# BEROSSUS AND GENESIS, MANETHO AND EXODUS

## Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch

RUSSELL E. GMIRKIN

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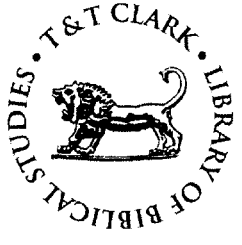

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## Hellenistic Histories and the Date of the Pentateuch

Russell E. Gmirkin

t&t clark

NEW YORK • LONDON

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*To Carolyn,*
*the love of my life*

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# ABBREVIATIONS

| | |
|---|---|
| AASOR | Annual of the American Schools of Oriental Research |
| AB | Anchor Bible |
| ACRE | American Center of Research in Egypt |
| *AJA* | *American Journal of Archaeology* |
| *ANET* | *Ancient Near Eastern Texts Relating to the Old Testament*. Edited by J. B. Pritchard. 3d ed. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1969 |
| AOAT | Alter Orient und Altes Testament |
| *ARE* | *Ancient Records of Egypt: Historical Documents from the Earliest Times to the Persian Conquest*. Edited by J. H. Breasted. 5 vols. Chicago: Russell & Russell, 1905–1907 |
| ASOR | American Schools of Oriental Research |
| *BA* | *Biblical Archaeologist* |
| *BASOR* | *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* |
| *CAH*[1] | *Cambridge Ancient History*. 12 vols. 1st ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923–39 |
| *CAH*[2] | *Cambridge Ancient History*. 12 vols. 2nd ed. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982–99 |
| *CBQ* | *Catholic Biblical Quarterly* |
| *CQ* | *Classical Quarterly* |
| *DDD* | *Dictionary of Deities and Demons in the Bible*. Edited by K. van der Toorn, B. Becking and P. W. van der Horst. Leiden: Brill, 1995 |
| *FGrH* | *Die Fragmente der Griechischen Historiker*. F. Jacoby. 15 vols. Berlin: Wiedmannsche Buchhandlung, 1923–69 |
| *GLAJJ* | *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism*. By M. Stern. 3 vols. Jerusalem: The Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities, 1970 |
| *HTR* | *Harvard Theological Review* |
| *HUCA* | *Hebrew Union College Annual* |
| ICC | International Critical Commentary |
| *IEJ* | *Israel Exploration Journal* |
| *JAOS* | *Journal of the American Oriental Society* |
| *JBL* | *Journal of Biblical Literature* |
| *JEA* | *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* |
| *JHS* | *Journal of Hellenic Studies* |
| *JNES* | *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* |
| *JQR* | *Jewish Quarterly Review* |
| *JRS* | *Journal of Roman Studies* |
| *JSJ* | *Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Period* |
| *JSOT* | *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament* |
| JSOTSup | *Journal for the Study of the Old Testament*, Supplement Series |
| *LAR* | *Ancient Records of Assyrian and Babylonia*. D. Luckenbill. 2 vols. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1926 |

| | |
|---|---|
| LCL | Loeb Classical Library |
| LXX | Septuagint |
| *OA* | *Oriens Antiquus* |
| *OTP* | *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*. Edited by J. Charlesworth. 2 vols. New York: Doubleday, 1983 |
| *PEQ* | *Palestine Exploration Quarterly* |
| *RB* | *Revue Biblique* |
| *RHR* | *Revue de l'histoire des religions* |
| SANE | Sources from the Ancient Near East |
| SBL | Society of Biblical Literature |
| SBLMS | Society of Biblical Literature Monograph Series |
| *SJOT* | *Scandinavian Journal of the Old Testament* |
| *ST* | *Studia theologica* |
| Urk. VI | *Urkunden mythologischen Inhalts*. S. Schott. Urkunden des aegyptischen altertums, in verbingdung mit Kurt Sethe und Heinrich Schäfer 6. 2 vols. Leipzig: J. C. Hinrichs, 1929–39 |
| *VT* | *Vetus Testamentum* |
| *ZAW* | *Zeitschrift für die alttestamentlische Wissenschaft* |

## *Assyriological Sigla*

| | |
|---|---|
| K | British Museum, Kouyunjik collection |
| Ni | Archaeological Museum of Istanbul, Nippur tablets |
| UCBE | University of California Babylonian Collection |
| UET | Ur Excavations, texts |
| VAT | Staatliche Museum, Berlin (Vorderasiatische Abteilung. Tontafeln) |
| W | Uruk-Warka tablets |
| WB | H. Weld-Blundell Collection of the Ashmolean Museum |

# Chapter 1

## Methodology and History of Scholarship

This book proposes a new theory regarding the date and circumstances of the composition of the Pentateuch. The central thesis of this book is that the Hebrew Pentateuch was composed in its entirety about 273–272 BCE by Jewish scholars at Alexandria that later traditions credited with the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch into Greek. The primary evidence is literary dependence of Gen 1–11 on Berossus's *Babyloniaca* (278 BCE), literary dependence of the Exodus story on Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* (ca. 285–280 BCE), and datable geo-political references in the Table of Nations. A number of indications point to a provenance of Alexandria in Egypt for at least some portions of the Pentateuch. That the Pentateuch, utilizing literary sources found at the Great Library of Alexandria, was composed at almost the same date as the Alexandrian Septuagint translation provides compelling evidence for some level of communication and collaboration between the authors of the Pentateuch and the Septuagint scholars at Alexandria's Museum. The late date of the Pentateuch, as demonstrated by literary dependence on Berossus and Manetho, has two important consequences: the definitive overthrow of the chronological framework of the Documentary Hypothesis, and a third-century BCE or later date for other portions of the Hebrew Bible that show literary dependence on the Pentateuch.

### 1. *Methodology*

The source-critical methods used in this book for dating texts—including biblical texts—are those familiar from classical studies, deductively establishing *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* dates between which the composition of the text under investigation must have taken place. The latest possible date of composition (*terminus ad quem*) is fixed by the earliest proof of the existence of the text, such as (rarely) the earliest physical copy, or (commonly) the first quotation or other utilization of the text by some other datable work. The earliest possible date of composition (*terminus a quo*) is usually fixed by the latest datable work the text in question quotes or utilizes or by the latest historical allusion within the text. This book is essentially an extended exercise in classical source criticism applied to the Hebrew Bible.[1]

1. There is a sharp methodological distinction between classical source criticism and traditional biblical source criticism. The latter uses a variety of techniques to isolate hypothetical sources within

The organization of this book follows a program suggested by the above methodology. The crucial first step in dating the Pentateuch is establishing a true *terminus ad quem*. Chapter 2 shows that the early date of Pentateuchal sources according to the Documentary Hypothesis is entirely lacking in external corroboration, since archaeological evidence, including an analysis of written finds in Judea and at Elephantine, does not support the existence of any written Pentateuchal materials prior to the third century BCE. The first evidence of the existence of the Pentateuch has commonly been taken to be Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*, usually dated to the period 320–300 BCE. One literary fragment almost universally attributed to Hecataeus (namely Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8) mentioned Jewish books of the law and even quoted a passage that appears to come from Deuteronomy. This seemingly establishes a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 320–300 BCE for the composition of the Pentateuch. Chapter 3 shows this commonly accepted conclusion is in error, since it can be demonstrated that the passage is not from Hecataeus at all, but from Theophanes of Mytilene, writing in 62 BCE. Chapter 4 shows that the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch into Greek is the first true evidence for Pentateuchal writings in any language and yields a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 270 BCE. This is a conclusion of major importance, for it opens up the possibility that the Pentateuch borrows from or shows awareness of other literary texts written as late as ca. 270 BCE. Specifically, this indicates the necessity for reappraising the relationship between the Pentateuch and works by the historians Berossus (278 BCE) and Manetho (ca. 285 BCE). The similarity of Gen 1–11 and Mesopotamian traditions in Berossus such as the creation and flood stories has often been noted; likewise the similarity of the Exodus story and two accounts of the expulsion of foreigners from Egypt to Judea in Manetho. But a dependency of Genesis on Berossus or Manetho has never been seriously considered before, since it was assumed that the Pentateuch took shape by the time of Hecataeus of Abdera, that is, before Berossus and Manetho wrote. Close similarities between Berossus and Genesis have thus in some cases been attributed to Jewish interpolations in Berossus; the many scholars who have posited a relationship between the expulsion stories in Manetho and Exodus have unanimously assumed that Manetho engaged in

biblical texts. The identification of sources J, E, D and P preliminary to the dating arguments of the Documentary Hypothesis is a prime example of biblical source criticism. Such source documents must remain perpetually hypothetical, since they no longer exist as independent entities. This type of source criticism is rarely encountered in classical scholarship, one notable example being the detection of a *Catalog of Ships* as a hypothetical source in Homer's *Iliad*. Rather, most classical source criticism takes place in later periods that are well-populated with texts, so that a given text's antecedents and successors are typically identifiable. That such source criticism has not often been applied to the Hebrew Bible—except internally, where one biblical text is identified as dependent on another—is primarily due to assumptions of antiquity of the biblical texts, which has precluded the consideration of literary borrowing from Hellenistic sources. An interesting example of classical source critical techniques fruitfully applied to cuneiform texts is J. Tigay's *The Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1982); the Sumerian literary antecedents of *The Gilgamesh Epic* are well known, as are several Akkadian versions, allowing an objective analysis of the development of the text from earlier sources.

polemics against the Jewish account. The shift in the Pentateuch's *terminus ad quem* from ca. 320–300 BCE to ca. 270 BCE raises for the first time the possibility that the borrowing and polemics took place in the opposite direction: that the Pentateuch drew on Berossus and polemicized against the Egyptian expulsion stories in Manetho.

The next step in dating the Pentateuch is establishing a *terminus a quo*. This is done using a number of independent arguments. Chapter 5 argues that all of the well-known Mesopotamian influences on Gen 1–11 are best explained by knowledge of Berossus, who translated all the relevant Mesopotamian traditions into Greek in 278 BCE, and whose *Babyloniaca* is often closer to the biblical text than were the original cuneiform texts. Chapter 6 shows that the geographical information in the Table of Nations reflected the political divisions into Seleucid, Ptolemaic and disputed territories after 278 BCE, and that the related story of the Curse of Canaan reflected circumstances at the end of the First Syrian War, in ca. 273–272 BCE. Chapters 7 and 8 argue that the Exodus story was based on Manetho's account of the expulsion of foreigners from Egypt into Judea. The traditions in Manetho can be demonstrated to have drawn exclusively on native Egyptian sources and display no awareness of the biblical account. The Exodus story, meanwhile, shows considerable knowledge of Manetho's accounts regarding Hyksos and expelled Egyptians, showing systematic agreement with Manetho in all details favorable or neutral to the Jews but containing polemics against precisely those points in Manetho that reflected unfavorably on the Jews. The Exodus story thus appears to have originated in reaction to Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* written in ca. 285 BCE. Chapter 9 argues that the figure of Moses as a magician and deliverer of the Jews was modeled on Nectanebos II, the last pharaoh of Egypt, as portrayed in legends of the late fourth and early third century BCE. Chapter 10 shows that the geography of the Exodus reflects toponyms of the early Ptolemaic period and may allude to certain features of the Ptolemaic Nile-to-Red-Sea canal in place in ca. 273 BCE.

As summarized in Chapter 11, these multiple lines of evidence are consistent with the composition of the Pentateuch having taken place in 273–272 BCE. Analysis of the sources utilized in the Pentateuch point to Jewish access to Greek manuscripts of the Great Library in Alexandria. Authorship of key portions of the Pentateuch by Jewish scholars knowledgeable in Greek, and having access to Alexandria's library in 273–272 BCE, points to the identity of the authors of the Pentateuch with the team of seventy (or seventy-two) Jewish scholars whom tradition credited with having created the Septuagint translation about this same time through the generous patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. The objective of the Septuagint scholars' literary activities is best understood as the composition of the Hebrew Pentateuch itself, and only secondarily its translation into Greek. The diverse Pentateuchal sources J, E, D, P and H are best interpreted as illustrating the different social strata and interests among the scholars at work on the project.

## 2. *History of Scholarship*

Having outlined the methodology and contents of this book, it is appropriate to review past scholarship on the dating of the Pentateuch and Hebrew Bible, to place the current study in proper perspective. In reviewing the history of scholarship, selectivity has been exercised by restricting the survey to major theories on dating the Pentateuch and other key texts. The following discussion focuses primarily on issues of methodology.

### *Wellhausen*

The dominant theory on the composition of the Pentateuch is still the Documentary Hypothesis. The version of the Documentary Hypothesis summarized (and somewhat oversimplified) here is that of J. Wellhausen.[2] Wellhausen believed that the various sources of the Pentateuch represented different phases in the development of the Jewish religion and could be correlated with Jewish history as presented in the Hebrew Bible. The Documentary Hypothesis as presented by Wellhausen identified four distinct sources in the Pentateuch and sought to date each. The oldest was thought to have been J, reflecting a phase when the worship of Yahweh was not yet centralized in Jerusalem. This was thought to correlate with the historical period before Solomon's temple; but since J also made allusions to a period of rule under kings, J was dated to the early monarchy, ca. 850–800 BCE. Next came E, the Elohist, with similar perspectives as J, but characteristically using the name El rather than Yahweh. Since it was thought that E was added onto the existing narrative of J, it was dated somewhat later. The combined source document JE is thought to have taken shape in 850–750 BCE, in the "golden age of Hebrew literature."[3] D was dated to 621 BCE, the eighteenth year of Josiah, when a book of the covenant was allegedly discovered in the temple according to 2 Kgs 22–23. Wellhausen believed Deuteronomy was a new composition intended to bolster Josiah's intended cult reforms that centralized worship of Yahweh at Jerusalem and eliminated competing cults. Wellhausen convinced the scholarly world that P, the Priestly Code, was written last. Wellhausen argued that P reflected the period when Second Temple Judaism began to emerge among priests of the Babylonian exile, and that P was officially introduced by Ezra in Judea in 458 BCE.

Wellhausen believed that the different Pentateuchal sources represented different stages in a linear evolution of Jewish religion from primitive, decentralized polytheism to a centralized monotheistic cult of Yahweh at Jerusalem to the priest-dominated Judaism of the post-exilic period. Wellhausen's application of historico-critical methods sought not only to date the Pentateuchal sources, but also to construct a picture of the historical developments that had prompted

2. J. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena to the History of Ancient Israel* (trans. J. Black and A. Menzies; repr., Cleveland: World Publishing, 1965).

3. Ibid., 9.

the writings of these sources.[4] Wellhausen considered his central contribution towards demonstrating the late date of P to have been his improved construction of the history of Israel and its cult.[5] This view of history derived directly from his reading of biblical historiographical texts without the benefits of data from archaeology. Wellhausen largely accepted biblical accounts of events as substantially factual in content,[6] but Wellhausen selectively revised that history to accommodate his theories on the dating of Pentateuchal sources. Thus, for instance, he posited that the legal scroll discovered in the course of temple renovations under Josiah's reign was actually a new composition—the book of Deuteronomy—which the religious leaders introduced as an ancient and authoritative Mosaic text in order to lend authority to the proposed reforms of Josiah centralizing the cult of Yahweh at Jerusalem. He similarly posited that the ancient and authoritative scroll of the law that Ezra reportedly brought from Babylon and read in Jerusalem had been recently composed by exilic priests. As discussed in Chapter 2 below, archaeological evidence fails to support the historicity of Josiah's reforms, essential for Wellhausen's theory of the historical circumstances which produced—and dated—D. The Elephantine Papyri show no evidence of the existence of any Pentateuchal writings as late as 400 BCE. Wellhausen's dating theories largely founder on the collapse of his view of Israel's historical and religious development.

Wellhausen's dating of sources relied heavily on using biblical historiographical texts as a springboard for creative historical constructs that proposed to explain the specific circumstances behind the composition and introduction of Pentateuchal materials. This entangling of dating issues with subjective historical constructs was a major methodological flaw in Wellhausen's approach.[7] The Documentary Hypothesis as developed by Wellhausen illustrates the grave danger of circular reasoning inherent in dating texts by means of a historical construct created to facilitate the dating of these same texts. Under the methodology advocated in this book, the dating of texts is properly an enterprise prior to and entirely separate from the writing of history.

*Van Seters*

In his important and influential 1983 book, *In Search of History*, J. Van Seters articulated the idea that the Hebrew Bible should be viewed as historiography rather than historical fact[8] and systematically compared the historiography of the

4. At ibid., 367–68, Wellhausen acknowledged and to some extent described the use of historico-critical methods.

5. Ibid., 368.

6. At ibid., 366, Wellhausen referred to "the ascertained facts of Israelite history."

7. Wellhausen's reliance on historical construction to date sources is illustrated by the outline of his "literary and historical investigation" at *Prolegomena*, 12–13. As Wellhausen remarked at p. 367, "History, it is well known, has always to be constructed... The question is whether one constructs well or ill."

8. History is actual events of the past, "historical fact." Historiography is a literary genre, writing about the past. A given historiographical work may or may not convey accurate historical fact.

Hebrew Bible with that of other peoples in the ancient world, notably the Mesopotamians, Egyptians, Levantines and Greeks. Van Seters found the closest parallels with Mesopotamian historiography to occur in the book of Kings, which contained some stories of later kings that closely resembled the relatively objective Babylonian Chronicle Series of the Neo-Babylonian Empire.[9] Van Seters also found a number of parallels with Greek historiography, such as the Hebrew Bible's use of eponyms, etiologies, stories about inventors,[10] and histories built around genealogies.[11] He also compared the collection and utilization of *logoi* by the Deuteronomist to that of Herodotus.[12] In Van Seters' later 1992 book, *Prologue to History*, he cited further instances of possible borrowing from the Greeks in J portions of Genesis, notably the idea that the gods cohabited with human women and begat superhuman, gigantic offspring.[13] The Table of Nations, with its interest in eponymous ancestors and in genealogies of ancient heroes, also strongly paralleled Greek historiographical interests as reflected, for instance, in the Hesiodic *Catalog of Women*.[14] Mesopotamian historiography, with its "antiquarian" interest in the Flood and the pre-Flood world, also substantially influenced early Genesis.[15] Van Seters thus saw both Greek and Mesopotamian influence on the Hebrew Bible. Van Seters dated J to the exilic, pre-Persian period, based on the land-promises in Genesis, stories of patriarchs sending their sons back to Mesopotamia for wives, and especially in Babylonian influences on the primeval history.[16]

A major defect in Van Seters' dating is that the pioneering Greek prose writers that Van Seters cited as displaying close parallels to biblical historiography, notably Hecataeus of Miletus and Herodotus, wrote in the fifth century BCE and later, after the exilic period.[17] Another major problem for Van Seters is the lack of a plausible mechanism for transmission of Greek and Mesopotamian historiographical ideas to reach the Jews in the period he considered, since Greeks and Hebrews had almost no direct contact before the fourth century BCE.[18] Noting Greek–Phoenician trade contact in the pre-Persian period, he therefore proposed the Phoenicians as transmitters of Greek historiographical traditions to the Jews around the close of the sixth century BCE. This suggestion is unconvincing, since Phoenician historiography—as known from the writings of Philo of Byblos—contained almost none of the Greek features one would expect from

9. J. Van Seters, *In Search of History: Historiography in the Ancient World and the Origins of Biblical History* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1983), 294.

10. Ibid., 23–27.

11. Ibid., 47.

12. Ibid., 17, 31–40, 355–58.

13. J. Van Seters, *Prologue to History: The Yahwist as Historian in Genesis* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1992), 80, 155–56.

14. Ibid., 89–90, 176–77.

15. Ibid., 70–72.

16. Ibid., 242, 320, 332.

17. This point was forcefully stated by N. P. Lemche in his *Prelude to Israel's Past: Background and Beginnings of Israelite History and Identity* (Peabody, Mass.: Hendrickson, 1998), 224.

18. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 53–54.

Van Seters' analysis.[19] Van Seters attempted to account for the influence of Mesopotamian historiographical traditions on the Pentateuch by positing that the Pentateuch was composed during the Babylonian exile. Van Seters appears not to have considered the problem of Jewish access to cuneiform traditions, which were first made available to the larger world by Berossus's translations in the *Babyloniaca* in 278 BCE.[20] This book proposes that Jewish scholars were exposed to Greek and Mesopotamian historiographical tradition (the two already fused in Berossus's *Babyloniaca*) from scrolls they had access to at the Alexandrian Library in ca. 273–272 BCE (see Chapter 11).

*Garbini*

Another influential book, published not long after Van Seters' *In Search of History*, was G. Garbini's *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel* in 1988. Garbini followed Van Seters in recognizing the influence of Greek historiography in the Hebrew Bible's use of genealogies, eponyms and *logoi*.[21] Like Van Seters, Garbini saw the need to posit an intermediary between Greek and Jews, but instead of the Phoenicians, Garbini proposed the Philistines.[22] Garbini made the interesting proposal that the references to Ur and Harran in the story of Abraham dated the tale (that is, the *logos*) to the time of Nabonidus (555–539 BCE), who promoted temple cults of the moon god Sin in those two cities. Garbini suggested that the Jews in Nabonidus's time traced their ancestry to Mesopotamia much as Jews of later times claimed kinship with the Spartans or the Damascenes.[23]

One of Garbini's more important contributions was his close attention to evidence for *terminus ad quem* dates of biblical books. Garbini considered a passage routinely attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera, variously dated to 320–300 BCE, as the earliest evidence for Pentateuchal writings in some form.[24] References by

19. Van Seters discussed Philo of Byblos at ibid., 84–85, 205–8. Philo's sources postdated the sixth century BCE and combined Phoenician traditions with Greek thought, notably of the Euhemeristic school (see extensively A. Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History of Philo of Byblos: A Commentary* [Leiden: Brill, 1981], especially 122–23). Philo's *Phoenician History*, though purportedly drawing on native historical sources, contained little semblance to biblical historiography, being primarily concerned with mythical origins of the gods, the cosmos and civilization. The closest parallel to biblical materials was Philo's history of (divine) inventors of technology. This history has some analogy to the inventors listed at Gen 4:20–22. But as Van Seters noted (*In Search of History*, 25, 26 n. 57), the history of invention was also a theme in Greek and Mesopotamian history, so Jewish borrowing of this theme from the Phoenicians is not particularly indicated. Additionally, the late date of Philo of Byblos (ca. 100 CE) makes it probable that the section with the closest biblical parallels, namely Philo's history of inventions, was influenced by late Hellenistic historiography. See H. Attridge and A. Oden, *Philo of Byblos: The Phoenician History* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1981), 8; Baumgarten, *The Phoenician History*, 263–66 (Baumgarten's discussion at pp. 140–79 showed that the Phoenician inventors were Euhemerized gods). See also the comments at N. P. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?," *SJOT* 7 (1993): 163–93 (183 n. 38).

20. W. Lambert, *The Background of Jewish Apocalyptic* (London: Athlone, 1978), 13–14.

21. G. Garbini, *History and Ideology in Ancient Israel* (New York: Crossroad, 1988), 83–85.

22. Ibid., 85–86.

23. Ibid., 77–78.

24. Ibid., 138, 146.

Aristobulus (ca. 150 BCE) and *The Letter of Aristeas* to a previous defective translation of the Pentateuch into Greek corrected by the Septuagint were also considered significant evidence of early Pentateuchal writings. Aristobulus's summary of an alleged translation preceding the Septuagint lacked any mention of events from the book of Genesis. Garbini took this to indicate that Genesis may have been composed as late as the time of the Septuagint translation,[25] which he considered a major new redaction of the Pentateuchal traditions.[26] Though Garbini emphasized *terminus ad quem* data, he never developed any rigorous arguments regarding *terminus a quo* dates. As a result of Garbini's dating of biblical texts at or close to the *terminus ad quem*, his conclusions seem highly subjective.

As a whole, Garbini's intuitions with respect to the late dating of biblical materials are broadly confirmed in this book. In some cases, this book proposes even later dates than that of Garbini, but within a more rigorous logical framework. Theophanes of Mytilene, writing in 62 BCE, is shown to have been the true author of the passage on the Jews usually attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera and mistakenly thought by Garbini (among others) to demonstrate the existence of Jewish writings ca. 320–300 BCE (see Chapter 3). References to an alleged Greek translation of the Pentateuch earlier than the Septuagint in *Aristobulus* and *The Letter of Aristeas* (which Garbini took at face value) are shown to have no historical foundation: these were based entirely on Egyptian claims to have colonized Judea as reported in genuine passages of Hecataeus of Abdera, which later Jewish authors believed must have relied on some defective early Greek translation of the Jewish Exodus story (see Chapter 4, §§1–3). All evidence for Jewish writings in Greek or Hebrew prior to the Septuagint thus evaporates and the Septuagint translation in ca. 272–269 BCE becomes the true *terminus ad quem* for the Pentateuch (see Chapter 4, §4). Indeed, this book ultimately concludes that the Hebrew text behind the Septuagint represents the original Pentateuch itself, newly composed in 273–272 BCE (see Chapter 11), not a redaction of some earlier version as Garbini held.

*Davies*

Building on Garbini's book, P. R. Davies presented a case for dating the Pentateuch and other biblical texts to the Persian period in his 1992 book, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*. Davies' proposed dates for biblical texts centered on arguments that the concept of Israel itself only emerged in the Persian period. Davies argued that a reconstituted Israel was the ideological creation of the Persian Empire, pointing out that Persian policies implementing the organization of the Persian Empire included the restoration or creation of temples, the establishment of law codes, and the conscious creation of feelings of new ethnic identity among relocated populations.[27]

25. Ibid., 135–36.

26. Ibid., 140, 146.

27. P. R. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"* (JSOTSup 148; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 1992), 83–87.

Davies proposed that Jewish laws were codified at the initiative of Darius I. Davies appeared particularly impressed by Darius I's instruction for Egyptian scholars of the House of Life to produce a new edition of Egyptian legal texts (which J. Blenkinsopp compared to Ezra's mission).[28] But Darius I's instructions to restore Egyptian temples and legal institutions in 518 BCE were clearly a local concession intended to mollify Egyptians for the excesses of Cambyses, including the destruction of legal and religious texts.[29] The Jews, in direct contrast to the Egyptians, suffered no disruptions of their temples under Cambyses and remained loyal during the uprisings in Egypt and elsewhere that followed Cambyses' death in 522 BCE.[30] The known historical forces that prompted Darius I's legal initiative in Egypt were thus absent in Judea, undermining Davies' theory. Additionally, while Darius I actively promoted his own reputation as lawgiver in Persia and Egypt,[31] his name was not associated with Jewish law in either biblical or extra-biblical sources.

Davies dated Deuteronomy to the sixth or fifth century[32] and other materials mostly in the Persian period hypothetically emanating from temple scribal schools that continued producing biblical texts down into the third century BCE.[33] Davies' theory of different scribal schools or "colleges" specializing in producing legal materials, historiography, wisdom literature, etc., was "an exercise in imagination," as he himself acknowledged.[34]

Like Garbini, Davies put little confidence in the historical value of the Kings tradition. Davies pointed out the circularity in making biblical texts contemporary witnesses to the history they related by assuming that their earliest possible date of composition represented their actual date of composition.[35] Although

28. Ibid., 85, citing J. Blenkinsopp, *A History of Prophecy in Israel: From the Settlement of the Land to the Hellenistic Period* (Philadelphia: Westminster, 1983), 227. Blenkinsopp has since expanded on his ideas in "The Mission of Udjahorresnet and those of Ezra and Nehemiah," *JBL* 106 (1987): 409–21. Blenkinsopp's focus in these essays was not on understanding Darius I's legal reforms in their own historical context, but rather on their alleged relevance to understanding the missions of Ezra and Nehemiah. Blenkinsopp overlooked the fact that successive Persian kings had widely divergent policies towards subject peoples and their cults. One may for instance contrast the toleration of local religions by Cyrus, Cambyses and Darius I in the period 539–486 BCE with the suppression of references to any god but Ahura Mazda in the inscriptions of Xerxes–Artaxerxes II during 486–405 BCE; see T. Bolin, "The Temple of יהו at Elephantine and Persian Religious Policy," in *The Triumph of Elohim: From Yahwisms to Judaisms* (ed. D. V. Edelman; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1996), 127–42 (136–39).

29. Darius I was keenly aware of Egyptian offended religious sensibilities that had led to the revolt of Egypt in 521 BCE. At Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95, Darius's codification of traditional Egyptian law was described as a remedy for Cambyses' lawlessness and impious actions against Egypt's temples. In a similar vein, Polyaenus, *Stratagems* 7.11.7 described Darius I's support for the Apis bull cult as a measure taken to calm Egyptian rebelliousness.

30. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30. (The numbering of the Elephantine Papyri throughout this book is that of A. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century B.C.* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1923].)

31. See A. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), 118–34; *Demotic Chronicle* column c lines 8–14; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95.

32. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*, 89.

33. Ibid., 76.

34. Ibid., 120.

35. Ibid., 38.

acknowledging the doubtful historical content of Ezra–Nehemiah,[36] he also invoked these books as describing Persian initiatives in establishing religious institutions in Yehud.[37]

Although Davies' book was extremely valuable in questioning the historical presuppositions of the Documentary Hypothesis,[38] Davies' own approach was highly reminiscent of that of Wellhausen. Both were concerned with constructing histories of the Jews, but for slightly different reasons. Whereas Wellhausen's major interest was tracing the emergence of centralized worship at Jerusalem and the creation of the familiar institutions of Second Temple Judaism, Davies' interest was in investigating the emerging idea of Israel itself. Much as Wellhausen proposed that Deuteronomy was promulgated among the Jews to support Josiah's reforms, Davies believed the Pentateuchal and historiographical literature, and even the idea of Israel itself, were created at Persian initiative. Wellhausen and Davies largely agreed on Ezra's role, although Davies saw Ezra as an agent of the Persians (and as less than historical). Davies' historical theories regarding the Persians as creators of the idea of Israel were hypothetical at best and very hard to separate from his theories on dating of biblical materials. The same criticism made regarding Wellhausen's mingling of history-writing and dating of texts also applies here.

*Lemche*

In an article published in 1993, N. P. Lemche listed four major reasons for dating the Hebrew Bible to the Hellenistic period.[39]

First, he asserted that a lack of reliable historical content in the historiographical books of the Hebrew Bible pointed to a late date of composition. This argument does not appear sound, since there are many examples of late historical texts that drew on old reliable sources, and older historical texts, nearly contemporary with the events they relate, that are known to have been inaccurate.[40]

36. Ibid., 90; idem, "Scenes from the Early History of Judaism," in Edelman, ed., *The Triumph of Elohim*, 145–84.

37. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*, 85–87. This reversed the procedure of Blenkinsopp, who believed Darius I's restoration of Egyptian law in 518 BCE shed light on Ezra's mission in the fifth or early fourth century BCE.

38. See especially Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*, 36–43.

39. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?," 182–84. Lemche's 1993 *SJOT* article was reprinted with some updates in *Did Moses Speak Attic? Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period* (ed. L. L. Grabbe; Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), 287–318. Citations in this book will be taken from the *SJOT* version.

40. Ancient documents frequently relate contemporary events unreliably. One need only consider inaccuracies in propagandistic near-contemporary accounts of battles written on behalf of Egyptian or Assyrian kings. Conversely, relatively late books such as Berossus and Manetho are now known to more-or-less faithfully translate extremely old, valuable materials. Since date of composition and historical reliability are completely distinct issues, intertwining the two serves no useful purpose. Indeed, there is a real danger of circularity in arguments that correlate the age of a text with its perceived historical value. As Davies pointed out at *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*, 36–38, the positive assessment of the historical content of books such as Kings or Ezra–Nehemiah led to

Second, following Van Seters, Lemche suggested that the idea of (re-)establishing a Jewish kingdom in Palestine likely arose in the Jewish Diaspora still living in Mesopotamia.[41] (By contrast, Davies had argued that the idea of Israel arose among populations transplanted from Mesopotamia to Judea by the Persians.)

Third, also following Van Seters, Lemche noted that the Hebrew Bible reflected Greek and Mesopotamian historiography. Lemche suggested that the historiographical books of the Hebrew Bible were patterned after the structure of Herodotus, which, if true, would exclude Van Seters' dating of the Deuteronomist historian and JE to the exile. However, the structural parallels Lemche attempted to show between Herodotus's *History* and Genesis–Kings are forced and unconvincing. Further, one would expect that if the authors of the histories of the Hebrew Bible had been substantially influenced by Herodotus, quotations or ideas from Herodotus would be found somewhere in Jewish historiographical writings, but direct borrowing from Herodotus has never been detected. No real evidence exists that the Jewish authors of the Pentateuch or the Deuteronomist knew Herodotus. This book will argue that the Jewish historical writings closely followed a different pattern, that of Berossus's *Babyloniaca*, which contained a connected narrative that included creation, the flood and a history of the kings of Babylon and Persia down to Alexander's conquest. Direct borrowing from Berossus will be demonstrated in the primordial history of Gen 1–11 (see Chapter 5).

Fourth, Lemche argued that the Neo-Babylonian or Persian periods did not provide a realistic opportunity for Greek ideas about historiography to have reached the Jews. Lemche accepted Van Seters' suggestion that the Jews of the exile could have been exposed to ideas of Mesopotamian historiography, but pointed out that for the majority of Jews who chose to stay in Mesopotamia rather than return to Judea, the exile did not end in 538 BCE.[42] He rejected Van Seters' idea that Jews in the exilic period were exposed to Greek historical traditions by way of the Phoenicians as lacking any real evidence. Instead, Lemche suggested that Jews in Mesopotamia as late as the early Hellenistic period could have been exposed to both Greek and Mesopotamian historiographical traditions.[43] This last argument appears to have been Lemche's main reason both for dating Jewish historical writings to the Hellenistic period and his suggestion of a Seleucid, Mesopotamian provenance.

dating these books directly after the last events they relate; these same books were then enlisted as near-contemporary witnesses to their own historical content, bolstering the confidence in the stories they tell. Conversely, a negative assessment of historical content that is used to date a text as late as possible thereby bolsters its apparent unhistoricity. It is therefore best to adopt a methodology that consciously divorces objective questions of dating from subjective questions of historical accuracy.

41. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?," 182–83; idem, *Prelude to Israel's Past*, 224–25.

42. Lemche, *Prelude to Israel's Past*, 224.

43. Lemche, "The Old Testament—A Hellenistic Book?," 184; idem, *Prelude to Israel's Past*, 225.

There appears to be considerable merit to Lemche's fourth argument that Jews learned of Greek ideas of historiography during the Hellenistic period, when Jews and Greeks came into direct contact. But both Van Seters and Lemche assumed that Jewish exposure to Mesopotamian (Babylonian) ideas of historiography must have taken place among Jews living in Mesopotamia. Yet given that Babylonian historiographical writings existed only in cuneiform texts stored in temple libraries until the translations made by Berossus,[44] it seems unlikely that Jewish residents in Mesopotamia would in fact have been exposed to Babylonian literary traditions. This book will argue that Jewish Alexandrian scholars were exposed to Mesopotamian historiography through Berossus's *Babyloniaca*.

*Thompson*

In 1994, T. L. Thompson attempted the first history of South Syria based solely on archaeological data without utilizing biblical historiographical accounts.[45] Thompson extended his history down to the Persian period, when Thompson dated the emergence of Israel among new populations transplanted to South Syria from Mesopotamia.[46] Thompson considered the Persian period the *terminus a quo* and the middle of the second century BCE as the *terminus ad quem* for the composition of biblical manuscripts figuring Israel.[47] At the time, Thompson largely rested his dating arguments on interpretations of Ezra as documenting Persian restoration (creation) of Jewish identity and national literature.[48] In 1997, Thompson acknowledged that his historical reconstruction of the Persian period had relied too heavily on biblical materials, but still viewed the Persian period as a valid *terminus a quo* for the development of the idea of Israel expressed in the biblical texts.[49]

While Thompson considered it possible that Genesis–Kings existed in some form in the Persian and Hellenistic periods, he argued that these texts were still undergoing revisions as late as the Hasmonean period.[50] Thompson's argument largely rested on a scheme of biblical chronology that calculated exactly 4000 years between the creation of the world in 4164 BCE and the Maccabean

44. See the comments at Lambert, *Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 13–14.

45. T. L. Thompson, *Early History of the Israelite People: From the Written and Archaeological Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 1994).

46. Ibid., 415–23.

47. Ibid., 356 n. 10.

48. Ibid., 417, 419. "My Persian period date stands or falls with the dating of Ezra 4, 5 and 7" (356 n. 10).

49. T. L. Thompson, "Defining History and Ethnicity in the South Levant," in *Can a "History of Israel" Be Written?* (ed. L. L. Grabbe; JSOTSup 245; European Seminar in Historical Methodology 1; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1997), 166–87 (178–79, esp. n. 39).

50. Thompson suggested that Hasmonean Era materials included stories of David and of "the golden age of the United Monarchy" (T. L. Thompson, *The Mythic Past: Biblical Archaeology and the Myth of Israel* [New York: Basic Books, 1999], 207–8), "II Kings' descriptions of Samaria" (p. 97) and stories of the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah (pp. 97, 273, 296, 307). For a critique of Thompson's suggested Hasmonean Era allusions in Kings, see D. M. Gunn, "The Myth of Israel: Between Present and Past," in Grabbe, ed., *Did Moses Speak Attic?*, 182–99 (183–86).

restoration of the temple in 164 BCE. Thompson argued that the chronology in the historiographical materials in the Hebrew Bible was revised after that date.[51] Thompson's argument required that Jewish chronographers possessed an accurate calculation of the interval of 374 years between the Cyrus Decree in 538 BCE and the restoration of the temple in 164 BCE,[52] whereas it is well known that no extant Jewish sources from the Second Temple period correctly calculated these dates.[53] If a 4000-year scheme was being promoted after the Maccabean restoration of the temple in 164 BCE, it is strange that Eupolemus, the Maccabean envoy and the author of a book *The Judean Kings* in 158/157 BCE, knew nothing about it, but calculated 5149 years between Adam and his day.[54] Additionally, the book of Sirach, conventionally dated to ca. 180 BCE, attests to various episodes in the Hebrew Bible that Thompson proposed were written in the Hasmonean period.[55]

*Albertz*

According to *A History of Israelite Religion* by R. Albertz of the Heidelberg School,[56] Persian authorities required a formal Jewish law code in order to grant

51. T. L. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives: The Quest for the Historical Abraham* (Berlin: de Gruyter, 1974), 14–15; idem, *The Mythic Past*, 73–75, 294. Thompson based his scheme of 4000 years on extremely tenuous evidence drawn from Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 308; M. Johnson, *The Purpose of Biblical Genealogies with Special Reference to the Settings of the Genealogies of Jesus* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969), 32 and table 262. These same arguments were also rehearsed in P. R. Davies, *Scribes and Schools: The Canonization of the Hebrew Scriptures* (Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1998), 174. Biblical chronology ended abruptly with Nebuchadnezzar's conquest. None of the historiographical books set in Persian times, namely Ezra, Nehemiah and Esther, extended the biblical dating system into the Persian Era, much less the Hellenistic Era. An alleged biblical scheme of 4000 years thus appears illusory.

52. Thompson, *Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, 14.

53. Dan 9:25–26, written ca. 165 BCE, assigned 434 years (62 weeks) to this same interval; Demetrius the Chronographer inaccurately calculated 338 years from the Babylonian captivity to the start of Ptolemy IV's reign in 221 BCE; *Seder 'Olam Rabbah* assigns only 52 years to the entire Persian period; Dan 7:6; 11:2 knew of only four Persian rulers. On the inaccuracy of Jewish traditions on the duration of the Persian period—or even the names and sequence of its rules—see especially C. Torrey, "Medes and Persians," *JAOS* 66 (1946): 1–15; Garbini, *History and Ideology*, 153–54; E. Bickerman, "The Jewish Historian Demetrius," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Graeco-Roman Cults: Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (ed. J. Neusner; 3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3:72–84 (81–84).

54. Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.141.4

55. Sirach mentioned David's reign (Sir 47:1–11) and the reforms of Hezekiah and Josiah (Sir 48:17–22; 49:1–4); cf. Thompson's suggestion of a Hasmonean context for these events in n. 50 above. Thompson suggested that the usual dating of Sirach to ca. 180–175 BCE was too early, and that the text was authored, not by Sirach himself, but by his grandson Jesus b. Sirach (*The Mythic Past*, 287). The issue of Sirach's date was debated in several articles in Grabbe, ed., *Did Moses Speak Attic*, namely L. L. Grabbe, "Jewish Historiography and Scripture in the Hellenistic Period," 129–55 (142–48); idem, "Reflections on the Discussion," 320–40 (331–32); and T. L. Thompson, "The Bible and Hellenism: A Response," 274–86 (278).

56. R. Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion in the Old Testament Period* (2 vols.; Louisville, Ky.: Westminster John Knox, 1994). The Heidelberg School includes F. Crüsemann, E. Blum and R. Albertz; cf. J. Ska, "'Persian Imperial Authorization': Some Question Marks," in *Persia and Torah:*

local autonomy in the province of Yehud. Albertz argued that a law code was created by the Jerusalem priests together with the council of elders (the later *gerousia*), i.e. the constituted authorities in Persian Yehud, who respectively contributed the Priestly Code and the non-priestly Deuteronomistic composition (which included JE materials). The Heidelberg School viewed the Pentateuch as a compromise text which included oftentimes contradictory material from lay and priestly groups. The authority of the Pentateuch was said to derive from the ruling status of the elders and priestly college.

This approach attempted to extract sociological information from the Pentateuchal and other sources—for instance, claiming that the seventy elders under Moses reflected political institutions of JE's authorial group. Albertz sought to reconstruct historical and sociological developments in Yehud during the Persian period from such considerations.[57] A defect of his approach was the absence of rigor in dating the texts from which such information was extracted, which led to historical insights which may be valid for the groups behind specific texts, but for a different period than that proposed for the given text.[58]

While the Heidelberg School's model of the composition of the Pentateuch served to explain, plausibly, both the authority of the Pentateuch and the unresolved contradictions of its sources, there is no direct biblical or extra-biblical evidence of a Persian initiative behind the composition of the Pentateuch.[59] What the Heidelberg School hypothesized for the Persian period appears to be documented for the Hellenistic era in *The Letter of Aristeas*, which claimed that Ptolemy II Philadelphus requested the Jewish priests and lay council of elders to produce an official copy of the Jewish legislation—in both Hebrew and Greek—for the Great Library of Alexandria. Taking *The Letter of Aristeas* to refer to the composition as well as translation of the Pentateuch (see Chapter 11, §3), many of Albertz's astute sociological observations still apply within this later historical context.

*Redford*

Egyptological data relevant to the Joseph story and the Exodus have been studied by D. Redford.[60] Redford systematically analyzed details of both accounts

*The Theory of Imperial Authorization of the Pentateuch* (ed. J. Watts; SBL Symposium Series 17; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2001), 161–82 (162–63), and literature cited there.

57. Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 2:443–533.

58. Additionally, Albertz's reconstruction of Judaism in the Persian period is flawed by his early dating of the Samaritan schism (cf. Appendix C below).

59. The articles in Watts, ed., *Persia and Torah*, were uniformly negative in their evaluation of the theory of Persian imperial authorization of biblical texts.

