with the Philistines	338
(xii) How their father, on hearing of this mishap, threw himself ^d from his seat and died	352
(xiii) ^e How the Philistines, on defeating the Hebrews in this battle, also took their ark captive	353
(xiv) ^f How all those who ruled after Kenizos were called "judges"	

^e Section xiii properly belongs before section xii.

^f Section xiv is obviously out of place; originally it must have belonged to section iv.

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, V-VI

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν τετρακοσίων ἑβδομήκοντα.¹

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α'.² Φθορὰ Παλαιστίνων καὶ τῆς γῆς αὐτῶν ἐξ ὀργῆς τοῦ θεοῦ διὰ τὴν αἰχμαλωτευθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῶν κιβωτόν, καὶ τίνα τρόπον ἀπέπεμψαν αὐτὴν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις.

β'. Στρατεία Παλαιστίνων ἐπ' αὐτοὺς καὶ νίκη Ἑβραίων Σαμουήλου στρατηγούontos αὐτῶν τοῦ προφήτου.

γ'. Ὡς Σαμουήλος διὰ τὸ γῆρας ἀσθενῆς ὦν τὰ πράγματα διοικεῖν τοῖς παισὶν αὐτοῦ ἐνεχείρισεν.

δ'. Ὡς οὐ καλῶς προϋσταμένων ἐκείνων τῆς ἀρχῆς, τὸ πλῆθος ὑπ' ὀργῆς ἠτήσατο βασιλεύεσθαι.

ε'. Σαμουήλου πρὸς τοῦτο ἀγανάκτησις καὶ βασιλέως αὐτοῖς ἀνάδειξις Σαούλου τούνομα, κελεύσαντος τοῦ θεοῦ.

ς'. Σαούλου στρατεία ἐπὶ τὸ Ἀμμαιτιῶν ἔθνος καὶ νίκη καὶ διαρπαγὴ τῶν πολεμίων.³

ζ'. Ὡς στρατευσάμενοι πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἠττήθησαν.

η'. Σαούλου πρὸς Ἀμαληκίτας πόλεμος καὶ νίκη.

¹ + ἕξ (os' P) SPEL Lat.

² Numeros om. SP.

³ πολεμίων ἢ (καὶ P) τῶν πόλεων SP.

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This book covers a period of four hundred and seventy ^a years.

BOOK VI

	SECTION
(i) The destruction of the Philistines and of their land through God's wrath over their capture of the ark, and in what manner they sent it back to the Hebrews	1
(ii) The Philistines' expedition against them, and the victory of the Hebrews under the command of the prophet Samuel	19
(iii) How Samuel, being infirm because of his great age, placed the government in the hands of his sons	32
(iv) How, because of their misgovernment, the people in anger demanded a king as ruler	35
(v) Samuel's indignation at this (demand), and how he appointed over them a king named Saul, at God's bidding	36
(vi) Saul's expedition against the Ammonite nation, and his victory and the despoiling of the enemy	68
(vii) How the Philistines again marched against the Hebrews and were defeated	95
(viii) Saul's war with the Amalekites and his victory over them	131

^a Variant "seventy-six."

JEWISH ANTIQUITIES, VI

θ'. "Οτι παραβαίνοντος Σαούλου τὰς ἐντολὰς τοῦ προφήτου Σαμουήλος ἄλλον ἀπέδειξε βασιλέα κρύφα Δαυίδην¹ ὄνομα κατ' ἐπιτροπὴν τοῦ θεοῦ.

ι'. Ὡς καὶ πάλιν ἐπεστράτευσαν τοῖς Ἑβραίοις οἱ Παλαιστῖνοι ἐτι Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος.²

ια'.³ Μονομαχία Δαυίδου τότε⁴ πρὸς Γολιάθον τὸν ἄριστον τῶν Παλαιστίνων καὶ ἀναίρεις τοῦ Γολιάθου καὶ ἦττα τῶν Παλαιστίνων.⁵

ιβ'. Ὡς θαυμάσας Σαούλος⁶ τὸν Δαυίδην τῆς ἀνδρείας συνώκισεν αὐτῷ τὴν θυγατέρα.

ιγ'. "Οτι μετὰ ταῦτα ὑποπτον αὐτῷ τὸν Δαυίδην γενόμενον ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐσπούδασεν ἀποκτεῖναι.

ιδ'. Ὡς πολλάκις καὶ Δαυίδης κινδυνεύσας ἀποθανεῖν ὑπὸ τοῦ Σαούλου διέφυγε καὶ Σαούλον δις ἐπ' αὐτῷ γενόμενον ὥστε ἀνελεῖν οὐ διεχρήσατο.

ιε'. Ὡς στρατευσαμένων Παλαιστίνων πάλιν ἐπὶ τοὺς Ἑβραίους ἠττήθησαν οἱ Ἑβραῖοι τῇ μάχῃ καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς αὐτῶν Σαούλος ἀπέθανε μετὰ τῶν παίδων μαχόμενος.

Περιέχει ἡ βίβλος χρόνον ἐτῶν λβ'.

¹ Δαυείδην M: Δαβίδην RO: David Lat.

² Σαούλου βασιλεύοντος] Σαμουήλου προφητεύοντος P.

³ Caput XI decimo adiungunt SP.

⁴ τότε om. SP.

⁵ + κρατερὰ SP.

⁶ Σαούλος (Σαούλου RO) post θυγατέρα tr. ROM.

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	SECTION
(ix) How, upon Saul's transgressing the prophet's injunctions, Samuel secretly chose another king, named David, in accordance with the decision of God . . .	156
(x) How the Philistines yet another time marched against the Hebrews while Saul was still king	170
(xi) The single combat on that occasion of David and Goliath, the bravest of the Philistines, and the slaying of Goliath and defeat of the Philistines . . .	184
(xii) How Saul, in admiration of David's prowess, gave him his daughter in marriage	196
(xiii) How after this David became suspect to him, and how the king sought eagerly to kill him	205
(xiv) How on several occasions David was in danger of being put to death by Saul, and how he twice refrained from taking Saul's life, when he was in his power	213
(xv) ^a How the Philistines again marched against the Hebrews and the Hebrews were defeated in battle, and how Saul their king died fighting, together with his sons	325

This book covers a period of thirty-two years.

^a This table omits special mention of the relations of David and Jonathan, the sojourn of David among the Philistines, and Saul's visit to the witch of Endor.