60. D. Redford, *A Study of the Biblical Story of Joseph (Genesis 37–50)* (Leiden: Brill, 1970); idem, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," in *Egypt, Israel, Sinai: Archaeological and Historical Relationships in the Biblical Period* (ed. A. Rainey; Tel Aviv: Tel Aviv University, 1987), 137–61; cf. idem, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel in Ancient Times* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1992), 304–5, for concrete examples of datable anachronisms relating to David. Redford's analysis of the Joseph story was criticized at length by K. Kitchen ("Review: Joseph in Egypt," *OA* 12 [1973]: 223–42) for allegedly focusing on late parallels at the expense of valid parallels from the Middle Kingdom.

and found that the stories reflected topographic, onomastic and other data of the Saite, Persian and Ptolemaic periods.[61] Interestingly, Redford concluded that a Saite or Persian period date of composition should be assigned to both the Joseph and Exodus stories,[62] although a Ptolemaic period dating was equally consistent with the data he analyzed. Redford did not state his reason for excluding a Ptolemaic period dating of composition in either study,[63] but it seems likely he was influenced by the Documentary Hypothesis, which held that the Pentateuch was finalized by Ezra.[64]

*Dever*

A recent attempt to date biblical texts by means of archaeological data was made by W. Dever in *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It?*[65] Dever's highly polemical book, when it discussed archaeological issues, was primarily concerned with finding "convergences"[66] between Iron I and II archaeological data and biblical accounts from the Judges period to the fall of Jerusalem. Dever argued that such convergences showed that biblical historiographical texts (primarily Judges–Kings), as well as some of the Prophets, reflect Iron Age "*realia*" and therefore could not have been composed in the Persian or Hellenistic periods.[67] Dever recognized the possibility that certain books such as Kings may have been edited and redacted in the exilic period, but considered convergences with Iron II archaeology to demonstrate that significant portions were composed during the monarchy.[68] Although Dever invoked oral traditions to explain how Iron Age *realia* occasionally appeared in documents composed in the exilic period, Dever did not allow for the possibility that oral traditions could have persisted into the Persian or Hellenistic eras.[69]

61. Redford, *A Study of Joseph*, 242; idem, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 142–32, 153 n. 12 (which discussed the Ptolemaic *Cairo Demotic Papyrus* no. 31169 in connection with Pi-hahiroth, a location on the Exodus itinerary).

62. Redford, *A Study of Joseph*, 242, 250–53; idem, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 145, 149.

63. Redford (*A Study of Joseph*, 242) presented no reason for assigning a date of 425 BCE as the *terminus ante quem* of the Joseph story.

64. Redford's proposal dating the Joseph story to ca. 650–425 BCE occurred in the context of a discussion of J and E sources (*A Study of Joseph*, 250–53).

65. W. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know and When Did They Know It? What Archaeology Can Tell Us about the Reality of Ancient Israel* (Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 2001).

66. Ibid., 80–81, 81–94, 124–25, 159–60, 167, 271, 295. On occasion, Dever also selectively discussed "divergences" between the Hebrew Bible and archaeological discoveries (pp. 236, 270).

67. Ibid., 137, 157, 160, 202, 270, 273–74. Since Kings utilized Pentateuchal materials, Dever's arguments are indirectly relevant to the dating of the Pentateuch.

68. Ibid., 101, 270.

69. Ibid., 273, 279–80; cf. pp. 101–2. Dever argued that references to the "shekel" monetary system and the use of bullae and seal-rings to seal documents reflected Iron II *realia* (pp. 204–5, 222); yet these are also attested at Neh 9:38; 10:1, 32, in a document which is universally dated to the Persian period, at the earliest. On the persistence of the shekel system into the Persian period, see also *Elephantine Papyri* no. 35.11.3–4; E. Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible in the Persian Period 538–332 B.C.* (Jerusalem: Israel Exploration Society, 1982), 215. Dever also argued that the reference to a "pim" weight at 1 Sam 13:21 showed an Iron II background (*What Did the*

The raw archaeological data Dever assembled are important and relevant, but Dever's analysis of their significance failed to take into account key issues of a source-critical nature. A major defect in Dever's book—given its central thesis of archaeology's relevance to textual criticism[70]—is its uncritical acceptance of the Documentary Hypothesis, despite a lack of any corroborating archaeological evidence (see Chapter 2). Another problem in terms of basic methodology is Dever's general application of archaeological dating arguments without sufficient care to determine what specific source documents those arguments apply to. One can agree with Dever on the need for textual criticism to come to terms with the archaeological data;[71] the desirability of "isolating a reliable 'historical core' of events" in the Hebrew Bible—especially in Kings—and the utility of archaeological data in progressing toward that objective;[72] and that certain parts of the Hebrew Bible corroborated by archaeological evidence might be useful as a "possible source for history-writing."[73] But Dever failed to correlate archaeological evidence properly with specific sources, instead arriving at the overgeneral conclusion that the biblical writers "knew *a lot*, and they knew it early."[74]

A more careful methodological approach is to refrain from making broad statements on the historical reliability of composite documents, but instead identify specific source documents and analyze their antiquity and historical content individually. With respect to the book of Kings, for instance, archaeological evidence tends to corroborate the antiquity of the Royal Chronicles of Judah and Israel, but a pre-exilic date for this source does not affect the dating of the Pentateuch, since these chronicles did not draw on Pentateuchal materials. On the other hand, archaeological evidence casts doubt on the antiquity and historical reliability of both the Deuteronomistic ethical commentary on the kings of the Divided Monarchy and the novelistic Tales of the Prophets that also drew on the Pentateuch.[75] The Prophets, like Kings, were composite documents combining ancient and late materials, and archaeological evidence supporting an Iron II date for prophetic texts utilizing the Pentateuch is lacking. The archaeological data that Dever cited thus have value in corroborating the antiquity and possible historical usefulness of select biblical source materials, but do not exclude a Hellenistic Era date for the composition and final redaction of Kings and other biblical texts as Dever attempted to persuade.

*Biblical Writers Know?*, 224, 227), but a Persian Era weight inscribed in Aramaic script also reads "pim" (Stern, *Material Culture of the Land of the Bible*, 217).

70. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know?*, 106.
71. Ibid., 106.
72. Ibid., 267; cf. p. 39.
73. Ibid., 97.
74. Ibid., 273, 295 (emphasis in original).
75. See especially N. Na'aman, "The Contribution of Royal Inscriptions for a Re-Evaluation of the Book of Kings as a Historical Source," *JSOT* 82 (1999): 3–17 (13–16), for a negative assessment of historical content in the prophetic stories in Kings.

*Linguistic Dating of Texts*

Another approach to dating Pentateuchal materials is to date the age of the language forms. There is a broad agreement that CH (Classical Hebrew) and LBH (Late Biblical Hebrew) had distinctive identifiable features and that CH was earlier. CH is typically correlated with the pre-exilic period and LBH with the exilic period. Hurvitz argued that since the language of P is CH, P predated such LBH compositions as Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah. This result conflicted with the Wellhausian model in which P was introduced by Ezra, and suggested to Hurvitz and others that P was a pre-exilic composition.[76]

The main problem in current applications of this approach is not the relative chronology of CH and LBH, nor the relative antiquity of P: the main criticism of the linguistic approach to dating biblical texts is the absolute dates assigned to CH and LBH. Hebrew inscriptions of ca. 600 BCE—notably the Lachish letters and the Arad ostraca—contain features of CH.[77] This lends weight to the proposition that CH was spoken in late Iron II.[78] The proposition that LBH replaced CH in the exilic period is not similarly supported by inscriptional evidence: there are simply no Hebrew inscriptions of sufficient length in the period ca. 550–200 BCE to decide this issue.[79] The idea that LBH prevailed in the exilic period appears to be grounded on early dates assigned to LBH texts such as Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah. But the first extrabiblical references to Chronicles and Ezra–Nehemiah date to 180 BCE or later, suggesting that these texts may be considerably later than conventionally dated.[80]

A different linguistic argument was made by Dever, who argued that the lack of Greek loanwords in Biblical Hebrew dated these texts (Daniel excluded) to

76. A. Hurvitz, *A Linguistic Study of the Relationship between the Priestly Source and the Book of Ezekiel: A New Approach to an Old Problem* (Cahiers de la Revue Biblique 20; Paris: Gabalda, 1982); idem, "Dating the Priestly Source in Light of the Historical Study of Biblical Hebrew: A Century after Wellhausen," *ZAW* (Supplement) 100 (1988): 88–100; idem, "The Historical Quest for 'Ancient Israel' and the Linguistic Evidence of the Hebrew Bible: Some Methodological Remarks," *VT* 47 (1997): 301–15.

77. R. Albertz, "An End to the Confusion? Why the Old Testament Cannot be a Hellenistic Book!," 30–46 (34 n. 14), and B. Becking, "The Hellenistic Period and Ancient Israel: Three Preliminary Statements," 78–90 (86–88), both in Grabbe, ed., *Did Moses Speak Attic?*; Hurvitz, "The Historical Quest for 'Ancient Israel,'" 307–10.

78. Yet Iron II Hebrew inscriptions also contain certain differences with CH, suggesting that CH may have been a later development. Cf. I. Young, "Late Biblical Hebrew and Hebrew Inscriptions," in *Biblical Hebrew: Studies in Chronology and Typology* (ed. I. Young; New York: T. & T. Clark, 2003), 276–311.

79. A perusal of G. Davies, *Ancient Hebrew Inscriptions: Corpus and Concordance* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991), shows that the corpus of Hebrew inscriptions postdating the fall of Judah to the Babylonians currently consist only of seals and coin inscriptions. These are simply not of sufficient length or complexity to show whether CH or LBH was used in the period ca. 550–200 BCE.

80. Sirach, written in ca. 180 BCE, utilized Chronicles (Sir 47:9–10; cf. 1 Chr 15:16–24) and the Nehemiah Building Account (i.e. Neh 1–6; 7:1b–4; cf. Sir 49:13). Neither Ezra nor Neh 7–13 were referenced in Sirach, and Neh 13.4–9 appears to have alluded to the scandal of Tobiad funds having been stored in the temple in 175 BCE (2 Macc 3:9–11).

pre-Hellenistic times.[81] The fallacy of this argument is demonstrated by the fact that Qumran Hebrew of the second and first centuries BCE also displays an absence of Greek loanwords.[82]

### 3. *Methodological Considerations*

Having now surveyed the major theories on the dating of the Pentateuch and given an indication of their arguments, some overarching comments on methodology are now appropriate. The types of dating arguments used by the authors discussed above fall into three basic categories: *historiographical*, *inductive* and *deductive*. Each will be discussed separately below.

*Historiographical Dating*

Under this approach (termed historico-criticism by Wellhausen and his predecessors), texts are dated in conjunction with historical theories that also seek hypothetically to explain by whom the texts were introduced and for what historical motives. A proposed historical background becomes the key to dating the text. This approach was utilized by the historian Wellhausen and in recent times by Davies and Albertz.

This book takes the position that the dating of texts should be strictly divorced from the writing of history. Dating a text is an attempt to establish a fact, while history writing, or historiography, whether ancient or modern, is ultimately a form of storytelling, an entirely different enterprise. It is the essential task of the historian to synthesize and interpret, to take into account all available historical data[83] and to transform them into "history," that is, a story that in some ways makes sense of the past. In a sense, the skills of the historian work against the interests of scientific investigation, for a sufficiently persuasive and engaging historian may be capable of telling a story so detailed and compelling that it takes on the semblance of fact. But a historian's ability as a storyteller should not translate into authority as a creator or arbiter of historical fact. For this reason, the ascertaining of the underlying facts of history—including the dating of texts—should be pursued as a technical discipline separate from historical exposition.

*Inductive Dating*

Under this approach, features of a text are compared for significant correlation with contemporary literary genres, literary parallels, language usage, cultural

81. Dever, *What Did the Biblical Writers Know?*, 275–76.

82. E. Qimron, *The Hebrew of the Dead Sea Scrolls* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1986), 117.

83. It should be observed that what are considered historical data by one generation are often regarded as doubtful historiography by the next. For Wellhausen, Jewish history began with Moses (*Prolegomena*, 432); subsequent generations of scholars have successively shifted the starting point of reliable Jewish history to the Davidic period, the Divided Monarchy or the Persian period. The ever-changing base of "historical" data illustrates the dangers of placing too much weight on modern historical constructs, which may rely on sources that may subsequently be shown to be less than factual.

details, social institutions, relevant archaeological discoveries and other concretely historical data.[84] One important instance of this approach was Van Seters' comparison of Jewish historiography with that of other cultures. He established that the historiographical writings of the Hebrew Bible showed influence from Mesopotamian historiography of ca. 750 BCE or later[85] and Greek historiography of 520 BCE or later[86] (although Van Seters avoided drawing chronological conclusions from the Greek data which were inconsistent with his theory of an exilic period dating of J[87]). Garbini, who viewed the prominence of Ur and Harran in the Abraham story as details deriving from the time of Nabonidus, also utilized inductive dating technique. The best practitioner of this approach is arguably Redford, who showed that the Egyptological data of the Joseph and Exodus stories was consistent with the Saite, Persian and Ptolemaic periods.

One limitation of this approach is that in many cases it is subject to the criticism of being an argument from silence. The many Egyptological parallels of the Joseph and Exodus stories starting with the Saite period listed by Redford do not preclude similar, less frequently attested or (so far) unattested Egyptian language parallels, etc., of an earlier period.

The inductive dating approach thus in many cases falls short of absolute proof, since it often simply points to a specific period rather than absolutely excluding earlier or later periods. This is not always the case, however, as sometimes it is possible to show that a particular detail is not only appropriate for one period but also is anachronistic for other periods. For instance, the mention of "Ur of the Chaldees" is anachronistic before the ninth century BCE, when Chaldea first appeared as a locality in Assyrian records.[88] Similarly, Lydia (Lud) in the Table of Nations is anachronistic before ca. 700 BCE.[89] The mention of coinage prior to the seventh century BCE is anachronistic, as likely also the mention of camel transport before about the ninth century BCE.[90] Yet such details can always be argued to have been late glosses on an older text.

Another limitation of this approach is the often capricious manner in which it is applied. The search for inductive parallels often takes place within a certain target period subjectively selected by the author according to often unstated

84. Redford (*A Study of Joseph*, 188–89) presented a formal statement of methodology in connection with dating the composition of the Joseph story.

85. Passages in Kings resemble the Babylonian Chronicle Series, which started with events in 747 BCE. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 80.

86. Van Seters found parallels with Greek historiography starting with Hecataeus of Miletus, whom Van Seters dated to the last two decades of the sixth century BCE (*In Search of History*, 10).

87. For instance, Van Seters (*In Search of History*, 8–54) found parallels between biblical historiography and Herodotus and (less extensively) Hellanicus of the fifth century BCE; yet Van Seters considered these parallels supporting evidence for dating biblical historiographical writings to the sixth century BCE.

88. *LAR*, I, §§566, 614, 625, 666, 703, 706, in the time of Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE); cf. Thompson, *The Historicity of the Patriarchal Narratives*, 298–314; Garbini, *History and Ideology*, 77–78.

89. See Chapter 6, §1.

90. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 305.

preconceptions of *terminus a quo* and *ad quem*, when other periods not considered might provide equally good or better parallels. Van Seters, for instance, arbitrarily took the historiographical data to indicate a date of composition of the sixth century BCE. As Lemche pointed out, the historiographical data equally or better fit the Hellenistic period. Redford admirably considered data from all Egyptological periods and found the Joseph and Exodus stories to correlate with Saite, Persian and Ptolemaic data. Yet in his statement of conclusions, he arrived at a date in the Saite or Persian period, when a Ptolemaic era dating is equally indicated. Redford evidently considered a Ptolemaic (Hellenistic) era dating excluded by unstated *terminus ad quem* evidence of a non-Egyptological character. Subjective and often unstated assumptions of *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* dates thus significantly affect inductive dating arguments, both in determining the scope of historical investigation for collection of relevant data and in the chronological inferences drawn from those data.

*Deductive Dating*

Under this potentially rigorous dating approach borrowed from classical studies, *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* dates are determined by source-critical evidence, defining a date range outside of which it is impossible the text was written.[91] This is usually accomplished by deductively establishing a sequence of literary dependencies that identify dated texts both older and younger than the one in question. The objective is to establish as narrowly as possible the upper and lower chronological limits within which the text must have been written. Garbini paid the closest attention to *terminus ad quem* data, but developed no *terminus a quo* arguments. Among those who do not consider the Pentateuch completed under Ezra, a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 300 BCE is almost universally accepted for the composition of the Pentateuch, although Garbini argued for a final redaction, including the addition of Genesis, at the time of the Septuagint translation (ca. 270 BCE), and Lemche also allowed for a third-century BCE Pentateuchal date.[92]

This book utilizes both deductive and inductive dating arguments, while historiographical dating arguments are strictly avoided. First, deductive techniques are used to establish that the earliest evidence of the Pentateuch is its translation into Greek, resulting in a *terminus ad quem* date of ca. 272–269 BCE (rather than ca. 300 BCE based on a mistaken attribution of a fragment of Theophanes to Hecataeus of Abdera). A *terminus a quo* of 278 BCE is then established based on

91. The deductive dating argument is at least objective *in form*, as opposed to the intrinsic subjectivity of, for example, historiographical dating arguments. Although the use of deductive dating by means of literary dependencies is theoretically rigorous, false results are possible if the procedure is incorrectly applied. For instance, it is possible to misjudge which of two related texts is dependent on the other (and consequently the younger). See Appendix A on the correction of the relative sequence of Berossus and Megasthenes, showing that Megasthenes used Berossus instead of the reverse, as usually assumed. In deductively dating texts, it is highly desirable to establish several instances of literary dependencies converging on the same date range in order to raise the confidence level in conclusions.

92. Lemche, *Prelude to Israel's Past*, 225.

the Pentateuch's utilizing Berossus (278 BCE), Manetho (ca. 285 BCE) and likely Cleitarchus (ca. 275 BCE), as well as displaying knowledge of the organization of the Seleucid and Ptolemaic realms of 278 BCE or later. This hard evidence deductively establishes a date range of composition of 278–269 BCE for the Pentateuch.

Within that date range, additional date evidence of an inductive type is also developed. The Curse of Canaan is argued to have reflected conditions at the end of the First Syrian War, ca. 273–272 BCE. Geographical references in the Exodus account that appear to display knowledge of the Ptolemaic water lock put in place in ca. 273–272 BCE also point to the same date. These inductive arguments are the basis for the proposed more precise dating of 273–272 BCE for the Pentateuch's composition, but it must be emphasized that the deductive *terminus a quo* and *ad quem* arguments pointing to 278–269 BCE are central to this book, while the inductive arguments are supplemental and secondary.

An important benefit of dating texts by means of literary dependencies is the generation of additional data relevant to establishing textual provenance. The identification of specific texts influential on the formation of the Pentateuch (notably Berossus and Manetho) unexpectedly points to an intellectual (if not necessarily strictly geographical) provenance of Alexandria, and documents the exact means by which Jews were exposed to Greek and Mesopotamian historiography and Mesopotamian cuneiform traditions by way of the Alexandrian Library. Date, language and locale favor identifying the authors of the Pentateuch with the Septuagint scholars who were present at Alexandria at the requisite time, knew both Greek and Hebrew, were said to have been knowledgeable in Greek literature, and had access to the Great Library where the Greek literary texts antecedent to the Pentateuch were housed. The identification of the date, locale and authors of the Pentateuch, carefully established step by step, provides for the first time a rigorous logical foundation for drawing substantial historical conclusions regarding the circumstances under which the Pentateuch and other biblical materials were composed. It must be emphasized that these historical conclusions rise or fall on the strength of the supporting arguments and in no way guided the preliminary research on date and provenance this book presents. Conclusions regarding the official Ptolemaic patronage of the authors of the Pentateuch and later biblical literature arose organically out of the earlier inquiries first into date and then into provenance: the impact of Alexandrian scholarship on the composition of the Hebrew Bible came as much as a surprise to this author as it may to many of his readers.

# Chapter 2

## THE DOCUMENTARY HYPOTHESIS

An important insight of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century "Higher Criticism" was the identification of distinct sources in the Pentateuch. The easiest to identify and separate was the Deuteronomist (D), roughly equivalent to the book of Deuteronomy. Another source was the Priestly Code (P), concerned primarily with legal and priestly matters and only secondarily with history. The remainder of the Pentateuch was mostly assigned to the Yahwist (J), which was a historical narrative largely unconcerned with legislation. Additional material was assigned to a fourth source, the Elohist (E), which (like P) typically referred to God as Elohim rather than Yahweh. This book does not take issue with the Higher Criticism's identification of different sources in the Pentateuch, each with its own consistent vocabulary, interests and theological outlook.

The next step toward the development of the Documentary Hypothesis was the determination of the relative chronology of the four sources J, E, D and P. The stories in E were grafted onto those of J, while D used JE for its historical framework. This argued for a relative sequence J, E, D. The relative position of P was a matter of much debate. It was originally held that the Priestly Code (which some attributed to Moses) was the earliest source document, but with the arguments of De Graf, Vater and Wellhausen, there prevailed the viewpoint that P was the last of the four sources.[1]

In its final form, the Documentary Hypothesis explained the four Pentateuchal sources as representing distinct stages in the development of the Jewish religion during successive periods in Jewish history. The J story, it was held, reflected the most primitive phase of Jewish religion, before worship was fully centralized at Jerusalem. Developmentally, this pointed to the Patriarchal or Judges periods, when cult sites could be found throughout the Promised Land. Yet J also displayed knowledge of a later period when kings ruled the Jews (and neighboring Edomites).[2] J was assigned a date ca. 850–800 BCE,[3] when (it was presumed) Solomon's temple was one among many locations at which sacrifices to Yahweh were accepted. J contained virtually no legal content other than the

1. See Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 4 n. 1, for a bibliography of the literature prior to his own work.

2. Gen 36:31; cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 9.

3. Ibid., 464; S. R. Driver, *An Introduction to the Literature of the Old Testament* (repr., New York: Meridian, 1956 [1898]), 123.

Decalogue and references to the Tablets of Moses and the Book of the Covenant.[4] It was therefore proposed that in the period represented by J, the Jewish laws had not yet taken written form. Instead, an "Oral Torah" of traditional regulations was entrusted to the priests, who rendered authoritative decisions on religious practices and other matters. This Oral Torah, or Torah of the Priests as Wellhausen also calls it, was not based on written regulations but on the special knowledge and authority of the priests of Yahweh.[5]

The shadowy E source, showing little new theological development, is thought to date to the eighth century BCE. Some have suggested that E was not a distinct source, but consisted of minor additions to J.

Deuteronomy is thought to have been the first definitive and authoritative Written Torah. The D source was dated to 621 BCE, in the eighteenth year of Josiah king of Judah, when Jerusalem priests "discovered" the book of the Torah in the temple.[6] This discovery (it was argued) primarily benefited the Jerusalem priests, since a public reading of the scroll prompted King Josiah to order the destruction of all cult sites outside of Jerusalem. Additionally, 2 Kgs 22:14; 23:2 claimed that certain of the prophets endorsed the newly discovered scroll. To Wellhausen and others, this raised the suspicion that the scroll was actually written by the Jerusalem priests and prophets themselves.[7] Of all the four Pentateuchal sources, Deuteronomy alone insisted on a single legitimate place of worship and sacrifice (presumably Jerusalem). Hence the Documentary Hypothesis proposed that the scroll discovered (written) in 621 BCE was the book of Deuteronomy.[8] Deuteronomy's composition in 621 BCE was perhaps the most widely accepted date in the chronological framework of the Documentary Hypothesis.

The date of P, however, was nearly as precise. The P source was held to represent the final stage in the development of the Pentateuch, reflecting the priestly legal code of the Babylonian exiles.[9] "Ezra the priest" was said to have brought the books containing the laws of Moses with him from Babylon in 458 BCE. These Mosaic writings from Babylon were identified with P. Mysteriously, Ezra did not immediately introduce his law,[10] but waited until 444 BCE (at the earliest) to produce the scroll and read it to the Jews returned from exile at a public assembly ordered by the recently arrived Persian governor Nehemiah. The Documentary Hypothesis therefore assigned the date of P to ca. 444 BCE. A final stage in the composition of the Pentateuch took place when J, E and P were combined and interwoven, the work of the Redactor (R), who is sometimes identified with Ezra.[11]

The Documentary Hypothesis was in many respects a brilliant scholarly construct, correlating biblical history, the evolution of the Jewish religion, and

4. Exod 20–23; 34.
5. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 392–99.
6. 2 Kgs 22:8–13.
7. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 26.
8. Ibid., 487.
9. Ibid., 28, 59–60, 404–5.
10. Cf. ibid., 406.
11. Ibid., 409 n. 1.

the multiplicity of sources behind the Pentateuch. One hardly needs comment on the extraordinary support the Documentary Hypothesis has enjoyed in the last hundred years as the regnant theory on the development of the Pentateuch. Nevertheless, in recent years it has become increasingly recognized that the Documentary Hypothesis has serious, even fatal defects, especially in its approach to Jewish history, which was based on an often pre-critical view of the historiographical documents of the Hebrew Bible.[12]

### 1. *Historical Premises of the Documentary Hypothesis*

The historical framework of the Documentary Hypothesis rests above all on an acceptance of the biblical reports of events under Josiah (2 Kgs 22–23) and later under Ezra and Nehemiah (Neh 8–10):

> As we are accustomed to infer the date of the composition of Deuteronomy from its publication and introduction by Josiah, so we must infer the date of the composition of the Priestly Code from its publication and introduction by Ezra and Nehemiah... The origin of the canon thus lies, thanks to the two narratives 2 Kings xxii., xxiii., Neh. viii.-x., in the full light of history.[13]

The Documentary Hypothesis made curious use of the reported events under Josiah and Ezra. The accounts in 2 Kgs 22–23 and Neh 8–10 were uncritically accepted as historically accurate: that a manuscript appeared under Josiah and resulted in extensive cultic reforms, and that another text was introduced under Ezra, was never questioned.[14] It was only the interpretation of these manuscript

12. The Documentary Hypothesis was both a literary theory (regarding identification and dating of Pentateuchal sources) and a historical theory (regarding the evolution of Jewish religion). The authors of the Documentary Hypothesis based its history of the Jewish religion directly on the biblical account, accepting that the cultic practices successively described in Genesis, Exodus, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings reflected sequential historical periods in Jewish history. During the early and middle decades of the twentieth century, when biblical historiography was considered essentially historical, biblical scholarship shared the underlying premises of the Documentary Hypothesis and the Documentary Hypothesis enjoyed unrivaled acceptance. But starting with the sixties and seventies, a number of scholars successively called into question the historicity of the patriarchal period, the conquest, the judges period and (currently under debate) the United Monarchy. It is now increasingly accepted that even 1 and 2 Kings and Ezra–Nehemiah were not authored by historians in the modern sense of the word, and should be viewed as historiography (history-writing) rather than history *per se*. These books told stories set in the past that purport to present history. In the case of Kings these stories presumably drew in part on royal archives, king-lists or other documentary sources and in some instances referred to personalities and events known from ancient Egyptian, Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions. Nevertheless, a story set in the past, even dealing with figures known or believed to have been historical, is not the same as a history, and the literary and theological elements of even 1 and 2 Kings and Ezra–Nehemiah caution us that these works cannot be assumed to be historically accurate throughout. See, generally, R. Whybray, *The Making of the Pentateuch: A Methodological Study* (JSOTSup 53; Sheffield: JSOT Press, 1987), 20–131, on the history of post-Wellhausian criticisms of the Documentary Hypothesis and alternative theories of the development of the Pentateuch.

13. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 408–9.

14. Indeed, at *Prolegomena*, 366, Wellhausen referred to "the ascertained facts of Israelite history."

finds that came under the scrutiny of the Documentary Hypothesis. According to this historical construct, an ancient copy of the law was not discovered during the course of temple repairs, as reported by 2 Kgs 22–23, but rather, Deuteronomy was newly composed by Jerusalem priests and prophets in order to support the reforms of 621 BCE under Josiah.[15] Similarly, the Priestly Code reportedly brought from Babylon by Ezra in 458 BCE was not the ancient and authentic writings of Moses, but a recent composition by Babylonian priests.[16] Under the Documentary Hypothesis, then, it was accepted as historical fact that texts of the Torah surfaced under Josiah and Ezra, but these were subjectively and arbitrarily interpreted as new editions of the Torah. The Documentary Hypothesis thus both required the acceptance of 2 Kgs 22–23 and Neh 8–10 as containing a kernel of historicity, yet also required a rejection of the actual content of these two stories, namely the discovery of old, authentic texts of the laws of Moses.

The presumed historical content of 2 Kings and Ezra–Nehemiah was to some extent predicated on an assumption of relative antiquity of these books. The book of 2 Kings ended with events of 562 BCE, and throughout most of the twentieth century it was believed that 1 and 2 Kings were written very shortly after that date. Ezra–Nehemiah contained a list of high priests down to ca. 400 BCE, and it was believed that Ezra–Nehemiah was written very shortly after that date. The reforms of Josiah were thus thought to have occurred within the living memory of the author of 1 and 2 Kings; Ezra's reading of the law was thought to have been recorded by one present at that event. Both datings are extremely dubious. In each case, the *earliest possible* date was subjectively interpreted to be the *actual* date of composition.

Yet no external evidence exists to establish an early date for either Kings or Ezra–Nehemiah. The first externally datable reference to material from Kings occurs in the book *On the Kings of Judea* by Demetrius the Chronographer (ca. 221–204 BCE).[17] The books of 1 and 2 Kings could conceivably have been written any time in the period 562–221 BCE. The assertion that Kings was written ca. 550 BCE, within living memory of Josiah's reforms of 621 BCE, is little more than an assumption.[18] Similarly, no external evidence exists that Ezra–Nehemiah was composed in the Persian period. The first external reference to Nehemiah occurs in the writings of Sirach (ca. 180 BCE); to Ezra even later. Given the lack of objective external evidence for the antiquity of either Kings or Ezra–Nehemiah, the heavy reliance on these books in constructing the history of the development of the Pentateuch appears methodologically unsound.

Doubts about the historicity of Josiah's reforms as reported in 2 Kgs 22–23 were eloquently expressed by P. R. Davies in 1992:

15. Ibid., 26, 487.

16. Ibid., 404–5, 496.

17. See B. Wacholder, *Eupolemus: A Study of Judaeo-Greek Literature* (Cincinnati: Hebrew Union College, 1974), 94, on the date of Demetrius's book.

18. Cf. Davies, *In Search of "Ancient Israel"*, 37, 40–41.

> According to 2 Kings 22–23 a "book of the covenant" was discovered in the Temple, leading to royal reforms. The details of the reform suggest that the king was following the requirements of the book of Deuteronomy or some form of it. The reform has long been a linchpin of Biblical history, for upon it much of the scholarly reconstruction of the history of "Israelite" literature depends. Let us first remind ourselves that the *only* evidence for such a reform is the Biblical story itself. Let us then recall where the story occurs, namely in a book whose ideology seems to be influenced by, or at least lie very close to, that of the book of Deuteronomy. The argument of this book (2 Kings) is that if the principles of Deuteronomy (for so they are) had been observed by "Israel" then the kingdom of Judah would not, like its counterpart over a century earlier, have come to an end. Thus, a piece of writing which is ideologically, and in some places linguistically, close to the book of Deuteronomy claims that a law book, which it describes in a way which makes it look very much like Deuteronomy, was once upon a time discovered by a king and implemented (although the king was conveniently killed and the reform overturned). Here we have before us an unverified attempt to give Deuteronomy some antique authority and to argue that its contents are appropriate for implementation in a political body. How much credence shall we Biblical critics give to such a story?... Hardly reliable testimony; at least it needs some support before we can base any conclusions upon it. But scarcely a Biblical scholar has ever entertained the thought (at least in print) that this story might just be a convenient legend, that maybe no such reform took place.[19]

Similar doubts could be raised with respect to the story of Ezra's purported transporting of the books of Moses from Babylon to Judea in 458 BCE. Did this story consist of historical events reliably recounted by eyewitnesses to Ezra's reading of the law, or was it late legend whose purpose was to provide a hoary antiquity to the books of Moses? It is significant that 2 Macc 3:12 gave Nehemiah the credit for searching out and collecting together the Jewish scrolls of antiquity (obviously including the books of Moses). 2 Maccabees, written in the early first century BCE,[20] knew nothing of Ezra's return of the books of the Law from Babylon in 458 BCE or indeed of the figure of Ezra. Given the Ezra tradition's possible late date and limited acceptance, its reliability as a witness to the history of the Pentateuch in recent years has come increasingly under question.

The historical framework of the Documentary Hypothesis was based on the untested premise that literary accounts of 2 Kgs 22–23 and Neh 8–10 represented actual and accurate historical data. At the time the Documentary Hypothesis was formulated, scholars neither saw the need to test the historicity of biblical historiography nor had the means to do so. Today archaeological evidence and inscriptional and other ancient textual finds play an increasingly dominant role in reconstructing history and in testing the accuracy of literary sources. The remainder of this chapter explores how the historical premises underlying the Documentary Hypothesis stand up in light of modern archaeological and textual finds.

19. Ibid., 40–41.

20. A date between 103 and 63 BCE was argued in J. Goldstein, *I Maccabees* (AB 41; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1976), 62–64.

## 2. *Archaeological Evidence for Josiah's Reforms and D*

Recent research has shown that the account of the Josiah reforms in 2 Kgs 22–23 was of an essentially literary nature, assembled from phrases borrowed from Deuteronomy describing what a reform *should* have looked like.[21] This hardly encourages confidence that the Josiah reforms reflected actual memories of a historical event. The literary character of the described reforms raises the question of whether these reforms ever took place in history. Current archaeological evidence suggests that they did not. Efforts to find archaeological evidence for the reforms of Josiah (or Hezekiah) in the form of destruction of cult sites have not met with success:[22]

> For many years archaeologists have been trying to find evidence for the reforms mentioned in the Books of Kings. The assumption has been that destroying cult places (*bāmôt*), demolishing altars and smashing sacred pillars—as the reforms are described in the Bible—would leave traces which archaeologists would easily be able to identify in the excavated sites. So far, however, these efforts have had no success. Neither at the late eighth cen. BCE strata nor at those of the late seventh cen. BCE are there signs of a drastic change in the cult. Nor is there archaeological evidence for iconoclasm of the kind described in the histories of Hezekiah and Josiah.[23]

It thus appears that the Josiah reforms were of a literary, not historical character, and lack supporting evidence from archaeology. If the Josiah reforms did not take place, then D obviously was not introduced to support these reforms, and one of the major historical and chronological premises of the Documentary Hypothesis is invalidated.

If archaeology does not generally support the historicity of the Josiah reforms, textual discoveries from the time of Josiah have an even more direct bearing on the Documentary Hypothesis. Two silver amulets dating to the late seventh or early sixth century BCE discovered at Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem by G. Barkay in 1980 contain a priestly benediction, three lines of which read: "May YHVH bless and protect you; may YHVH look favorably upon you and grant you well being" (translation by Yardeni). This has close parallels with Num 6:24–26,

21. N. Na'aman, "The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reform in the Light of Historical and Archaeological Research," *ZAW* 107 (1995): 179–95 (181–83). This article also extensively discussed the archaeological and textual evidence bearing on the historicity of Josiah's reforms.

22. Ibid., 184–89. Y. Aharoni ("Excavations at Tel Arad, Preliminary Report on the Second Season, 1963," *IEJ* 17 [1967]: 247–49; idem, "Arad: Its Inscriptions and Temple," *BA* 31 [1968]: 2–32 [26]; cf. Z. Herzog et al., "The Israelite Fortress at Arad," *BASOR* 254 [1982]: 1–34 [19–23]) attributed the abandonment of an altar (in Stratum VIII) and shrine (in Stratum VII) at Tel Arad to the reforms under Hezekiah and Josiah respectively, but his dates for the shrine have been convincingly challenged by D. Ussishkin ("The Date of the Judean Shrine at Arad," *IEJ* 38 [1988]: 142–57). The alleged destruction of a cult site at Beersheba attributed to Hezekiah's reforms by Y. Yadin ("Beer-sheba: The High Place Destroyed by King Josiah," *BASOR* 222 [1970]: 1–17) is similarly problematic (Na'aman, "The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reform," 185–87). Na'aman pointed out a number of destroyed or abandoned cult sites which have not entered the discussion due to the impossibility of dating them to the time of Hezekiah or Josiah. He concluded that current archaeological evidence does not support cultic reforms having historically taken place under these kings.

23. Na'aman, "The Debated Historicity of Hezekiah's Reform," 184.

although the latter contains an additional line.[24] There has been considerable debate whether the amulets from Ketef Hinnom record an oral form of benediction or quote an earlier written (biblical) text. Several points argue against the amulets quoting from an already-existing Pentateuchal written source. First, Num 6:24–26 contains additional text and may be considered an expansion of a simpler, earlier benediction such as that in the amulets of ca. 600 BCE.[25] Second, in both amulets, text before and after the three lines in question do not appear to quote from the Pentateuch and bear no relation to the immediate context of Num 6:24–26. Third, Num 6:24–26 comes from P, which is usually regarded as post-exilic under the Documentary Hypothesis and would thus postdate the amulets from Ketef Hinnom. However, some have used these amulets as evidence of a pre-exilic date for P. But it has long been recognized that the benedictions in Num 6:24–26 derive from an earlier oral source. Indeed, in Num 6:22–24 "we actually find five different expressions referring to oral speech."[26] It is thus likely that the priestly benediction in the Ketef Hinnom amulets was not copied from any existing written text, but drew on a priestly oral tradition of the precise character that Wellhausen described as the Oral Torah.[27] A passage in the second amulet containing a parallel to Deut 7:9 may also have drawn on a common oral formula. Yardeni summarized the implications of the amulets from Ketef Hinnom as follows:

> As the verses on the plaques appear outside a Biblical context they cannot prove that the blessing was already incorporated into the Pentateuch in the early 6th century B.C.E. They also cannot prove the existence of a written Pentateuch in the pre-exilic period. Only a discovery of Biblical scrolls or even a fragment of a Biblical scroll could serve as such a proof. The plaques can prove only that the priestly blessing was already crystallized at that time and probably in current use.[28]

In summary, archaeological evidence argues against D having been introduced under Josiah and instead supports a model whereby the worship of Yahweh, even at Jerusalem, was still governed by Oral Torah, that is, by unwritten traditions passed down among priests serving at Yahweh's temple(s).

### 3. *The Elephantine Papyri*

The chronological framework of the Documentary Hypothesis therefore rests entirely on the dubious testimony of 2 Kgs 22–23 and Neh 8–10, whose dates of

24. See, generally, G. Barkay, "The Priestly Benediction on Silver Plaques from Ketef Hinnom in Jerusalem," *Tel Aviv* 9 (1992): 139–92; G. Barkay et al., "The Amulets from Ketef Hinnom: A New Edition and Evaluation," *BASOR* 334 (2004): 41–71; A. Yardeni, "Remarks on the Priestly Blessing on Two Ancient Amulets from Jerusalem," *VT* 41 (1991): 176–85. Barkay dated the amulets to the late seventh century BCE under Josiah based on archaeological and paleographical evidence; Yardeni and others date them at latest a few decades later in the early sixth century BCE, based on paleography.

25. See especially B. Levine, *Numbers 1–20* (AB 4; New York: Doubleday, 1993), 238–44.

26. Barkay, "Silver Plaques from Ketef Hinnom," 180.

27. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 392–401, 438.

28. Yardeni, "Remarks on the Priestly Blessings," 181; cf. Barkay, "Silver Plaques from Ketef Hinnom," 175; Levine, *Numbers 1–20*, 244.

authorship and basic credibility are subject to debate. That the Documentary Hypothesis relied exclusively on such quasi-historical documents as Kings and Ezra–Nehemiah points to a fundamental difficulty in the theory, namely, the lack of independent evidence for the sources and the stages of textual development that the theory postulated.[29] The earliest surviving biblical texts are those of Qumran, dating to no earlier than the late third century BCE. The earliest externally dated edition of the Pentateuch of which we possess later copies is the Greek Septuagint version, translated from the Hebrew under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–246 BCE). There are no surviving biblical manuscripts of earlier date that might serve to demonstrate the state of the Pentateuchal text in 900, 600 or even 400 BCE. There is thus no potential for positive confirmation of the Documentary Hypothesis by objective external means, short of some dramatic fortuitous archaeological discovery. Arguments for the Documentary Hypothesis have therefore tended to assume the absence of relevant external sources is complete and that it is therefore permissible to ignore the question of corroboration by external evidence as necessarily irrelevant to the discussion. Yet there exist at least two relevant external sources of great evidentiary value to the question of Pentateuchal origins and development which have previously been overlooked in discussions of the Documentary Hypothesis. One is the Ketef Hinnom amulets, discussed above. The second is the Elephantine Papyri, bearing witness to the state of the biblical text at the close of the fifth century BCE when, according to the Documentary Hypothesis, the final stages of Pentateuchal composition and redaction was complete and the new Torah of Ezra was promulgated as authoritative.

The Elephantine Papyri consist of approximately 80 papyri in Aramaic discovered at Aswan in Egypt and originating from the Jewish military colony at Yeb (Elephantine), at the second cataract of the Nile, guarding the Egyptian–Ethiopian border. Many of the Elephantine Papyri were dated in terms of the regnal years of the Persian kings who then ruled Egypt. The collection as a whole came from the period 494–ca. 400 BCE. Most of these were letters, legal documents, supply accounts and the like, but one (no. 21) contained an order from Darius II in 419 BCE to the Jews at Elephantine enjoining them to observe the Days of Unleavened Bread, while a second series (nos. 27, 30–34) documented the Egyptian destruction of a Jewish temple at Yeb in 411 BCE and the fruitless efforts of the colonists during the years 410–407 BCE to secure permission to have it rebuilt.

The Elephantine Papyri confirm the Jewish worship of the god Ya'u (alongside 'Anath, Bethel, Ishum and Herem[30]); the Jewish observation of the Days of Unleavened Bread and (probably) Passover (related ostraca referred to both Passover and sabbath[31]); and the religious authority of the Jewish high priest at

29. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 2–3, contrasts the "hypothetical critical methods" used to construct literary antecedents in the biblical field with the empirical approach now possible in studying *The Gilgamesh Epic*.

30. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, xviii.

31. B. Porten, *Archives from Elephantine: The Life of an Ancient Jewish Military Colony* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1968), 126–30. Contrary to F. Diamond, "Hecataeus of

Jerusalem from whom the Elephantine colonists sought support for the rebuilding of the Jewish temple at Elephantine. Yet when the Elephantine Papyri are scoured for evidence of the existence of the Pentateuch or any portion thereof, the results are emphatically negative. There is no evidence that the priests at Yeb were of Aaronide descent. Indeed, there is no mention of Aaron or Levites in the papyri.[32] Of over 160 Jews at Elephantine mentioned in the papyri, not one name comes from the Pentateuch. Nor is there any reference in the papyri to the Exodus or any other biblical event. Reference to laws of Moses or other authoritative writings is entirely absent. This is perplexing since the priests supervising the Jewish temple at Elephantine should have possessed and enforced the Jewish Torah, which, according to the Documentary Hypothesis, was complete and promulgated as authoritative during the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. A. Cowley commented succinctly on the complete lack of evidence for use or knowledge of the Pentateuch at Elephantine:

> What precisely constituted a *kahen* [priest] at Elephantine does not appear. One of their prerogatives, we might suppose, would be to possess the Law of Moses and to administer it. Yet there is no hint of its existence. We should expect that in 30.25 they would say "offer sacrifice according to our law," and that in other places they would make some allusion to it. But there is none. So far as we learn from these texts Moses might never have existed, there might have been no bondage in Egypt, no exodus, no monarchy, no prophets. There is no mention of other tribes and no claim to any heritage in the land of Judah. Among the numerous names of colonists, Abraham, Jacob, Joseph, Moses, Samuel, David, so common in later times, never occur (nor in Nehemiah), nor any other name derived from their past history as recorded in the Pentateuch and early literature. It is almost incredible, but it is true.[33]

The extraordinary absence of any reference to the contents of the Pentateuch in the Elephantine Papyri is all the more remarkable given the friendly contacts between the Jews of Elephantine and the priests of the temple of Jerusalem. Letter no. 21, for instance, contained a directive in 419 BCE from King Darius II to Arsames, governor of Egypt, to instruct (or perhaps permit) the Jewish garrison at Elephantine to observe the Days of Unleavened Bread.[34] Accompanying this edict were additional instructions from an important Jewish official named Hananiah[35] whose visit to Egypt was also mentioned at 38.7. The extra information provided by Hananiah regarded the date of the Days of Unleavened Bread (from Nisan 14 to 22) and the regulations regarding its observance (abstinence

Abdera: A New Historical Approach" (Ph.D. diss., University of California, 1974), 169, there is no evidence that the Passover sacrifices at Elephantine were associated with the Exodus deliverance from Egypt. According to Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, 87–88), Passover was originally an agricultural festival—the sacrifice of firstlings—unrelated to the Exodus tradition.

32. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, xxii.

33. Ibid., xxiii; cf. B. Porten, "Elephantine and the Bible," in *Semitic Papyrology in Context: A Climate of Creativity. Papers from a New York University Conference Marking the Retirement of Baruch A. Levine* (ed. L. H. Schiffman; Culture and History of the Ancient Near East 14; Leiden: Brill, 2003), 51–83 (70).

34. See, generally, Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, xxiv–xxv, 60–65.

35. See ibid., 60, 127; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 130, 279–80, on the identity of Hananiah.

from work, fermented beer or leavened bread). The edict as a whole rested on the authority of Darius and Arsames, and more informally on the authority of Hananiah himself, rather than appealing to a written Torah.[36] The Days of Unleavened Bread (and Passover?[37]) were mentioned without any reference to the Exodus. The recipients of the letter were not told to read a Torah in their possession, nor were the instructions for the festival said to be in accordance with a written Jewish law code. Rather, this letter shows that religious practices were governed by direct decree from the Jerusalem temple hierarchy rather than by reference to authoritative religious documents. Such religious ordinances as existed in ca. 420 BCE were promulgated under the personal authority of the Jerusalem priests rather than a hypothetical Pentateuch.

The existence of the Pentateuch as early as the late fifth century BCE is rendered even more questionable by the appeal of the Elephantine Jews to "Johanan the high priest and his colleagues the priests who are in Jerusalem"[38] in 408 BCE for help in securing permission to rebuild the temple at Elephantine. This temple, founded before the Persian conquest of Egypt under Cambyses in 525 BCE,[39] had been looted and burned by Egyptians (possibly upset at Jewish sacrifices of animals sacred to the Egyptians) in a local uprising in 411 BCE.[40] The Jewish temple at Yeb possessed altars for both incense offerings and animal sacrifices, and was surrounded by an impressive enclosure wall with five gates. Such a temple clearly violated Deuteronomic law.[41] And yet the priests of Elephantine maintained friendly contact with the priests of the Jerusalem temple and even appealed to them for assistance in restoring their own temple at Elephantine. That the Elephantine Jews made such an appeal seems highly inconsistent with the existence of an authoritative Pentateuchal tradition banning all altars or local sacrifices outside of Jerusalem:

> There is no hint of any suspicion that the [Elephantine] temple could be considered heretical, and they would surely not have appealed to the High Priest at Jerusalem if they had felt any doubt about it. On the contrary they give the impression of being proud of having a temple of their own, and as pious devotees of Ya'u (no other god is mentioned in the petition) seriously distressed at the loss of religious opportunities caused by its destruction.[42]

Efforts to reconcile the existence of an authoritative Pentateuchal text promulgated by Ezra with the existence of a local Jewish temple at Elephantine—clearly heterodox by Pentateuchal standards—usually characterize the Elephantine cult

36. Porten (*Archives from Elephantine*, 130) suggested that Hananiah was Nehemiah's nephew, who may have succeeded Nehemiah as governor (*pekah*) of Judea. Porten (pp. 279–80) also considered the possibility that Hananiah was a Jewish official of Darius II from Babylonia or Judea.

37. Porten (*Archives from Elephantine*, 129) restored lines 4–5 of the Passover letter to read, "Now, do you count four[teen days from the first day of Nisan and the Passover ke]ep..." Two ostraca from Elephantine mention the Passover (p. 131).

38. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.18.

39. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.13–14.

40. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.4–13.

41. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, xx.

42. Ibid., xx.

as an isolated holdover from Jewish religious practices of the sixth century BCE before the reforms of Ezra, or even the seventh century BCE before the reforms of Josiah.[43] This explanation founders on the continued contact between the priests of Jerusalem and the colonists at Elephantine as documented in letters 21, 27 and 30–34. The letter regarding the Days of Unleavened Bread demonstrates that the Elephantine colonists followed religious practices emanating from Judea. The letters regarding the restoration of the temple at Yeb also show that the Elephantine colonists recognized the superior authority of the high priest and his associates at Jerusalem's temple. All available evidence indicates the Elephantine Jews maintained contact with Jerusalem, recognized the supremacy and authority of the Jerusalem priesthood, followed their directives in religious matters and in all ways remained loyal and subservient to the Jerusalem temple and its high priest. The antiquity of the Elephantine military colony and temple clearly did not isolate them from the Jerusalem cult and does not adequately explain their (allegedly) heterodox practices in the Persian period. Rather, the Elephantine Papyri appear to demonstrate that local cult centers dedicated to Yahweh could operate freely and even with an expectation of support from Jerusalem as late as 407 BCE.

In summary, external evidence relevant to the Documentary Hypothesis does exist in the form of the Elephantine Papyri. The most important of these date to the last quarter of the fifth century BCE,[44] after the formal promulgation of an authoritative, completed Pentateuch according to the chronological framework of the Documentary Hypothesis. These papyri show no reference to a written Torah, no trace of Pentateuchal traditions or even knowledge of the names of figures appearing in the Pentateuch. There was definite knowledge of a Jerusalem priesthood authoritative in religious matters, but this priesthood made no detectable use of a written Torah in its contacts with the Elephantine colony and indeed appears to have accommodated a temple and (non-Aaronide?) priesthood at Elephantine in direct conflict with Pentateuchal regulations. Available evidence thus reasonably implies that the Torah at Jerusalem of the fifth century BCE had not yet attained the authority, written form or even legal content of the

43. Cf. ibid., xx–xxii. Attempts to reconcile the Elephantine Papyri with the Documentary Hypothesis postulate coexisting Judaisms, one centralized and monotheistic, having its center at Ezra's Jerusalem, and the other decentralized and polytheistic, aberrant holdovers from an earlier age, exampled at Elephantine. Ignoring the fact that the Elephantine Papyri argue against the presence of a strict monotheistic Judaism in fifth-century BCE Jerusalem, and granting for the sake of argument that the polytheistic Jewish colony and temple at Yeb represents some sort of aberration, this alleged coexistence of Judaisms still undermines the very premise of the Documentary Hypothesis. For if centralized monotheism and decentralized polytheism coexisted in 407 BCE, on what basis can one then argue that the decentralized, polytheistic J and E sources chronologically precede the monotheistic centralized Judaism of D and P? Even under this tortured interpretation of the Elephantine data, the staged evolution of Jewish religion envisioned by the Documentary Hypothesis is entirely falsified and discredited. But it is methodologically improper to interpret contemporary papyrological documents in the light of an unsubstantiated literary hypothesis. It is preferable to take the evidence of the Elephantine Papyri at face value as documenting a continued acceptance of polytheism and a decentralized temple cult in late fifth century BCE Judaism.

44. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 21 dates from 419 BCE and nos. 27, 30–34 date from 410–407 BCE.

Pentateuch of the third century BCE and thereafter. The Elephantine Papyri at best document an "Oral Torah" of priestly regulations emanating from the Jerusalem temple.[45] One is not yet even justified in referring to a "Law of Moses," for there is not yet evidence that Jewish priestly regulations had been attached to the figure of Moses at this early date.

Given the negative evidence of the Elephantine Papyri, the historical construct proposed under the Documentary Hypothesis cannot be accepted. It is not merely that the Documentary Hypothesis is argued in absence of relevant archaeological evidence, but actually in opposition to relevant archaeological evidence. Ironically, the evidence of the Elephantine Papyri has not been brought to bear on the question of the Documentary Hypothesis by either adherents or opponents of that theory. Had the Elephantine Papyri been discovered before the development of the Documentary Hypothesis, it is doubtful that the latter would have enjoyed acceptance in the face of such obviously contradictory external evidence. But at the time of the discovery of the Elephantine Papyri, the Documentary Hypothesis was already an entrenched tenet of biblical scholarship; even Cowley, who noted the great discrepancies between the theory of the development of the Pentateuch and the actual evidence at Elephantine, was a staunch adherent of the Documentary Hypothesis.[46] His publication and discussion of the Elephantine Papyri therefore attempted as best as possible to accommodate the Documentary Hypothesis to the new discoveries, leading to the common perception that the two could coexist. In recent decades, when serious doubts have been raised about the Documentary Hypothesis, the relevance of the Elephantine Papyri to the discussion has therefore been entirely overlooked.

45. Cf. Wellhausen, *Prolegomena*, 438: "Throughout the whole of the older period the Torah was no finished legislative code, but consisted entirely of the Oral decisions and institutions of the priests; as a whole it was potential only: what actually existed were the individual sentences given by the priesthood as they were asked for."

46. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, xxiv–xxviii.

# Chapter 3

# HECATAEUS OF ABDERA

Sporadic references to the Jews began to appear in Greek literature starting with Herodotus. This chapter begins with a survey of the earliest Greek authors who mention Palestine or the Jews in order to discover whether any demonstrate knowledge of Jewish writings prior to the Septuagint translation. Hecataeus of Abdera is of special interest, since a passage thought to have been authored by Hecataeus quoted from the Pentateuch. Most of the chapter will be concerned with whether the passage in question is in fact a Hecataean fragment. In this preliminary survey of early Greek notices of the Jews, Hecataeus's place will be considered as one of a sequence of Greek authors who mention the Jews.

## 1. *The Earliest Greek Writers on the Jews*

Among the earliest Greek prose writers, Herodotus (ca. 425 BCE) knew only of Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine, some of whom practiced circumcision, having learned this custom from the Egyptians, as had the Colchians:

> For it is plain to see that the Colchians are Egyptians... The Egyptians said that they hold the Colchians to be part of Sesostris' army... The Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practiced circumcision. The Phoenicians and the Syrians of Palestine acknowledge of themselves that they learnt the custom from the Egyptians...[1]

Herodotus's Syrians may have been identical to, or at least included, the Jews, although Herodotus did not know them by this name.[2]

Aristotle knew only questionable tales of a lake in Palestine (the Dead Sea) where no man or animal could be made to sink.[3] Clearchus of Soli, a student of Aristotle, later claimed that Aristotle had an encounter with a Jew living in Asia Minor who spoke like a Greek philosopher.[4]

1. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.104.
2. See discussion at Stern, *GLAJJ* §1; A. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II* (3 vols.; Leiden: Brill, 1975), 3:23.
3. Aristotle, *Meteorology* 2.359a.
4. Clearchus of Soli, *On Sleep*, cited at Josephus, *Apion* 1.176–83. Although it is possible to fit such a meeting within Aristotle's known travels, Stern (*GLAJJ*, 1:47) doubted such an encounter took place.

The next author who referred to the Jews was Hecataeus of Abdera, writing in 320–315 BCE (see §6 below).[5] Hecataeus authored a book on Egypt in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter, the first Hellenistic king of Egypt. Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* has not survived as an independent work, but is known only through passages of his book preserved by later authors. Diodorus Siculus included extensive excerpts or paraphrases of Hecataeus in Book 1 on Egypt. In one passage, the Jews were briefly mentioned:

> (1.28.1) Now the Egyptians say that also after these events a great number of colonies were spread from Egypt all over the inhabited world. To Babylon, for instance, colonists were led by Belus, who was held to be the son of Poseidon and Libya; and after establishing himself on the Euphrates river he appointed priests, called Chaldeans by the Babylonians, who were exempt from taxation and free from every kind of service to the state, as are the priests of Egypt; and they also make observations of the stars, following the examples of the Egyptian priests, physicists, and astrologers. (2) They say also that those who set forth with Danaus, likewise from Egypt, settled what is practically the oldest city of Greece, Argos, and that the nation of the Colchi in Pontus and that of the Jews, which lies between Arabia and Syria, were founded as colonies by certain emigrants from their country; (3) and this is the reason why it is a long-established institution among these two peoples to circumcise their male children, the custom having been brought over from Egypt.[6]

The indebtedness of this tradition to Herodotus is obvious. Both Herodotus and Hecataeus claimed that the Egyptians colonized much of the civilized (Mediterranean) world.[7] Both referred to Danaus having colonized Greece.[8] Both also claimed Egyptians as their sources.[9] Both doubtless interviewed Egyptian priests during their stay in Egypt, but Hecataeus of Abdera certainly also consulted Herodotus,[10] just as Herodotus consulted Hecataeus of Miletus.[11] This last author, writing ca. 500 BCE, may also have written of the Egyptian colonization of Colchis.[12] The reliance of Hecataeus of Miletus, Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera on native Egyptian priestly oral sources is striking. Egyptians were clearly the sources behind the nationalistic claims that the Jews were colonized

5. O. Murray, "Hecataeus of Abdera and Pharaonic Kingship," *JEA* 56 (1970): 141–71; idem, "Hecataeus of Abdera and Theophrastus on Jews and Egyptians: 2. The Date of Hecataeus' Work on Egypt," *JEA* 59 (1973): 163–68.

6. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.1–3 (trans. C. Oldfather, LCL). See also Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.55.5: "And the proof which they offer of the Egyptian origin of this nation is the fact that the Colchi practice circumcision even as the Egyptians do, the custom continuing among the colonists sent out from Egypt as it did in the case of the Jews."

7. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.49–50, 54–57, 141, 144–45.

8. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.91.

9. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.120; Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 1:94–116. For Hecataeus, see n. 14 below.

10. G. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephus, Luke–Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 65–68; O. Murray, "Herodotus and Hellenistic Culture," *CQ* 22 (1972): 200–13 (207).

11. Herodotus quoted Hecataeus at *Histories* 2.143; 5.36, 125–26; 6.137; cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 1:127–39.

12. Cf. Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 1:139; 3:22. Hecataeus of Miletus said the Argonauts returned from Colchis via the Nile (*FGrH* 1 F18a).

from Egypt and learned circumcision from the Egyptians. Neither Herodotus nor Hecataeus of Abdera claimed to have consulted the Jews.[13] Rather, the Egyptians were regularly cited as authorities throughout Diodorus Book 1, thought to have drawn heavily on Hecataeus of Abdera.[14] Hecataeus of Abdera appears to have drawn exclusively on Egyptian oral sources supplemented by Herodotus for his knowledge of both the Egyptians and the Jews. He knew the Jews only as a country colonized by Egyptians from whom they learned to practice circumcision. It is also noteworthy that Hecataeus of Abdera treated both Egyptians and Jews favorably, in line with the pro-Egyptian *tendenz* of the *Aegyptiaca.*

This brings us to consider, briefly, another passage in Diodorus that is routinely attributed to Hecataeus. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 related another tradition regarding Jewish origins from foreigners dwelling in Egypt who were expelled to Judea under the leadership of Moses. This lengthy passage, which had detailed eyewitness information on Jewish customs and even contained a quote from the book of Jewish laws, differed markedly from the genuine Hecataean tradition represented by Diodorus Book 1. Despite the citation of Hecataeus ("of Miletus"!) as authority at Diodorus 40.3.8, authorship by Hecataeus of Abdera must be rejected. This chapter will later argue that Diodorus 40.3.1–8 in fact derived from the pen of Theophanes of Mytilene in 62 BCE, although Theophanes in turn utilized Hecataeus for a few details regarding the Jews.

The next author who knew of the Jews was Theophrastus, the famous student and successor of Aristotle. In an essay *On Piety*, written in 315/314 BCE, Theophrastus recorded intriguing information regarding contemporary Jewish religious practices. He stated that "Syrians, of whom the Jews constitute a part" offered "live sacrifices according to their old mode of sacrifice." As Theophrastus explains:

> They are not feasted on the sacrifices, but burning them whole at night and pouring on them honey and wine, they quickly destroy the offering, in order that the all-seeing sun should not look on the terrible thing. During this whole time, being philosophers by race, they converse with each other about the deity, and at night-time they make observations of the stars, gazing at them and calling on God by prayer. They were the first to institute sacrifices both of other living beings and of themselves; yet they did it by compulsion and not from eagerness for it.[15]

In the past, it was widely assumed that Theophrastus's information about the Jews was highly inaccurate,[16] but recent scholarship has pointed out that his description of Jewish religious practices corresponds to certain customs

13. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.104, said that the Phoenicians and Syrians of Palestine acknowledged that they had learned circumcision from the Egyptians, but it was likely the Egyptians who told Herodotus this. Cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:4.

14. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.21.2; 26.1; 43.6; 69.7; 86.2; 96.2; cf. B. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus, On the Jews: Legitimizing the Jewish Diaspora* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1996), 17.

15. Theophrastus, *On Piety*, cited at Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2.26.

16. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:11–12.

condemned in the Prophets,[17] such as astrology,[18] night offerings[19] (mentioned in conjunction with honey[20]) and human sacrifice.[21] It appears likely that these customs, which the Hebrew Bible condemned as heterodox, were still practiced by some Syrian Jews at or close to the time of Theophrastus. Who these Jews were—whether, for instance, they were from Judea, Samaria or some other area—is difficult to say, based on the limited information Theophrastus presents.[22] Theophrastus never referred to Judea or Jerusalem, but did mention the Valley of Syria (i.e. the lower Jordan valley) and its balsam and date palm industries.[23]

Hieronymus of Cardia, the historian of the Wars of the Diadochi (323–278 BCE), fought under Antigonus Monophthalmus in Palestine in 312 BCE and was assigned to supervise the collection of asphalt from the Dead Sea.[24] He never mentioned the Jews,[25] but, like Aristotle, described the Dead Sea. Hieronymus located the Dead Sea "in the country of the Nabateans" and described the process of asphalt collection as well as the date palm and balsam industries.[26]

The next author who wrote of the Jews was Manetho, an Egyptian priest who wrote a history of the Egyptians around 285 BCE during the reign of Ptolemy I Soter (325–282 BCE).[27] Manetho said Jerusalem and Judea were originally settled by the Hyksos (or Shepherd Kings), a dynasty of foreign kings who once held sway over Egypt. Later, in the time of Amenophis and Ramesses, certain polluted Egyptians under the leadership of an apostate Egyptian priest named Osarseph, and allied with the Hyksos, were also said to have been expelled into Judea. Manetho referred to a contemporary oral tradition that equated Osarseph with Moses.[28] Despite a superficial resemblance to the Jewish Exodus story, it can be demonstrated that Manetho relied entirely on native Egyptian records and literature.[29] Manetho, like Hecataeus of Abdera, knew of a figure named Moses associated with the Jews,[30] but there is no evidence that Manetho read or knew of the existence of Jewish writings.

Berossus, writing in 278 BCE, was a Babylonian priest who also mentioned the Jews. Drawing on Babylonian cuneiform annals, he recounted the conquest

17. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 381 n. 118.
18. Jer 7:17–18; 8:2; 19:13; 44:15–19; Ezek 8:16.
19. Isa 65:4; cf. Ezek 8:12.
20. Ezek 16:19.
21. Isa 57:5; Jer 7:31; 19:5; 32:35; Ezek 16:20–21; 23:37–39.
22. Theophrastus did not mention Jerusalem or its temple. The mention of Jewish astronomical observations correlates with Samaritan interests of an early date (cf. Pseudo-Eupolemus *OTP* FF 1–2 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.3–4, 8–9; 18.2]).
23. Stern, *GLAJJ* §§6–9.
24. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 19.100.1–2.
25. Josephus, *Apion* 1.214.
26. Stern, *GLAJJ* §§10, 59, 62.
27. See Chapter 11, §1 on Manetho's date.
28. See Chapters 7 and 8 on Manetho.
29. See Chapter 8.
30. Josephus, *Apion* 1.250. See Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 128–32, on the extensive use of Hecataeus of Abdera by Manetho.

of Jerusalem by Nebuchadnezzar among other historical contacts between the Babylonians and Jews. Berossus, like other authors of this time, knew nothing of Jewish written traditions.

Megasthenes, writing after the time of Berossus (see Appendix A), viewed the Jews as a Syrian race of philosophers comparable to the Brahmans of India.[31]

The earliest Greek writers who mention the Jews thus provide no external evidence of new developments in the evolution of the Torah. At the time of the Elephantine Papyri (494–ca. 400 BCE) we have authoritative Jewish priestly regulations, but no evidence that these had been committed to writing. The Elephantine Papyri also testify to toleration of practices contrary to the Pentateuch. As late as ca. 315 BCE, Theophrastus described contemporary sacrificial practices among the Jews that the Hebrew Bible condemns as heterodox. The first mention of Moses as Jewish founder and lawgiver occurred in Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* in 320–315 BCE; Manetho also mentioned Moses probably not long thereafter. Neither author attributed writings to Moses, although both appear to have viewed him as the lawgiver of the Jews.[32] Other than the disputed fragment of Hecataeus in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3, the Septuagint translation is the first definite evidence of Jewish writings.

## 2. *Diodorus Book 40*

Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 contained a lengthy passage on the Jews which is widely believed to quote Hecataeus of Abdera, and which bears direct witness to Jewish writings claiming to record laws that Moses received from God. This Diodorus Siculus passage is thought to demonstrate that the Pentateuch existed at least as early as the time of Hecataeus in the late 300s BCE, several decades before Berossus, Manetho or the Greek Septuagint translation. However, the assignment of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 to Hecataeus is not without problems.

First, knowledge of the Jewish Exodus tradition by a Greek historian several decades before the Septuagint would pose serious difficulties. Such knowledge practically demands the existence of a Greek translation of the Pentateuch (or

31. Stern, *GLAJJ* §14. The question of whether philosophy originated among barbarians or Greeks was a common topic of discussion in writings of Aristotle's time and later. (A survey of ancient sources on this subject is found at Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 1.1–11, as well as the comments at W. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews: The First Greek Records of Jewish Religion and Civilization," in *Scripta Minora* [2 vols.; Rome: Edizioni di storia e letteratura, 1960], 2:170–71). The references to Jews as philosophers in Theophrastus, Clearchus of Soli and Megasthenes are best understood within the context of this ongoing debate, which was of particular interest to the Peripatetic school with its wide-ranging curiosity on the customs of other nations.

32. The mere fact that Moses was considered the lawgiver as well as founder of the Jewish nation does not imply surviving written legal materials circulating under his name. The lists of famous lawgivers in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.94.1–2; Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.38–39; Seneca, *Letters* 90.6, included figures who left no written legislation, notably Lycurgus. The example of Lycurgus is especially telling, given the Spartan affinities of the Mosaic constitution as described in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.5–7 (see n. 119 below).

portions thereof) prior to the Septuagint.[33] But evidence for such a translation is lacking. The undisputed fragments of Hecataeus in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 1 display no awareness of the Pentateuch, while the account of the Jews in Book 40 is so divergent from the Pentateuch[34] as to guarantee that Hecataeus did not have access to Jewish writings, translated or otherwise.[35]

These difficulties are usually overcome by postulating that Hecataeus learned about the Pentateuch from Jewish priests living in Alexandria.[36] But a second difficulty is that in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 1, Hecataeus repeatedly named Egyptian priests as his sources;[37] nowhere did he claim to have had contact with Jews. If Hecataeus had contact with Jewish priests or had access to Jewish writings, he would doubtless have said so to enhance the authority of his account. But Hecataeus made no such claims in undisputed fragments.

Third, the detailed information Hecataeus allegedly presented about the Jews in Book 40 was not quoted or utilized by any author from 320 BCE to the time of Posidonius and Diodorus Siculus in the first century BCE. That Theophrastus read Hecataeus is certain,[38] yet the description of heterodox Jews in Theophrastus's *On Piety* markedly differed from the detailed knowledge of orthodox Judaism in the allegedly Hecataean passage in Book 40.[39] Manetho's dependence on Hecataeus of Abdera is certain, yet his knowledge of the Jews was limited to their location in Jerusalem and the name of their founder, Moses.[40] Second-century BCE Alexandrian Jewish writers such as Aristobulus and Pseudo-Aristeas[41] did extensive research in the classics—including Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*—but failed to discover a single passage in which an early Hellenistic author of Hecataeus's time or earlier quoted Jewish scripture.[42] That so many writers on the Jews who were familiar with Hecataeus knew nothing of the contents of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 suggests that the latter passage did not derive from Hecataeus.

33. E. Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews up to Hecataeus of Abdera," in his *Greek Knowledge of Jews up to Hecataeus of Abdera: Protocol of the Fortieth Colloquy, 7 December 1980* (Berkeley: Center for Hermeneutical Studies in Hellenistic and Modern Culture, 1981), 1–14 (11).

34. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 33–34, 41; J. Gager, *Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism* (SBLMS 16; Nashville: Abingdon Press, 1972), 76; Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 91; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 155; Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 12; E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of the Jewish Tradition* (Hellenistic Culture and Society 30; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998), 52.

35. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 76; Gager, *Moses*, 76; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 155.

36. See n. 137 below.

37. See n. 14 above.

38. See n. 194 below.

39. The relative dating of Theophrastus and Hecataeus is discussed in §6 below.

40. See Chapter 7.

41. Actually, Pseudo-Aristeas is to be identified with Aristobulus; see the discussion in Chapter 4, §3.

42. Aristobulus, writing ca. 150 BCE, would likely have cited the source behind Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 if it existed in his time. This suggests the source postdated 150 BCE. Josephus, in conducting a similar search of ancient writings for references to the Jews, had to resort to the Jewish forgery *Pseudo-Hecataeus* (Josephus, *Apion* 1.183–204).

Fourth and finally, the account of the Jews in Book 40 seriously contradicts the briefer, unquestionably Hecataean passage on the Jews in Book 1.[43] Book 1 was favorable in tone towards both Jews and Egyptians and considered the Jews (as well as Greeks and others) to have been descendants of Egyptians. By contrast, Book 40 labeled Jews, Greeks and others as non-Egyptians—foreigners expelled from Egypt—and recorded traditions moderately hostile to the Jews.[44]

For these reasons, the Hecataean authorship of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 should be (but rarely has been) questioned.[45]

### 3. *Theophanes and Diodorus Book 40*

The problematic, allegedly Hecataean passage on the Jews at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 has almost universally been discussed as a separate unit, isolated from the surrounding material in Diodorus. In order to identify the true source of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 it is essential to consider the preceding and succeeding chapters. The excursus on the Jews was embedded within an extended narrative in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.1–4 on events of 74–62 BCE, notably the pirate war, which Pompey so brilliantly brought to a conclusion, and Pompey's subsequent war against Mithridates VI of Pontus. Chapter 3, describing the history and customs of the Jews, served as background to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem in 63 BCE. One must therefore ask: Did Diodorus excerpt the passage on the Jews from Hecataeus of Abdera, as commonly assumed, or did Diodorus find this passage within a late account of Pompey's campaigns in the east?

Diodorus's *Library* (*Bibliotech* or "Bookshelf") was less an original history than a compilation from various earlier historians.[46] As is well known, Diodorus's method was to draw on a single author for extended portions of his

43. Cf. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 151, 155–56. Jacoby believed Hecataeus recorded two variants of the story of Jewish origins from Egypt. Diamond recognized that the traditions in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Books 1 and 40 were divergent and could not have come from the same author. But Diamond presumed that Book 40 contained the authentic Hecataean account. Consequently, Diamond drew exactly the wrong conclusion, namely, that Book 1 represented a tradition other than Hecataeus (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 26–27, 32, 157).

44. Jacoby, *FGrH* IIIa Comm. on 264; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 151, 155–56, 221. Gabba ("Greek Knowledge of Jews," 12) claimed there was nothing negative in the accusation of Jewish misanthropy at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.4. This was heavily debated in the panel discussion recorded in E. Gabba et al., "Minutes of the Colloquy," in Gabba, *Greek Knowledge of Jews up to Hecataeus of Abdera*, 33–45 (34–35).

45. Occasionally it is suggested that *Pseudo-Hecataeus* and Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 came from the same late Hasmonean Era Jewish author; see J. Lebram, "Der Idealstaat des Juden," in *Josephus-Studien: Untersuchungen zu Josephus, dem antiken Judentum und dem Neuen Testament, O. Michel zum 70. Geburrtstag gewidmet* (ed. O. Betz, K. Haacker and M. Hengel; Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974), 233–53; a "forthcoming" article by D. Schwartz mentioned at Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 55 n. 48; and K. Sacks, "Response," in Gabba, *Greek Knowledge of Jews up to Hecataeus of Abdera*, 26–32 (26 n. 1) (although Sacks considered *Pseudo-Hecataeus* to be authentically Hecataean).

46. J. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1981), 22–27.

book, occasionally supplemented by secondary authors.[47] Thus, for instance, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 1 for the most part drew on Hecataeus of Abdera (starting with 1.10),[48] except for a digression on the Nile taken from Agatharchides of Cnidus (1.32–42).[49] Diodorus Siculus's account of Ninus and Semiramis at 2.1.4–20.8 drew almost exclusively on Ktesias, supplemented by some minor, unnamed sources. Posidonius was extensively used in Books 4–5 and 32–37.[50] Diodorus used Ephorus as his major source in Book 11.[51] Hieronymus of Cardia was used for virtually all of Books 17–20.[52] Polybius was used extensively in Books 27–31.[53] There is thus a strong presumption that the entirety of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.1–4 came from a single source on Pompey rather than having been assembled from a multiplicity of sources on the Jews.

The opening chapters of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 40 appear to derive entirely from Theophanes of Mytilene's biography of Pompey, which contained Theophanes' eyewitness account of Pompey's campaigns in the east.[54] Diodorus doubtless reproduced only selected episodes from Theophanes, as was his habit in utilizing his sources;[55] and Photius in turn only excerpted selected passages of interest from Diodorus. The material in 40.1–4 is thus highly disjointed and unconnected. Chapters 1–4 all relate sporadic episodes connected with Pompey's activities in 67–62 BCE, but it is reasonably clear that it all derived from a common source, namely Theophanes.

Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.1 recounted the failure of Marcus Antonius's sea war against the pirates in 74–71 BCE and the deteriorating diplomatic relations in 69 BCE between the Romans and the Cretans, who were in league with the pirate fleets. This material likely served to introduce Pompey's mission to eradicate the pirates which was executed so brilliantly in the spring and summer of 67 BCE. Sections 1a and 1b next describe the inability of the last Seleucid dynasts, Antiochus XIII and Philip II, to maintain power at Antioch in 67/66 BCE in the face of local opposition and Arab intrigues.[56] This material served as

47. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 61, 63; cf. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 60–62. The arguments against Diodorus's preference for a single source by L. Bröcker, W. Spoerri and A. Burton have not been well received; cf. the critiques of their views in Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 21–32; O. Murray, review of Burton, *Diodorus Book I*, *JHS* 95 (1975): 214–15; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 289–90.

48. Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 144–50; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 14–15, 289–90; cf. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 21.

49. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 27. Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 14) thought only Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.37–41 excerpted Agatharchides. Another lengthy passage from Agatharchides—on the Red Sea—was found at *Library* 3.12–48.

50. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 27–28; L. Edelstein and I. Kidd, *Posidonius* (3 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1972–99), 1:xviii n. 3; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 290.

51. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 28–29.

52. Ibid., 18–75.

53. Ibid., 29 n. 41.

54. See Appendix B for a discussion of Theophanes.

55. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 28, 39.

56. Lucullus had restored Antiochus XIII as king of Syria in 69 BCE. Philip II was a rival claimant to the Seleucid throne. Sampsigerasmus of Emesa and Azizus the Arabarch were mentioned not

historical background to Pompey's deposing Antiochus XIII in 64 BCE and establishing direct Roman rule over Syria.

Chapter 2 gave an account of Pompey's visit to Damascus in 63 BCE, when he heard the arguments of Aristobulus II and Hyrkanus II, the rival claimants to the Jewish throne. This material undoubtedly came from Theophanes,[57] who was an eyewitness to the talks at Damascus and is thought to have advised Pompey on the disposition of Judea. A more expansive account of these negotiations, also deriving from Theophanes (by way of Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus) is found at Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41–45 (see Appendix B).

Chapter 3 announced the author's intention to present an account of Pompey's war against the Jews, but interrupted the narrative to digress on the origin and customs of the Jews by way of introduction. It is this excursus on Jewish origins that is usually attributed to Hecataeus of Abdera. Yet this passage was presented in the context of the story Jerusalem's fall in 63 BCE[58] and is better interpreted as coming from Theophanes of Mytilene, like the material before and after it. Indeed, 40.3 appears closely related to 40.2, containing the same theme of traditional Jewish rule by priests that was the hallmark of Theophanes' description of the Jews.[59] That a source recounting Pompey's campaigns in the east would have paused to digress on the history and customs of the Jews is only to be expected.[60] Greek and Roman authors describing "the fall of a Great City" often digressed with a history of the metropolis.[61] Strabo, likely following Posidonius, recounted the foundation and customs of the Jewish nation in connection with Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem (see *Geography* 16.2.34–40, discussed below). Tacitus did exactly the same at *Histories* 5.2–5. The digression on the Jews at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 similarly interrupted an account of Jerusalem's fall. It is usually assumed this standard arrangement of material came from Diodorus, who is thought to have interrupted a source on Pompey's campaigns with a passage on the Jews spliced in from Hecataeus.[62] Instead, one

only at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.1a–1b, but also at Josephus, *Ant.* 13.384 (Aziza the phylarch); Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.11 (Sampsigerasmus); this latter data arguably derived from Theophanes' account of Pompey's journey through Coele-Syria and Pompey's decisions regarding the various minor kingdoms in this region.

57. Cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:186.

58. "It is obvious that Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40, 3 is connected to the events of 63 B.C." (D. Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia' of the Persian Period [Diodorus Siculus XL, 3]," *ZAW* 95 [1983]: 96–111 [98]).

59. See Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 21; Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" 104–5, on the common theme of Jewish rule by priests; cf. Appendix B on this theme in Theophanes' writings.

60. Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 21–22) elaborated on the appropriateness of *Library* 40.3, with its emphasis on Jewish martial training, as an introduction to the description of Pompey's Judean war. Bar-Kochva failed to note that the absence of Jewish images mentioned at 40.3.4 anticipated Pompey's discovery that the temple lacked a statue of the deity. Such startling appropriateness is best explained by 40.3 having been composed as an introduction to events of 63 BCE.

61. Cf. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.2: "As I am about to relate the last days of a famous city, it seems appropriate to throw some light on its origin."

62. E.g. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 62; Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 10; Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" 98.

must consider the possibility that Theophanes, Diodorus's source on Pompey, interrupted himself with a brief account of the Jews, which Diodorus quoted in full. If 40.3 was excerpted from Theophanes, this requires us to determine how much of the chapter was quoted from Theophanes' major source Hecataeus and how much came from other sources or from Theophanes' personal observations.

After the digression in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8, Photius omitted the promised account of Pompey's campaign against Judea; instead, 40.4 described Pompey's triumph procession at Rome in 62 BCE celebrating his victories over the pirates, Mithridates of Pontus, and lesser rulers in the east, including Aristobulus, king of the Jews. This description of Pompey's triumph in 62 BCE closed Theophanes of Mytilene's book on Pompey.[63]

All the material in 40.1–4 related to Pompey's campaigns in the east and appears to have been extracted from Theophanes' account. Chapter 5 began a new subject and a new source dealing with the Cataline conspiracy. That Diodorus arranged his material according to the author he was currently excerpting, rather than narrating events chronologically, is indicated by the fact that the account of the Cataline conspiracy in 40.5 backtracks to events of 63 BCE, while 40.4 had already described Pompey's triumph in 62 BCE.

Diodorus's reliance on Theophanes of Mytilene throughout the first four chapters of Book 40 is consistent with his usual method of excerpting most of his material from a single major source rather than synthesizing a number of different sources.[64] One may conclude that Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 drew on Theophanes of Mytilene. Unfortunately, Diodorus Siculus never named Theophanes as his source in surviving fragments (much as he often omitted naming other major sources[65]). The mention of "Hecataeus" as a source at 40.3.8 appears to have quoted Theophanes. Since Diodorus omitted the name Theophanes, but mentioned Theophanes' source Hecataeus, Photius understandably concluded that Diodorus's source in 40.3.1–8 was Hecataeus,[66] and modern scholarship has taken Photius's mistaken inference as fact.[67] But given Diodorus's

63. See Appendix B on an extension Theophanes later wrote to include events down to at least 54 BCE.

64. See n. 47 above.

65. In Book 1, Diodorus's main source Hecataeus of Abdera was mentioned only at 1.46.8, and then as a minor source (cf. Murray, "'Pharaonic Kingship," 145 n. 1). Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 3.12–48 was taken from Agatharchides' book on the Red Sea (Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 27), yet Agatharchides was never mentioned as the author. Hieronymus of Cardia was never cited in Books 17–20.

66. This confusion began with Photius himself. See Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 21. As C. Murgia commented on the dangers of "second- and third-hand transmissions" in Gabba et al., "Minutes of the Colloquy," 40: "Someone says, 'This was said by Hecataeus.' The next person assumes that *everything* was said by Hecataeus. I am not saying that it all could not have been said by Hecataeus, but our authority is a statement in Photius, not Diodorus."

67. Sacks ("Response," 26) said scholarship has expressed "no doubts on authenticity" of the Hecataean authorship of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 (although at n. 1 he himself suggested 40.3 came from *Pseudo-Hecataeus*). Yet in Gabba et al., "Minutes of the Colloquy," 37, 40, it was debated whether the entirety of 40.3.1–8 was correctly attributed to Hecataeus. Participant Murgia suggested that the passage might have been an amalgam of Diodorus and Hecataeus, incorrectly

predilection for extended excerpts from a single author, the presumption is that the excursus on the Jews came from Diodorus's source on Pompey's eastern wars, namely, Theophanes of Mytilene.

### 4. *Analysis of Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.1–8*

The detailed analysis that follows confirms that Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 derived from a book written by Theophanes of Mytilene in 62 BCE, not Hecataeus of Abdera two and a half centuries earlier. A major objective of this source-critical analysis is to determine how much of 40.3.1–8 came from eyewitness observations by Theophanes and how much drew on Hecataeus or other literary sources. Another important objective is to evaluate how much Hecataeus knew about the Jews, and whether Hecataeus knew or utilized Jewish written sources, namely, the Pentateuch. *Library* 40.3 will be discussed in detail below.

#### *Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.1a*

> *From the fortieth book [of Diodorus], about the middle.*[68]
> (3.1a) Now that we intend to record the war against the Jews, we consider it appropriate to give first an outline of the foundation from its beginning, and of the customs practiced among them.

These words are usually interpreted as an announcement by Diodorus that he was interrupting his account of the Jewish war (taken from Theophanes) with a brief account of Jewish origins (taken from Hecataeus). And indeed this is the natural reading of the above passage, taking "we" to have been a self-reference by Diodorus. But Diodorus had a well-known habit of quoting his sources' opinions and intentions as his own, as for instance at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 31.10 where he lifted the phrase "in our judgment" from Polybius 29.21.[69] Similarly, the above words announcing a digression on the foundation (*ktisis*) and customs (*nomima*) of the Jewish nation appear to have been lifted directly from his source on the Jewish war, namely, Theophanes.

#### *Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.1b–2a*

Part of Theophanes' account of the foundation story of the Jews was taken from Hecataeus, who included Judea among the colonies established by Egypt in various parts of the world (as summarized at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.1–29.5). As with the foundation of the Jewish nation "in archaic times" at 40.3.1a above, so these other Egyptian colonies were said to have been established "in

attributed in its entirety to Hecataeus by Photius. Murgia's observations were correct in principle if not in detail: the passage appears to have been a passage from Theophanes of Mytilene containing an amalgam of quotes or paraphrases from Hecataeus, Manetho and Posidonius together with original new material, all mistakenly attributed to Hecataeus by Photius.

68. The introductory words are from Photius. The translation follows Walton, LCL, supplemented by the comments of Photius from the translation by Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 19–21.

69. Hornblower, *Hieronymus of Cardia*, 27–29. For other examples of Diodorus incongruously appropriating material verbatim from his sources, see Sacks, "Response," 27.

ancient times" at 1.28.3. Hecataeus's description of the colonization of Argos by Danaus, Babylon by Belus, and the Colchians by other Egyptians, also contained brief *ktisis* and *nomima* sections,[70] of which the colonization of Babylon by Belus is most fully reproduced by Diodorus (at 1.28.1, quoted above). In all these authentic Hecataean colonization stories, the founders of Egyptians were highly idealized. But Theophanes combined Hecataeus's colonization story with other negative accounts of Jewish origins, as in the following passage:

> (3.1b) When in ancient times a pestilence arose in Egypt, the ordinary people ascribed their troubles to the working of a divine power; for indeed with many strangers of all sorts dwelling in their midst and practicing different habits of rites and sacrifices, their own traditional observances in honor of the gods had fallen into disuse. (3.2a) Hence the natives in the land surmised that unless they removed the foreigners, their troubles would never be resolved. At once, therefore, the aliens were driven from the country,

Though slightly rephrased by Diodorus, the above passage was taken directly from Theophanes' account, along with the material that follows, in accordance with Diodorus's habit of excerpting long sections from a single author. As has often been remarked, the above account of the expulsion of foreigners from Egypt differs markedly from Hecataeus of Abdera's story of Egypt having sent out colonies to Greece and other parts of the world in 1.28.1–29.5.[71] Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.1–3 (quoted above) claimed Babylonians, Greeks, Colchians and Jews were all descended from Egyptians, not from foreigners living in Egypt. According to Hecataeus, Jews and others were sent out as colonists, not expelled from Egypt.

The Hecataean account in Book 1 was entirely favorable to the Egyptians as well as to the Greeks and Jews.[72] By contrast, 40.3.1–8, although commonly believed to derive from Hecataeus, labels the émigrés as foreigners expelled from Egypt due to a plague sent by the gods. This version of the origin of Greeks and others is inconsistent with the Hecataean tradition, but instead appears to have ultimately derived from Manetho, who was the first author in Greek to describe an expulsion of foreigners from Egypt into Judea.[73] Common motifs in the above passage and Manetho include: a plague sent from God on Egypt;[74] foreigners with objectionable religious practices living in Egypt; the expulsion of foreigners from Egypt. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1b clearly corresponds to the hostile version of the Egyptian colonization of Judea in Manetho, not the benevolent tradition in Hecataeus of Abdera.

70. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 208–10.

71. Jacoby, *FGrH* IIIa Comm. on 264; cf. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 155–56; Sacks, "Response," 26.

72. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 151.

73. Manetho (quoted at Josephus, *Apion* 1.231) had Sethos of Dynasty XIX drive out his brother Danaus from Egypt. The expulsion of Danaus and his allies may have alluded to the problems with the Sea Peoples (who included the Danaeans) under Dynasty XIX. See Chapter 8 below.

74. In Manetho, a "blast from God" (Josephus, *Apion* 1.75); at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1, "pestilence...ascribed...to the working of a divine power."

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.2b*

> (3.2b) And the most outstanding and active among them banded together and, as some would say, were cast ashore in Greece and certain other regions; their leaders were notable men, chief among them being Danaus and Cadmus.

This passage makes a sharp transition to a positive account of Egyptian colonization abroad: the description of the colonists as "the most outstanding and active" and their leaders as "notable men" describe this colonization in highly idealized terms. (The only negative element was the comment that these colonists "as some would say, were cast ashore" in Greece and elsewhere; that only "some" described the colonization in terms of expulsion indicates that Theophanes combined multiple sources.) Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.2 (following Hecataeus of Abdera) mentioned Danaus's foundation of Argos in Greece, but Hecataeus did not include Kadmos among colonizers sent out from Egypt. Rather, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.23.4 claimed Kadmos and his descendants were permanent residents of Egyptian Thebes.[75] (Hecataeus appears to have here drawn on Hecataeus of Miletus, who is thought to have rejected the idea that Greek Thebes was colonized by Kadmos: Hecataeus of Miletus claimed that Danaus, rather than Kadmos, introduced letters to Greece.[76]) The mention of both Danaus and Kadmos at 40.3.2b thus derived from a source other than Hecataeus of Abdera.[77] That statement that Kadmos, along with Danaus and Moses, observed religious practices differing from the Egyptians suggests an acquaintance with late traditions that claimed Kadmos founded temples dedicated to Poseidon and Athena at Thera and Rhodes[78] and was linked to the mystery cult at Samothrace.[79]

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.2c*

> (3.2c) But the greater number were driven into what is now called Judea, which is not far distant from Egypt and was at that time utterly desolate.

The description of the foreigners being driven into Judea returns again to the negative tradition in Manetho. But in Manetho, Judea was not uninhabited at the expulsion of polluted Egyptians and their Hyksos allies to Judea in the time of Danaus: the Hyksos had founded Judea and Jerusalem some 500 years earlier.[80] The description of Judea as "at that time utterly desolate" did not come from

75. On the varying traditions on Kadmos' origin, see generally R. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician: A Study in Greek Legends and the Mycenaean Age* (Amsterdam: Adolf M. Hakkert, 1979). The connection of Kadmos with Egypt was doubtless due to the existence of both an Egyptian and a Greek city called Thebes; cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:29; Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*, 50.

76. Hecataeus of Miletus *FGrH* 1 F20; cf. L. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1939), 102.

77. Manetho mentioned only Danaus—not Kadmos—and described him as the brother of Aegyptus (Josephus, *Apion* 1.102); no trace of this latter story is found in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.

78. Cf. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*, 32 (and sources cited there).

79. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.48; cf. Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*, 29–30.

80. Josephus, *Apion* 1.90, 228, 230.

Manetho, nor did it reflect the Pentateuchal description.[81] Rather, the description of Jerusalem as uninhabited signals a return to Hecataeus's foundation story. Hellenistic foundation stories often had Greek heroes setting off with their followers in search of some uninhabited locale where they founded a new colony.[82]

*Diodorus Siculus*, Library 40.3.3a

> (3.3a) The colony was headed by a man named Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and courage. On taking possession of the land, he founded, besides other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem. In addition he established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual, drew up the laws relating to their political institutions, and ordered them.

This passage continued the foundation story from Hecataeus. A specific link to Hecataeus is the description of Judea as a "colony" (*apoikoia*); the Egyptian outposts were identically described at 1.28.1.[83] Literally meaning "a settlement far from home", this was the usual term for a Greek colony sent out by a mother city.[84] As such this term is somewhat incongruous in describing an outpost of expelled foreigners[85] (although such a usage is not entirely unknown[86]). The description of Moses as "outstanding both for his wisdom and courage" is typical of highly idealized Greek founder figures.[87] The description of Jerusalem as "most renowned" is also highly favorable towards the colony. The combination of highly negative material in 40.3.1–2 and favorable material such as that at 3.3 has led to decades of debate as to whether the foundation story in 40.3 condemned or praised the Jews:[88] clearly it did both, combining the hostile tradition from Manetho with the idealizing foundation story in Hecataeus.

81. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:30. The barrenness of the country prior to the arrival of the Jews was also found at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.36. On Theophanes as a source for this last passage, see §7 below. Diamond (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 246–49) and Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 32) improbably read the Exodus and the wilderness experience into the quoted passage; Diamond alternately suggested an allusion to the Mosaic conquest of Transjordan (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 41–43). Yet Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 40.3.3, immediately following, with its reference to Moses as founder of Jerusalem and its temple, clearly indicated Judea was intended. Gruen (*Heritage and Hellenism*, 52) properly commented that Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 had little in common with the Exodus account.

82. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:30; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 33; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 43. Examples of lands described as uninhabited prior to colonization are the island of Lesbos (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 5.81.1), Scythia (Herodotus, *Histories* 4.8); Italy (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.12.1, 13.3) and Sicily (Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.22.2). See also Plato, *Laws* 4.704C, where the ideal colony was described as located in a long-desolate district.

83. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 208–9.

84. Ibid., 30–31.

85. Ibid., 31; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 76.

86. A. Graham, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece," in *CAH*$^2$, 3:83–162 (143); Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 143.

87. Cf. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.7.1; cf. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 31.

88. See generally the essays in Gabba, *Greek Knowledge of Jews up to Hecataeus of Abdera*, especially Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 21; Gruen, "Response," 15; Sacks, "Response," 28–32; Gabba et al., "Minutes of the Colloquy," 36–40.

It is remarkable how little knowledge of the figure Moses or of the Jewish version of the Exodus the above passage displays.[89] It knew nothing of the oppression of the Jews, of Moses as Egyptian prince or as deliverer of the Jews, of Moses as a magician or of miracles associated with the Exodus. It knew nothing of the forty years wandering, of Moses' death in the wilderness or that Joshua led the conquest. Hecataeus's description of Mosaic laws primarily referred to rules governing Jewish political institutions, not the laws of the Torah.[90] In short, the above passage displays no acquaintance with the Jewish version of the Exodus story[91] (despite Theophanes' nodding acquaintance with Jewish writings, as discussed below).

The above story, in contrast to the story in Manetho, was extremely favorable to the colonists who founded Jerusalem. One may therefore infer it derived from Hecataeus of Abdera's account. According to this story, Moses led the Jews all the way to Judea and founded Jerusalem and its temple. There Moses instituted the religious rites, laws and political institutions of the Jews. As is well known, this image of Moses conformed to Greek stereotypes of the founders of colonies. A foundation story would typically contain the story of the emigration of the original settlers from their native land to the site of the colony; their conquest of the land and foundation of a new city, under the military leadership of the founder; the establishment of a temple for the colonists; the division of the population into tribes; and (lastly) the founder's ordering of society, including its laws and political constitution.[92] The above passage was thus highly colored by Greek preconceptions of the activities of founder figures.[93]

The tradition that Moses was founder of the Jewish colony centered at Jerusalem obviously did not derive from the Pentateuch. Nor did it derive from Egyptian tradition since, on the evidence of Manetho, the Egyptians did not consider Moses the founder of Jerusalem or its temple,[94] but only as the Jewish

89. According to Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 41), Hecataeus "disregards the Jewish Exodus Story" since it would have offended the Egyptians; but evidence that Hecataeus knew the Exodus story is entirely lacking.

90. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.3 distinguished between Jewish "forms of worship and ritual" and "laws relating to their political institutions," though both were established by Moses. The laws relating to political institutions covered such matters as conscription, land distribution, the support of the priesthood (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.6–8).

91. Gager, *Moses*, 76; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 41. Bar-Kochva expressed doubts on the thesis that Hecataeus was based purely on Greek foundation stories. Bar-Kochva emphasized that Hecataeus had additional input from Jewish oral sources. However, genuine knowledge of Jewish traditions is clear only in parts of Theophanes' excursus that did not draw on Hecataeus.

92. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 181; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 26, 30–31; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 158. Murray commented, "Moses founds his city, and *then* gives it laws, in the Greek fashion." The sequence of Jerusalem's foundation followed by the Mosaic legislation is a hallmark of Hecataeus of Abdera's account and is found in various later works dependent on Hecataeus such as Aristobulus, *Pseudo-Hecataeus* and others (cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3, where Moses' role as Jerusalem's founder and legislator reflects Greek foundation story stereotypes).

93. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 181; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 158; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 26, 30–34.

94. According to Manetho, Jerusalem and its temple were established 500 years before Moses, at the first expulsion of the Hyksos (Josephus, *Apion* 1.190, 228, 230).

lawgiver.[95] The story of Moses as founder of Jerusalem quoted above is thus entirely original to Hecataeus, and is thought to have arisen as follows. From the Egyptian priests he consulted, Hecataeus heard of Moses the Jewish lawgiver. Since Greeks such as Hecataeus typically believed that the founder of a colony inaugurated a system of laws, Hecataeus concluded that Moses founded the Jewish nation and temple. Greek founder figures stereotypically led people to a new land, conquered territory, founded a central city, established a temple, drew up a constitution, allotted land, organized a militia and so forth, much as Hecataeus related about Moses. It is thus generally accepted that Hecataeus based his entire quasi-historical account of Moses as founder of Jerusalem, the Jewish nation and the temple, entirely on the slender fact that Jewish laws were known as the "Law of Moses."[96] Hecataeus's knowledge of a "Mosaic law" is an important fact. On evidence of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.3, Hecataeus appears to have been the earliest source to have known of Moses as Jewish lawgiver; Manetho came second. It cannot be inferred, however, that either Hecataeus or Manetho knew of Moses as author of written Jewish laws, that is, the Torah.[97] By the time of Hecataeus we may begin to speak of the laws of Moses; one cannot yet speak of the Books of Moses.[98]

*Diodorus Siculus*, Library *40.3.3b*

> (3.3b) He also divided the people into twelve tribes, since this is regarded as the most perfect number and corresponds to the number of months that make up a year.

The above seemingly displays knowledge of biblical traditions regarding Moses' division of the Jewish nation into twelve tribes. Conceivably the reference to the twelve tribes came from Apollonius Molon, the first Greek writer to devote an entire book to the Jews. Apollonius displayed wide knowledge of biblical

95. At Josephus, *Apion* 1.250, Moses was compared to an Egyptian literary figure named Osarseph who formulated the laws and cultic regulations of the cult of Seth-Typhon (see Chapter 8). Osarseph had nothing to do with the foundation of Jerusalem or colonization of Judea, events of an earlier era in Manetho.

96. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 181; Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:32.

97. For instance, Lycurgus, the Spartan lawgiver, left no body of written law (E. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta in Classical Antiquity* [3 vols.; Stockholm: Almquist & Wiskell, 1965–78], 1:24, 53, 77). Indeed, the first of the three lesser *Rhetras* embodying Spartan custom, and attributed to Lycurgus, prohibited written laws (Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 13.1–3; *The Pythian Oracle* 19.403e; cf. Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 1:24, 53, 77). The example of Lycurgus is especially telling, since according to Hecataeus of Abdera, Lycurgus visited Egypt and modeled his laws on those he found there (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.96.2–3); Herodotus, Isocrates, Plato and Ephorus also asserted the resemblance of Spartan and Egyptian laws (Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 2:87–88). Hecataeus's description of the Mosaic constitution in authentically Hecataean parts of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 appears to have been heavily indebted to the Spartan ideal (see n. 119 below); Hecataeus may have believed that Mosaic law, like that of Lycurgus, was oral.

98. Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, 392–96) spoke of a stage when Oral Torah was attributed to a figure called Moses, prior to writing down these laws in D or P. According to available external evidence, the period of an oral Mosaic Law may have extended as late as the time of Hecataeus or Manetho.

traditions[99] and referred to the twelve tribes.[100] The orthography of the name Moses at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.6 is consistent with this possibility. While Diodorus usually spelled the name as Μωυσέως/Μωυσῆν,[101] at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.6 the spelling was Μωσῆς. The spelling Μωσῆς /Μωσῆν was also used by Manetho, Apollonius Molon and most of the anti-Semitic Egyptian writers such as Lysimachus, Chaeremon and Apion.[102] Apollonius Molon was the first Hellenistic author after Manetho to use this orthography. The above passage, however, displays none of Apollonius Molon's characteristic venom towards the Jews.

It appears likely that the division into twelve tribes quoted Hecataeus, who drew on Greek stereotypes. Greek foundation stories often included the founder's division of the people into tribes.[103] Plato's *Laws*—which Jaeger considered a major source on Hecataeus's foundation story[104]—recommended twelve tribes as the ideal number.[105] Twelve-tribe alliances were a common feature in Greek tradition.[106] An *amphictyon* of twelve tribes typically rotated communal duties from tribe to tribe through the year.[107] Stories of *amphictyonia* were found in Herodotus's *Histories*, which Hecataeus of Abdera is known to have read.[108] It is likely that an idealized Greek *amphictyon* of twelve tribes was incorporated into Hecataeus's foundation story. The correspondence with the biblical tradition is thus coincidental.[109]

99. Stern, *GLAJJ* §46; Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 95. Apollonius Molon referred to "Abraam," Hagar ("an Egyptian handmaiden") the ancestor of the twelve kings of the Arabs, Isaac ("Gelos [laughter]," from the Septuagint of Gen 21:6) and his twelve sons, the last of whom was Joseph.

100. Stern, *GLAJJ* §46.

101. Stern, *GLAJJ* §§58, 63; Diodorus likely drew on Posidonius (Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:183; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 38).

102. Stern, *GLAJJ* §§21 (Manetho), 46 (Apollonius Molon), 158 (Lysimachus), 178 (Chaeremon), 164–65 (Apion).

103. E.g. Herodotus, *Histories* 5.66–69. Plato, *Laws* 5.745D had an idealized division of colonists into twelve tribes by their founder.

104. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 182–83.

105. Plato, *Laws* 5.745B–D. Mendels ("Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" 102 n. 41) commented that the division of land at *Laws* 745B–C was geographical, but failed to note that at *Laws* 5.745D there was also a division into twelve tribes.

106. Herodotus referred to the six cities of the Dorians and the twelve tribes of the Achaeans, Ionians and Aeolians (*Histories* 1.142, 144–49; *amphictyonia* were referred to in passing at 2.180; 5.62; 7.200, 213, 228). Egypt was divided up under twelve kings at Herodotus, *Histories* 2.147–48, 151, 153; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.66.1, 7–8. For the twelve cantons of the Calisarians in Egypt, see Herodotus, *Histories* 2.165–66.

107. Gager, *Moses*, 32–33; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 34. At Plato, *Laws* 5.745B–E, the ideal assignment of "twelve allotments for the twelve gods," each with its own *phyle*, may have referred to the rotation of cultic duties through the year. The organization of *amphictyonia* was extensively discussed at A. Pauly and G. Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopedia des Classischen Altertums Wissenschaft* (15 vols.; Stuttgart: Metzler, 1903–78), *s.v.* Amphiktyonia.

108. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.147.

109. Noth considered the frequent biblical division into six or twelve tribes to have parallels with Greek *amphictyonia*, religious leagues of six or twelve states around a common sanctuary. Noth considered the *amphictyon* to have been a widespread Mediterranean phenomenon and argued that the biblical division into twelve tribes was a historical reminiscence of the organization of the tribes

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.4a*

> (3.4a) But he had no images whatsoever of the Gods made for them, being of the opinion that God is not in human form; rather the heaven that encompasses the Earth is alone divine, and rules everything.

This statement cannot derive from Hecataeus of Abdera. Prior to Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, it was not known that the Jewish temple lacked an image. Indeed, there were persistent rumors—all tracing back to Egyptian sources—that the temple contained an ass's head made of gold or a marble statue of a man riding an ass,[110] doubtless representing Typhon, who was said to have fled from Egypt to Judea on the back of an ass.[111] The persistent rumors of an image of Typhon or of his sacred animal the ass in the Jewish temple likely date back to the Persian period (or soon thereafter) and were still alive at the time of Antiochus IV (see Appendix F, §7). Such rumors were still repeated by "serious" historians such as Posidonius in the years leading up to Pompey's conquest. Yet Pompey's entry into the temple (possibly out of curiosity from having heard rumors of an ass in the temple, or perhaps in order to put an end to such rumors) definitely laid these rumors to rest (except in Egypt). As Tacitus reports,

> Cneius Pompeius was the first of our countrymen to subdue the Jews. Availing himself of the right of conquest, he entered the temple. Thus it became commonly known that the place stood empty with no similitude of gods within, and that the shrine had nothing to reveal.[112]

In their narratives on Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, Livy and Dio Cassius—both likely drawing on Theophanes of Mytilene—also reported the lack of

into a Hellenistic-style *amphictyon* in the Judges period. See, generally, M. Noth, *Das System der zwölf Stämme Israels* (Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1966). This view is now considered discredited since the literary traditions of the book of Judges knew of no religious league centered on a central sanctuary. (See N. P. Lemche, "'Israel in the Period of the Judges'—The Tribal League in Recent Research," *ST* 38 [1984]: 1–28, and the literature cited there.) *Amphictyonia* developed in Greece in the first millennium BCE, the first having been the Pylaean–Delphic league. They were only later seen elsewhere, such as at Caulavia and Corinth, much too late for Noth's model of the historical formation of the twelve tribes of Israel. The references to groups of six or twelve tribes in the Hebrew Bible (e.g. Gen 17:20; 25:13–16; 36:10–14, 20–28; 49:3–28; Num 26:5–51; 34:19–29, etc.), though having no basis in early history as Noth supposed, may instead illustrate the literary influence of the frequent mention of *amphictyonia* in late Greek historiography.

110. According to Apion, drawing on Posidonius and Apollonius Molon, the Jewish temple contained a golden ass's head seen by Antiochus IV Epiphanes (Josephus, *Apion* 2.80); this was allegedly stolen (prior to the time of Antiochus!) by an Idumean from Dor named Zabidus, according to a story by Mnaseas of Patara (Josephus, *Apion* 2.112–14). Tacitus, *Histories* 5.3–4 said there was a consecrated image of an ass in the temple, and Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3 alleged Antiochus IV Epiphanes entered the sanctuary and saw there a marble statue of Moses seated on an ass. See further Appendix F, §§8–9.

111. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363C–D. The same story surfaced at Tacitus, *Histories* 5.2: "Others assert that in the reign of Isis the overflowing population of Egypt, led by Hierosolymus and Judas, discharged itself into the neighboring countries." Another commonality in these two stories is that in both *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363C–D and *Histories* 5.2–3, the flight from Egypt took seven days; the origin of the Jewish Sabbath was seen in this event.

112. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.9.

images of the gods in Jewish worship.[113] Varro, Pompey's friend, recommended worshipping gods without an image, citing the example of the Jews.[114] Significantly, the poet Lucilius, who satirized using images for the gods, was a prominent Stoic and close kinsman of Pompey's mother Lucilia; Lucilius's works were actively promoted by Pompey and well known among Pompey's inner circle of friends, including Varro, Cicero and Lanaeus.[115] The mention of Jewish aniconography by Varro—and Theophanes of Mytilene—was arguably motivated in large part by a desire to flatter Pompey, both as the great-nephew of Lucilius and as the general who proved by personal autopsy that the Jewish temple lacked an image.

Prior to 63 BCE there thus existed persistent rumors that the temple did in fact contain an image, either that of Typhon or of his sacred animal the ass. Only Pompey's inspection of the sanctuary dispelled that rumor. Hecataeus thus could not have written about Jewish aniconography in 320–315 BCE. The passage in Diodorus must postdate 63 BCE, and its close connection with an account of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem suggests Theophanes of Mytilene as source.

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.4b*

> (3.4b) The sacrifices that he [Moses] established differ from those of other nations, as does their way of living, for as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he introduced a life which is somewhat unsocial and hostile to strangers.

These comments regarding the hostility of the Jews towards Egyptians and others are inconsistent with the authentic Hecataean material in Diodorus Book 1 in which the Jews were favorably portrayed as Egyptian colonists. Despite his idealization of Egypt, Hecataeus characterized the Egyptians as hostile towards foreigners down to the time of Psammetichus;[116] it is therefore conceivable that Hecataeus could have also described the Jews as "somewhat" antisocial and xenophobic.[117] The Spartans were also well known for their hostility towards

113. Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 17.2; Livy, *Scholia in Lucanum* 2.293; cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:329–30.

114. Varro, as quoted at Augustine, *The City of God* 4.31.

115. W. Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends, and the Literature of the First Century B.C.* (University of California Publications on Classical Philology 191; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963), 61–64, 69–70, 85.

116. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.67.9–11; 88.5.

117. Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 39, 140–41) agreed with Lewy's analysis that viewed the use of the word τις ("somewhat") as authentically Hecataean based on comparison with *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, where Hecataeus was quoted as saying that the law was "somewhat sacred and hallowed." But Pseudo-Aristeas elsewhere described the law in similar language (*The Letter of Aristeas* 313, 317), suggesting that Pseudo-Aristeas rather than Hecataeus was the actual source here. Hecataeus was quoted within an invented speech by Demetrius, and Pseudo-Aristeas elsewhere put fictitious words of Theopompus and Theodectus in the mouth of Demetrius (*The Letter of Aristeas* 313–16). It is thus best to interpret the phrase in question at *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, not as an authentic fragment of Hecataeus, but as authored by Pseudo-Aristeas. If *The Letter of Aristeas* 31 did contain a tradition deriving from Hecataeus, as it claimed, it would have been that writers, poets and historians prior to Hecataeus failed to mention the Jewish law. This claim would have been accurate, since Hecataeus was the first to mention the laws of Moses.

foreigners; this xenophobia (or rather, *xenolasia*, as at 40.3.4b) was a central feature of the laws of their highly advanced founder Lycurgus.[118] It is believed that Hecataeus's foundation story, which emphasized the rigorous military training of the Jews (40.3.6–7, discussed below), was based in large part on the Spartan ideal.[119] The description of the Jews as "somewhat unsocial and hostile towards strangers" has therefore often been viewed as not necessarily negative, and thus compatible with the material from Hecataeus in Book 1.[120]

However, there is good reason to doubt that the above passage in fact came from Hecataeus. Foundation stories typically dealt with social institutions anciently inaugurated by the colony's founder and embodied in the colony's constitution (*patrios politeia*); description of everyday contemporary customs, such as sacrificial practices or in this case the antisocial way of life of the Jews represent a different category of *nomima* not usually found in a foundation story.[121] This suggests that the above material was an addition by Theophanes. Additionally, the reference to the Jews' "expulsion from Egypt" is clearly inconsistent with the favorable depiction of the Jews as noble Egyptian colonists in Book 1 and in authentic Hecataean material in 40.3. Rather, this ultimately reflected the hostile Manethoan tradition which Theophanes also adopted in 40.3.1b–2a. Accusations of Jewish misanthropy (or rather *apanthropy*) are also implicit in Manetho's account, which recorded allegations by some of Manetho's contemporaries that the Jews worshipped the anti-god Seth-Typhon.[122] By the Persian period, the followers of Seth-Typhon had come to be viewed as atheistic, misanthropic and hostile towards other peoples and their gods, especially the gods of the Egyptians. Those who equated the Jewish religion with the cult of Seth-Typhon characterized the Jews as misanthropes. Such charges of Jewish Typhonianism formed the ideological basis for the persecution of the Jews under Antiochus IV (see Appendix F, §7). Jewish misanthropy, implicit in Manetho, took an explicit and virulent form in the writings of Apollonius Molon (ca. 88 BCE),[123] who was arguably the first author to have attributed Jewish misanthropy to their eviction from Egypt.[124] Apollonius described the Jews as extreme misanthropes, the enemies of all humankind (and especially the

118. Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 35; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 35; Tigerstedt, *Legend of Sparta*, 1:77; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 148.

119. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 182–83; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 158; Gruen, "Response," 18. But rigorous physical training was also a characteristic of Greek training; cf. Plato, *Republic* 375–90; cf. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 33.

120. Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 12; Sacks, "Response," 30; Gabba et al., "Minutes of the Colloquy," 36, 43.

121. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 32. Such *nomima* were appropriate to ethnography, however. Theophanes' excursus on the Jews may be appropriately described as a miniature ethnography; the embedded material from Hecataeus was a true foundation story.

122. Josephus, *Apion* 1.237–38, 250.

123. See Appendix F, §8 on Apollonius Molon's date. Anti-Semitic fragments of Molon were quoted at Stern, *GLAJJ* §§46, 48–50.

124. In contrast to the story in Manetho, where Osarseph, who was equated with Moses, enacted his inimical laws while still residing in Egypt, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.1–2 claimed the Jews enacted their misanthropic laws after having been expelled into Judea.

Greeks).[125] Jewish misanthropy was also a feature in Posidonius's account of the Jews, though in a less extreme form.[126] Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.4b likely derived from Posidonius, whose history may have been consulted by Pompey (and Theophanes) in 66–63 BCE for political background on matters in the east.[127]

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.4c–5a*

> (3.4c) He picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation, and appointed them priests; and he ordained that they should occupy themselves with the temple and the honors and sacrifices offered to their God. (3.5a) These same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs.

The creation of religious and political institutions by the founder was a regular feature in Greek foundation stories. The above passage, with its idealization of the Jewish state founded by Moses, may be accepted as authentically Hecataean. Jaeger viewed the "guardianship of the laws and customs" by the Jewish priests to have been based on the *ephors*, the Spartan *gerousia* entrusted with guarding Spartan laws and ancestral institutions.[128]

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.5b*

> (3.5b) For this reason the Jews never have a king, and the leadership of the multitude is regularly vested in whatever priest is regarded as superior to his colleagues in wisdom and virtue.

The above sentence, preoccupied with times down to its author's present, appears out of place in a foundation story. Theophanes here used the foundation story by Hecataeus as an etiology for the more recent Jewish custom of rule by priests rather than kings. The above passage's anti-monarchical content is not in line with Hecataeus's known *tendenz* in Book 1, in which Egypt was described in the language of kingship, despite the fact that Ptolemy Lagus had not yet declared himself king.[129] As has been noted by others, Hecataeus of Abdera had no reason to advocate government be placed in the hands of native priests rather

125. Stern, *GLAJJ* §§48–50.

126. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.1–2, from Posidonius, put Apollonius Molon's anti-Semitic views in the mouths of Antiochus VII Sidetes' counselors. In Posidonius's account, Sidetes wisely rejected their advice to exterminate the Jews. Yet Josephus, *Ant.* 13.247, also drawing on Posidonius (via Nicolaus of Damascus), granted some credibility to the idea of Jewish anti-sociality: Posidonius attributed Jewish negotiators' rejection of Seleucid garrisons in Jerusalem as symptomatic of Jewish *amixia*.

127. See Appendix F, §10.

128. Tigerstedt, *The Legend of Sparta*, 1:260; Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 182–83. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.75.3 referred to the thirty judges of the Spartan *gerousia*.

129. Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* is best dated to 320–315 BCE, according to the cogent arguments of Murray, "Date of Hecataeus," 163–68. At that time Ptolemy I Soter had not yet declared himself king; Hecataeus referred to him as Ptolemy son of Lagus, not Ptolemy the king (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.31.7; 46.7–8).

than a king.[130] Although the Egyptians might have favored priestly rather than royal rule, doubtless Hecataeus's patron Ptolemy I Soter did not.[131] On the other hand, a rejection of Jewish government under a king precisely fits known propaganda themes in Theophanes of Mytilene's biography of Pompey (see Appendix B). The theme of traditional Jewish rule by a high priest, contrasted with the illegitimacy of the recent office of king imposed on the Jews by the tyrant Alexander Jannaeus and his sons, was a hallmark of Theophanes' propagandistic account seen in the several accounts of the Jews that utilized Theophanes of Mytilene as source.[132] The spurious claim that "the Jews never have a king," encountered implicitly or explicitly in all these accounts that utilized Theophanes, served to justify Pompey's abolition of the Jewish office of king recently instituted by Alexander Jannaeus. The assertion that the Jews were traditionally led by a council of priests, headed by their high priest, reflected Pompey's reinstitution of Jewish rule by a *gerousia* headed by the high priest Hyrkanus.[133]

Theophanes' assertion that the Jews "never" had a king consciously ignored or suppressed the entire history of the kings of Judea. Theophanes also incorrectly reported that his fellow priests selected the high priest on the basis of merit. This ignored the dynastic character of the high priestly line. The passage did not convey the idea of an election of the high priest by his fellow-priests;[134] the mechanism by which the most respected priest was appointed high priest was left unspecified. This passage may have been intended to legitimize the selection of Hyrkanus as high priest by Pompey.

### *Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.5c–6a*

> (3.5c) They call this man high priest and believe that he acts as a messenger to them of God's commandments. (3.6a) It is he, they say, who in their assemblies and gatherings announces what is ordained, and the Jews are so docile in such matters that straightway

130. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 28, 36; Diamond (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 275) contrasted the implausibility of Hecataeus rejecting the idea of Jewish rule by kings under Ptolemy I Soter with the situation in 63 BCE when delegates before Pompey argued the illegitimacy of the Jewish monarchy.

131. Yet Hecataeus's description of Egyptian kings as attended by priestly scribes who advised their every action out of books of Egyptian law (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.70–71) was consistent with Ptolemaic propaganda, which portrayed the Ptolemies as pharaohs who strictly adhered to traditional Egyptian legislation.

132. Passages deriving directly or indirectly from Theophanes and showing the theme of Jewish traditional rule by priests (not kings) include Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41 (by way of Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo); Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–40 (by way of Posidonius); Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2; 3.1–8; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 29.56.6; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.8.3; Florus, *Epitome* 1.40.29–30. See Appendix B. Traditional rule by priests was also emphasized at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2 (as noted by Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:31; Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" 104–5, 109), linking 40.2 and 40.3 as having been written by the same author, namely, Theophanes. Mendels improbably suggested that Jewish opposition to rule by kings surfaced in Jewish circles in both Hecataeus's time and, independently, in the Hasmonean period (ca. 63 BCE).

133. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2.1–13; Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40. Pompey essentially restored the same form of government as under John Hyrkanus I and later under Salome Alexandra and Hyrkanus II, when a council of Pharisees shared the reins of government with the high priest. Cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.408–9.

134. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 33–34.

> they fall to the ground and do reverence to the high priest when he expounds the commandments to them. There is even appended to the laws, at the end, the statement: "These are the words that Moses heard from God and declares to the Jews."

The above passage is remarkable in attesting to Jewish writings, and contains a rare quote by a Hellenistic author of Jewish scripture (thought to be a paraphrase of Deut 28:69[135]). If this were a genuine passage from Hecataeus of Abdera, it would date some form of Pentateuchal text to as early as 320–315 BCE.[136] The above passage appears to have drawn on eyewitness observation of a Jewish festival at which the high priest read portions of the Torah to an assembled multitude.[137] The description fits the behavior of Jews kneeling before the high priest presiding at the Day of Atonement, or perhaps Pentecost, when the law was read. It is generally conceded that this picture was based on personal autopsy of ritual events at Jerusalem,[138] but this immediately leads to grave difficulties, since Hecataeus of Abdera is thought not to have visited Judea[139] and displayed no personal knowledge of the Jews in undisputedly authentic passages in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 1. It is therefore usually posited that Hecataeus drew on an eyewitness, oral source who had visited Jerusalem, perhaps an "Egyptian Jewish priest."[140] Yet this also involves difficulties, since Hecataeus only cited native Egyptian priests in authentic passages from Book 1.[141] An additional problem of a source-critical nature is that this description of contemporary Jewish practices is out of place within a foundation story. Further, Book 40 displayed no interest in Diaspora Judaism, but was exclusively focused on Jerusalem.[142] This seems inconsistent with Hecataeus's alleged reliance on oral input from Diaspora Jewish priests.

All these difficulties evaporate with the identification of Theophanes rather than Hecataeus as the source of this eyewitness material. It is certain that Theophanes spent considerable time in the presence of the high priest Hyrkanus II at Damascus and at the fall of Jerusalem.[143] Pentecost fell within this period and Theophanes may have witnessed the recitation of portions of the Torah on this

135. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 180; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 27; Gager, *Moses*, 32. The text alluded to resembles Lev 26:46; 27:34; Num 36:13; Deut 28:69 (29:1 LXX) or 32:44 (LXX).

136. Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 11.

137. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 10–11, 88 (the Day of Atonement); Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 11; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 27. Bar-Kochva mentioned the prostration of the multitudes at the reading of the law at Neh 8:6; Sir 50:18.

138. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 92; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 271.

139. It is occasionally suggested that Hecataeus was present at the battle of Gaza in 312 BCE (cf. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 273; Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 10–11), but this is based on *Pseudo-Hecataeus* (at Josephus, *Apion* 1.184). Murray ("Date of Hecataeus," 165) suggested that Hecataeus learned about the Jews during the first Syrian campaign of ca. 320–318 BCE.

140. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 181; Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:21; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 28 n. 64 (with additional references); Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 11; Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 92. Diamond (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 272–73) regarded *Pseudo-Hecataeus* as authentic and suggested that Hecataeus's source may have been the high priest Ezekias.

141. Cf. Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 150–51.

142. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 92; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 270.

143. Hyrkanus II accompanied Pompey throughout this period. See Josephus, *Ant.* 14.50, 60, 73.

occasion, which celebrated Moses receiving the law at Sinai. Another detail consistent with authorship by Theophanes is the reported Jewish pliability, which is also out of character in Hecataeus's otherwise idealized account of the Jews.[144] Theophanes may have emphasized Jewish submissiveness to their high priest in order to justify Pompey's appointment of Hyrkanus II as ethnarch of the Jews: Jewish alleged docility in the face of the high priest's pronouncements was ideal for Roman purposes. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41, which drew on Theophanes, indeed described national obedience to the high priest as a feature of Jewish ancestral law.

The above description of the high priest and the quote from the text of the Torah thus both derive from Theophanes' eyewitness observations during Pompey's Judean campaign in 63 BCE. Hecataeus of Abdera is removed as a witness to the existence of the Pentateuch in ca. 320–315 BCE.

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.6b–7*

> (3.6b) Their lawgiver was careful also to make provision for warfare, and required the young men to cultivate manliness, steadfastness, and, generally, the endurance of every hardship. (3.7) He led out military expeditions against the neighboring tribes, and after annexing much land apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and greater ones to the priests in order that they, by virtue of receiving more ample revenues, might be undistracted and apply themselves continually to the worship of God. The common people were forbidden to sell their individual plots, lest there be some who for their own advantage should buy them up, and by oppressing the poorer classes bring on a scarcity of manpower.

The above passage is typical of Greek foundation stories and has important affinities with other passages of Hecataeus in Diodorus Book 1. Hecataeus similarly described the rigorous military training of Egyptian forces[145] and stressed the importance of land ownership for political stability in Egypt.[146] The giving of a double portion of land to priests did not reflect Pentateuchal regulations,[147] but did conform to Egyptian practices, in which priests had extra lands assigned to them.[148] Hecataeus was also concerned with manpower issues in Egypt.[149] The

144. Gruen considered the description of Jewish submissiveness to the high priest somewhat derogatory ("Response," 15; and *Heritage and Hellenism*, 51–52). The issue of whether barbarous servility should be accepted as a protocol of Alexander's court in the east was a matter of some controversy among Alexander's generals (Arrian, *History of Alexander* 4.10.5–12.5; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 8.5.5–24; 7.13; Plutarch, *Alexander* 54–55; 74.1–2; cf. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 52 n. 8).

145. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.53.3–4; 73.9; cf. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 33, 37–38; J. Leopold, "Response," in Gabba, *Greek Knowledge of Jews up to Hecataeus of Abdera*. 19–25 (24–25).

146. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.73.7; cf. Leopold, "Response," 24–25; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 37.

147. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:32; Gager, *Moses*, 33; Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" 109; cf. Num 18:23; Deut 10:9; 12:12; 18:1; Josh 13:14, 32–33; 14:3; Ezek 48:8–14.

148. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 35. Egyptian priests received double portions of land and full tax exemption at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.72.2–4. In Euhemerus's utopian land of Panchaea,

above material may therefore be assigned to Hecataeus of Abdera, and does not appear to have reflected real knowledge of Jewish customs, but rather Hecataeus's views on ideal government. Jaeger considered it based largely on Plato's *Republic* as well as Spartan military ideals.[150]

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.8a*

> (3.8a) He required those that dwelt in the land to rear their children, and since their offspring could be cared for at little cost, the Jews were from the start a populous nation. As to marriage and the burial of the dead, he saw to it that their customs should differ widely from those of other men.

It is probable that the first sentence regarding Jewish care for children was part of Hecataeus's foundation story, although it also related to daily customs. Other foundation stories also featured provisions for increase in population.[151] Hecataeus commented on Egyptian over-population as one of the reasons the Egyptians established colonies abroad.[152] Hecataeus said Egyptian law required that Egyptians raise their children (i.e. not abandon unwanted infants, as the Greeks allowed) and so increase their population.[153] Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.73.7–9 contained provisions for the warrior class to have sufficient land to give them the economic means to raise large families, making the hiring of mercenaries unnecessary. For these various reasons, the first sentence above may be regarded as having derived from Hecataeus.

Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 omitted circumcision, the one Jewish custom Hecataeus mentioned to prove Jewish connection with Egypt,[154] demonstrating that Theophanes' description of contemporary Jewish customs did not derive from Hecataeus.[155] The allusions to marriage and burial practices are another matter. These pertain to daily life and are out of place in a Greek foundation story.[156] While it is true that Hecataeus described both Egyptian marriage

priests got a double share (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 5.45.5). See also Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.1 where the priests of Babylon were said to have been "exempt from taxation and free from every kind of service to the state, as are the priests of Egypt."

149. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 36–37.

150. Jaeger suggested that much of Moses' legislation drew on Plato's *Republic*, especially on the *ephors*, the Spartan *gerousia* entrusted with guarding the laws. He also pointed out that the training of Jewish youth in bravery, endurance and self-discipline might have drawn on Spartan military ideals. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 182–83. For criticism of this view, see Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 36. On Hecataeus's visit to Sparta, see Plutarch, *Lycurgus* 20.2.

151. Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 2.15.1–3; cf. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 31.

152. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.29.5; cf. 1.80.3, 6, commenting on Egypt's large population.

153. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.80.3.

154. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.2.

155. Not only was circumcision omitted in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3, but Posidonius, working off Theophanes' account (see below), also omitted circumcision as a Mosaic institution, claiming that circumcision was a "superstition" originating in much later times (Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.37). This shows that Posidonius did not read about circumcision in Theophanes' account of the original Mosaic foundation of Jerusalem.

156. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 32.

customs[157] and burial customs,[158] he did this in his section on Egyptian *nomima* or customs.[159] The more abbreviated foundation stories at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28–29 omitted customs except those that demonstrated Egyptian colonization of other lands.

The current passage omitted to mention what the Jewish customs were with respect to marriage and burial of the dead. Other sources emphasized that Jews forbade marriage with foreigners.[160] Tacitus recorded that "they are wont to bury rather than burn their dead, following in this the Egyptian custom; they bestow the same care on the dead, and they hold the same belief about the lower world."[161] The description of Jewish customs pertaining to daily life at Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4–5 has a number of parallels with Diodorus, *Library* 40.3.4, 8 and may ultimately derive from material by Theophanes, although Tacitus, unlike Theophanes, was markedly anti-Semitic.[162] Bar-Kochva noted that 40.3.4 appeared to be out of place, since its commentary on everyday Jewish life—Jewish sacrifices, aniconography and misanthropy—interrupted the story of Moses' foundation of the Jewish nation.[163] Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4–5 grouped these very same topics together with a description of Jewish burial customs,[164] and may attest to the original order of this material in Theophanes. An even better witness to the order of this material than Tacitus is Josephus, *Apion* 2.184–205, which appears to have been an expansion of Theophanes' description of Jewish customs,[165] as illustrated by the following chart.

| *Apion* | *Library* | |
|---|---|---|
| 2.184–89 | 40.3.5b | government by priests[166] |
| 2.190–92 | 40.3.4a | aniconography |
| 2.193–94 | 40.3.5c | high priest as God's messenger[167] |
| 2.199–203 | 40.3.8a | marriage laws |
| 2.202 | 40.3.8a | requirement to rear offspring[168] |
| 2.204 | 40.3.8a | education of children |
| 2.205 | 40.3.8a | burial customs |

157. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.80.3.

158. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.91–92.

159. Cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.68.1–2.

160. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.2; *Jub.* 30.14–16; cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 2:40, and the literature cited there.

161. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.5.

162. Tacitus probably drew on an anti-Semitic Egyptian author such as Lysimachus or Apion (cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 2:2–4) who in turn may have utilized Theophanes. *Histories* 5.8.3 appears to display substantial influence from Theophanes (though obviously reworked by a later anti-Semitic source).

163. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 31–32.

164. Of the Jewish daily customs mentioned in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.4, 8, Tacitus only omitted marriage practices.

165. Josephus explicitly referred to "the laws which govern daily life" at *Apion* 2.147.

166. These two passages were compared at H. Thackeray, *Josephus* (LCL; 9 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 1:368 n. a.

167. "Any who disobey him [the high priest] will pay the penalty as for impiety towards God himself" (Josephus, *Apion* 2.194).

168. "He required those that dwelt in the land to rear their children, and since their offspring could be cared for at little cost, the Jews were from the start a populous nation" (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.8a). "The Law orders all the offspring to be brought up, and forbids women either to

It has long been recognized that Josephus's discussion of Jewish customs at *Apion* 2.190–219 was based on an older source, as this material is very similar in content and sequence to that found at Philo, *Hypothetica* 6.10–7.20.[169] The identity of this common source is a long-standing mystery, of which the resemblance to Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.4a, 5b–c, 8a is an important, largely overlooked clue.[170] In outline, *Apion* 2.184–219 ultimately traced back to Theophanes' description of Jewish customs, but Josephus never cited Theophanes in his writings and does not appear to have read him directly. Josephus became acquainted with Theophanes' account of Pompey's Judean campaign by way of Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus.[171] Nicolaus of Damascus was also an important source for Philo and it is likely that *Apion* 2.184–219 came from an essay on Jewish customs by Nicolaus,[172] who in turn utilized Theophanes.

All the material on Jewish everyday customs in Hecataeus appears to be attributable to Theophanes. It is likely that Theophanes first reported Hecataeus's foundation story in its entirety, then appended new original materials on customary Jewish practices; the sequence of topics in Diodorus Siculus seems disrupted. Significantly, authentic Hecataean material in Book 1 omitted any mention of Jewish daily customs such as marriage, burial practices, or sacrificial rites.[173]

cause abortion or to make away with the foetus; a woman convicted of this is regarded as an infanticide, because she destroys a soul and diminishes the race" (Josephus, *Apion* 1.202). There was no such provision in the Torah; Josephus was virtually the sole classical source on such a law outside of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.8a, Philo and Pseudo-Phocylides (cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:33).

169. See, e.g., G. Carras, "Dependence or Common Tradition in Philo *Hypothetica* 8.6.10–7.20 and Josephus *Contra Apionem* 2.190–219," *Studia Philonica Annual* 5 (1993): 24–47, and the literature cited there.

170. Droge was exceptional in comparing Josephus, *Apion* 2.184–89 with Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.3–6. Droge called the former "a palimpsest" of the latter. See A. Droge, "Josephus Between Greeks and Barbarians," in *Josephus' Contra Apionem: Studies in its Character and Context* (ed. L. Feldman and J. Levison; Leiden: Brill, 1996), 115–42 (137–38).

171. See Appendix B.

172. The theme of Jewish aniconography was found at both *Apion* 2.190–92 and 2.80–85; in the latter, Josephus said that Apion would have known better than to claim that Antiochus IV Epiphanes found a gold image of an ass in the Jewish temple had he read "Polybius of Megalopolis, Strabo the Cappadocian, Nicolaus of Damascus" and others who said Antiochus "found there nothing and deserved ridicule" (2.84). These were presumably the same sources who reported that "[Antiochus] the Pious, Pompey the Great" and others inspected the temple and found no images there (2.82). Josephus here drew most directly on Nicolaus of Damascus, who was Josephus's source for Antiochus VII Sidetes' title, "the Pious," at *Ant.* 13.244 (cf. 13.249, where Nicolaus was cited); "Pius" (emended from "Dius") at *Apion* 2.82 was a Latin translation of Eusebes, the title of Antiochus VII Sidetes at *Ant.* 13.244. Nicolaus of Damascus appears to have addressed the theme of Jewish iconography both in his *Universal History* and in an essay on Jewish customs, in both cases having drawn on Theophanes of Mytilene. See B. Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1962), 31, 70–71, regarding Nicolaus of Damascus's book *On Remarkable Customs*, which may have discussed Jewish customs, particularly those of the Essenes, the sect favored by Herod the Great, Nicolaus of Damascus's patron. Nicolaus of Damascus is thought to have been the major source for the description of the Essenes in Josephus and Philo (see Wacholder, *Nicolaus of Damascus*, 71–72 and notes).

173. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 23. But at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.80.3, deriving from Hecataeus, the Egyptians were also said to have reared their children, and Egyptian burial practices were described at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.91–93; cf. Leopold, "Response," 25.

Conversely, the only Jewish everyday custom of which Hecataeus was demonstrably aware—that of circumcision—was omitted by Theophanes. In Hecataeus, circumcision was not in any case an innovation by Moses, but was a practice brought from Egypt.[174] As such it was likely not mentioned in the Jewish foundation story.

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.8b*

> (3.8b) But later, when they became subject to foreign rule, as a result of their mingling with men of other nations (both under Persian rule and under that of the Macedonians who overthrew the Persians), many of their traditional practices were disturbed.

This passage, looking back on the periods of Persian and Greek rule of the Jews, dates not to the time of Hecataeus (which would involve an obvious anachronism) but to the time of Pompey or thereafter, after Greek rule had come to an end.[175] The problematic passage is therefore widely considered an interpolation by Diodorus.[176] These difficulties disappear under the interpretation of the above passage as a continued excerpt from Theophanes of Mytilene. The disruption of Jewish ancestral customs by the Persians and Greeks implicitly contrasted with a restoration of Jewish customs by the Romans—notably Pompey's restoration of Jewish rule by priests—in line with Theophanes' known propagandistic themes.

*Diodorus Siculus,* Library *40.3.8c*

> *So he [Diodorus] says also here about customs and laws common among Jews, and about the departure of those same people from Egypt and about the holy Moses, telling lies about most things, and going through the [possible] counter arguments, he again distorted the truth and using cunning devices as a refuge for himself, he attributes things which are contrary to history. For he [Diodorus] adds:*[177]
> (3.8c) Such is the account of Hecataeus of Miletus in regard to the Jews.

The citation at the end is universally emended to read Hecataeus of Abdera on the assumption that Hecataeus of Miletus was a scribal error by Diodorus or Photius.[178] Diodorus elsewhere referred to Hecataeus of Abdera simply as Hecataeus,[179] so it is unlikely this error is to be attributed to Diodorus. Rather, it

174. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.3; 55.5.

175. "(Book XL.3.8) could not have been written by Hecataeus. It records changes in the Hasmonean period and is connected with the alleged complaints of the Jewish notables to Pompey." Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 24. But Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95–96 said that positive Egyptian customs were changed after the Macedonian invasion. This latter passage did not come from Hecataeus of Abdera, but was an addition by Diodorus.

176. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 24. Diamond (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 124–26) unconvincingly argued that the change of Jewish customs under Persian and Macedonian rule was a contemporary reference by Hecataeus to the recent conquest of Alexander.

177. The words in italics are from Photius (as translated at Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 21).

178. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 180 n. 1; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 22; Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:34–35; Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 129–30.

179. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.37.3, 46.8; 2.27.1. Diodorus accurately cited "Hecataeus of Miletus" at 10.24.4.

appears likely that the error "Hecataeus of Miletus" originated with Theophanes of Mytilene. Theophanes may have carelessly assumed that the foundation story he read in "Hecataeus" was written by the famous Hecataeus of Miletus. Mytilene and Miletus were nearby Ionian cities of Asia Minor and it may be presumed that Theophanes was more familiar with the figure Hecataeus of Miletus than Hecataeus of Abdera.

The excursus on the Jews is usually thought to have concluded with the statement, "Such is the account of Hecataeus of Miletus in regard to the Jews." This is assumed to be the case by modern editors who position this statement at the very end of 40.3.8. Yet a citation of Hecataeus as authority at this position within the text is untenable. The statement that Jewish customs were changed during the period of Persian and Greek rule (40.3.8c) cannot have come from Hecataeus, as discussed above. It is usually attributed to Diodorus—but it is simply impossible that Diodorus would have appended the citation of Hecataeus of Miletus directly after his own added comment. As also discussed above, 40.3.8c was actually by Theophanes, not Diodorus, but Theophanes similarly would not have attributed his own comments to Hecataeus. In either case, the citation of Hecataeus of Miletus as authority must have preceded 40.3.8c. The original position of this citation can only be determined by source-critical means, by identifying by internal evidence the end of Theophanes' quotation of Hecataeus's foundation story. From the arguments presented above, the last sentence of this foundation story was 40.3.8a. Theophanes' citation of Hecataeus will thus likely have followed 40.3.8a, rather than being at its current position at 40.3.8d.

### 5. *Summary Conclusions on 40.3.1–8*

In summary, a detailed analysis of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 shows that it was excerpted from Theophanes of Mytilene;[180] the entirety of 40.1–4 may be assigned to that author. Much of 40.3 derived from Theophanes' firsthand investigation into contemporaneous everyday Jewish customs during his stay in Judea as part of Pompey's entourage in 63 BCE. These customs included unique Jewish sacrificial, marriage and burial practices as well as the absence of images in the Jewish temple. This material deriving from personal autopsy included the crucial description of the high priest reading from the book of the law. While Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, 40.1.1–8 bears witness to the custom of reading from the Pentateuch at public gatherings of the Jews in 63 BCE, it is of no evidentiary value on the status (or even existence) of the Pentateuch in the 300s BCE.

180. It directly follows that Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39, which has systematic parallels with Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8, must also somehow descend from Theophanes' account. Strabo is reasonably thought to have relied here on Posidonius (Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 212; Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:305–6); Posidonius, in turn, is less persuasively believed to have drawn on Hecataeus. See §7 below for a demonstration that Posidonius actually adapted material from Theophanes, whose account Posidonius doubtless read in 62 BCE—when Pompey (accompanied by Theophanes) visited him at Rhodes—or shortly thereafter.

Additionally, Theophanes appears to have utilized three literary sources. The first was Manetho, who was the source of the story about the Jews having been expelled from Egypt into Judea. The second was Posidonius, which is evidenced in the allegations of Jewish misanthropy. Theophanes' third and most important literary source was Hecataeus of Abdera, whom he incorrectly cited as Hecataeus of Miletus. The material derived from Hecataeus consisted of a story regarding Moses' foundation of the Jewish nation and institutions including the city of Jerusalem and its temple. Hecataeus's reconstructed foundation story read as follows:

> (3.2b) And the most outstanding and active among them banded together and [journeyed to] Greece and certain other regions; their leaders were notable men, chief among them being Danaus. (3.2c) But the greater number [settled in] what is now called Judea, which is not far distant from Egypt and was at that time utterly desolate. (3.3a) The colony was headed by a man named Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and courage. On taking possession of the land, he founded, besides other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem. In addition he established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual, drew up the laws relating to their political institutions, and ordered them. (3.3b) He also divided the people into twelve tribes, since this is regarded as the most perfect number and corresponds to the number of months that make up a year. (3.4c) He picked out the men of most refinement and with the greatest ability to head the entire nation, and appointed them priests; and he ordained that they should occupy themselves with the temple and the honors and sacrifices offered to their God. (3.5a) These same men he appointed to be judges in all major disputes, and entrusted to them the guardianship of the laws and customs. (3.6b) Their lawgiver was careful also to make provision for warfare, and required the young men to cultivate manliness, steadfastness, and, generally, the endurance of every hardship. (3.7) He led out military expeditions against the neighboring tribes, and after annexing much land apportioned it out, assigning equal allotments to private citizens and greater ones to the priests in order that they, by virtue of receiving more ample revenues, might be undistracted and apply themselves continually to the worship of God. The common people were forbidden to sell their individual plots, lest there be some who for their own advantage should buy them up, and by oppressing the poorer classes bring on a scarcity of manpower. (3.8a) He required those that dwelt in the land to rear their children, and since their offspring could be cared for at little cost, the Jews were from the start a populous nation. (3.8c) Such is the account of Hecataeus of Miletus [*sic*] in regard to the Jews.

This material is stylistically consistent, forming a single literary unit in which a formulaic Hellenistic foundation story was presented with Moses as the colony's leader.[181] The foundation story quoted by Theophanes appears to represent the

181. Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 22–24, 30–33, 207–11) analyzed Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 as a miniature ethnography with a *ktisis* and *nomima*, the latter consisting of two parts: institutions created by the founder, that is, the constitution or *patrios politeia* (a usual feature of foundation stories), and customs pertaining to daily life (not normally part of a foundation story). Bar-Kochva noted that this ethnography was missing the section on geography (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 208). But Theophanes elsewhere included geographical material on Jericho (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.54) and Jerusalem (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.57; Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40) in his account of the Jewish war. One may therefore appropriately interpret Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 as an excerpt from Theophanes' ethnography on the Jews. Isolating the Hecataean material within Theophanes' ethnography, one sees that the material Bar-Kochva classified as everyday customs turn out not to have

full version of what was only briefly indicated in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* Book 1: the establishment of Judea as an Egyptian colony. The identifiable Hecataean material in Book 40 is consistent with the account in Book 1: in both, a simple foundation story appeared in which the Jews were treated favorably, even idealistically, and Moses was portrayed as an able and vigorous leader, much like Danaus, Belus and other founders of Egyptian colonies. The story idealized the Jewish colony established by Moses, in complete harmony with Hecataeus's idealization of Egypt,[182] and was indeed utopian in tendency, consistent with Hecataeus's writings both on the Egyptians and on the Hyperboreans.[183] The intuition of Jaeger and others that Hecataeus's foundation story reflected his ideas about ideal political institutions,[184] drawn from Plato's writings as well as Spartan military culture, appears fully corroborated.

Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8, although taken in its entirety from Theophanes, may now be recognized as a composite document drawing on disparate sources that show various inconsistencies. The apparent ambivalence of 40.3 towards the Jews, first labeling them irreligious foreigners expelled from Egypt, then a noble, brave band of colonists, reflects the multiplicity of sources Theophanes used. One may now definitively reject Jacoby's thesis that Hecataeus reported two stories of the Jewish exodus, one favorable (that found in Book 1) and one hostile (that found in Book 40). Hecataeus only wrote one foundation story of the Jews, favorable to the point of utopianism; the negative elements in Book 40 are all to be explained by Theophanes' inclusion of anti-Semitic traditions deriving from Manetho.[185] Much as Theophanes' *ktisis* or foundation story had two sources distinguishable by their favor or hostility towards the Jews, so his report on the Jewish *nomima* or customs falls into two distinct categories.[186] One class of *nomima* consisted of archaic institutions established by the founder of the Jewish nation, embodied in the national constitution or *patrios politeia* normally included within a typical Greek foundation story. These *nomima* all derived from Hecataeus's idealized report on the Jews as an Egyptian colony founded by the lawgiver Moses. The second class of *nomima* consisted of later everyday customs of the Jews, mainly drawn from Theophanes' autopsy of

been from Hecataeus, but were Theophanes' late additions based on personal autopsy. It is thus clear that Hecataeus only recorded a Jewish *ktisis* or foundation story with the expected *nomima* of the constitution instituted by the founder.

182. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 73; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 152; R. Drews, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History* (Washington, D.C.: Center for Hellenic Studies, 1973), 126–28.

183. Hecataeus's work *On the Hyperboreans* was discussed at J. Bolton, *Aristeas of Proconnesus* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1962), 24, 73; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 148; J. Dillery, "Hecataeus of Abdera: Hyperboreans, Egypt, and the *Interpretatio Graeca*," *Historia* 47 (1998): 255–75.

184. Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 182–83; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 158–59. See further bibliography cited at Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 35 n. 90.

185. The points raised in favor of Hecataeus's philo-Semitism or anti-Semitism by the panel discussion recorded in Gabba et al., "Minutes of the Colloquy," 36–39, went one direction or another (or both) mainly depending on whether the data emphasized came from Hecataeus or one of Theophanes' hostile sources.

186. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 41.

Judea in 63 BCE, supplemented by certain comments by Posidonius. These contemporary customs, discordant within a foundation story, did not in fact derive from Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*. The authentic Hecataean material may now be clearly seen as homogeneous in tone and precisely what one would expect in a Greek foundation story, especially one from Hecataeus's pen. The resemblance of Hecataeus's reconstructed foundation story with Hecataeus's story of the foundation of Babylon by Belus at 1.28.1 is especially striking. None of Hecataeus's stories of Egyptian colonies founded abroad reported at 1.28.1–3 contained contemporary *nomima*, except for circumcision,[187] but restricted themselves to the archaic institutions or *patrios politeia* of the idealized founder figures sent out from ancient Egypt.

Having isolated the authentic Hecataean material in 40.3.1–8, Hecataeus's knowledge of the Jews must undergo a radical reappraisal. Hecataeus, writing in the late fourth century BCE, and correctly argued by some to have been the first Greek author to refer expressly to the Jews, has been thought to have written in many respects one of the most accurately informed accounts of the Jews (the foundation story and certain anti-Semitisms aside).[188] To the extent that 40.3.1–8 reflected accurate knowledge of contemporary Judaism, it may now be recognized to have derived from Theophanes' stay in Judea in 63 BCE. The older, authentically Hecataean material had just the minimal knowledge one would expect of the first Greek writer on the Jews, especially given his limited information obtained exclusively from consulting Egyptian priests whose ignorance of Jewish origins is amply demonstrated by even a casual reading of Manetho. Hecataeus's actual knowledge of the Jews was meager in the extreme. Hecataeus showed no familiarity with the Exodus story of the Pentateuch. Hecataeus knew nothing of Jewish customs other than the well-known practice of circumcision. Hecataeus knew Egyptian claims that Judea was colonized from Egypt. Additionally, Hecataeus heard that Moses was the name of the Jewish lawgiver and inferred from this that Moses must have been the leader of the colonists who founded Jerusalem and its temple. The colonization of Judea from Egypt and the Jewish imitation of the Egyptian practice of circumcision were already found in Herodotus. The only new information found in Hecataeus was that the Jewish lawgiver was named Moses. One can thus speak of the existence of laws of Moses in the time of Hecataeus. But one cannot yet refer to the "Books of Moses" for it is uncertain on evidence of Hecataeus whether the Jewish laws attributed to Moses were written or oral: Hecataeus referred to Jewish laws, but not to Jewish writings. Hecataean thus provides no external evidence

187. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.28.3. This custom was mentioned here (as at Herodotus, *Histories* 2.102) to prove Egyptian colonization of Colchis and Syria-Judea. (Such proof was a special concern; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.29.5, which justified omitting other accounts of alleged Egyptian colonization for which no proof was forthcoming. This may have been a reaction to the tendency to base claims of Egyptian colonization on obvious myth, which Hecataeus of Abdera expressed skepticism towards at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.29.6).

188. Cf. M. Stern, "Hecataeus of Abdera and Theophrastus on Jews and Egyptians: 1. The Chronological Sequence of the First References to Jews in Greek Literature," *JEA* 59 (1973), 159–68 (162); idem, *GLAJJ*, 1:20–21.

of any bearing to the evolution of the Pentateuch, although he does provide the important first witness to the Jewish figure of Moses the lawgiver.

### 6. *The Date of Hecataeus*

The recognition that the passage at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 actually came from Theophanes of Mytilene, besides resolving so many other problems, also has bearing on the difficult issue of Hecataeus's date.[189] The relative priority of Hecataeus and Theophrastus is of key importance in establishing when Hecataeus wrote. According to one argument based on the knowledge of Hecataeus displayed in Theophrastus's book *On Stones*, Hecataeus must have written no later than 315 BCE. According to another argument based on the apparent ignorance of Hecataeus in Theophrastus's book *On Piety*, Hecataeus must have written no earlier than 310 BCE. These inconsistent results hinge on Theophrastus's use—or ignorance—of Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*.

O. Murray took as his starting point the fact that Theophrastus's work *On Stones* was written during the archonship of Proxibulus (315/314 BCE).[190] In this book, Theophrastus referred to "those who wrote about the kings [of Egypt]"[191] and also to the "records [ἀναγραφαῖς] of the kings of Egypt";[192] ἀναγραφαῖς is a word that was characteristically used by Hecataeus.[193] The information Theophrastus said appeared in Egyptian records is consistent with the subject matter found in Hecataeus.[194] Murray took all this to imply that Theophrastus drew on Hecataeus, who must therefore be dated before 315 BCE. Murray therefore dated Hecataeus to 320–315 BCE and considered Hecataeus the first Hellenistic author to have mentioned the Jews.[195]

M. Stern reached opposite conclusions based on the evidence of a second book by Theophrastus, *On Piety*, usually dated to the period 319–310 BCE.[196]

189. For the debate on the relative priority of Hecataeus of Abdera and Theophrastus, see Jaeger, "Greeks and Jews," 177–81; Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 143; idem, "Date of Hecataeus," 163–68; Stern, "Chronological Sequence," 159–63; idem, *GLAJJ*, 1:8–9; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 15–16; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 77–78.

190. Murray, "Date of Hecataeus," 163; idem, "Pharaonic Kingship," 143. *On Stones* dated earlier events in terms of Proxibulus's archonship, almost certainly dating the book to 315/314 BCE. Other internal evidence suggests a date no later than 305 BCE. If such a late date were insisted upon, then Hecataeus's dates would be lowered from 320–315 BCE to 320–305 BCE.

191. Theophrastus, *On Stones*, 55.

192. Ibid., 24.

193. Murray, "Date of Hecataeus," 166–67.

194. Theophrastus cited "records of the kings of Egypt" for information on Egyptian monoliths, foreign tribute and Egyptian royal inventions, topics all found in Hecataeus but unlikely to have been found in priestly king-lists (Murray, "Date of Hecataeus," 166–67). Stern's arguments that Theophrastus gained knowledge about Egyptian records directly from Egyptian priests while visiting Egypt ("Chronological Sequence," 161) ignored these specific parallels and seems forced.

195. Murray also cited a number of other details indicative of an early date of Hecataeus, before 305 BCE ("Date of Hecataeus," 163–66).

196. Stern, "Chronological Sequence," 162; Murray ("Date of Hecataeus," 167) considered *On Piety* roughly contemporary with *On Stones*; Gabba, "Greek Knowledge of Jews," 5, dated it to 319–314 BCE.

Stern argued that Theophrastus's description of the seemingly heterodox Jewish sacrificial practices[197] had nothing in common with the excursus on the Jews at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 commonly attributed to Hecataeus. Stern concluded that since Hecataeus was far more accurate in his account of the Jews (on evidence of Diodorus 40.3), Theophrastus cannot have read Hecataeus and that Hecataeus was the later source.[198] Stern therefore initially claimed Theophrastus could not have used Hecataeus in either *On Piety* or *On Stones*;[199] later Stern tried to harmonize his and Murray's conclusions by proposing that Hecataeus wrote the *Aegyptiaca* after Theophrastus's *On Piety* but before *On Stones*.[200]

A flaw in both Murray's and Stern's arguments was their common assumption that Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 accurately reflected Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*. For Stern, this demonstrated that Theophrastus could not have read Hecataeus; Murray, in turn, struggled to explain how Theophrastus, having read Hecataeus, could have written so inaccurately about the Jews. The identification of Theophanes of Mytilene as Diodorus's source at 40.3.1–8 fully resolves the debate in favor of Murray. Stern was perfectly correct that Diodorus 40.3 displayed a level of knowledge about the Jews far surpassing Theophrastus's book *On Piety*, and must therefore have postdated Theophrastus. But this argument only demonstrated the relative priority of Theophrastus and *Theophanes of Mytilene*, not Theophrastus and *Hecataeus*. None of the accurate information on the Jews found at 40.3 came from Theophanes' reading of Hecataeus's foundation story on the Jews, but rather from his firsthand impressions in 63 BCE, published the next year. Theophrastus could well have read Hecataeus's largely uninformative foundation story, and Stern's argument therefore collapses. One may therefore accept without reservation Murray's dating of Hecataeus to the period 320–315 BCE. As Murray argued, Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca* certainly preceded Theophrastus's *On Stones*. It is not quite possible to determine on present evidence the relative priority of the *Aegyptiaca* and *On Piety*, as conceivably *On Piety* was written as early as 319 BCE and Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* as late as 315 BCE. The dates of the relevant texts are as follows:

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Hecataeus of Abdera | *Aegyptiaca* | 320–315 BCE |
| Theophrastus | *On Piety* | 319–314 BCE |
| Theophrastus | *On Stones* | 315–314 BCE |
| Theophanes of Mytilene | *Library* 40.3.1–8 | 62 BCE |

197. Theophrastus described the live offerings performed at night by "Syrians, of whom the Jews constitute a part," burning the sacrificial victims, "pouring honey and wine on them while making observations of the stars and praying to God." He also mentioned human sacrifice. As pointed out by Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 381 n. 118, although none of these practices accorded with the Pentateuch, they closely resembled objectionable religious practices condemned by Ezekiel, who mentioned night sacrifices, honey, the worship of the hosts of heaven (i.e. astral deities), and human immolation. Theophrastus, perhaps drawing on Hecataeus, may bear witness to the persistence of such practices as late as 320–315 BCE.

198. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:62.

199. Stern, "Chronological Sequence," 160–62.

200. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:8–9.

### 7. *Strabo and Theophanes*

Having established that Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 had Theophanes of Mytilene as its immediate source, it is appropriate to discuss, briefly, the closely related account of the origin of the Jews at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39. This passage had many traces of Stoic philosophy, and Strabo later cited the Stoic writer Posidonius on the Jews at *Geography* 16.2.43. For these reasons, Posidonius has been plausibly identified as the immediate source behind 16.2.34–39.[201] Posidonius, in turn, is commonly thought to have utilized Hecataeus of Abdera, since there is a close resemblance in content and order between this passage and Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8. Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39 is thus characterized as essentially a Stoicized version of Hecataeus.[202] But since the source for Diodorus 40.3 was Theophanes of Mytilene, not Hecataeus of Abdera, perhaps Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39 is better characterized as a Stoicized version of Theophanes.

A detailed analysis of Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39 is not required to demonstrate Posidonius's use of Theophanes. Yet a few points may be raised to illustrate this conclusion. These will be of two sorts: specific literary traces of Theophanes' biography of Pompey in *Geography* 16.2.34–39, and general indications that Strabo's source wrote after Pompey's campaign in 63 BCE.

Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–36 contained the story of the foundation of Judea and Jerusalem by Egyptians led by one of their priests called Moses. As in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3, the region around Jerusalem was barren and easily occupied. Strabo emphasized the absence of any image in the Jewish temple,[203] requiring a date after Pompey's entry into the Jewish temple in 63 BCE.[204] A particularly important indication of date is found in the description of Jerusalem at 16.2.36:

201. E.g. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 92–93. It is sometimes questioned whether Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.38–39, a digression comparing Moses to other famous lawgivers, drew on Posidonius. But this passage studiously avoided labeling the dictums of Moses or other ancient figures as laws, substituting the term "commandments" (πρόσταγμα), which did not imply a written form. This phraseology is highly consistent with the Posidonian idea that written laws were not a feature of utopian ancient states, but only arose later to counter the evil effects of tyrannies that later typically arose (Seneca, *Letters* 40.5–6; Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, 2:962–63). This same pattern of a utopian Mosaic state superseded by an evil tyranny is seen at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39; the avoided mention of the "legislation" of early prophets and legislators at 16.2.38–39 shows its Posidonian origin.

202. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 93–94.

203. Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.35.

204. Posidonius's history, covering events from ca. 146–86 BCE (Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, 2:5, 277–80), contained a story that the Jewish temple contained either a golden ass's head or a statue of Moses seated on an ass (on evidence of Josephus, *Apion* 2.79–80; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3). It is unlikely that this story coexisted with the assertion of Jewish aniconography in the Posidonius source utilized by Strabo. The lack of images in the Jewish temple at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.35 was based on improved knowledge, suggesting that Strabo drew on one of Posidonius's later works. It is true that Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4.2 (cf. 3.1–2), 5.4, 9.1 mentioned both the image of an ass and the lack of Jewish statues in the temple, but Tacitus acknowledged his drawing on multiple, sometimes contradictory sources (cf. *Histories* 5.2.1–3.1).

> For it is rocky, and, although it is well supplied with water, its surrounding territory is barren and waterless, and the part of the territory within a radius of sixty stadia is also rocky beneath the surface.

Almost identical descriptive phrases were used at 16.2.40 in connection with Pompey's Judean campaign:[205]

> Pompey went over and overthrew them and rased their fortifications, and in particular took Jerusalem itself by force; for it was a rocky and well-walled fortress, and though well supplied with water inside, its outside territory was wholly without water; and it had a trench cut in rock, sixty feet in depth and two hundred and fifty feet in breadth; and from the stone that had been hewn out, the wall of the temple was fenced with towers.

In this latter description, based on Theophanes' autopsy of Jerusalem in 63 BCE, the city's rockiness was correlated with its fortifications; its own water supply and the lack of water nearby with the difficulty of the siege; and the rock deep beneath the surface with the quarries that provided stone for the temple wall and towers. Clearly the details earlier used at 16.2.36 came from Theophanes' description of Jerusalem's siege, as documented at 16.2.40. This directly points to Theophanes' biography of Pompey as Posidonius's source for the material in 16.2.34–39; and further points to Strabo's continued use of Posidonius at 16.2.40.[206]

Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.36–37 also shows awareness of the civil war between Aristobulus II and Hyrcanus II in 65–63 BCE. Integral to Posidonius's theory of the degradation of the Jewish nation was the contrast between the golden age of rule by priests under Moses and his successors (16.1.36) with the innovation of a new tyrannical form of government under Alexander Jannaeus and his sons Hyrkanus and Aristobulus (16.2.37, 40).[207] This displacement of the legitimate

205. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 212–13.

206. K. Reinhardt similarly concluded that the entirety of Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–40 came from a Posidonian account of Jerusalem's conquest (*Poseidonios über Ursprung und Entartung: Interpretation zweier Kulturgeschichtlicher Fragmente* [Heidelberg: Winter, 1928], 25–26); cf. H. Strassburger, "Posidonius on Problems of the Roman Empire," *JRS* 55 (1965): 40–53 (44); Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 212–13.

207. Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.37, 40 had the first Jewish tyrants, notably "Alexander," seize territory in "Syria and Phoenicia" (cf. the list of Alexander's conquests in "Syria, Idumea and Phoenicia" at Josephus, *Ant.* 13.395–97). The description of the Phoenician coast at 16.2.28–30 contained several references to Jewish captured territory, such as the coast from Joppa to Jamnia, allegedly used by Jewish pirates; Gadaris (here mistakenly located on the coast), which the Jews "appropriated"; and Gaza, which "was razed to the ground by Alexander [i.e. Jannaeus] and remains uninhabited." This section reflects conditions during the period ca. 100–63 BCE (cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:293–94). Joppa was captured in the days of Simon, but Alexander Jannaeus seized Jamnia, Gadaris and Gaza (Josephus, *Ant.* 13.356 [Gadara], 358–64 [Gaza], 395–96 [listing Joppa, Jamnia and Gaza as well as Straton's Tower, also in Strabo; by Strabo's day this last had been renamed Caesarea]). These cities were all liberated and annexed to Rome by Pompey in 63 BCE (*Ant.* 14.75–76). Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40 said, "Pompey clipped off some of the territory that had been forcibly appropriated by the Judeans" (cf. 16.2.29, using almost identical language about Gadara). All evidence indicates that the description of the Phoenician seaboard at 16.2.28–30 came from a source on Pompey's liberation of Alexander Jannaeus's illegitimate conquests, namely, Theophanes of

customary Jewish rule by priests by a new tyranny under King Jannaeus and his sons was the same inaccurate, tendentious version of Jewish history put forward by Theophanes of Mytilene, as seen not only at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.5, but also at *Library* 40.2 and Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41. Posidonius's contrast between Jewish customary rule by priests and later tyranny by kings only makes sense in the context of Pompey's activities in Judea. The rapacious, violent character of the kings that arose in later times expressed itself in both civil wars and campaigns to seize territory from neighboring states (16.2.37), obvious allusions to events under Alexander Jannaeus and his sons.[208] This is especially clear in light of 16.2.40:

> At any rate, when now Judea was under the rule of tyrants Alexander was first to declare himself king instead of priest; and both Hyrcanus and Aristobulus were sons of his; and when they were at variance about the empire, Pompey went over and overthrew them and rased their fortifications... So far as he could, [Pompey] destroyed the haunts of robbers and the treasure-holds of the tyrants.

Quite clearly the tyranny and robbery that Posidonius claimed displaced the legitimate rule of priests ordained by Moses (16.2.37) was described in vocabulary drawn from Theophanes' propagandistic description of Pompey's Judean campaign.[209] The accusation of Judean brigandage was used to justify Pompey's abolition of the Jewish monarchy; that this same vocabulary was used in 16.2.37 shows that Posidonius drew on Theophanes' account of events of 63 BCE.

All this indicates that the entirety of Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–40 drew on an essay of Posidonius written subsequent to Pompey's Judean campaign and drawing on Theophanes. Strabo's source for *Geography* 16.2.34–40 appears to have been Posidonius's "biography" of Pompey, commissioned by Pompey in 62 BCE at the latter's visit to Rhodes,[210] accompanied of course by Theophanes. Posidonius must have relied extensively on the firsthand account of Theophanes

Mytilene. Pompeian references from Theophanes are also found at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.3, 8, 18 on central Syria.

208. Posidonius even softened Theophanes' account of Moses' colonization of Judea, omitting Moses' military training of Jewish youths and his conquest of neighboring tribes (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.6–7); Posidonius presented military conquests of neighboring states as a novelty introduced during the tyranny of Jannaeus (Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.37). Posidonius's idealized account of the Mosaic establishment of Judea was intended to contrast with later Hasmonean brigandage under Jannaeus and his sons Hyrkanus and Aristobulus.

209. At Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.28 it was said of Joppa, "Indeed the Judeans have used this place as a seaport when they have gone down as far as the sea; but the seaports of robbers are obviously only robbers' dens." This specious line of logic was obviously that used by Pompey as a pretext for detaching Joppa from Judea in 63 BCE (see Josephus, *Ant.* 14.76). Claims that Joppa was used by Pompey's foes in the pirate war of spring and summer 67 BCE or that Aristobulus was engaged in sea piracy (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.43) rested solely on Pompey's accusations in 63 BCE, which provide better evidence of Roman territorial ambitions than culpability of either Aristobulus or the residents of Joppa.

210. Strabo, *Geography* 11.1.6. Whether the biography took the form of an extension to Posidonius's general history, which ended in events of ca. 85 BCE, is a subject of debate (see Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, 2:331–33; Strassburger, "Poseidonios on Problems of the Roman Empire," 42–44).

of Mytilene for Pompey's campaigns in the east. Posidonius will have found Theophanes' excursus on the Jews prefacing the story of the fall of Jerusalem and adapted this material *in toto*, altering it in accordance with Posidonius's distinctive Stoic philosophical stance. This explains the close resemblance between the accounts of Jewish origins in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 and Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39, their identical placement immediately before the story of Pompey's conquest of Jerusalem, and the allusions to the robberies of the sons of Alexander Jannaeus in Strabo. Neither Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8 nor Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39 substantially reflected traditions in Hecataeus of Abdera. Both instead relied directly or indirectly on Theophanes of Mytilene.

# Chapter 4

## ARISTOBULUS AND THE SEPTUAGINT

In the preceding chapter it was demonstrated that there exist no documented Greek references to Jewish writings prior to the Septuagint. Authentic fragments of Hecataeus of Abdera displayed knowledge of Moses as the Jewish lawgiver but not of written Jewish laws. The same was true of Manetho. The first evidence of Pentateuchal writings is the Septuagint translation itself, probably dating to the late 270s BCE (see §4 below).

There are, however, three intriguing allusions to a Greek translation of portions of the Pentateuch prior to the Septuagint translation. These are references in the pseudepigraphical work *Pseudo-Hecataeus* to a scroll of Jewish law in the time of Hecataeus; in the fragments of Aristobulus to the Exodus, the Conquest, and the laws of the Jews in a Greek translation predating the Septuagint; and in *The Letter of Aristeas* to Jewish scrolls written in Hebrew and to a defective Greek translation of the Pentateuch preceding the Septuagint. All three of these traditions date to the second or first century BCE and must therefore be used with caution. No fragment of a Greek or Hebrew precursor to the Septuagint exists, so the existence of Jewish Pentateuchal (or proto-Pentateuchal) writings prior to the Septuagint is hypothetical at best. Yet the late references to Jewish writings predating the Septuagint deserve serious analysis and evaluation.

### 1. *Pseudo-Hecataeus*

Certain writings ascribed to Hecataeus were quoted at Josephus, *Apion* 1.187–204. The authenticity of this material has long been debated, with a slender majority of scholars in the early twentieth century concluding this material was pseudepigraphical.[1] The definitive treatment of this question, which settled the matter for most scholars, was Bar-Kochva's book *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, which demonstrated that the essay purportedly written by Hecataeus contained considerable anachronistic material pointing to the late second century or first century BCE.[2] Since then no scholar has seriously advocated the authenticity of the Pseudo-Hecataean account.

1. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:23–25, and bibliography; Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, passim.

2. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 54–142. To Bar-Kochva's arguments I can only add the following. In Chapter 3 it was demonstrated that Hecataeus of Abdera wrote in 320–315 BCE, as O.

*Pseudo-Hecataeus* recounted a story of the emigration of a Jewish high priest named Ezekias to Egypt in the time of Ptolemy I Soter. This story does not appear to have had a basis in historical fact (despite the existence of a fourth-century BCE governor of Judea named Ezekias, documented by coin data[3]). Rather, the purpose of this story appears to have been to explain how Hecataeus acquired his apparent knowledge of the Jewish Exodus story. According to *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, the high priest Ezekias brought a scroll of Jewish writings with him to Egypt and read it to a gathering of certain learned friends (presumably in Alexandria), among whom was Hecataeus of Abdera:[4]

> Speaking again of (Ezekias), (Hecataeus) says: "This man, who had attained to such a position of honor and who was now part of our society, gathered together some of his friends and read to them his whole scroll. For it contained the story of their settlement and their political constitution."[5]

Clearly Hecataeus did not hear excerpts of the Pentateuch read in Greek by a Jewish high priest, as *Pseudo-Hecataeus* would have us believe. In authentic fragments of Hecataeus, his only stated source was Egyptian priests, and Hecataeus's account of the origin of the Jews illustrates eloquently the fact that Hecataeus was acquainted with neither Jewish scripture nor Jewish oral sources. Nevertheless, enough of his story of Moses and his followers colonizing Judea

Murray had argued. *Pseudo-Hecataeus* alluded to the Battle of Gaza (Josephus, *Apion* 1.184), which took place in 312 BCE. This event took place after Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* was written and thus excludes Hecataeus's authorship of the Pseudo-Hecataean material, unless (as some scholars suppose) *Pseudo-Hecataeus* is to be regarded as a separate work by Hecataeus on the Jews.

3. See especially the extensive discussion at Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 255–70.

4. Ezekias's public reading of his scroll of Jewish history is highly reminiscent of public readings of new literary works at the Alexandria Museum as well as the public reading of the Septuagint. (See, for instance, P. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* [3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon, 1984], 3:749–50, on the reading of Apollonius of Rhodes' *Argonautica* and Callimachus's scathing criticism of it; see also *The Letter of Aristeas* 310–11 on the public reading of the Septuagint. Public readings of scriptures—and of the Septuagint—were a feature of the "canonization" process according to H. Orlinsky, "The Septuagint as Holy Writ and the Philosophy of the Translators," *HUCA* 46 [1975]: 89–114 [89–103].) Public readings normally introduced new compositions to the literary world or to the general public (depending on the text's intended audience). *Pseudo-Hecataeus* appears to have described the literary debut of a new Greek account of Jewish history in a reading by the high priest Ezekias. Since Hecataeus and the other Alexandrian scholars in the audience did not understand Hebrew, this scroll presumably was in Greek, that is, a Greek translation of portions of the Pentateuch.

5. Josephus, *Apion* 1.189. This translation incorporates Levy's emendation of *diaphora* ("difference") to *diphthera* ("scroll"). Levy suggested that the scroll referred to the Torah and that the reading included the settlement in Canaan and a summary of the laws of the Torah. Bar-Kochva (*Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 221–24) objected to the identification of the scroll as the Torah due to the impracticality of reading the entire Pentateuch in one sitting as well as the fact that the occupation of Canaan occurred only in Joshua; Bar-Kochva therefore rejected Levy's emendation of the text and suggested that the reading consisted of a foundation decree for a settlement in Egypt. Yet the subsequent content of *Pseudo-Hecataeus* repeatedly referred to Jewish loyalty to the Torah, showing that the Mosaic legislation was the topic in *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, not an Egyptian colony's constitution. The discrepancy between the contents of Ezekias's scroll and the Torah is to be explained by the dependence of *Pseudo-Hecataeus* on Hecataeus of Abdera's brief foundation story.

from Egypt bore sufficient similarity to the Exodus that the author of *Pseudo-Hecataeus* (as well as most modern scholars!) presumed Hecataeus was familiar with the biblical Exodus story. This led to the obvious question of how Hecataeus became familiar with the Exodus. In *Pseudo-Hecataeus* (as well as in *Aristobulus* and the *Letter to Aristeas*—see §§2–3 below) it was assumed that portions of the Pentateuch must have been translated into Greek as early as Hecataeus's time. *Pseudo-Hecataeus* consequently introduced a fictional account of an encounter between Hecataeus and a Jewish high priest in Egypt in order to explain Hecataeus's apparent acquaintance with Jewish scriptures.

It is highly instructive to compare the summary of Ezekias's scroll in *Pseudo-Hecataeus* with authentic fragments of Hecataeus. According to *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, the scroll "contained the story of their settlement and their political constitution."[6] According to the genuine fragment of Hecataeus detected at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.3:

> The colony was headed by a man named Moses, outstanding both for his wisdom and courage. On taking possession of the land, he founded, besides other cities, one that is now the most renowned of all, called Jerusalem. In addition he established the temple that they hold in chief veneration, instituted their forms of worship and ritual, drew up the laws relating to their political institutions, and ordered them.

Both *Pseudo-Hecataeus* and Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* referred to the settlement of Jerusalem. Both specifically mentioned "political institutions." In both, the settlement (colonization) of Judea took place first, followed by the establishment of political institutions through the legislation of the founder, in accordance with stereotyped Greek foundation stories, and reversing the order of events in the Hexateuch.[7] There can be no doubt that *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, in describing the purported contents of Ezekias's scroll, merely summarized the account of the Jews found in Hecataeus. *Pseudo-Hecataeus* was thus entirely dependent on Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca* and thus provides no independent evidence of a version of the Pentateuch circulating prior to the Septuagint.

### 2. *Aristobulus*

The same general observations hold true for Aristobulus (ca. 150 BCE[8]), who also appears to have inferred the existence of a version of a Greek Pentateuch predating the Septuagint from his reading of Hecataeus. Aristobulus scoured Greek literature for evidence that respected Greek authors were acquainted with Jewish writings and that Greek philosophy derived from the Jews. Aristobulus alleged that Homer and Hesiod, Orpheus and Linus, Pythagoras, Socrates and Plato were all knowledgeable in Jewish traditions.[9] To support this assertion,

6. Josephus, *Apion* 1.189.

7. The order of events in *Pseudo-Hecataeus*—colonization of Judea first, legislation second—is a hallmark of secondary Greco-Roman literature derivative from Hecataeus's foundation story.

8. See the discussion of dating evidence at Y. Collins, "Aristobulus," *OTP* 2:831–42 (832–33). Collins, balancing the *testimonia* from Eusebius, Clement and 2 Macc 1:10 together with internal evidence, reasonably dated Aristobulus to ca. 155–145 BCE.

9. Aristobulus *OTP* FF 3–4 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.13–16; 13.4–5).

Aristobulus posited the existence of a translation of the Jewish law into Greek at an early date:

> It is evident that Plato imitated our legislation and that he had investigated thoroughly each of the elements in it. For it had been translated by others before Demetrius Phalereus, before the conquests of Alexander and the Persians. The parts concerning the exodus of the Hebrews, our fellow countrymen, out of Egypt, the fame of all the things that happened to them, the conquest of the land, and the detailed account of the entire law (were translated). So it is very clear that the philosopher mentioned above [Plato] took many things (from it). For he was very learned, as was Pythagoras, who transferred many of our doctrines and integrated them into his own system of beliefs. But the entire translation of all the (books) of the Law (was made) in the time of the king called Philadelphus, your ancestor. He brought greater zeal (to the task than his predecessors), while Demetrius Phalereus managed the undertaking.[10]

Aristobulus, following the same tradition as *The Letter of Aristeas* (see §3 below), assigned the translation of the entire Pentateuch to the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Demetrius of Phaleron. Aristobulus also claimed the existence of a translation of the Torah into Greek prior to the Septuagint. One may dismiss Aristobulus's speculative claims that this earlier translation predated the Persians and was known to Homer, Plato and other ancient writers. Yet Aristobulus appears to have had knowledge of the specific contents of this translation, which contained accounts of the Exodus, the conquest of the land, and details regarding Jewish laws. Aristobulus's specification of the limited scope of this earlier translation of the Torah has been taken to imply a Greek version of Exodus–Joshua:[11]

> The parts concerning the exodus of the Hebrews, our fellow countrymen, out of Egypt, the fame of all the things that happened to them, the conquest of the land, and the detailed account of the entire law (were translated).[12]

What previous scholarship on Aristobulus has failed to note is that the description of the scope of this earlier translation of Pentateuchal (Hexateuchal) materials exactly corresponds to Hecataeus's account of the colonization of Judea. Hecataeus reported the Egyptian tradition of the emigration of the Jews from Egypt (which Aristobulus reported as "the exodus of the Hebrews"). Aristobulus, like Hecataeus, mentioned the conquest of Judea by Moses first,[13] followed by a summary of Jewish legal institutions inaugurated by Moses. This inverted the biblical order, in which the Mosaic legislation preceded the conquest of the

10. Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.1–2).

11. Garbini, *History and Ideology*, 136; the possibility of a pre-Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch was raised and rejected by Wacholder (*Eupolemus*, 91). That Aristobulus proposed an earlier translation of the Pentateuch in order to support his theories that Homer and Plato knew the scriptures was suggested at H. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible: "Aristeas" on its Traditional Origin* (London: Holborn, 1932), 195; H. Swete, *An Introduction to the Old Testament in Greek* (repr.; New York: KTAV, 1968), 2.

12. Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.1).

13. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.3, 7. Garbini's assumption that Aristobulus referred to a translation of the book of Joshua (see *History and Ideology*, 136) overlooked the Hecataean tradition of the conquest of Judea by Moses.

Promised Land by Joshua, but was the same order as stereotyped Greek foundation stories in which the founder first established a colony and then instituted its constitution.[14] Aristobulus's summary of the alleged precursor of the Septuagint translation thus corresponded exactly to the known contents of Hecataeus's report on the origin of the Jews.

As noted above, Aristobulus carefully researched Greek literature with reference to possible allusions to Jewish law. In the course of this exhaustive research, Aristobulus would have encountered Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*. (Aristobulus was, after all, tutor of Ptolemy VI Philometer.) Although (as discussed in Chapter 3, §§4–5), Hecataeus of Abdera's foundation story displays no familiarity with Pentateuchal writings, the mere mention of the colonization of Judea from Egypt would have been sufficient for Aristobulus to infer Hecataeus's acquaintance with the Jewish Exodus story. Aristobulus's summary of the contents of the hypothetical early Greek translation of Jewish writings was clearly extrapolated from the Greek foundation story in Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*. Aristobulus's report of a Greek translation of Pentateuchal materials predating the Septuagint was thus entirely based on inferences from Hecataeus rather than any direct or authentic firsthand acquaintance with such a translation. Aristobulus, like *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, may therefore be dismissed as a witness to Jewish writings predating the Septuagint.[15]

### 3. *The Letter of Aristeas*

Finally one may consider passages in *The Letter of Aristeas* regarding a defective Greek translation of scripture prior to the time of the Septuagint translation. *The Letter of Aristeas*, like the fragments of Aristobulus, contended that the Septuagint translation was made at the instigation of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Demetrius of Phaleron. According to *The Letter of Aristeas*, Demetrius of Phaleron presented the following recommendation to Ptolemy II Philadelphus with respect to the addition of Jewish writings to the Alexandria Library:

> Scrolls of the Law of the Jews, together with a few others, are missing (from the library), for these (works) are written in Hebrew characters and language. But they have been transcribed [translated?] somewhat carelessly and not as they should be, according to the report of the experts, because they have not received royal patronage. You should have accurate translations of these works, because this legislation, as it is divine, is highly philosophical and pure.[16]

14. The sequence of Mosaic conquest of Judea followed by Mosaic legislation was specifically Hecataean. I can find no instance of this order of events in Greco-Roman accounts that cannot reasonably be traced back to Hecataeus of Abdera.

15. Note that Aristobulus, despite having read Hecataeus directly, made no mention of a high priest Ezekias introducing a (Greek) version of Jewish scripture to Egypt in the time of Hecataeus. Indeed, Aristobulus postulated that the Greek version of scriptures known to Hecataeus had been in existence as early as Homeric times, rather than constituting a new translation as in *Pseudo-Hecataeus*. Cf. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 80, where the lack of reference to Ezekias in *Pseudo-Aristeas* similarly calls the story in *Pseudo-Hecataeus* into question.

16. *The Letter of Aristeas* 30–31.

There is considerable debate whether the above passage referred to a careless transcription of Jewish laws in Hebrew or a careless translation of Jewish writings into Greek.[17] Certainly the passage asserted the existence of Jewish writings in Hebrew.[18] *The Letter of Aristeas* also claimed that Greek writers of the 300s BCE such as Hecataeus, Theopompus and others were acquainted with the laws of the Jews, implying an earlier Greek translation. *The Letter of Aristeas* 30 was explicit that the Septuagint translation superseded an earlier one. *The Letter of Aristeas* claimed earlier Greek versions of the Jewish law were defective, not having benefited from royal patronage, thus prompting the Septuagint translation. *The Letter of Aristeas* thus apparently testified to the existence of Hebrew and Greek scripture prior to the Septuagint, and conveyed specific detail—their careless transcription—that seemingly displayed knowledge of the contents of these earlier writings. Such being the case, *The Letter of Aristeas*, despite its late date, has been taken as an important witness to Jewish scriptures in Hebrew and Greek predating the Septuagint.

That *The Letter of Aristeas*, like the writings of Aristobulus, contained no direct knowledge of scriptures older than the Septuagint, but relied exclusively on inferences from Hecataeus, is bolstered by the simple observation that in all probability Aristobulus authored *The Letter of Aristeas*.

There is first of all a strong argument that *The Letter of Aristeas* was written ca. 150 BCE, during the *floruit* of Aristobulus. Various dates for *The Letter of Aristeas* have been proposed from ca. 250 BCE to the first century CE.[19] A date of ca. 150 BCE is suggested by comparing the benefactions showered on the Jews by Ptolemy II Philadelphus in *The Letter of Aristeas* with the letter to Jonathan from Demetrius I in 152 BCE outlining concessions he was willing to make to the Jews in exchange for Jonathan's support against Alexander Balas. Common benefactions included the freeing of war-slaves (*The Letter of Aristeas* 12–14, 20–27, 37; cf. 1 Macc 10:33); subsidies for the Jewish temple (*The Letter of Aristeas* 33–37; cf. 1 Macc 10:40–41); appointment of 30,000 Jews to fortress duties in the army (*The Letter of Aristeas* 13, 37; cf. 1 Macc 10:36–37); and appointment of Jews to high ranking positions in government (*The Letter of Aristeas* 37; cf. 1 Macc 10:37). These parallels in *The Letter of Aristeas* were intended to demonstrate that Ptolemy II Philadelphus was every bit as benevolent towards the Jews as the Seleucids (Demetrius I), and presumed the reader's familiarity with the terms of Demetrius's concessions to the Jews. This dates Pseudo-Aristeas to 152 BCE or shortly thereafter, approximately contemporary with Aristobulus, who is thought to have written in ca. 150 BCE.[20]

17. S. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1968), 51.

18. Cf. *The Letter of Aristeas* 30.

19. R. Schutt, "Letter of Aristeas," *OTP* 2:1–34 (8–9); Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 94–109; M. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates (Letter of Aristeas)* (repr.; New York: KTAV, 1973), 3–5; H. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas: Translated with an Appendix of Ancient Evidence on the Origin of the Septuagint* (New York: Macmillan, 1917), xii–xiv.

20. Collins, *OTP* 2:832–33. The plural "chief of the bodyguards" (*The Letter of Aristeas* 40) first appeared in inscriptions of 148 BCE (Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, xi; Hadas, *Aristeas to*

A number of additional arguments point to Aristobulus as, in fact, the author of *The Letter of Aristeas*.[21] On the broadest level, both Aristobulus and Pseudo-Aristeas are thought to have written in Greek at Alexandria.[22] Both possessed a Hellenistic–Jewish outlook;[23] indeed, both equated the god of the Jews with the Greek god Zeus.[24] Both were preoccupied with philosophy[25] and compared Jewish scholarship with Hellenistic schools of philosophical thought.[26] Both were highly interested in the Ptolemaic royal court: both referred to earlier Ptolemaic kings;[27] both gratefully acknowledged the academic patronage of the Ptolemaic dynasty;[28] both presumed Ptolemaic royal curiosity in details of Jewish law;[29] both advocated the benefits of royal knowledge of Jewish law;[30] both had the sort of didactic outlook towards Ptolemaic royalty[31] that one would expect from the official tutor of the king.[32] *The Letter of Aristeas* uniquely pictured a philosopher's banquet at Alexandria with Jews present as guests of the king;[33] Aristobulus's fragments mention no such social occasion, but it is not to be doubted that

*Philocrates*, 17–18, drawing on research by Bickerman), at the end of the reign of Ptolemy VI Philometer (182–146 BCE).

21. Collins acknowledged a number of shared features between *Aristobulus* and *Pseudo-Aristeas* (*OTP* 2:835).

22. See Schutt, *OTP* 2:8–9 on *The Letter of Aristeas*; Collins, *OTP* 2:834 on Aristobulus.

23. *The Letter of Aristeas* 121; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.9.38).

24. *The Letter of Aristeas* 16; Aristobulus *OTP* F4 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.13.7).

25. *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, 201, 235, 295; Aristobulus *OTP* FF 2–5 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.9.38; 13.12.1, 10; 13.4).

26. *The Letter of Aristeas* 31; Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 18.12.1).

27. Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 7.32.16). *The Letter of Aristeas* shows a great deal of familiarity with early Ptolemaic history. *The Letter of Aristeas* 28 anachronistically referred to the care with which "all business used to be transacted by these kings," showing a historian's interest in the former Ptolemies. *The Letter of Aristeas* shows knowledge about Ptolemy I Soter (4, 12–13), the foundation of the Library (9–10, 28–31), Demetrius of Phaleron (9), Queen Arsinoe II and her (adopted) children (41), Ptolemy II Philadelphus's sea victory over Antigonus in ca. 260 BCE (180), and Ptolemy II's decree redeeming Jewish war slaves (4, 22–25, possibly based on the *Papyrus Ranier* 24, 552 according to Hadas [*Aristeas to Philocrates*, 28–32]). Aristobulus, as royal tutor (2 Macc 1:10) with access to the Great Library of Alexandria, had both the opportunity and an obligation to familiarize himself with such historical details relating to early Ptolemaic history.

28. *The Letter of Aristeas* 182–294; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.1).

29. *The Letter of Aristeas* 187–294; Aristobulus *OTP* F4 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.13.8).

30. *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, 187–294; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.2).

31. *The Letter of Aristeas* 166, 187–294; Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.1–2, 7).

32. 2 Macc 1:10.

33. *The Letter of Aristeas* 182–294. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:310, 702–3 on philosophers' banquets.

Aristobulus, as a philosopher as well as the king's tutor, will have been present at many such banquets, and may have offered such gentle advice on royal rule as *The Letter of Aristeas* placed in the mouths of the Septuagint scholars. Although appreciative of Greek philosophy—and indeed advocating an ideal of education in Jewish law and the Greek classics[34]—both Aristobulus and Pseudo-Aristeas deprecated Greek mythology.[35] With respect to exegesis of the Torah, both had seemingly identical approaches: the typical didactic situation took the social form of curious gentiles posing questions on the law, which Jewish legal experts answered;[36] both broke new ground by presenting allegorical or symbolic exegesis of concretes in the Torah;[37] both speculated on the symbolic significance of the hands and limbs in Jewish writings.[38] Both invoked natural reason and natural laws in interpreting scripture.[39] Both recounted the same unique traditions with respect to the Septuagint: both claimed that the Septuagint translation took place at Ptolemaic royal initiative, under the management of Demetrius of Phaleron, who was incorrectly portrayed as a loyal servant of Ptolemy II Philadelphus;[40] both emphasized the "zeal" brought to this project by Ptolemy II Philadelphus;[41] both claimed the Septuagint superceded an earlier, inferior translation.[42] Both viewed the Pentateuch as having significant philosophical content.[43] Both sought to demonstrate, through their detailed familiarity with the classics, that Greek philosophers, poets and other writers in earlier times knew about the laws and philosophical system of the Jews.[44] Both appear to have considered Hecataeus prominent among those who displayed knowledge of the Jews and their laws.[45]

34. The Septuagint scholars were described as experts in Torah familiar with the Greek classics at *The Letter of Aristeas* 121–22; Aristobulus himself had exactly such an academic background; cf. *OTP* FF 2–5 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.9.38; 13.12.10, 12–16; 13.3–8).

35. *The Letter of Aristeas* 13, 70; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.1).

36. *The Letter of Aristeas* 128–29, 187–292; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.1).

37. *The Letter of Aristeas* 150–51, 159; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.1, 7–9).

38. *The Letter of Aristeas* 150–51, 159; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.10.1, 7–9).

39. *The Letter of Aristeas* 143; Aristobulus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.10.2).

40. *The Letter of Aristeas* 8–9; Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.2).

41. *The Letter of Aristeas* 39; Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.2).

42. *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, 314; Aristobulus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.1–2).

43. Aristobulus claimed that both Platonic and Pythagorean philosophy incorporated ideas from Jewish legislation (*OTP* F4 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.13.4–5]); cf. the description of Jewish legislation as "highly philosophical and pure" at *The Letter of Aristeas* 31.

44. *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, 312–16; Aristobulus *OTP* FF 2–5 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 8.10.4; 13.12.1, 13–16; 13.4).

45. Aristobulus's description of the Greek translation of scripture that preceded the Septuagint (Aristobulus *OTP* F3 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.1]) was based directly on

The fragments of Aristobulus cited many cases where earlier Greek authors alluded to Jewish concepts, although Aristobulus was unable to cite any Greek author before the Septuagint who quoted the Torah directly; Pseudo-Aristeas explained that a non-Jewish author would have brought down divine curses on himself for quoting Jewish writings or even contemplating such an act.[46] Finally, *The Letter of Aristeas* contained a detailed, seemingly firsthand, if often incongruously inaccurate description of Judea, Jerusalem and its temple.[47] There is no such description in Aristobulus's surviving writings, but one imagines that Ptolemy's tutor not only accompanied Ptolemy VI Philometer to Ptolemais in 150 BCE,[48] but may also have visited Jerusalem as Jonathan the high priest's guest. The description of Jerusalem—in which the citadel and its security protocols figured prominently[49]—may have resulted from such a whirlwind tour.

To summarize, the fragments of Aristobulus and *The Letter of Aristeas* reflect the same date, provenance, social and philosophical outlook, unique exegetical approach, historical theories and even historical inaccuracies. Every datum is consistent with Aristobulus having penned *The Letter of Aristeas*. Given Aristobulus's probable authorship of *The Letter of Aristeas*, then, the allusions to scriptures predating the Septuagint in *The Letter of Aristeas* will also have derived from Aristobulus's misreading of Hecataeus.

A key feature in *The Letter of Aristeas* was its description of the alleged pre-Septuagint translation of Jewish writings as careless or defective. This reflected Aristobulus's interpretation of the Jewish colonization story in Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*. Hecataeus claimed that the colonists Moses led to Judea were actually Egyptians and that Moses personally led the conquest of Judea and the foundation of Jerusalem and its temple. These details from Hecataeus's account contradicted the Hebrew Bible. Yet, according to the naïve reading of Hecataeus by Aristobulus, such details must have been found in the Greek version of the Torah available to Hecataeus, which Aristobulus consequently viewed as seriously defective. Aristobulus inferred that the earlier translation (or its Hebrew

Hecataeus, as discussed above. Hecataeus was explicitly cited at *The Letter of Aristeas* 31, where it was asserted that "the views proposed in these books are in some way holy and reverent, as Hecataeus of Abdera said." It is unknown how Pseudo-Aristeas derived his description of Jewish legislation as "divine, holy and reverent" from Hecataeus. Perhaps the claim that Moses received his legislation from Iao at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.94.1 came from Hecataeus, as some have asserted (e.g. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 86).

46. *The Letter of Aristeas* 312–16.

47. *The Letter of Aristeas* 83–106.

48. *The Letter of Aristeas* 107, 115 show special interest in Ptolemais. Aristobulus may have acted as Jewish translator when Ptolemy VI Philometer and Alexander Balas met at Ptolemais with the high priest Jonathan (1 Macc 10:57–59). Knowledge of the contents of Demetrius's letter to Jonathan in *The Letter of Aristeas* suggests its author had contact with Jewish diplomats ca. 150 BCE. *The Letter of Aristeas* 182 anachronistically referred to the protocol for entertaining foreign guests as the same "even at the present day." Aristobulus may have been thinking of Ptolemy VI Philometer and Alexander Balas having entertained Jonathan at Ptolemais in 150 BCE. Part of the royal protocol was giving gifts of gold and expensive garments to honored guests, such as the 70 elders of the Jewish *gerousia* (*The Letter of Aristeas* 319); Jonathan was given similar gifts (1 Macc 10:60, 62).

49. *The Letter of Aristeas* 100–104.

prototypes) must have been done carelessly, in contrast to the familiar high textual standards of the Library of Alexandria. According to the theory originated by Aristobulus and preserved in *The Letter of Aristeas*, the Septuagint translation was made in order to correct the inaccuracies assumed to underlie the hypothetical Jewish source behind the "Exodus" story in Hecataeus's *Aegyptiaca*.

In conclusion, the Exodus-like story of Jewish origins found in Hecataeus gave rise to a number of later traditions regarding a Greek translation predating the Septuagint. *Pseudo-Hecataeus* invented a high priest Ezekias who introduced this earlier translation into Egyptian literary circles and specifically to Hecataeus. Aristobulus inferred the scope of this earlier translation based on his reading of Hecataeus. And *The Letter of Aristeas*, also by Aristobulus, while acknowledging the existence of such a translation as early as the time of Hecataeus, characterized it as carelessly translated and claimed that the Septuagint translation was made in order to correct the defects in the version known to Hecataeus. None of these traditions, relying wholly on inferences made from reading Hecataeus, present actual evidence of Pentateuchal writings predating the Septuagint. The Septuagint translation thus constitutes the earliest evidence of the Pentateuch.

## 4. *The Septuagint*

The definitive evidence for the latest possible date for the composition of the Pentateuch is the Septuagint translation of the Pentateuch into Greek. The homogeneous style indicates that the entirety of the Pentateuch was translated into Greek at the same time.[50] Modern Septuagint studies have accepted a date under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (282–246 BCE) for a variety of reasons—some valid, some not—to be discussed below.[51] Literary traditions are agreed that the Septuagint translation was made under either Ptolemy I or II.[52] Certainly a Septuagint translation of Genesis existed by the time of Demetrius the Chronographer, whose chronology of Genesis conforms to Septuagint figures rather than those of the Masoretic text.[53] Demetrius wrote under Ptolemy IV Philopater, whose reign (ca. 221–204 BCE) provides a firm *terminus ad quem* for the Septuagint translation. The writings of Aristobulus (both under his own name and as Pseudo-Aristeas) claimed that the Pentateuch was translated into Greek under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. If one could be assured that Aristobulus drew on reliable traditions, this would secure a date of composition under Ptolemy II.

As tutor to Ptolemy VI Philometer, Aristobulus had full access to the Alexandrian Library and to Ptolemaic historical materials. One is left to imagine what

50. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 157; Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, xv.

51. Cf. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 165; Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, xv.

52. Ancient references to the Septuagint translation were quoted at Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 89–116.

53. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, xv; J. Hanson, "Demetrius the Chronographer," *OTP* 2:841–54 (844–45).

other documents Aristobulus might have had access to that would have led him to date the Septuagint to the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and provided him with details relating to the circumstances of this translation. One potential source of information was the *Pinakes*, a catalog of texts in the Alexandrian Library prepared by Callimachus.[54] If Aristobulus did any research using the Septuagint translation housed at the Great Library—and one may reasonably assume that he did—he may have had occasion there to read the relevant entry in the *Pinakes*. This may have listed the authors of the Septuagint as the seventy elders of Judea's *gerousia* under the leadership of its president, the high priest at Jerusalem. The royal patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in underwriting the Septuagint edition may also have appeared in the *Pinakes* entry. Aristeas may have also drawn on oral traditions. A yearly festival on the island of Pharos celebrated the creation of the Septuagint translation,[55] and it seems plausible that the sponsoring of the Septuagint by Ptolemy II Philadelphus somehow featured in the yearly tradition.

Aristobulus's position as Ptolemy's tutor practically mandated a knowledge of Ptolemaic royal history. His knowledge of such early Ptolemaic figures as Ptolemy II Philadelphus, Arsinoe II and Demetrius of Phaleron demonstrates a general acquaintance with early Ptolemaic history, as does his knowledge of Ptolemy I Soter's campaigns in Syria and Ptolemy II Philadelphus's release of war captives, this last likely displaying knowledge of the decree documented in

54. Callimachus created two lists or *Pinakes*, the first a catalog of works in the Great Library for use within the library itself, the second an extract of the first *Pinakes* for the public (R. Blum, *Kallimachos: The Alexandrian Library and the Origins of Bibliography* [trans. H. Wellisch; Wisconsin Studies in Classics; Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1991], 230–33). An entry for the Septuagint was more likely found in the library's *Pinakes*. Callimachus's lists were both organized by topic, following the physical organization of scrolls in the library (Blum, *Kallimachos*, 152–59, 230–32). One of the categories of the *Pinkakes* was *nomoi* or laws, which comprised at least three volumes (Blum, *Kallimachos*, 153–54). The Septuagint likely would have been listed under that category.

55. Philo, *The Life of Moses* 2.41–42. The common scholarly conception of a unique new Alexandrian festival celebrating the Septuagint (cf. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, xiv–xv; Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 156) is probably incorrect. The solemn festival, accompanied by prayers and hymns (*The Life of Moses* 2.42), was likely Pentecost, although not named as such by Philo. At *The Life of Moses* 2.29–43, Philo made various comparisons between the Septuagint translation and the giving of the law by Moses. The books of Moses, starting with the creation account in Genesis, are categorized as "law" (2.31, 34, 37); the translators were said to have been inspired as prophets "in the spirit of Moses" (2.40). Pentecost celebrated the giving of the law at Sinai, and Philo appears to intimate that the Alexandrian observation of Pentecost celebrated the Septuagint as a second giving of the law. *The Letter of Aristeas* 310–11 described the first reading of the Septuagint translation in phraseology reminiscent of Exod 24:3–10, suggesting that in ca. 150 BCE Pseudo-Aristeas (Aristobulus) was already aware of the Alexandrian association of the Septuagint with Pentecost. Not too much should be read into the location of the festival at a deserted beach on the island of Pharos (Philo, *The Life of Moses* 2.34, 41). The Jews of Alexandria are also seen gathering on an isolated beach to celebrate the Feast of Tabernacles at Philo, *Flaccus* 116. Since the war at Alexandria in 47 BCE, Pharos stood largely abandoned (Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.6), and Jewish gatherings on its beaches at festival times probably only began after that date (and possibly only during the disturbances of 39 CE).

the *Papyrus Ranier* of ca. 260 BCE.[56] Yet well read though he was, Aristobulus was also capable of seriously mishandling his sources, as in his reading knowledge of Jewish sacred writings into such authors as Homer, Plato, Orpheus and others.[57]

Confidence in Aristobulus's testimony is not raised by the details he presented in conjunction with the alleged translation of the Pentateuch under Ptolemy II. Both *The Letter of Aristeas* and Aristobulus's *Exposition of Holy Laws* incorrectly asserted that Demetrius of Phaleron served as Librarian at Alexandria under Ptolemy II and that the Septuagint was made under his oversight.[58] Demetrius came to Alexandria under Ptolemy I Soter in 297 BCE and as First Friend advised Ptolemy I Soter on various matters of state.[59] Demetrius had been *archon* at Athens,[60] home of the Academy and Aristotle's famous library, on which the Alexandrian Library was modeled.[61] Demetrius was himself famous as a writer of philosophy.[62] Demetrius likely took part in some of the preliminary arrangements in establishing the Museum and Library at Alexandria in ca. 295 BCE.[63] Demetrius may have been given funds by Ptolemy I to purchase books for the Library, though he did not serve as Librarian. With the death of Ptolemy I Soter, Demetrius fell from favor since he had advised Ptolemy I to designate as heir one of the sons by his first wife Eurydice instead of Philadelphus, a younger son by Berenice.[64] As a result, when Ptolemy II Philadelphus took office in 282 BCE, Demetrius was exiled from Alexandria within the year and died shortly thereafter, possibly executed by asp bite at the instructions of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[65] This rules out the story in *Aristobulus* and in *The Letter of Aristeas* in which Demetrius of Phaleron oversaw the translation of the Septuagint under Ptolemy II Philadelphus, at least during the sole rule of Ptolemy II. The tradition associating Demetrius with the Septuagint

56. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 28–32; L. L. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian* (2 vols.; Minneapolis: Fortress, 1992), 1:186.

57. Aristobulus *OTP* FF 4–5 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.13–16; 13.3–4).

58. "The entire translation of all the (books) of the Law (was made) in the time of the king called Philadelphus, your ancestor. He brought greater zeal (to the task than his predecessors), while Demetrius Phalereus managed the undertaking" (Aristobulus *OTP* F3 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.2]). "Aristobulus, who was enrolled among the seventy who translated the sacred and divine Scriptures of the Hebrews for Ptolemy Philadelphus and his father and who dedicated exegetical books on the law of Moses to the same king" (Aristobulus *OTP* F1 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 7.32.16]).

59. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:315; Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 136; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.78.

60. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:314; Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.75.

61. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:326.

62. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.75–83.

63. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:314–15; J. Sandys, *A History of Classical Scholarship* (3 vols.; New York: Hafner, 1964), 1:105; cf. Blum, *Kallimachos*, 100–102.

64. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.78–79.

65. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.78; Cicero, *Pro Rabirus Postumus* 9.23; Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 7.

translation suggests to some scholars that the translation project may have been at least conceived by Demetrius late in the rule of Ptolemy I Soter, perhaps in the last year, when Ptolemy I associated Ptolemy II Philadelphus with him on the throne.[66] But classical sources agree that Zenodotus of Ephesus, not Demetrius of Phaleron, served as the first Librarian at Alexandria.[67] It is best to dismiss the tradition that Demetrius of Phaleron was associated with the Septuagint translation as inaccurate.

Aristobulus presented another detail in *The Letter of Aristeas* that, if reliable, would date the Septuagint to ca. 270 BCE. *The Letter to Aristeas* indicated that queen Arsinoe II, sister and wife of Ptolemy II, was alive when the Septuagint was first introduced.[68] Arsinoe II arrived in Egypt from Macedonia and wed her brother some time between 279 and 273 BCE.[69] She died in July 269 BCE.[70] *The Letter of Aristeas* referred to her children, that is, the adopted sons of Arsinoe I, the first wife of Ptolemy II. It has been suggested that Arsinoe II adopted these sons fairly late in her reign, after it became apparent that she would not herself bear royal offspring for Ptolemy II.[71] Some scholars therefore date the Septuagint translation to ca. 270 BCE.[72] But a closer look at the alleged datum that leads to this dating raises considerable doubts. The evidence consists of a letter quoted in *The Letter of Aristeas* from the high priest at Jerusalem which included a wish for "Good health to you [Ptolemy] and to Queen Arsinoe, your sister, and to your children."[73] Since this letter from the high priest to Ptolemy II Philadelphus

66. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 137. This is supported by Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.22, which said that the Septuagint was translated under either Ptolemy I or II. Aristobulus also recorded that the Septuagint translation took place under Ptolemy II Philadelphus "and his father" (*OTP* F1 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 7.32.16]; cf. F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.2]).

67. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:330.

68. *The Letter of Aristeas* 41, 240.

69. The date of Arsinoe II's marriage is discussed by A. Gow, *Theocritus* (2 vols.; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1952), 2:265 (278 or 276 BCE); W. Tarn, "The Struggle of Egypt Against Syria and Macedonia," *CAH*[1], 7:699–731 (703) (279–275 BCE); E. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy* (London: Methuen, 1927), 59 (279–274 BCE); Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 5 (277–273 BCE). Arsinoe arrived in Egypt sometime after the death of her second husband Ptolemy Keraunos in 280 BCE; that she and Ptolemy II Philadelphus were married prior to January 273 BCE is demonstrated by the *Pithom Stele* line 15.

70. The *Mendes Stele* puts Arsinoe's death in the month Pachon of Ptolemy II Philadelphus's year 15. This dates Arsinoe's death to 270 or 269 BCE, depending on the dating method employed in the *Mendes Stele*. Most recent authors favor 269 BCE.

71. Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 163. Scholiast on Theocritus 17.128 ("He married his sister Arsinoe and he had the children of the first Arsinoe legally called those of his sister for the latter died before bearing him children") may be interpreted to mean that the children of Arsinoe I were adopted after the death of Arsinoe II; cf. G. Macurdy, *Hellenistic Queens: A Study of Woman-Power in Macedonia, Seleucid Syria, and Ptolemaic Egypt* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1932), 120–21. *The Letter of Aristeas* 41, which indicated she had children when still alive, is the only counter-evidence, and the sole basis for the suggestion that Arsinoe II adopted Arsinoe I's children before 269 BCE.

72. Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 5 (ca. 270 BCE).

73. *The Letter of Aristeas* 41.

is manifestly fictional, it must be considered useless for dating purposes. It seems likely that Aristobulus lifted the greeting from some other document he read, in order to display his erudition and to give verisimilitude to the fictional account in *The Letter of Aristeas*.

Yet internal evidence from the Septuagint, complemented by rabbinic traditions, appears to corroborate that the translation was made under Arsinoe II. The Babylonian Talmud claimed that the Greek Torah used "short-footed" instead of "rabbit" (*arnebeth*) because Ptolemy's wife was named Arnebeth, and it was feared that Ptolemy would say, "The Jews have mocked me by introducing the name of my wife into the law."[74] The Septuagint indeed avoids the use of the word "rabbit" (*lagos*), instead substituting the word "shaggy-foot" (*dasupous*). Ptolemy I Soter was the son of an undistinguished man named Lagus, and the Ptolemaic dynasty was known as the Lagids. The Septuagint's avoidance of the word "rabbit" (*lagos*) was undoubtedly out of fear of offending the Ptolemies.[75] The Babylonian Talmud was thus correct in stating that the Septuagint avoided the term "rabbit." What is interesting is the explanation that this was because Ptolemy's wife was named "rabbit." This appears to have been a reference to Ptolemy II Philadelphus's second wife Arsinoe II who, as his sister, was also a Lagid.[76] The pun is probably also partially preserved in Hebrew, where Ptolemy's wife was called Arnebeth (a play on Arsinoe). The avoidance of the word *lagos* in the Septuagint was doubly indicated since the rabbit bore a reputation in antiquity for sexual promiscuity.[77] Arsinoe II, having had two previous marriages, and then having married her brother Ptolemy II (in accordance with Egyptian customs[78]), was sensitive to sexual innuendo; Sotades of Maroneia was imprisoned for having composed a lewd epigram on the marriage of the siblings Ptolemy and Arsinoe.[79] It may have been in light of this last famous incident that the Septuagint translators decided to avoid the term *lagos*. The Septuagint translation thus likely did indeed take place during the reign of queen Arsinoe II, as in *The Letter of Aristeas*. Arsinoe married Ptolemy II Philadelphus sometime between 279 and 273 BCE.[80] Ptolemy II was first called a Lagid in *Idyll* 17 of Theocritus, written between 273 and 270 BCE (probably in 273/272 BCE),[81] so a date after 273/272 and before the death of Arsinoe II in July 269 BCE appears indicated. The early third century BCE Greek of the Septuagint translation is consistent with this date.

74. *Meg.* 9a.

75. Thackeray, *The Letter of Aristeas*, 95 n. 1. For similar reasons, the Septuagint renders the Hebrew word for king (*malek*) by *archon* ("ruler") instead of the expected *basileus*.

76. Neither Eurydice and Berenice, the wives of Ptolemy I Soter, nor Arsinoe I, Ptolemy II Philadelphus's first wife, were Lagids like the latter's full sister Arsinoe II.

77. Aelian, *On Animals* 13.15; Athenaeus, *Philosophers' Banquet* 9.400d–401a.

78. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.27.1.

79. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:117. Sotades later escaped prison to the island of Crete. On being captured by the naval commander Patrocles, Sotades was enclosed in a lead coffin and dropped in the sea.

80. See n. 69 above.

81. Gow, *Theocritus*, 2:326, 339; cf. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:704.

Thus despite the doubt attached to many quasi-historical details in Aristobulus's works, it still appears likely that he was correct in such basic details as the Septuagint originating under Ptolemy II Philadelphus and the involvement of seventy scholars associated with the Judean *gerousia* in executing this project (as was indeed embodied in the later title Septuagint or the Seventy). We may therefore date the Septuagint with reasonably high confidence to the period 273–269 BCE under Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

Since the Septuagint provides the first objective external evidence for the composition of the Pentateuch, the date of the Septuagint translation becomes a *terminus ad quem* for the books of Moses. There exists no external evidence that the Pentateuch was written earlier than the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. A proposed date of composition for the Pentateuch any time prior to 269 BCE is permitted by current evidence and must be seriously considered.

Significantly, although external evidence for the Pentateuch is lacking prior to the Septuagint translation of 273–269 BCE, the Septuagint set off an explosion of derivative Jewish writing in the third century BCE, both in Syria and in Egypt. The following is a list of the earliest known Jewish writings, with approximate dates of composition:[82]

| Septuagint | Egypt | ca. 273–269 BCE |
|---|---|---|
| 4QSam$^{b}$, 4QEx$^{f}$ | (Qumran) | ca. 250 BCE?[83] |
| *Astronomical Book of Enoch* | Samaria[84] | ca. 250 BCE?[85] |
| *Pseudo-Eupolemus* | Samaria | ca. 250 BCE?[86] |

82. The relative sequence *Astronomical Book of Enoch*, *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, *Book of Watchers*, *Testament of Levi*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* is proposed based on the use of earlier texts by later texts in this series, but the absolute dates are provisional. In any case, the Septuagint translation appears to have been the oldest of the texts listed.

83. The earliest copies of Samuel (4QSam$^{b}$), Exodus (4QEx$^{f}$) and Jeremiah (4QJer$^{b}$) were dated by F. M. Cross on paleographical grounds to ca. 250 BCE, ca. 250 BCE and ca. 200 BCE respectively; see his "The Development of the Jewish Scripts," in *The Bible and the Ancient Near East: Essays in Honor of W.F. Albright* (ed. G. Wright; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1961), 133–202 (136–60); Fig. 1 lines 3–5; idem, "The Contribution of Qumrân Discoveries to the Study of the Biblical Text," *IEJ* 16 (1966): 81–94 (82–83).

84. The astronomical speculation in *Astronomical Book of Enoch* is consistent with the perspective of the Samaritan author Pseudo-Eupolemus, who cited it approvingly (*OTP* F1 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.9]); cf. J. Milik, *The Books of Enoch: Aramaic Fragments of Qumrân Cave 4* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1976), 9–10.

85. The *Astronomical Book of Enoch* has a *terminus ad quem* of ca. 200 BCE based on the approximate date of 4QEnast$^{a}$ from paleography (J. C. VanderKam, *Enoch and the Growth of an Apocalyptic Tradition* [Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1984], 79–88). The cosmology of the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* was close to that of the *Book of Watchers*; these two texts were presumably of the same approximate date (H. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic: The Mesopotamian Background of the Enoch Figure and of the Son of Man* [Wissenschaftliche Monographien zum Alten und Neuen Testament 61; Neukirchen–Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1988], 83), that is, about 250 BCE (see n. 87 below). *Pseudo-Eupolemus*'s reference to the astronomical revelations Enoch passed on to his son Methuselah was obviously taken from the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* (n. 84 above); the *Book of Watchers* appears to have contained polemics against the favorable treatment of the Watchers in *Pseudo-Eupolemus*. This establishes a relative sequence of *Astronomical Book of Enoch*, *Pseudo-Eupolemus* and *Book of Watchers* close to 250 BCE.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *Book of Watchers* | Judea | ca. 240 BCE?[87] |
| Demetrius the Chronographer (LXX) | Egypt | ca. 221–204 BCE[88] |
| *Testament of Levi* | Judea | ca. 220–200 BCE? |
| *Genesis Apocryphon* | Judea | ca. 200–180 BCE? |
| Sirach | Judea | ca. 180 BCE |
| *Jubilees* (final redaction) | Judea | ca. 175–161 BCE[89] |
| *Apocalypse of Weeks* | Judea | ca. 170 BCE[90] |
| *Animal Apocalypse* | Judea | 165, 163 BCE[91] |

The *terminus ad quem* evidence for the composition of the Pentateuch, decidedly at odds with the Documentary Hypothesis, allows for the possibility that the composition of the books of Moses took place as late as ca. 273–269 BCE.

86. I conclude from source-critical studies of the early pseudepigrapha that the *Book of Watchers*, *Testament of Levi*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees* all utilized (and polemicized against) *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, which contained a reworked Genesis incorporating a history of the transmission of astrological Watcher lore from Enoch through the pre-flood and post-flood patriarchs down to Abraham and thence to the nations.

87. Milik dated the *Book of Watchers* to ca. 250 BCE based on comparison of the geographical data with the Zenon papyri (*The Books of Enoch*, 24–28). The paleography and orthography of 4QEn[a] (containing portions of *1 En.* 1–12) also point to the third century BCE; cf. F. García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic: Studies on the Aramaic Texts from Qumran* (Leiden: Brill, 1992), 71. G. Nickelsburg proposed that the violence of the giants in the *Book of Watchers* reflected political conditions during the Wars of the Diadochi (323–302 BCE); see "Apocalyptic and Myth in 1 Enoch 6–11," *JBL* 96 (1977): 383–405 (386–91). This theory is extremely doubtful, for it seems self-evident that the violence of the giants was a simple midrash on Gen 6:4–6, 11–13, in which the birth of the giants was immediately succeeded by a description of the wickedness and violence of the primordial world.

88. Demetrius the Chronographer's fragments document his use of Genesis, Exodus, Numbers and Kings. The title of his book (*On the Kings of Judea*) shows he was familiar with the chronological materials of the entire Primary History; in surviving fragments he presents calculations for the date of the flood, sojourn and the captivities under Sennacherib and Nebuchadnezzar. See generally Hanson, *OTP* 2:843–54.

89. See J. C. VanderKam, *Textual and Historical Studies in the Book of Jubilees* (Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 218–58, on allusions to Maccabean battles as late as 163 to 161 BCE in *Jubilees*, but this was disputed at R. Doran, "The Non-Dating of Jubilees: *Jub.* 34–38; 23:14–32 in Narrative Context," *JSJ* 20 (1989): 1–11. L. Finkelstein ("Pre-Maccabean Documents in the Passover Haggadah. Appendix: The Date of the Book of Jubilees," *HTR* 36 [1943]: 1–38 [19–24]) dated *Jubilees* to 175–167 BCE based on the polemics against public nudity (a reference to the naked competitors at the gymnasium constructed by Jason) and the lack of direct mention of the persecutions under Antiochus IV. A later date ca. 150 BCE still has some advocates (e.g. R. Pummer, "The Book of Jubilees and the Samaritans," *Église et Théologie* 10 [1979], 147–78 [154–57]; O. Wintermute, "Jubilees," *OTP* 2:35–142 [43–44]).

90. For the date of the *Apocalypse of Weeks*, see García Martínez, *Qumran and Apocalyptic*, 92. Each "week" in this document represents seven generations: week 1 (1–7) = Enoch (gen. 7), week 2 (8–14) = Noah (gen. 10), week 3 (15–21) = Abraham (gen. 20), week 4 (22–28) = Sinai (gen. 27), week 5 (29–35) = Solomon's temple (gen. 34), week 6 (36–42) = Elijah (gen. 38), week 7 (43–49) = the exile of Judah (gen. 47). Matt 1:1–17 had a similar scheme of weeks of generations, with 14 generations from Abraham to David, 14 from David to the exile, and 14 from the exile to Jesus.

91. For the date of the *Animal Apocalypse*, see Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 44; P. Tiller, *A Commentary on the Animal Apocalypse of 1 Enoch* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1993), 74. The *Animal Apocalypse* surveyed the entire biblical history from Genesis through Kings.

There is no external evidence whatever for the Pentateuch—or any written precursor of the Pentateuch—prior to the Septuagint translation, even when such evidence would be expected under the Documentary Hypothesis. Rather, one only has evidence as late as ca. 400 BCE of what Wellhausen called "Oral Torah," that is, an authority vested in the Jerusalem priesthood rather than in a written code of laws. The first evidence that the Jews attributed their laws to a figure called Moses appears in Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca* (320–315 BCE), but this book does not yet provide evidence for the existence of actual books of Moses. But with the Septuagint, the Pentateuch appears full-blown, in its present form. The absolute silence of external sources prior to the Septuagint translation regarding a written Jewish law contrasts with a proliferation of Jewish writings using the Pentateuch following on the heels of the Septuagint.

The result of this analysis is that the Septuagint translation gives a true *terminus ad quem* for the Pentateuch. The evaporation of the commonly perceived *terminus ad quem* evidence in Hecataeus of Abdera is especially significant, for it opens up the new possibility of literary influence on the Pentateuch from sources after Hecataeus in the period 315–269 BCE. It is only the shifting of the Pentateuch's *terminus ad quem* to ca. 273–269 BCE that allows the consideration of potential *terminus a quo* evidence from literary works between the time of Hecataeus and the Septuagint translation. As the following chapters demonstrate, several Greek works from this period had a substantial impact on the Pentateuch, notably Berossus and Manetho.

# Chapter 5

## BEROSSUS AND GENESIS

The opening chapters of Genesis show strong influence from Mesopotamian sources. Genesis 1–11 has been identified as belonging to the Mesopotamian literary genre of creation–flood accounts.[1] There appears to be a clear relationship between the accounts in Gen 1 and in *Enûma Elish*, the Babylonian creation story.[2] The account of the ten long-lived patriarchs before the flood has been compared to Sumerian lists of long-reigning kings who ruled before the flood, of which one list was also ten in number.[3] The story of the deluge at Gen 6–8 appears to descend from an ancient flood account closely related to that found in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11.[4] The Nimrod and Tower of Babel stories of Gen 10–11 also seem to have drawn on Mesopotamian sources (as yet unidentified).[5] The Mesopotamian traditions which influenced Gen 1–11 do not appear to have been originally linked with a single language, location or time, but were composed over several centuries in both Sumerian and Akkadian—although all are known to have been incorporated into the Babylonian literary corpus. The date and mechanism by which such ancient and varied Mesopotamian stories influenced the Jewish account in Genesis remains a matter of debate and investigation.

The dominant current explanation for the presence of ancient Mesopotamian elements in Gen 1–11 runs roughly as follows. Genesis shows no demonstrable influence by Mesopotamian literature older than 1500 BCE, which thus forms a *terminus a quo* for Mesopotamian influences reaching the Jews.[6] The Documentary Hypothesis dated the Yahwist (J) and Priestly (P) sources underlying Gen 1–11 to the ninth and fifth centuries BCE respectively, providing a *terminus ad quem* for these same influences.[7] According to this model, Mesopotamian

1. See n. 313 below.
2. See n. 20 below.
3. See n. 142 below.
4. See n. 157 below.
5. See nn. 179, 210 below.
6. So W. Lambert, "A New Look at the Babylonian Background of Genesis," in *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood": Ancient Near Eastern, Literary, and Linguistic Approaches to Genesis 1–11* (ed. R. Hess and D. Tsumura; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1994), 96–113 (109). Yet G. Komoróczy ("Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 21 [1973]: 125–52) showed several examples of Berossus drawing on ancient Sumerian traditions of 1600 BCE or earlier, some of which (notably Sumerian creation accounts) also appear to have influenced Genesis.
7. See H. Gunkel, *The Stories of Genesis* (trans. J. Scullion; Valejo, Calif.: BIBAL Press, 1994), 93–119, for an account of the Documentary Hypothesis as pertaining to Genesis.

influences must have been incorporated into Jewish oral traditions some time between the fifteenth and ninth centuries BCE. It is known that Babylonian (Akkadian) script and literature spread to the west by the fourteenth century BCE.[8] Local versions of *The Gilgamesh Epic* and other Mesopotamian literature have been found in the west dating to the El Amarna period.[9] It has therefore been suggested that some time around 1400 BCE Babylonian creation stories and flood stories reached the southern Levant and became part of local Canaanite oral tradition.[10] These oral traditions subsequently became part of Jewish national lore. In the tenth century, J incorporated Jewish versions of Babylonian myths into an early version of Genesis.[11] In the fifth century, when Genesis was presumed to have taken final form according to the Documentary Hypothesis, P added to Genesis a second strand of Jewish oral tradition similarly indebted to older Babylonian literary sources.[12]

The indebtedness of the current model of Mesopotamian influences on Genesis, as outlined above, to the Documentary Hypothesis has not been sufficiently appreciated in scholarly circles. The dating of J to the ninth century BCE limited the search for the source of Mesopotamian influences on Gen 1–11 to earlier centuries. This in turn implied a nearly direct influence of cuneiform sources on South Syrian traditions. In addition to the Documentary Hypothesis (itself unconfirmed by external evidence) one is also required to accept a hypothesized exposure of South Syria to a multiplicity of local Mesopotamian legends, the remarkable preservation of these same traditions over several centuries by Canaanite and Jewish oral tradition, and the independent incorporation of these same traditions into J and four centuries later into P. None of these stages of transmission are confirmed by external evidence, but rest alone on inferences from the final text of Gen 1–11. Remarkably, only ancient Mesopotamian primordial traditions were incorporated into Gen 1–11. Although the theory proposed the Canaanites as intermediaries of the Mesopotamian traditions, and although Canaanite legends show pervasive influence elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible,[13] there is no trace of Canaanite legend in Gen 1–11.[14] This should have

8. A. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 132.

9. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 109.

10. Although Lambert rejected the pan-Babylonian viewpoint of early Assyriologists and took into account the theoretical possibility that Babylonian myths might have been subject to Amorite influences, he nevertheless concluded that Gen 1–11 was indebted to Babylonian myths that could only have reached the west during the El Amarna age (the fourteenth century BCE). See Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 96–109; cf. W. Lambert and A. Millard, *Atra-Hasis: The Babylonian Story of the Flood* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1969), 24.

11. R. Clifford, *Creation Accounts in the Ancient Near East and in the Bible* (CBQ Monograph Series 26; Washington, D.C.: Catholic Biblical Association of America, 1994), 83.

12. Ibid., 201.

13. Canaanite influences have been detected in Psalms, Job, Isaiah, Jeremiah, Ezekiel and Amos; cf. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 151–76; C. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11: A Commentary* (trans. J. Scullion; Minneapolis: Augsburg, 1984), 32–33.

14. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 117–26, 137–50; R. Hess, "One Hundred and Fifty Years of Comparative Studies on Genesis 1–11: An Overview," 3–26 (14–15, 17), and D. Tsumura, "Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern Stories of Creation and Flood," 27–57 (32–33, 42), both in Hess and

been a warning sign that Gen 1–11 did not derive from local Canaanite oral traditions: that Gen 1–11 drew directly on unfiltered Mesopotamian materials.

The current chapter will explore a different hypothesis, that Berossus was the direct source of the Mesopotamian traditions that influenced early Genesis. Berossus was a Babylonian priest who, drawing extensively on cuneiform sources, wrote an account of Babylonian history from the dawn of time to Alexander's conquest—the *Babyloniaca*, published in 278 BCE. Berossus's writings in Book 1 drew on the same set of Mesopotamian mythological texts that influenced Genesis: *Enûma Elish*, *The Sumerian King List*, a flood account related to *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11, and others. Yet it has never been suggested or considered that Genesis might have been directly influenced at a late date by Berossus rather than earlier influenced by the assorted older sources Berossus utilized. The immediate advantages of a hypothesis of literary dependence on Berossus are that it requires exposure of the authors of Gen 1–11 to only a single Mesopotamian source; that this direct reading of Mesopotamian traditions would have been unfiltered by Canaanite traditions; that this reading would have been, not in Akkadian or Sumerian, but in Greek, a language known to educated Jews of the period;[15] and that Jewish knowledge of Greek literature (and specifically Berossus) in the third century BCE can be independently verified.[16]

Ignoring the possible influence of Berossus on the biblical text has a long and rich history. The church fathers noticed the strong parallels between Gen 1–11 and Berossus,[17] accounting for this by suggesting that Berossus borrowed from scripture.[18] They never considered the possibility that scripture may have borrowed from Berossus. This same oversight has continued unbroken down to modern times. That nineteenth- and twentieth-century scholarship ignored such an intrinsically plausible hypothesis obviously cannot be attributed to a lack of higher critical thinking, but to the extraordinary success of the Documentary Hypothesis, which became a conscious or unconscious premise among most trained scholars of that period. The dominance of the Documentary Hypothesis

Tsumura, eds., *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood."* Gunkel's proposed Canaanite influence on the Genesis creation account has been shown incorrect in light of analysis of Ugaritic finds and has no supporters today. Cf. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 32–33; Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 96–100. Westermann (*Genesis 1–11*, 369) suggested that the "sons of God" who fathered giants from the daughters of men at Gen 6:2 were based on Canaanite myth, which also knew of the "sons of El"; but at *Genesis 1–11*, 378, Westermann himself noted that the half-human, half-god gigantic offspring of this union were reminiscent of the giant Gilgamesh who was two thirds god and one third human, suggesting a Mesopotamian influence at Gen 6:2.

15. M. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (trans. J. Bowden; 2 vols.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1:58–78, 103–7.

16. For Jewish knowledge of Greek literature, see Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:88–107; for Jewish knowledge of Berossus see n. 327 below.

17. W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks Research Library and Collection, 1989), 30–31, 35, 139; Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 23.35–28.2 (Mosshammer); Eusebius, *Chronicle* 10.13 (Karst).

18. Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 16.19–20; 23.35–24.2; 32.8 (Mosshammer).

required that critical thinking on Genesis sources focus exclusively on the centuries leading up to 850–450 BCE, when the Pentateuch was believed to have taken shape. This preoccupation with earlier centuries excluded the time when Berossus was written as having possibly influenced the composition of the Pentateuch. Yet the first external witness to the Pentateuch is the Septuagint translation of 273–269 BCE.[19] Influence on Gen 1–11 by Berossus's *Babyloniaca*, published and disseminated in 278 BCE, thus cannot be excluded. In what follows, Gen 1–11 will be compared against Berossus and the more ancient Mesopotamian sources to see if the Jewish primordial history could have been derived in its entirety from Berossus, and to determine whether Gen 1–11 lies closer to Berossus or to the older original cuneiform sources.

## 1. *Creation*

The creation account in Gen 1–2 is widely considered to be dependent on *Enûma Elish*, a Babylonian creation story of the fourteenth to twelfth centuries BCE, surviving in fragments datable to the tenth to sixth centuries BCE.[20] It is certain that Berossus likewise based his story of creation on *Enûma Elish*.[21] Berossus said that Oannes, an *apkallu* or primordial sage from before the flood, revealed the origins of the universe to humankind.[22] The story he tells "accords with the *Enûma Elish* to a remarkable degree."[23]

*Enûma Elish* opens with an account of the origin of the gods. The first gods were Apsu (the fresh waters) and Tiamat (the primordial sea). The other gods, including Marduk (Bel) descended from these two. The creation of the universe was preceded by a battle between Tiamat and Marduk in which Tiamat was defeated and slain. Marduk cut Tiamat in two and set up a prop between the two halves, thereby separating the waters above from the waters below. Marduk then created dry land, the luminaries and finally humans. The creation sequence in *Enûma Elish* is very close to that in Gen 1–2,[24] but not exact enough to show direct dependency.[25]

19. See Chapter 4, §4 above.

20. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 13; G. Verbrugghe and J. Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho, Introduced and Translated: Native Traditions in Ancient Mesopotamia and Egypt* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1996), 16.

21. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 78, 81.

22. The figure of Oannes in Berossus was based on the *apkallu* Uan or Uan-adapa. See Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 236–39. The *apkallu* Adapa was credited with writing books of primordial wisdom (Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 209–13).

23. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 78. According to S. Burstein, Oannes' account of creation was "essentially a paraphrase of the *Enûma Elish*" (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus* [2d ed.; SANE 1, fasc. 5; Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1978], 7).

24. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 129; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 89; Hess, "Comparative Studies on Genesis 1–11," 10.

25. "Attempts to show that Gen 1 is directly dependent on *Enûma Elish* cannot be judged successful" (Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 140). Cf. Tsumura, "Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern Stories," 31–32.

Both Genesis and *Enûma Elish* open with a primal watery chaos, although in the latter these waters were equated with the divine personages Apsu (the fresh waters), Tiamat (the salt water ocean) and Mummu (the mist or clouds).[26] These figures were also found in Berossus, who explicitly equated Tiamat ("Thalatth") with the sea ("Thalassa").[27] In Genesis, *Enûma Elish* and Berossus, light existed in the universe prior to the creation of the heavenly luminaries; in Genesis, God created light, while light emanated from the god Marduk in *Enûma Elish* and from Bel (i.e. Marduk) in Berossus.[28] The first act of creation in Genesis, *Enûma Elish* and Berossus was the division of the waters above from the waters below to create a firmament.[29] Significantly, Berossus is the only example apart from Gen 1 and *Enûma Elish* in which the sky was created by dividing a body of water.[30] In all three, the dry land was then created.[31] In Genesis and *Enûma Elish*, the luminaries were then created, followed by humans.[32] In Berossus, humans were next created, then the luminaries; however, it is important to take into account the fact that we lack the entire original account of Berossus and have to rely on the abridged excerpts of Alexander Polyhistor,[33] who may have reversed the original sequence here.

In summary, virtually every detail the Genesis creation account shares with *Enûma Elish*, it also shares with Berossus. All the arguments for a dependency of Genesis on *Enûma Elish* therefore equally support a dependency of Genesis on Berossus. In addition, Berossus has several parallels with Genesis which *Enûma Elish* lacks.

In his preface, Berossus said his book contained the translation into Greek of Babylonian "histories of the sky, the earth and the sea, of creation, and of the kings and their deeds."[34] This table of contents has significant affinities with the opening words of Genesis: "In the beginning, God formed the heavens [sky] and the earth." Besides the specific phrase, "heavens and earth," both Genesis and Berossus also contained the notion of creation as birth. Westermann points out that at Gen 2:4a, heavens and earth were "begotten."[35] In Berossus, the word for

26. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 97.

27. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]).

28. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 101–2.

29. Ibid., 114–15.

30. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 103–4. "While the world was in this state, Bel rose up against the woman and cut her in half. Out of the first half he made the earth and out of the second the heavens... But then Bel, whose name is translated into Greek as Zeus, cut through the darkness and separated the sky and the earth from one another and established order in the universe." Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]).

31. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 116.

32. Ibid., 117–19.

33. Berossus *FGrH* 680 FF 1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 28 [Mosshammer]), 4b (Syncellus *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]).

34. "The history of the sky and the sea, of creation, and of the kings and of their deeds," Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 28 [Mosshammer]); "Stories about the sky, the earth, and the sea, about the ancient history of the kings and their deeds," Berossus *FGrH* 680 T8b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 14 [Mosshammer]). T8b omitted creation.

35. Gen 2:4 reads: "This is the *toledoth* [generation] of the sky and the earth when they were created"; cf. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 16. *Enûma Elish* and Berossus both began with a theogony,

creation means, literally, "first birth."[36] It may therefore be suggested that Gen 1:1 borrowed from Berossus. One may also note that Berossus entitled his first book "Genesis" or "Creation" ("*Procreatio*").[37]

Berossus later related that Bel (i.e. Marduk, the sun-god) "cut through the darkness and separated the sky and the earth."[38] Similarly, at Gen 1:4 "God divided the light from the darkness." Here there are parallels both in a second mention of darkness (although often considered an interpolation[39]) and the conception of division. The conception of creation in Genesis as a series of separations[40] may have drawn on Berossus.

Only Genesis and Berossus also mentioned the creation of animals; *Enûma Elish* omitted this detail.[41] An interesting feature of the Genesis account is that all created animal life reproduced "after its own kind."[42] This was emphasized to the point of repetition. This may represent a specific polemic against the Mesopotamian tradition that the earliest animals included monsters of a composite nature: man-birds; man-goats; man-horses; man-fish; dog-horses, "and many other amazing creatures that had the appearance of two different animals combined."[43] These composite creatures figured prominently in Berossus, in *Enûma Elish* and in Mesopotamian sculpture.[44] If the Genesis creation of animals reproducing "after their kind" was a polemic against Mesopotamian literature, this suggests an awareness of Berossus by the authors of Gen 1–11.

According to Gen 2:2–3, after the creation of the universe in six days, God rested from his labors on the seventh day, the sabbath.[45] It is widely believed that this "sabbath of the gods" was dependent on Mesopotamian traditions.[46] According to *The Atrahasis Epic*, after the universe was created, the gods had to do all the manual work digging canals and raising crops. The labor of the gods

in which successive generations of primeval gods mated and bore offspring. Genesis did not entirely suppress this concept: the use of the word *toledoth* to describe creation echoed the theogonies of Babylon, Greece, Egypt and other nations.

36. Burstein (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 6) προτογονίας, "the first birth" or "creation."

37. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F17 (*Commentary on Aratus* 142–43 [Maass]); cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 6; Verbrugghe and Wickersham (*Berossos and Manetho*, 15) commented that "*Procreatio* (*The Creation*)...would be the translation of the Greek title *Genesis*." Burstein (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 6, 13) also interpreted *Procreatio* as *Genesis* and noted that "implicit in the title is the idea that creation took place by birth" (p. 13 n. 1).

38. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 28 [Mosshammer]).

39. P. Schnabel, *Berossus und die Babylonisch-Hellenistische Literatur* (Leipzig: Teubner, 1923), 156; Lambert, *Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 15; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 14 n. 11; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 45 n. 5.

40. Gen 1:4 (light from darkness), 6–7 (earth from sky), 9 (dry land from water), 14 (day from night).

41. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 118.

42. Gen 1:11–12, 21, 24–25.

43. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 29–30 [Mosshammer]).

44. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]) said that representations of these composite creatures were preserved in a frieze in the temple of Bel. Composite creatures were mentioned in *Enûma Elish* 1.139–42; 2.26–28; 3.31–33, 89–91.

45. Gen 2:2–3. This etiology of the sabbath was repeated at Exod 20:9–11.

46. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 107.

was so excessive that they were ready to revolt,[47] until Enki (or Marduk in *Enûma Elish*) created humans to bear the load of the gods.[48] Once primeval humans were created and the toil of the gods was imposed on them, the gods could be at leisure.[49] In Gen 2:15 humans were created to tend to God's garden in Eden, in accordance to Mesopotamian ideas.[50] Given Berossus's extensive excerpts from *Enûma Elish*[51] and his probable knowledge of a flood story related to *The Atrahasis Epic*,[52] it is likely that he also explained the purpose of humanity's creation as giving the gods rest from their labors (in a passage not preserved by Alexander Polyhistor).

Berossus's *Babyloniaca* thus certainly contained all the elements of *Enûma Elish* that influenced the creation account, and possibly also contained significant additional parallels. It is therefore legitimate to question whether the Genesis creation account was based on oral traditions going back to 1400 BCE, as the current model requires. It is difficult to find a natural explanation for the hypothetical migration of *Enûma Elish* to the west in ca. 1400 BCE. To begin with, *Enûma Elish* was not even the normative Babylonian cosmology.[53] The Babylonians more commonly conceived of the universe as originating with the earth, not primordial waters.[54] This was the standard Mesopotamian tradition as represented by *The Atrahasis Epic* and the earlier Sumerian text *Enki and Ninmeh*.[55] One must ask why, out of all the rival creation accounts now known from early Mesopotamia, *Enûma Elish* spread to the west in the El Amarna age.

Lambert described the *Enûma Elish* creation account as "sectarian and aberrant."[56] *Enûma Elish* was a religious text specifically associated with the cult of Marduk, localized in Babylon.[57] The purpose of the text was to explain why Marduk, patron of the city of Babylon, had been promoted over the rest of the gods. It is difficult to envision how or why *Enûma Elish* would have spread

47. *Enûma Elish* 6.8, 34, 36; *The Atrahasis Epic* 1.1–6, 33–45, 145–46, 176–81; *Enki and Ninmeh* 8–11.

48. *Enûma Elish* 6.6–8, 12, 36, 130; *Enki and Ninmeh* 23, 30, 37; VAT 17019; cf. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 40–41, 63, 69; A. Millard, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," in Hess and Tsumura, eds., *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood,"* 114–28 (118–20).

49. *Enûma Elish* 6.7–9; cf. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 107; Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 127–28.

50. Millard, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," 119–20; P. Miller, "Eridu, Dunnu and Babel: A Study in Comparative Mythology," in Hess and Tsumura, eds., *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood,"* 143–68 (155).

51. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 16, 46 n. 7; Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 5, 14 n. 10; Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 111 and n. 46.

52. See Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 19 n. 48, on the "eclectic" character of Berossus's flood story. Sterling (*Historiography and Self-Definition*, 112) noted that Berossus probably recited a version of the flood story related to the *Epic of Ziusudra* rather than *The Gilgamesh Epic*, with which Berossus's story had significant differences.

53. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 100.

54. Ibid., 102.

55. Ibid., 107.

56. Ibid., 100.

57. On the association of *Enûma Elish* with the Marduk cult, see generally Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 10–17.

outside the bounds of Mesopotamia, or have been incorporated into Canaanite or Jewish mythology (especially in light of the fact that surviving Canaanite cosmogonies lack discernible Mesopotamian influence[58]). Significantly, no fragments have been found in Syria or Palestine, or indeed outside of Mesopotamia. Rather, *Enûma Elish* comes down to us in one relatively complete copy from the library of Assurbanipal in Nineveh, and from other fragments found at Assur, Kish and Uruk.

During the Late Babylonian period and Seleucid times, *Enûma Elish* possessed increased significance and authority in the city of Babylon, where it was recited yearly at the Babylonian New Year's festival, the Akitu.[59] Even then, it was recited only in Babylon, not any other Akitu house of any other city.[60] Berossus was a priest of Bel-Marduk at Babylon during this period.[61] For Berossus, *Enûma Elish* would therefore have been the definitive creation epic. Berossus would have had easy access to this text in the royal and temple libraries at which he conducted research.[62] It is therefore perfectly understandable why Berossus, with his explicitly Babylonian chauvinism, chose to translate (paraphrase) this particular creation text into Greek for his readers. It may reasonably be questioned whether *Enûma Elish* was known outside of Mesopotamia prior to its publication in the context of the *Babyloniaca* by Berossus. While the transmission of *Enûma Elish* during the El Amarna age is entirely hypothetical and problematic, the dissemination of *Enûma Elish* by means of the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus presents no historical difficulties. The reliance of Genesis on Berossus explains in a natural manner why *Enûma Elish* rather than other Mesopotamian creation accounts had a decisive influence on the biblical account.

### 2. *Darkness and Water*

A controversial parallel between Berossus and Genesis regards the primeval darkness. Berossus stated that the primordial universe consisted of nothing but "darkness and water."[63] This wording differs from *Enûma Elish*, where only the primordial waters were mentioned,[64] but closely resembles the statement that "darkness was on the face of the deep" at Gen 1:2. Schnabel and others following him have considered the mention of "darkness" in Berossus to have been a Judaeo-Christian interpolation based on Genesis,[65] since it resembled Genesis

58. See n. 14 above.

59. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 16; Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 14 n. 10.

60. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 104.

61. Berossus *FGrH* 680 T9 (Seneca, *Questions About Science* 3.29.1).

62. Berossus *FGrH* 680 T3 (Josephus, *Apion* 1.129–30). Berossus drew on "ancient writings"; T3 (Tertullian, *The Defense* 19.5–6) "archives of the gentiles"; T4 (Moses Xorenazi, *History of Armenia* 1.1) "works housed in the royal archives and temples"; T8b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 14 [Mosshammer]) "public records."

63. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 29 [Mosshammer]); cf. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 105.

64. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 101.

65. Schnabel, *Berossus*, 155; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 14 n. 11; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 45 n. 5; Lambert, *Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 15.

rather than *Enûma Elish*, Berossus's major source. Clearly there is some relationship between Genesis and the current text of Berossus. Whether Berossus borrowed from Genesis or Genesis borrowed from Berossus can only be determined through a close analysis of the relevant passage in Berossus, which began:

> There was, he says, a time when the universe was only *darkness and water*, and in it there were wondrous beings... There were also horses with dogs heads, men and other creatures with heads and bodies of horses, men with tails of fish, and all sorts of creatures who had the forms of all sorts of animals...and many other amazing creatures that had the appearance of two different animals combined. Their images are preserved one next to the other in the temple of Bel. Over all these a woman had control, named Omorka, who in Chaldean is named Thalatth (Tiamat), but in Greek her name is translated as Thalassa (i.e. Sea) or, with the same value of the letters in the name, Selene (i.e. Moon).[66]

The dependence of this account of *Enûma Elish* is evident. There, too, before the creation of heaven and earth there existed a primordial female creature named Tiamat, that is, the ocean. Inside Tiamat lived her army of allies, terrifying monsters and composite creatures who were enlisted in her war against Marduk (*Enûma Elish* 1.133–42). The name Omorka—deriving from a Sumerian word meaning deluge or flood—also derived from *Enûma Elish*.[67] Two details in the above account differed from *Enûma Elish*. First, while *Enûma Elish* featured the primordial ocean, represented by Tiamat, it did not mention darkness. The latter was an addition, either by Berossus or by someone who later altered the text to conform to Genesis. The second difference is that Berossus equated Tiamat with Selene (the Moon), whose numeric value in Greek was the same as Omorka, namely, 301.[68] This addition appears to originate with Berossus, who elsewhere also sets up equations between Babylonian and Greek deities.[69] Further, although Tiamat was central to the story of *Enûma Elish*, her equation with the flood (whom Berossus transforms into a goddess "Omorka") is extremely strained and appears motivated by the numerical equivalence of Omorka and Selene. It was a common conception that the Moon ruled the night as the Sun ruled the day.[70] Berossus's dual translation of Tiamat as Thalassa (the Sea) and Selene (the Moon) thus correlates with his description of the universe beginning in water

Water alone was mentioned at Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 11.41.457b–c): "They say that everything originally was water and was called Thalassa."

66. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]).

67. Komoróczy, "Berossus and the Mesopotamian Literature," 132–33, citing *Enûma Elish* 2.100–101.

68. Ibid., 132 n. 39.

69. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]) translated Bel as Zeus; F4b (Syncellus *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]) substituted Kronos for Enki; F12 (Agathias, *Histories* 2.4) equated Zeus with Bel, Aphrodite with Anaitas (cf. F11 [Clement of Alexandria, *Exhortation* 5.65.3]).

70. Gen 1:16; at *Enûma Elish* 5.12–22, the night was entrusted to the moon, and her phases were likened to a tiara or crown, suggesting the imagery of moon as queen. Berossus's theory of the phases of the moon (*FGrH* 680 F20 [Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.2.1–2]) was likely based on this very passage; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 16 n. 21, and literature cited there.

and darkness, which suggests that the primordial darkness also derived from Berossus, though not directly from *Enûma Elish*.[71]

The passage in Berossus continued:

> While the world was in this state, Bel rose up against the woman and cut her in half. Out of the first half he made the earth and out of the second the heavens. The animals who were in her he destroyed. All this, he says, is an allegorical explanation. For when *all was water* and only monsters were in it, the god cut off his own head, and the other gods mixed the flood of blood with earth and created men. Because of this men have reason and share in the gods' wisdom.[72]

This again derived for the most part from *Enûma Elish*, which described the battle between Bel-Marduk and Tiamat. Marduk, after his victory over Tiamat and her legions (*Enûma Elish* 4.93–132), split Tiamat in two to form heaven and earth (4.137–45). In *Enûma Elish*, Marduk had Kingu, Tiamat's general, beheaded, creating humans from the spilled blood; according to the passage quoted above, which seems obviously corrupt,[73] Marduk cut off his own head to create humans. The above passage also envisions a time when "all was water" with no mention of darkness as in *Enûma Elish*. This Berossan tradition of a primordial world consisting of "water" alone is thought to imply that the earlier description of the universe beginning in "darkness and water" cannot have reflected Berossus's original text.

The above passage, while closely following *Enûma Elish*, also has Berossan additions. Berossus claimed—in an assertion not paralleled in cuneiform inscriptions—that the battle between Bel-Marduk and Tiamat was allegorical. He partially explained the allegory by interpreting the creation of humans from a beheaded god to signify humanity's reason and godlike wisdom. The rest of the allegory was not explained in the above passage.

Berossus continued:

> But then Bel, whose name is translated into Greek as Zeus, cut through the darkness and separated the sky and the earth from one another and established order in the universe. The monsters could not endure the light and were destroyed. Bel, however, as he saw an empty and barren region, gave an order to one of the gods to cut off his own head and mix earth with the flowing blood and to create men and the animals that could breathe the air.[74]

This passage was a doublet of the one preceding—the only such doublet in preserved fragments of Berossus.[75] This second version was closer to *Enûma Elish*

71. Note, however, that the gods allied with Tiamat desired only sleep (*Enûma Elish* 1.23–26, 34–40), and for this reason sought to destroy the noisy gods outside who disturbed their rest (*Enûma Elish* 1.39–40, 49–50). This suggests an original, ancient association of Tiamat with the realm of night and sleep. The motif of slumbering gods also appeared in the Flood story, where humanity's noise upset the gods. See n. 92 below.

72. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]).

73. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 87.

74. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]).

75. Burstein (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 15 n. 16) expressed perplexity at why Berossus included this variant tradition.

in that Bel-Marduk instructed another god to behead himself so that humans could be created. At the same time, there were several distinctive Berossan additions. Berossus equated Bel with Zeus. He equated the woman Tiamat with "darkness"—although this is widely considered a second Judaeo-Christian interpolation designed to bring the account into conformity with Genesis. Berossus also described the destruction of the monsters by means of the unendurable light, a point to which we shall return shortly. As a result of the death of all the creatures inside slain Tiamat, the interior of Tiamat was said to have become lifeless, requiring the creation of new life. Berossus had Bel-Marduk create both humans and animals (*Enûma Elish* had only the creation of humans). Finally, Berossus described these newly created humans and animals as beings that "breathe the air," in apparent contrast to the former creatures within Tiamat who lived in a realm of water.

Some of these added details obviously derived from Berossus's close reading of *Enûma Elish*. While *Enûma Elish* did not describe the destruction of Tiamat's monsters by unendurable light, it did describe Marduk's brightness and radiance in his character as sun-god.[76] And while *Enûma Elish* did not describe humans as an air-breathing creation (cf. Gen 2:7, in which God breathed the breath of life into Adam), *Enûma Elish* said Marduk destroyed Tiamat by filling her up with the seven winds (*Enûma Elish* 4.42–47, 96–100, 132). It was thus the introduction of air into watery Tiamat that effected her death in *Enûma Elish*. In Berossus, *Enûma Elish* was interpreted cosmologically: when Tiamat was cut open and separated in two, creating heaven and earth, light and air poured into a realm which had previously consisted only of darkness and water. The destruction of the monsters by the radiant light of Marduk's presence makes no sense without darkness earlier ruling the watery deeps inside Tiamat. This suggests that the detail of darkness, though absent in *Enûma Elish*, was indeed to be found in Berossus.

The above analysis suggests that the second version of Marduk's victory over Tiamat and Marduk's creation of heaven, earth and humanity did not reflect a variant cuneiform tradition,[77] but rather simply Berossus's expanded explanation of *Enûma Elish*. This observation may help to explain why a "doublet" occurs here in the *Babyloniaca*. Berossus appears to have first simply recounted the tradition found in *Enûma Elish*. Berossus then undertook to explain this tradition in cosmological terms, albeit somewhat repetitively. That this is the correct understanding of the original function of the "doublet" is supported by Berossus's statement that "all this is an allegorical explanation," which may be taken as a declaration of Berossus's intent to explain the creation of the world in *Enûma Elish* as an allegory. The outline of the allegory seems clear enough: the

76. *Enûma Elish* 1.102–4 ("son of the sun-god, and sun-god of the go[ds]: he was clothed with the rays of ten gods, exceedingly powerful was he..."); cf. Heidel, *The Babylonian Genesis*, 101–2. Compare *Assurbanipal's Acrostic Hymn to Marduk and Zarpanitu* 34 ("Marduk, the flaring sun, light-giving lantern..."), quoted in A. Livingstone, ed., *Court Poetry and Literary Miscellanea* (Helsinki: Helsinki University Press, 1989).

77. As suggested by Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 46 n. 7.

primordial conflict between Tiamat and Bel-Marduk was interpreted as symbolizing the battle between darkness and light, with light victorious over darkness and her minions.[78] In a more concrete cosmological allegory, Tiamat represented the moon which ruled the realm of night, while Marduk, who slew Tiamat's army with his brightness, likely represented the sun which ruled the realm of day. As noted above, Berossus may have found a basis for his allegorical interpretation in *Enûma Elish* 1.102–4, which described Marduk in terminology appropriate to the sun.

An important implication of this analysis is that the interpretation of Tiamat as representing both water and darkness is authentic and was original to Berossus. The interpretation of Tiamat as darkness was indeed absent in *Enûma Elish* but was central to Berossus's symbolic interpretation of *Enûma Elish* as a cosmological allegory. The description of the primordial universe as darkness and water in Genesis did not derive directly from *Enûma Elish*, but was strikingly similar to the expansion of *Enûma Elish* seen only in Berossus.

### 3. *The Garden of Eden*

According to Gen 1–2, creation was a paradise, and man's created state was that of ruler of paradise.[79] Man in the Garden of Eden was like one of the animals. The animals were his companions.[80] He ate the herbs of the field like the other animals.[81] He was naked and without shame or fear.[82] He ruled as king, his dominion being all of nature.[83]

A very similar picture of primitive humans exists in early Sumerian stories of creation. There, too, humans were naked, living like the animals, eating grass.[84] Yet in Mesopotamian literature, this primitive natural state was portrayed as an utterly miserable way of life. As in Genesis, there were also no snakes or other natural enemies for humans, nor any reason for fear or terror. There were also "not yet" irrigation canals, agriculture or flocks to provide wool for clothes.[85]

78. Perhaps this idea also carried over into Berossus's astronomical theories. Berossus reportedly explained the phases of the moon as follows: "When, however, it passes its orbit under the orbit of the sun, the moon is overcome by the sun's rays and the force of its heat." See Berossus *FGrH* 680 F20 (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.2.1).

79. Gen 1–2 focused primarily on man's creation, secondarily on woman's, a terminology adopted in the current section for the sake of convenience.

80. Gen 2:18–20.

81. Gen 1:30; 9:3.

82. Gen 2:25.

83. Gen 1:26, 28; 9:2.

84. *Dispute Between Cattle and Grain* 16–17, 22–23; cf. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 40–45; Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 140–42; T. Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," in Hess and Tsumura, eds., *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood,"* 129–42 (132); Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 111; Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 202–6. As noted in Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 140–42, this tradition was not found in Akkadian, so Berossus drew on older Sumerian sources.

85. Miller, "Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel," 150: "The reconstructed creation section of the Eridu Genesis (UET 6.61), which describes the initial situation in 'not yet' terms (that is, no canal, no

Nor were there kings to build cities and temples. The gods Ninmeh and Enki took pity on humankind and revealed to them the arts of civilization. They sent to them a king with a divine scepter to establish cities, the first being Eridu. As a result, humankind multiplied and prospered.

There appears to be a genetic relationship between the biblical account of paradise and *The Sumerian Flood Story*. The account of the primeval world in Genesis followed the same basic outline as *The Sumerian Flood Story*: first creation of primitive humanity, then the rise of civilization and founding of cities, and finally a flood that wiped out almost all humankind.[86] One telling detail is that the first city in the book of Genesis was named after Enoch's son Irad,[87] "a name that is strikingly similar to Eridu."[88] Yet although the biblical account of paradise and the rise of culture in the pre-flood world appear to have derived from *The Sumerian Flood Story*, the outlooks were decidedly different. In both, there was a clash of nature against culture.[89] In *The Sumerian Flood Story*, humanity's primitive animal-like existence was miserable and pathetic, while the gifts of civilization were occasions for joy. But in Genesis, nature was paradise, while culture, a product of the tree of knowledge, was evil and corrupting.[90]

Indeed, the Genesis account appears to contain systematic polemics directed against *The Sumerian Flood Story*. Humankind's life with their animal companions, naked and without knowledge of the elementary arts of civilization, was natural and good, not deplorable. Humanity did not benefit by obtaining knowledge from the gods: rather, this first sin constituted a fall from a state of innocence and paradise. Knowledge of the arts of civilization was evil, not a boon. Agriculture was a curse,[91] not a blessing. An expanding population was a blessing, not a curse.[92] Kings were not a benefit conferred on humankind and a

ditches, no plow, no wool) is much closer in style and formulation to the opening part of the Yahwistic Genesis account."

86. Cf. Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," 138–42.

87. Gen 4:13–18.

88. R. Wilson, *Genealogy and History in the Biblical World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977), 139; cf. Miller, "Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel," 157–58. If Berossus mentioned Eridu, he likely did so in conjunction with a paraphrase of *The Sumerian Flood Story*. A minor difficulty is that while *The Sumerian Flood Story* had Eridu as the first city established by the gods, Berossus made the same claim for his native Babylon (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3b [Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 40 (Mosshammer)]). Burstein (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 18 n. 29) suggested that Berossus substituted Babylon for Eridu as the first city based on *Enûma Elish*. It is possible that Berossus reported both traditions.

89. Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," 138.

90. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 115 n. 66: "Genesis also begins with paradise and then works downwards. We could speak of de-evolution rather than evolution." Cf. Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," 142.

91. Gen 3:17–19.

92. At Gen 1:28; 9:1 humans were told to be fruitful and multiply. In *The Sumerian Flood Story* and *The Atrahasis Epic*, it was overpopulation (and the resulting unbearable noise of humankind's activity that kept the gods awake) that led to the gods sending a flood to eradicate humankind. See *The Atrahasis Epic* 1.352–59; 2.1–8; *The Poem of Erra* 1.41–42, 73, 82; 4.64; cf. Hess, "Comparative Studies on Genesis 1–11," 22–23 and n. 100; Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," 140; Millard, "A

mark of civilization. Rather, primitive man in the Garden of Eden was already king over all creation,[93] but with knowledge humankind fell to a state of servitude.[94] In Gen 4:20–22, though we see advances in the arts of civilization, these were all attributed to the wicked line of Cain. There is thus a systematic contrast between Genesis and the Mesopotamian literature with respect to the status of humankind. Genesis listed no kings before the flood, while in Mesopotamian literature, kings were sent from heaven directly after humanity's creation in order to confer on humans the benefits of civilization.[95] The Mesopotamian literature saw humankind progressing by means of revelations of the arts of civilization by the gods. In Genesis, humankind was corrupted from his original state of innocence by these same arts, as concretely represented by the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.[96]

*The Sumerian Flood Story* has been reconstructed from two fragments in Sumerian dating to about 1600 BCE and a bilingual fragment in Sumerian and Akkadian from Assurbanipal's library, ca. 600 BCE. The first two Sumerian fragments contained the account of pitiful primitive humankind and of the gods giving primitive humans knowledge of the arts of civilization. The third bilingual text has been tentatively identified as containing the conclusion of *The Sumerian Flood Story*. This fragment contained an account of the first cities and of the flood. It seems unlikely that the account of primitive humankind penetrated South Syria in its Sumerian version. Nor are translations of the account into Akkadian known until the time of Assurbanipal. That Berossus drew on the ancient Mesopotamian tradition for his *Babyloniaca* is certain, for he said that the first humans "lived without discipline and order, just like the animals."[97] While it is difficult to explain how South Syrians before 1100 BCE could have become acquainted with the traditions in *The Sumerian Flood Story*, such difficulties disappear if the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus was the immediate source behind Genesis.

New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," 121–23; Tsumura, "Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern Stories," 46–47; A. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic and Old Testament Parallels* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1946), 225–26. T. Frymer-Kensky ("The Tribulations of Marduk," 150) contrasted Genesis and *The Atrahasis Epic* on whether population was good or bad.

93. Gen 1:26, 28. Man's creation in the image of the gods at Gen 1:26 conveys the idea of primordial man as king. In Mesopotamian literature, the king was said to be the image of God (see D. Cline, "The Image of God in Man," *TynBul* 19 [1968]: 53–103 [80–85]; cf. Tsumura, "Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern Stories," 34).

94. Gen 3:16–19.

95. The contrast between scripture and Berossus with respect to the existence of kingdoms in the antediluvian period was emphasized at Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 14.15–17; 42.24–26 (Mosshammer); cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 106, 112, 138–40.

96. Jacobsen, "The Eridu Genesis," 142: "The 'Eridu Genesis' takes throughout, as will have been noticed, an affirmative and optimistic view of existence; it believes in progress... In the biblical account it is the other way around. Things began as perfect from God's hand and grew then steadily worse through humanity's sinfulness..."

97. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 29 [Mosshammer]); cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 13 n. 5.

## 4. *Eden and the Gilgamesh Epic*

The story of the Garden of Eden and certain other tales in Gen 1–11 share a number of motifs in *The Gilgamesh Epic*.[98] Gilgamesh was an early king of the Sumerian city Uruk (Erech at Gen 10:10) about whom numerous legends grew.[99] Two-thirds god and one-third human, a giant, he traveled the known world with his companion Enkidu, battling monsters. Enkidu, also a son of the gods, was a wild man who dwelt, naked, among the wild animals, speaking their language, drinking beside them at the watering hole.[100] As such, he strongly recalls Adam, living naked in Eden, with animals his only companions.[101] The gods sent Enkidu a courtesan—a goddess in disguise, actually—as temptress to seduce Enkidu and civilize him.[102] Playing Eve to Enkidu's Adam, she beguiled Enkidu with her charms and caused him to leave the animal world.[103] She taught him to wear clothes and trained him in other aspects of civilization.[104] Then she brought him to Uruk, the great city, where he met Gilgamesh and—after a huge battle, in which Enkidu was bested—became his closest friend.[105]

The parallels between Enkidu and Adam, the courtesan and Eve, have long been noted.[106] The subsequent adventures of Gilgamesh and Enkidu, slaying the monster Humbaba (guardian of the forests of Lebanon), the great Bull of Heaven, and lions and other wild animals as well, eventually migrated to the Greek world as the Labors of Hercules.[107] Gilgamesh and Enkidu soon became a nuisance to the gods by killing their monsters, chopping down the gods' cedars in Lebanon and so forth. (Here we have a probable parallel with Gen 6:2–5, which speaks of the sons of god cohabiting with the daughters of men and the troublesome violence of their gigantic offspring.[108]) It was therefore decreed that

98. For the text of *The Gilgamesh Epic*, see Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic*; Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*; M. Kovack, *The Epic of Gilgamesh* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1989); B. Foster, D. Frayne and G. Beckman, *The Epic of Gilgamesh: A New Translation, Analogues, Criticism* (New York: Norton, 2001). This book's numbering follows Heidel.

99. See Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 13–16, on Gilgamesh as a deified Sumerian king of Uruk, and 23–28 on the early Sumerian tales about Gilgamesh later incorporated into *The Gilgamesh Epic*.

100. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 1.2.36–41; 3.6, 33; Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 140–42, on the Sumerian motif of primitive man as beast in the description of Enkidu.

101. Gen 2:20.

102. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 1.3.19–22, 41–44, 46; 4.6–23.

103. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 1.4.34–37; 2.2.3–18; 5.7–12.

104. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 2.2.27–30; 3.1–27; 7.3.38.

105. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 2.6.12–23.

106. Note *The Gilgamesh Epic* 1.4.35–35, where the courtesan tells Enkidu, "[Wi]se art thou, O Enkidu, like a god art thou; why dost thou run around with the animals on the steppe?" (cf. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 2.2.11).

107. The extensive parallels between Hercules and Gilgamesh were discussed at B. Brundage, "Heracles the Levantine: A Comprehensive View," *JNES* 17 (1958): 225–36 (226–28).

108. The Mesopotamian gods were giants (see nn. 284–85 below), and so their offspring were also of gigantic stature. (This motif was also seen in Hercules, who was of extraordinary size; cf. Apollodorus *Library* 2.4.9; Gellius, *Attic Nights* 1.1; Herodorus *FGrH* 31 F19 [Scholiast on Pindar, *Isthmian Odes* 2.87; Tzetzes, *On Lycrophon* 663; *Chiliades* 2.210].)

one of them should die, despite their being offspring of the gods. The gods chose between Gilgamesh and Enkidu; Enkidu fell tragically ill and died.

The sequel closely parallels the story of Cain and Abel. Gilgamesh was so saddened by the death of his "brother" Enkidu[109] and distraught at the idea of his own mortality[110] that he became a wanderer, walking from land to land, clad in his lion skin (like Hercules in exile from Thebes). In one passage of *The Gilgamesh Epic*, a barmaid locked the doors to keep Gilgamesh out, fearing from his strange appearance and expression that he was a murderer.[111] (It is conceivable that in some earlier version of the story, Gilgamesh slew Enkidu, and for this reason went into exile.[112]) All this was echoed in the biblical account of Cain's wandering after the murder of Abel.[113]

At the end of his wanderings in the east, Gilgamesh reached the waters at the ends of the world (the Persian Gulf?) and commissioned a boat to take him to the island (?) of paradise "at the mouth of the rivers"[114] to seek out the secret of immortality. There Gilgamesh found Utnapishtim and his wife, the heroes of the flood, living in paradise, immortal. They told him the story of the deluge and their survival in the ark and their later translation to paradise. They promised to share with him the secret of immortality if he could stay awake for seven days, but Gilgamesh fell into a deep sleep, failing the test. So Gilgamesh was sent away from paradise, but first was given the plant of life, which, if he ate, would give him immortality. But before he had a chance to consume it, a snake slithered in and ate the plant of life, stealing the gift of immortality.[115] (The ancients believed that snakes were immortal, reborn each time they shed their skin.[116])

109. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 6.156; 7.1.19, 22; 3.40.

110. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 9.1–5 ("I am afraid of death and roam the desert"). Compare Abel as the first instance of human mortality and Cain's subsequent fear of death (Gen 4:14).

111. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 10.1.12–16. Note also Cain's strange appearance—the famous "mark of Cain"—that branded him as a murderer (Gen 4:15).

112. The rivalry between Gilgamesh and Enkidu, their initial battle at Uruk, the barmaid's fear that Gilgamesh was an exiled murderer—all these may be artifacts of an earlier version less favorable to Gilgamesh, in which Gilgamesh did indeed slay Enkidu. Some of the earliest references to Gilgamesh in Sumerian literature portrayed him negatively as a tyrant over Uruk (*The Gilgamesh Epic* 1.2.20–32). An early text had the people of Uruk praying for a rival to Gilgamesh (*The Gilgamesh Epic* 1.2.11–32); as a result of these prayers, Enkidu was created (1.5.1–3) and later arrived upon the scene to fight Gilgamesh (2.6.12–23). Hercules went into exile from Thebes and undertook his twelve labors by way of expiation after having slain his children and by some accounts his wife Megara in a fit of madness (Euripides, *Heracles* 974–1001). The motif of Gilgamesh as wanderer might best be explained as a similar exile as punishment for murder. If so, this would strengthen the parallel with Cain's wandering. Alternately, one could interpret Cain's murder of Abel as polemics against the Mesopotamian hero Gilgamesh: that the barmaid's suspicions were true. In either case, there appears to be a relation between the two stories that has not previously been noted in secondary literature.

113. Gen 4:12–14.

114. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 11.195–96; cf. Gen 2:10–14.

115. *The Gilgamesh Epic* 11.287–89.

116. The Egyptian cobra was associated with immortality (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 10.355A, 21.359D, 74.381A; cf. J. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride* [Cardiff: University of Wales Press, 1970], 71, 288). An immortal dragon guarded the Golden Apples of the Hesperides (Apollodorus, *Library* 2.5.11). The serpent attained immortality at *The Gilgamesh Epic* 11.289.

Gilgamesh was forever barred from paradise and lost his chance to live forever. The parallels with the story of the Garden of Eden, the tree of life and the expulsion from paradise are well known.[117]

Despite strong similarities between the Berossus flood story and that related by Utnapishtim in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 (to be discussed later), it is generally accepted that the Berossus deluge account did not come directly from *The Gilgamesh Epic*.[118] The main evidence is that Berossus's flood hero was named Xisouthrus—from Ziusudra, the hero of *The Sumerian Flood Story*—not Utnapishtim, as in *The Gilgamesh Epic*.[119] Nevertheless, it is considered likely that the *Babyloniaca* contained an account of *The Gilgamesh Epic* which Alexander Polyhistor did not bother to preserve in his excerpts.[120] Further, there is a fragment that is usually attributed to Berossus[121] in which Gilgamesh was mentioned:

> When Seuechoros was king of the Babylonians, the Chaldeans said that his daughter's son would take away the kingdom from his grandfather, for he guarded her very closely. The girl, however, became pregnant by some obscure man and gave birth in secret, for necessity was wiser than the Babylonian. The guards, fearing the king, hurled the child from the citadel, for the girl was confined there. But an eagle, observing the fall of the child with its sharp eyes, swooped down and threw its back under it before it was dashed against the ground. The eagle brought the infant to a garden and placed it down very carefully. The keeper of the place on seeing the beautiful child fell in love with it and raised it. It was called Gilgamos and became king of the Babylonians.[122]

Many of the above motifs—the prophecy of the supplanter, the miraculous rescue of the baby from execution, the secret upbringing of the future scion, even the gardener raising the king's child—were common folk motifs used, for instance, in stories about Sargon and about Cyrus.[123] Two details point specifically to Berossus as the ultimate source behind this passage.[124] First, "Seuechoros, king of the Babylonians" appears to have been identical with Euechsios (possibly a corruption of Euechoros[125]), the first post-flood king of

117. S. Brandon, *Creation Legends of the Ancient Near East* (London: Hodder & Stoughton, 1963), 126–28, 130–32, 136.

118. Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 133–35; Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 251 n. 3.

119. Burstein cautioned that Berossus may have used the name Ziusudra "to harmonize his source for the Flood with that for the pre-Flood kings in which Ziusudra was the last king" (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 20 n. 51).

120. T. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List* (Chicago: Oriental Institute, 1939), 87 n. 115; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 29–30; Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 252–55.

121. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 21 n. 62, 29–30; Schnabel, *Berossus*, 171; Berossus *FGrH* 680 F14 (Aelian, *On Animals* 12.21).

122. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F14 (Aelian, *On Animals* 12.21).

123. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 253–55; R. Drews, "Sargon, Cyrus and Mesopotamian Folk History," *JNES* 33 (1974): 387–93.

124. Schnabel (*Berossus*, 171) suggested that this anecdote from Berossus reached Aelian by way of Juba's *Concerning the Assyrians*.

125. Jacobsen, *The Sumerian King List*, 86 n. 115; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 21 n. 61.

Babylon in Berossus.[126] Second, and more telling, Seuchoros and Gilgamesh are described as kings of *Babylon*; in all cuneiform versions of *The Gilgamesh Epic* (or its Sumerian sources) Gilgamesh was king of *Uruk*. That Gilgamesh has been transformed into a king of Babylon points to Berossus, who is known to have altered his sources in order to promote the city at which he was priest.[127] One may therefore take it as certain that Berossus included an account of Gilgamesh as one of the early kings of post-flood Babylon.[128] From a reference to Gilgamesh and the monster Humbaba in fragments of the *Book of Giants* from Qumran, it is certain that the Jews were familiar with tales of Gilgamesh in the Second Temple period.[129] If the episodes in Gen 1–4 mentioned above display knowledge of *The Gilgamesh Epic*, it is possible that the story came to the attention of the Jews by way of Berossus.

### 5. *The Serpent*

A very interesting example of polemics in Genesis, not previously noticed by those investigating Mesopotamian influences on Gen 1–11, was the transformation of the *apkallu* Oannes into the serpent of the Garden of Eden. The serpent of Gen 3 was a very unusual creature. The serpent had the capability of speech and carried on conversations with humans.[130] He was the "wisest of all the animals"[131] and the agent by which primitive humans acquired the knowledge of the gods.[132] Apparently the serpent initially had legs and could walk, for at Gen 3:14 God's curse on the serpent was that he would henceforth crawl on his belly in the dust.[133]

The parallels with the *apkallu* Oannes are evident. Oannes, who was half human and half fish, could (like the serpent of Genesis) walk and speak, and

126. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F5a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 12.17–19 [Karst]).

127. Berossus substituted Babylon for Eridu in the list of the first cities before the flood. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 4.18–19 [Karst]); cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 18 n. 29; Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, 70 n. 5; Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 136.

128. Tigay (*Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 250, 255) questioned whether the fragment from Aelian came from Berossus, but did not discuss the transformation of Gilgamesh into a Babylonian hero.

129. Tigay (*Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 252) pointed out that the figures Gilgamesh and Humbaba were known in texts outside *The Gilgamesh Epic*.

130. Gen 3:1, 4–5.

131. Gen 3:1.

132. Gen 3:1–7.

133. The idea of a serpent with legs may have derived from the *sirrush* or dragon that was the patron of Babylon. Recurring depictions of the *sirrush* on Babylon's walls show it as a horned asp with the forelegs and feet of a feline, the hind feet of a raptor and the tail of a scorpion. (On the *sirrush*, see generally R. Koldewey, *The Excavations at Babylon* [trans. A. Johns; London: Macmillan, 1914], 38–49.) The Babylonian name *sirrush* means, literally, "walking serpent." That the treacherous walking serpent of Genesis so closely resembled the dragon of Babylon, and was later condemned to crawl in the dust for his role in events in Eden, may reflect yet further polemics against Babylon.

spent his days revealing to primitive humans the arts of civilization. The only surviving extensive account of Oannes appears in Berossus's *Babyloniaca*:

> In the very first year there appears from the Red Sea in an area bordering on Babylonia a frightening monster, named Oannes, just as Apollodoros says in his history. It had the whole body of a fish, but underneath and attached to the head of the fish there was another head, human, and joined to the tail of the fish, *feet, like those of a man, and it had a human voice*. Its form has been preserved in sculpture to this day. Berossos says that this monster *spent its days with men*, never eating anything, but *teaching men* the skills necessary for writing and for doing mathematics and for all sorts of knowledge: how to build cities, found temples, and make laws. It taught men how to determine borders and divide land, also how to plant seeds and then harvest their fruits and vegetables. In short, it taught men all those things conducive to a settled and civilized life. Since that time nothing further has been discovered. At the end of the day, this monster Oannes went back to the sea and spent the night. It was amphibious, able to live both on land and in the sea.[134]

The *apkallu* Oannes may be suggested as the prototype for the wise serpent of Gen 3. If so, Gen 3 contains polemics against Oannes: the benevolent *apkallu* Oannes, sent to humankind by the gods with the gift on knowledge, has been transformed into a figure of treachery and evil, much as knowledge itself has been transformed from a blessing into a curse.

## 6. *The Sumerian King List*

Genesis 5:3–32 listed ten generations of patriarchs before the flood, ending with Noah. The pre-deluge generations were extraordinarily long-lived, suggesting comparison with the ten kings before the flood in Berossus:[135]

> Berossus lists 10 kings who ruled the entire 432,000 years from the beginning of kingship until the flood, the hero of which—*Xisouthros*—was the tenth king. The similarities *in form* with Genesis 5 are immediately evident: 10 long-lived members in a list that covers the pre-flood period, and the tenth member was the hero of the flood.[136]

The list in Berossus drew on *The Sumerian King List*, of which several versions have been found.[137] Like Berossus, these recorded the kings before the flood,

134. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 29 [Mosshammer]).

135. Berossus *FGrH* 60 F3b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30, 40 [Mosshammer]). The king-list from Berossus was closely related to the Neo-Assyrian king-list K 12054 from the library of Assurbanipal. The king names in both lists were the same, the cities were in the same order and both king-lists had an associated flood story (Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 165–71). The king-list K 12054, however, contained only nine names, while Berossus had ten. The parallels between the antediluvian kings in Berossus and the ten generations before the flood were already noted (and attributed to Berossus having copied scriptures) at Eusebius, *Chronicle* 9.31–34 (Karst); cf. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 35.

136. VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 27; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 350.

137. These king-lists were WB 62 from Larsa, ca. 2000 BCE; WB 444 from Larsa, ca. 1817 BCE; UCBC 9 1819 from Tutub, ca. 1812–1712 BCE; K 12054 from Uruk, ca. 640 BCE; and W 20 030, 7, the *Uruk Apkallu List*, 165 BCE. Cf. the chart in VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 36–37; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 160–63. This book will omit from its analysis Ni 3195 from Nippur, a fragmentary student exercise from ca. 1800 BCE.

two or three lists ending in Ziusudra[138] (the Xisouthros of Berossus). Hence it was early suggested that the list of pre-deluge patriarchs in Genesis somehow derived from *The Sumerian King List*.[139]

However, these king-lists have only been found in Mesopotamia, and it is difficult to understand why a list of Sumerian kings would have been of interest to the ancient Canaanites or Jews. Furthermore, of five versions of *The Sumerian King List* so far discovered, only one had ten kings, while the others had seven, eight or nine.[140] This led Westermann to conclude

> The old Babylonian list of primeval kings can no longer be regarded as a parallel to Gen 5... Whatever parallels remain, such as the remarkable numbers, the number ten, the last name on the list, are to be explained from later stages of the tradition history, and exclude one from regarding the old Babylonian king list in its original form as the basis of Gen 5.[141]

Nevertheless, the resemblance of the ten patriarchs to the ten long-lived kings of Berossus was so striking that Lambert and others persisted in seeing some sort of relationship, despite the negative evidence of the older versions of *The Sumerian King List*.[142] These difficulties can be resolved under the hypothesis that the antediluvian patriarchs derived, not from the problematic ancient Sumerian sources, but from Berossus. The direct dependence of Genesis on Berossus thus explains the striking correlation between the two, while the variable number of kings in versions of *The Sumerian King List* prior to Berossus becomes irrelevant.

### 7. *Culture Heroes*

It has frequently been noted that the genealogy of the sons of Seth repeated the genealogy of the sons of Cain, with Mahalalel and Enoch reversed to put Enoch in the seventh position.[143] Enoch was portrayed as an antediluvian sage in the pseudepigraphical books of *1 Enoch*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*.[144] Genesis 5:24 said he was translated to heaven. Hence it has been suggested that

138. WB 62 and K 12054; possibly also UCBC 9 1819 (restored).

139. Early speculations that linked the names in Genesis with hypothetical Akkadian antediluvian king-names—proposed on the basis of the Greek names in Berossus—were abandoned in light of discoveries that the names in Berossus came from Sumerian. See Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 350–51.

140. W 20 030, 7 had 7 kings; UCBC 9 1819 had 7 or 8; WB 444 had 8; K 12054 had 9; only WB 62 had 10.

141. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 351. Westermann noted that the one ancient list with ten preflood kings (WB 62) "is clearly a locally conditioned elaboration."

142. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 102; VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 27–28; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 166–71, 224–26. Westermann allowed for the possibility of influence on Genesis by the later versions of *The Sumerian King List* (as evidenced by Berossus). See Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 351.

143. VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 22–26; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 43–45, 236.

144. 1QGenAp 2.19–25; 5.3–10; *Jub.* 4:17–19; and *1 Enoch* generally.

the Enoch tradition was based on the Mesopotamian *apkallu*,[145] the seven semi-divine antediluvian sages, the last of whom, Utu-abzu (or Adapa), also ascended to heaven.[146] Enoch was also sometimes compared to Enmeduranki,[147] the seventh antediluvian king and the contemporary of the seventh *apkallu* Utu-abzu in Berossus and in the *Uruk Apkallu List* of 165 BCE.[148] Like Enoch and the *apkallu*, Enmeduranki was also a pre-flood wisdom figure. According to cuneiform texts, the gods revealed important divinatory techniques to Enmeduranki.[149] As a diviner, Enmeduranki was comparable to Enoch, who received various prophetic revelations according to the pseudepigraphical literature mentioned above.[150]

However, Enmeduranki was the seventh king in only two of five cuneiform king-lists; in two he was the sixth, and in one he was the eighth.[151] This renders the identity of Enmeduranki and Enoch somewhat problematic.[152]

It is noteworthy that Berossus also wrote an account of the revelation of the arts of civilization to humans by the seven pre-deluge sages (*apkallu*), of which the first was Oannes and the last was Utu-abzu.[153] He also listed Enmeduranki as the seventh king and the contemporary of the seventh *apkallu* Utu-abzu. If the author of Genesis drew on Berossus as a source, the varied position of Enmeduranki in the older king-lists becomes irrelevant.

Berossus lies extremely close to the time that the early pseudepigraphical Enoch literature developed in the middle of the third century BCE. The Mesopotamian influences on the Enoch figure in Gen 5:21–24 and in the books of Enoch appear to have been virtually identical, both based on the model of the antediluvian *apkallu* sage or the wise diviner Enmeduranki.[154] It seems likelier that both Gen 5:21–24 and the books of Enoch developed under the same Mesopotamian influences at the same time and perhaps even among the same circles than to postulate an independent yet completely parallel development.

145. VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 45–51; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 191–213, 263–69; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 325.

146. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 203, 231–32.

147. VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 43–45; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 230.

148. VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 49–50.

149. Ibid., 39–43; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 185–90.

150. *Jub.* 4:19, 21, 24; *1 En.* 1:2, etc.

151. UCBC 9 1819 and K 12054 in position 6; WB 444 and W 20 030, 7 in position 7; WB in position 8.

152. VanderKam, *Enoch and Apocalyptic Tradition*, 34; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 184.

153. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 5.1–15 [Karst]), citing Alexander Polyhistor.

154. On the *apkallu* Uanadapa (Oannes/Adapa) as the model for both Uriel and Enoch in the *Astronomical Book of Enoch* (*1 En.* 72–82), see Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 79–80, 236–39, 263–66. On Mesopotamian sources behind the figure of Enoch in P, see Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 231–36, 263–67. Enoch's lifespan of 365 years at Gen 5:23 has also been suggested to point to his connection with calendrical lore (as in the *Astronomical Book of Enoch*) even prior to the composition of Genesis; cf. Milik, *The Books of Enoch*, 8; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 51–52, 80–81, 226–30.

## 8. *The Flood*

That the flood story of Gen 6–9 derived from Mesopotamian sources has long been noted. However, there exist a number of different versions of Mesopotamian flood stories, of different ages, not all of which contain significant parallels to the biblical account. These are as follows:

| *Language* | *Title* | *Hero* | *Date* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sumerian | *The Sumerian Flood Story* | Ziusudra | ca. 1600 BCE[155] |
| Akkadian | *The Atrahasis Epic* | Atrahasis | 1700–1600 BCE[156] |
| Akkadian | *The Gilgamesh Epic* | Utnapishtim | ca. 750 BCE |
| Sumerian | *The Sumerian King List* | Ziusudra | ca. 650 BCE |
| Greek | Berossus | Xisouthros | 278 BCE |

Of these, the flood stories in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 (ca. 750 BCE) and in Berossus (278 BCE) contain extensive parallels with Gen 6–8.[157] It is unknown whether these parallels also existed in the older *Atrahasis Epic*, for no complete copies of the *The Atrahasis Epic* exist and such fragments that have been found lack the crucial sections necessary for comparison.[158] The flood story of *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 was part of the standard version of *The Gilgamesh Epic*, of which copies and fragments have been found only in Mesopotamia, and only dating to 750 BCE or later.[159] Earlier versions of *The Gilgamesh Epic* lack the flood story.[160]

A fragment of *The Atrahasis Epic* datable to ca. 1300 BCE was found at Ras Shamra on the North Syrian coast, demonstrating that this version of the flood story was found outside Mesopotamia at a sufficiently early date to have been incorporated into the J flood story, datable to the ninth century BCE according to the Documentary Hypothesis. This possibility cannot be definitely excluded on present evidence.[161] However, until new discoveries definitely resolve whether *The Atrahasis Epic* contained the necessary parallels, theories regarding a direct influence of *The Atrahasis Epic* on Gen 1–9 must be regarded as premature.

155. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 14.

156. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 75.

157. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 101: "The flood remains the clearest case of dependence of Genesis on Mesopotamian legend. While flood stories as such do not have to be connected, the episode with the birds in Genesis viii. 6–12 is so close to the parallel passage in tablet 11 of the Babylonian *Gilgamesh Epic* that no doubt exists. The only other Babylonian testimony to these birds is that of the priest Berossus, some 300 B.C. That edition of the *Gilgamesh Epic* which contains the flood story is the latest; no copies earlier than 750 B.C. are known." Cf. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 18.

158. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasis*, 12.

159. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 101. Yet (per Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 175) Lambert still favored a date of 1200–1000 BCE for the flood narrative, despite the bird motif only occurring in texts of 750 BCE and later.

160. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 101; Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 214.

161. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 101; Millard, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," 124.

Similarly, fragments of *The Gilgamesh Epic* dating to the El Amarna age have been found at Megiddo (in Akkadian) and Boghazköy (in both Hittite and Hurrian translation).[162] However, there is no evidence that the flood story had been incorporated into *The Gilgamesh Epic* at this early date. Tigay's important study on the evolution of *The Gilgamesh Epic* concluded that the flood story was only added to the story in the late "Standard" version, of which copies have only been discovered in Mesopotamia, and those only from around 750 BCE and later.[163] Definite parallels between the biblical flood story and Mesopotamian sources are only clearly documented as of ca. 750 BCE.

It is universally assumed, under influence of the Documentary Hypothesis, that the Mesopotamian influence on the biblical flood story must have reflected knowledge of an older Mesopotamian story such as *The Atrahasis Epic* or *The Gilgamesh Epic* rather than Berossus, the latest of the relevant Mesopotamian sources. Yet, as Lambert notes, the most striking parallels between the Genesis flood story and *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 are also found in Berossus.[164] It is convenient to quote here the Berossus flood story in full, to illustrate the extensive similarities:

> Kronos appeared to Xisouthros in a dream and revealed that on the fifteenth of the month Daisios humankind would be destroyed by a great flood... He was to build a boat and board it with his family and best friends. He was to provision it with food and also to take on board wild animals and birds and all four-footed animals. Then when all was prepared, he was to make ready to sail... He did not stop working until the ship was built. Its length was five stades (1000 yards) and its breadth two stades (400 yards). He boarded the finished ship, equipped for everything as he had been commanded, with his wife, children, and closest friends. After the waters of the Great Flood had come and quickly left, Xisouthros freed several birds. They found neither food nor a place to rest, and they returned to the ship. After a few days he set free some other birds, and they too came back to the ship, but they returned with claws covered with mud. Then later for a third time he set free some other birds, but they did not return to the ship.[165]

An important question for our purposes is whether stronger parallels exist between Gen 6–9 and *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 or between Gen 6–9 and Berossus. This can only be determined by a systematic comparison of the three accounts.

We may first list the features that Gen 6–9, *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 and Berossus have in common. In all three, God warned the flood hero of the coming disaster; a boat was built with rectangular dimensions; the boat was sealed with pitch; family, animals and fowl were brought on board; rain flooded the earth; the ark landed on a mountain in Armenia; birds were sent out three times; the first and second returned, while the last flew free; the ark was unloaded and the flood hero offered a sacrifice. Thus in general outline, the three

162. For a translation and discussion of the Boghazköy and Megiddo fragments, see Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 111–29.

163. Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 214, 238–39.

164. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 101–92.

165. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 31 [Mosshammer]).

accounts contain striking parallels. Many of these parallels are missing in *The Sumerian Flood Story*, *The Atrahasis Epic* and the brief flood story attached to *The Sumerian King List*.[166]

Certain features are common to both *The Gilgamesh Epic* and Berossus, but lacking in Genesis: the flood hero was warned in a dream; friends or craftsmen were brought aboard the ark, along with provisions; the flood lasted only briefly; the flood hero was translated into the company of the gods (a detail better paralleled in Genesis by Enoch than by Noah). Such details are not useful in determining whether Gen 6–9 bears a closer relationship to Berossus or *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11. The same comment applies to other features which are different in all three accounts: the dimensions of the ark,[167] the name of the Armenian mountain on which the ark rested[168] and the name of the flood hero.[169]

The release of the three birds by the flood hero is a complicated point. In the Genesis P account, three doves were sent forth. In the Genesis J account, a raven was also released. The biblical account thus incorporated two distinct and somewhat contradictory traditions. In *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11, the birds were listed as a dove, a swallow and a raven; in the Genesis account, a raven and three doves; in Berossus, they were identified only as three sets of "birds."[170] Schnabel identifies the birds of Berossus as doves, based on a pun between the phrase *tous podas pepelomenous*, "with muddied feet," with *peleia*, "dove."[171] The raven (and dove?) of J has affinities with the raven, swallow and dove of *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11, while the three doves of the Genesis P account more closely resemble the three birds (doves?) of Berossus.

The existence of two distinct traditions in the biblical flood account makes it difficult to determine whether Berossus or *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 provides the stronger parallel. That the flood story of Gen 6–9 incorporated two distinct traditions raises the possibility that it drew on a single source which also reported on multiple traditions. Perhaps significantly, Berossus appears to have also combined more than one source into his flood account. The many parallels between Berossus and *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 suggest that Berossus drew on the latter document as one source. But the differences in the two stories noted earlier suggest that Berossus also drew on other accounts. For instance, the

166. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 101; Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 12. For a translation of *The Sumerian Flood Story* by M. Civil, see Lambert and Millard, *Atra-hasis*, 138–45.

167. Heidel, *The Gilgamesh Epic*, 234.

168. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 31 [Mosshammer]); Josephus, *Apion* 1.130.

169. The name of the flood hero was Ziusudra in *The Sumerian Flood Story*, Atrahasis in *The Atrahasis Epic* and once in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11, Utnapishtim elsewhere in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11, and Xisouthros in Berossus. See Tigay, *Evolution of the Gilgamesh Epic*, 229–30, for a discussion of the meaning and relationship of the flood hero's name in various sources.

170. It is unknown whether *The Atrahasis Epic* had birds sent out from the ark, since existing fragments do not include the landing of the ark. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 12.

171. Schnabel, *Berossus*, 181 n. 1; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 20 n. 56.

flood hero in Berossus was Xisouthros, derived from the Sumerian flood hero Ziusudra, perhaps suggesting awareness of a Sumerian version.[172] Berossus's additional mention of tablets buried at Sippar before the flood and later recovered by the flood survivors suggests knowledge of a Sipparian version of the flood story (also known from *The Poem of Erra*[173]). It is conceivable that Berossus was aware of more than one tradition regarding the identity of the three birds released by the flood hero and mentioned both traditions.[174]

None of the features so far listed can tell us whether *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 or Berossus was the most likely immediate source for Genesis. It must be conceded that both *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 and Genesis mention the ark's door, window and roof, while Berossus did not mention these specific architectural details. However, we possess only the abridged version of Berossus's *Babyloniaca* found in Alexander Polyhistor, and Alexander Polyhistor is known elsewhere to have omitted similar "tedious" details of Babylon's construction from his summary of Berossus.[175] Hence it is possible, even probable, that Berossus originally contained a more detailed description of the ark analogous to that in *The Gilgamesh Epic*.

Other details mildly favor the Berossus account over that in *The Gilgamesh Epic*. In both Berossus and Genesis, the second set of birds returned with a sign that the waters were partially receded: in Genesis, the second dove returned with an olive branch, while in Berossus the second set of birds returned with muddy feet.

Additionally, both Berossus and Genesis assign the flood a specific start date, a feature missing in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 (and other Mesopotamian flood stories). This point is all the more striking, as the flood was the only event cited by month and day in all of Genesis.[176]

In conclusion, the parallels between Berossus and *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 are sufficiently striking, and the differences so relatively minor, that it is impossible to demonstrate on present evidence which of the two served as the immediate prototype for the flood account in Genesis.

172. Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 133–35; Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 20 n. 50. At n. 51, Burstein commented, "The presence of Ziusudra may represent only an attempt by Berossus to harmonize his source for the Flood with that for the pre-Flood kings in which Ziusudra was the last king."

173. *The Poem of Erra* 4.50; cf. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 137; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 178–81, 209–13. Komoróczy ("Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 137–39) noted the discovery of ancient literary texts at Sippar by Nabunaid.

174. Berossus listed divergent traditions on humanity's creation by Bel-Marduk at *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]). The Berossus flood story only survived in the abridged version traceable to Alexander Polyhistor, which may have omitted differing versions mentioned in the original; cf. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 134–35; Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 10–11.

175. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.140).

176. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 136–37. Thanks to Walter Mattfeld for bringing this point to my attention.

## 9. *Nimrod*

Genesis 10 gave a brief account regarding Nimrod, son of Cush, a "mighty hunter" and founder of a kingdom centered in Babylon which later expanded into Assyria:

> Cush became the father of Nimrod; he was the first on earth to become a mighty warrior. He was a mighty hunter before the LORD; therefore it is said, "Like Nimrod a mighty hunter before the LORD." And the beginning of his kingdom was Babel, Erech, and Accad, all of them in the land of Shinar. From that land he went into Assyria, and built Nineveh, Rehoboth-ir, Calah, and Resen between Nineveh and Calah; that is the great city.[177]

The stories of Nimrod's Babylonian kingdom and of the Tower of Babel are widely viewed as having a Babylonian origin, for obvious reasons. While Babylonian prototypes to these stories have not yet been certainly identified,[178] they "presume a period when legends clustered around the city of Babylon."[179]

### *Ninus and Nimrod: Valid Parallels*

One prominent theory first advocated by E. Speiser argued for the identification of Ninus and Nimrod. While Speiser's theory was fatally flawed by his misreading of Layard as well as Layard's own inaccuracies,[180] nevertheless parallels between the Nimrod story and the Classical Era Ninus legend clearly exist. These parallels are of sufficient strength to suggest that Genesis incorporated elements from the Ninus legend found in Ktesias's *Persica* of ca. 400 BCE.

177. Gen 10:8–12.

178. Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 107–8.

179. Ibid., 109.

180. Speiser attempted to identify both Nimrod and Ninus—the legendary founder of Nineveh—with the Assyrian ruler Tukulti-Ninurta I (ca. 1246–1206 BCE). See E. Speiser, "In Search of Nimrod," *Eretz-Israel* 5 (1958): 32–36, reprinted in Hess and Tsumura, eds., *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood,"* 270–77. (Citations from Speiser's article will be taken from the reprint.) Speiser's article fails to convince. Assyrian inscriptions did not attribute to Tukulti-Ninurta I the deeds attributed to Ninus in Greek legend or Nimrod in the biblical account. Rather, all evidence points to Ninus as a Classical Era invention, the eponymous founder of Nineveh (see n. 181 below). Speiser's article contained numerous factual errors. At p. 277 he wrote, "Ninus and Nimrod are no strangers. Various ancient sources connect the two directly. The most noteworthy of these is Berossus, who is quoted as stating explicitly that 'the Assyrians identify this Ninus with Nimrod.'" There is no such quote from Berossus: Speiser totally misunderstood a footnote at A. Layard, *Nineveh and Its Remains* (2 vols.; London: John Murray, 1849), 2:222–23, that quoted the identification of Ninus with Nimrod in early Christian literature (*Chronicon Paschale* 28–29; cf. *Clementine Recognitions* 1.30; 4.29; *Clementine Homilies* 9.4–6; L. Ginzberg, *The Legends of the Jews* [7 vols.; Philadelphia: The Jewish Publication Society of America: 1937], 5:200 n. 83). Müller suggested *Chronicon Paschale* 28–29 on Ninus and Nimrod derived from the chronographer Apollodorus, a view Jacoby properly rejected (K. Müller, *Fragmenta Historicorum Græcorum* [2 vols.; Paris: Firmin-Didot et Socios, 1883], 1:440; Jacoby *FGrH* IIB 752; cf. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 44 n. 3). Layard incorrectly transcribed Müller's citation as "Apoll. Fragment 69"; Speiser in turn incorrectly transcribed Layard's citation as "Apollonius [sic], *Fragmenta*, 59."

Ninus, like Nimrod, was the earliest Mesopotamian king and ruled over both Assyria and Babylonia. Ninus, like Nimrod, was connected with the foundation of Nineveh.[181] Ninus, like Nimrod, was described as a hunter in Ktesias.[182] Ktesias appears to have been the first to introduce an extensive account of Ninus, the fictional founder of Nineveh. If, as seems probable, the figure of Nimrod displays awareness of the Classical Era legend of Ninus, this points to a date of no earlier than 400 BCE.

Although the account of Nimrod in Genesis betrays knowledge of the Ninus legend as found in Ktesias, it is important to list crucial differences as well as similarities between the two accounts. In Ktesias, Ninus was an Assyrian who conquered Babylonia and Semiramis was an Assyrian queen who founded the city of Babylon.[183] In Genesis, the city of Babel was older than Nineveh and Nimrod was a native Babylonian king who was also first ruler over the neighboring kingdom of Assyria. Indeed, the major Assyrian cities in Genesis were apparently intended to have been understood as Babylonian colonies. The contrast between the Assyrian rulers who founded Babylon in Ktesias and the Babylonian ruler who founded Nineveh in Genesis is dramatic. Rather than pointing to an identity of Nimrod and Ninus, as Speiser suggested, the Genesis account appears to reflect a native Babylonian tradition that forcefully rejected the Ninus legend. That the Nimrod story originated from Babylon, not Assyria, is surely indicated by the statement that "the beginning of his kingdom was Babel..."

The source behind the Nimrod story may thus be broadly characterized as follows. This source was Babylonian (in common with the Mesopotamian sources behind other stories in early Genesis such as the Tower of Babel). The source appears to have displayed knowledge of the Ninus legend, in particular that version found in Ktesias. And the source engaged in active polemics against the Ninus legend, claiming that a Babylonian founded Assyria instead of vice versa. These considerations suggest that the Ninus story influenced Genesis by way of a Babylonian source opposed to the version of Mesopotamian history found in Ktesias.

Identifying this later source presents little difficulty. The story of Ninus and Semiramis, as found in Ktesias, found almost universal acceptance in later

181. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.3.41; Strabo, *Geography* 2.1.31; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 23.6.27. See Drews, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, 108–9, on Ninus as an eponymous figure invented by the Greeks as founder of Nineveh.

182. Ktesias was the only classical source to describe Ninus as a hunter (alongside Semiramis). Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.8.6 described a relief visible at Babylon in Ktesias's day in which "Semiramis [was] portrayed, on horseback and in the act of hurling a javelin at a leopard, and nearby was her husband Ninus, in the act of thrusting the spear into a lion at close quarters." This probably described chase scenes found on a relief from a palace dating to the Persian period (Koldewey, *The Excavations of Babylon*, 127–31). All available evidence is consistent with the description of Semiramis and Ninus as hunters having originated with Ktesias in the Persian period. Layard incorrectly claimed that Ninus was "renowned for his encounters with the lion *and leopard*" (*Nineveh and Its Remains*, 2:431–32); this inaccuracy was faithfully reproduced in Speiser's article ("In Search of Nimrod," 277: "Ninus was also renowned for his encounters with the lion and the leopard").

183. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.1.7.

sources.[184] The only exceptions to this rule were Dinon of Colophon (fl. ca. 345–330 BCE) and Berossus, who were both highly critical of Ktesias.[185] Berossus's *Babyloniaca* was intended in large part to correct Ktesias's *Persica*, in which the history of Assyria dominated to such an extent that any reference to a local kingdom of Babylonia was entirely absent.[186] Berossus's efforts to counter Ktesias were largely unsuccessful, and his views had little impact among contemporaries.[187] Ktesias's romantic story about Ninus and Semiramis enjoyed wide circulation in the Mediterranean world, and his views on the primacy of Assyria became standard Greek fare. Berossus was virtually the only voice that challenged the Ktesian version of Mesopotamian history. Berossus was particularly intent on countering the idea that the Assyrians founded Babylon. As Josephus related (drawing on Alexander Polyhistor):

> [Berossos] also blames the Greek writers for their silly mistake in saying that Semiramis of the Assyrians founded Babylon and in ascribing to her its wonderful buildings.[188]

184. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 31; R. Drews, "Assyria in Classical Universal Histories," *Historia* 14 (1965), 129–42 (134, 137); idem, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, 9–10, 104; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 28–30. Ktesias was used by Polyhistor, Abydenos, Castor, Diodorus Siculus, Trogus, and Nicolaus of Damascus.

185. See Drews, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, 115–17, on the criticism of Ktesias by Dinon of Colophon, writing after 343 BCE.

186. The extent to which Berossus engaged in polemics against Ktesias has not been fully recognized. Ktesias's *Persica* was preserved in Diodorus Siculus, *Library*, Book 2 (cf. citations of Ktesias at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.2.2; 7.4; 8.5, etc.). A comparison of Berossus's *Babyloniaca* with Ktesias's *Persica* (as preserved in Diodorus) brings out numerous previously unrecognized polemical passages and themes. For instance, Ktesias's assertion that "the Chaldeans say the world is by its nature eternal, and neither had a first beginning [*archas genesin*] nor will at a later time suffer destruction" was countered by Berossus's creation account and his description of the flood. Berossus's claim that Babylon was the first city of the post-diluvian world, whose surrounding wall was built by Bel-Marduk, responded to Ktesias's assertion that Semiramis founded Babylon and built its wondrous structures. Berossus's claim that Babylon lay in ruins down to the time of Nebuchadnezzar and his description of Nebuchadnezzar's extensive building projects also contradicted Ktesias's image of Semiramis as city builder. Berossus's naming Nebuchadnezzar as builder of the famous Hanging Gardens for his Median wife Amyhia may counter Ktesias's statement that this wonder was built "not by Semiramis, but by a later Syrian [i.e. Assyrian] king to please one of his concubines." Berossus's list of kings stretching back into antediluvian times contradicted Ktesias's claim that Ninus was the first Mesopotamian king of which we have any knowledge. Berossus's list of kings, with names and regnal years, was an attempt to upstage Ktesias, who stated that "there is no special need of giving all the names of the kings and the number of years which each of them reigned because nothing was done by them which merits mentioning." The list of 45 kings reigning 526 years between Semiramis and Tiglath-pileser in Berossus corrected Ktesias, who said there were thirty generations lasting 1300 years from Semiramis to Sardanapallus. Polemics against Ktesias's *Persica* thus permeate the *Babyloniaca* to a far greater degree than previously recognized.

187. Drews, *Greek Accounts of Eastern History*, 208 n. 181; idem, "Assyria in Classical Universal Histories," 131, 137; A. Kuhrt, "Berossus' Babyloniaca and Seleucid Rule (in Babylon)," in *Hellenism in the East: The Interaction of Greek and Non-Greek Civilizations from Syria to Central Asia after Alexander* (ed. A. Kuhrt and S. Sherwin-White; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1987), 32–56 (33).

188. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.142).

Berossus here showed definite familiarity with Ktesias, whose account claimed that Ninus conquered Babylonia and that Semiramis founded Babylon.[189] Berossus displayed considerable interest in the figure Semiramis, Ninus's queen. Berossus listed the 45 successors of Semiramis and the duration of their reigns,[190] perhaps in an effort to fix precisely the (late) date of Semiramis.[191] Part of the purpose of the *Babyloniaca* was to correct mistaken notions about her rule current in Greek literature.[192] According to a brief statement preserved by Eusebius, Berossus "records the reign of Semiramis over Assyria."[193] Significantly, this statement restricted her rule to Assyria alone. Berossus appears to have rejected Ktesias's entire account of Semiramis' reign in Babylon. Ninus was not mentioned alongside Semiramis in the surviving fragments of Berossus, but it seems likely that Berossus wrote something in regard to Ninus in order to counter the stories of Ktesias. Given that Berossus expressly denied that the Assyrian Semiramis founded Babylon, one may reasonably infer that Berossus rejected Ktesias's account of the subjugation of Babylonia by Ninus as well.[194]

All this points to Berossus as the probable source of the Nimrod story in Genesis. It is known that Berossus engaged in polemics against the legend of Semiramis and Ninus as found in Ktesias and specifically against Ktesias's claim that the Assyrians founded Babylon. The story of Nimrod, in claiming the primacy of Babylonia over Assyria, possessed the same view of Babylonian and Assyrian relations that is otherwise uniquely Berossan. Knowledge of Babylonian and Assyrian cities and their relative locations displayed in the Nimrod story is entirely consistent with Berossus, whose *Babyloniaca* included a section on Mesopotamian geography.[195] If the Nimrod story responded to the Assyrian story of Ninus, then it necessarily postdated Ktesias and expressed the same sort of pro-Babylonian anti-Ktesias polemics that is elsewhere idiosyncratic to Berossus.

189. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.2–11; cf. Speiser, "In Search of Nimrod," 276–77. According to Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.1.7, Babylon had not yet been founded in the time of Ninus, though the district Babylonia contained other notable cities.

190. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F5a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 13.1–2 [Karst]).

191. Burstein (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 34) proposed that the 45 kings were those between Sammu-ramat (i.e. the Semiramis of classical literature) and Antiochus I, when Berossus wrote.

192. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 21–22; Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 17 n. 23. According to Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F7 (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 25.32–26.1 [Karst]), "Ninus and Semiramis they take little note of," but Abydenos relied on the abbreviated version of Berossus in Alexander Polyhistor (Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 11); Berossus's original comments on Ninus and Semiramis may have been more extensive. Berossus's interest in refuting their legend was considerable, as shown by Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.142). The high regard with which Ktesias was held was virtually unaffected by Berossus (Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 31; Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 10).

193. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F5a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 12.32 [Karst]).

194. There is no textual basis for Speiser's claim that "Berossus implies that Ninus was the first Assyrian to rule Babylon" ("In Search of Nimrod," 276). In Berossus, Ninus was not mentioned and Semiramis' rule was restricted to Assyria. Speiser did not take into account Berossus's polemics against the story of Ninus and Semiramis in Ktesias.

195. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1a (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 28 [Mosshammer]).

*Nimrod and Gilgamesh*

Polemics against Ninus do not adequately account for Nimrod's fame as a mighty hunter in Genesis, for Ninus appeared as a hunter only in one obscure passage in Ktesias (and its quotation at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.8.6), and even there his skills as a hunter were overshadowed by the prowess of Semiramis, who had no counterpart in the Nimrod story.[196] Nimrod's fame as the mighty hunter of the gods appears to have been based on another famous Mesopotamian figure, Gilgamesh.

Gilgamesh has always been a favorite candidate for the prototype of the figure of Nimrod. Like Nimrod, Gilgamesh was a *gibbor* or mighty hero,[197] the product of a union of gods and the daughters of men,[198] as in the account of the origin of the giants at Gen 6:4.[199] Gilgamesh's exploits included chasing down "the wild ass of the open country and the panther of the steppes" as well as slaying "the Bull of Heaven," lions and various other monsters;[200] in seals and palace-reliefs he was often seen locked in combat against lions and other creatures.[201] Most striking, at Gen 10:10, Nimrod's kingdom was said to have begun at "Babylon and Erech"; Erech, Nimrod's second most important foundation, was identical with Uruk, the city ruled by Gilgamesh.[202]

An important feature in the Nimrod story was his close connection with the post-flood world.[203] In Gen 10, Nimrod was the grandson of Ham. According to *The Gilgamesh Epic* 3.6.263, 271, Gilgamesh king of Uruk was the son of Lugalbandu,[204] which—by *The Sumerian King List*—would make Gilgamesh the third king of post-flood Uruk.[205] But in *The Sumerian King List*, the flood was

196. See n. 182 above.

197. Gen 10:8. In the Septuagint, Nimrod was a Titan. Gilgamesh, too, was of surpassing stature.

198. "Divine Gilgamesh—his father was a *lillû*-demon" (*The Sumerian King List* 3.17–18); cf. Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, 90 n. 131.

199. The statement that Nimrod was the first *gibbor* at Gen 10:8–9 stands in apparent conflict with the statement on the origin of the *gibborim* from divine liaisons of gods and human women before the flood at Gen 6:4. Both these traditions may derive from *The Gilgamesh Epic*, despite the antediluvian setting of Gen 6:4. For other Gilgamesh traditions transplanted to a pre-flood setting, see §4 above.

200. *The Gilgamesh Epic*, passim.

201. J. Skinner, *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* (ICC; Edinburgh: T. & T. Clark, 1930), 209.

202. *The Sumerian King List* 3.17–20.

203. Ninus had no connections with the flood except in late chronographies influenced by Judaeo-Christian traditions where Ninus was made a contemporary of Abraham (Eusebius, Jerome, Malalas, Epiphanius; cf. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 123) or in the Clementine literature where Nimrod was equated with Nimrod (*Chronicon Paschale* 28–29; *Recognitions* 4.28–29).

204. Elsewhere Gilgamesh was son of the goddess Ninsun, who in turn was wife of Lugal-banda (Jacobsen, *Sumerian King List*, 90 n. 131).

205. *The Sumerian King List* 3.7–17 listed the first five rulers after the fall of the first dynasty of Kish as Mes-king-gasher (high priest of E-Anna[k]), En-me(r)-kar (who built Uruk, thus technically the first king of Uruk), Lugal-banda, Dumu-zi(d), and "divine Gilgamesh." With Gilgamesh as son of Lugal-banda, the first rulers of Uruk become En-me(r)-kar, Lugal-banda and Gilgamesh. This corresponds to Berossus *FGrH* 680 F5a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 12.17–20 [Karst]), in which the first two post-flood kings were Euechsius (i.e. En-mer-kar; cf. Jacobson, *Sumerian King List*, 86 n. 115,

followed first by the 23 kings of Kish, then by the kings of Uruk; so Gilgamesh, though a prominent figure in post-flood Uruk, would actually be in the twenty-eighth generation after the flood. On the other hand, Gilgamesh was in the third generation after the flood in the *Uruk Apkallu List*, suggesting the existence of a local tradition in which Uruk was the first city to rule Babylonia after the flood.

In Berossus, Gilgamesh appears to have been the third ruler of the post-flood world, but over the city of Babylon, not Uruk. The first ruler after the flood in Berossus was Euechsius and the second was Chomasbolus, both having ruled in Babylon.[206] In the fragment of Berossus at Aelian, *On Animals* 12.21, Gilgamesh's grandfather was Seuechoros, king of Babylon. This appears to have made Gilgamesh the son of Chomasbolus[207] and third post-flood king of Babylon.[208] The Berossus tradition thus lies significantly closer to the Nimrod story than the earlier *Sumerian King List* does.

If Gilgamesh is accepted as the prototype of Nimrod, an additional consideration points to Berossus's version of the Gilgamesh story as inspiration for the tale in Genesis. While all cuneiform versions of the story have Gilgamesh as lord of Uruk (Erech), in Gen 10:10 this city was demoted to secondary status behind Babylon. Only in the version of *The Gilgamesh Epic* found in Berossus was Gilgamesh ruler of Babylon. This indicates that the figure of Nimrod was based on Berossus's version of the Gilgamesh story set in the third generation of post-flood Babylon, rather than older cuneiform sources.

## 10. *The Construction of the Tower of Babel*

Genesis 11:1–9 deals with the Tower of Babel. The outline of the story is well known. The survivors of the flood were said to have traveled to the land of Shinar where they set about building a city and tower of bricks and bitumen. God saw that if humankind cooperated, there was nothing they could not accomplish. God therefore confused their languages and scattered humankind across the earth, thereby bringing to a halt the impressive projects humankind had begun at Babylon. Although the Hebrew Bible frequently castigated Babylon, the only reference to the Tower of Babel is found in Gen 11.[209]

88 n. 122) and Chomasbelos (a corruption of Lugal-banda; see Jacobson, *Sumerian King List*, 88 n. 122). Gilgamesh was likely the third post-flood king in Berossus.

206. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F5a (Eusebius, *Chronicle* 12.17–20 [Karst]).

207. Chomasbelos is probably to be equated with Lugal-banda, the second post-flood ruler (Jacobson, *Sumerian King List*, 88 n. 122; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 21 n. 62). Gilgamesh was Lugal-banda's son according to Sumerian literary texts (Kovack, *The Epic of Gilgamesh*, xxviii). This line of argument also points to Gilgamesh as the third king in Berossus (Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 30 n. 123).

208. Note that in *Pseudo-Eupolemus OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.9), the name Chomasbelos in Berossus is interpreted as two individuals, Chom (i.e. Cham, the biblical Ham) and Asbolus. If Gilgamesh was son of Chomasbelos, might this have influenced Nimrod's descent from Ham in Gen 10:8?

209. N. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis* (New York: Schocken, 1976), 64.

The subject matter as a whole, regarding the foundation of Babylon as the first post-flood city, strongly indicates a Babylonian source.[210] Many authentic details in Genesis regarding the construction of Babylon and its tower display a remarkable knowledge of Babylon. The Tower of Babel referred to the ziggurat of Babylon, a multi-tiered temple tower dedicated to the cult of Marduk, with sanctuaries both at its base and at its summit.[211] The description of the tower "with its head in the sky" echoes many cuneiform descriptions of ziggurats.[212] The construction of the city and the tower from baked bricks with bitumen for mortar corresponded to actual Babylonian building practices (which differed from those of Palestine).[213] One may therefore posit a source behind Gen 11 drawing on authentic Babylonian traditions regarding the *ziggurat* of Babylon and its unique construction.

Which precise architectural structure was referred to as the Tower of Babel is a question which has great bearing on the age of the tradition in Genesis. If the Tower of Babel referred to the famous ziggurat of Bel-Marduk (i.e. the Etemenanki), then the Genesis story is almost certainly of late date, for the Etemenanki appears to date only to the time of Nabopolassar (625–605 BCE). Speiser therefore concluded that the tower of Babel could not refer to the "Entemenanki" [*sic*], since the latter structure postdated the commonly accepted ninth century BCE date of the Yahwist (J).[214] Speiser believed the Tower of Babel referred to the older Esagila, the forerunner of the Etemenanki. He noted that Esagila means literally, "the structure with upraised head,"[215] a phrase echoed in Gen 12:4 ("a tower whose head reaches to heaven"). However, it seems doubtful that the term Esagila would have been understood and its meaning preserved and transmitted in South Syrian Canaanite and Jewish oral tradition, while the international fame of the later *ziggurat* Etemenanki provides a compelling parallel to the biblical Tower of Babel.

The familiarity with Babylonian construction materials at Gen 11:4 does not necessarily point to an ancient or even a Babylonian source. Herodotus mentioned the "baked bricks and bitumen" used in Babylon's construction, as did

210. E. Speiser, *Genesis* (AB 1; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1981), 75–76: "The episode points more concretely to Babylonia than does any other portion of Primeval History, and the background that is here sketched proves to be authentic beyond all expectations." See also L. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra* (SANE 1, fasc. 3; Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1974), 75. Post-flood Babylon was mentioned in Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 40 [Mosshammer]) and Pseudo-Eupolemus *OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.2) as well as *The Poem of Erra* 1.139.

211. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis*, 70.

212. Ibid., 72–73.

213. Ibid., 71–72.

214. Speiser, *Genesis*, 75.

215. Ibid., 31 n. 33. Marduk's construction of Babylon was described at *Enûma Elish* 6.57–70. Speiser believed the reference at *Enûma Elish* 6.62 to the head of Esagila being raised implied the existence of a tower or *ziggurat* early in Babylonian history, although *Enûma Elish* did not mention the Etemenanki, only Esagila (the temple complex); but raising the head of a temple to the sky was a commonplace description of temple construction (cf. *The Poem of Erra* 5.35, where the phrase had no special reference to the Etemenanki tower).

Ktesias, Berossus and many later authors.[216] The interest Genesis displayed in the construction of Babylon and its tower was paralleled by many classical references to Babylon. The vast size of the city of Babylon,[217] only exceeded by that of Nineveh,[218] elicited frequent comment. Descriptions of architectural wonders were common in Hellenistic ethnographies.[219] Several ancient sources made reference to the various "wonders" visible at Babylon, including the walls, the embankments of the Euphrates and bridges over it, and the Hanging Gardens.[220] The Temple of Bel (i.e. the Tower of Babel) was also frequently mentioned,[221] and both Herodotus and Ktesias emphasized its great height.[222]

216. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.179; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.4; 8.4, 9; 9.1–2, 5; 10.5; 12.1; Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.5, 15; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.16; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 23.6.23; Cornelius Nepos, *Lives* 1.2; Procopius, *Buildings* 1.53; Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139).

217. "Assyria possesses a vast number of great cities, whereof the most renowned and strongest at this time was Babylon... Such is its size, in magnificence there is no other city that approaches it" (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.178). Its "circuit was that more of a nation than of a city" (Aristotle, *Politics* 3.3.5). "Babylon, which is the capital of the Chaldean races, long held an outstanding celebrity among the cities in the whole of the world" (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.30.121). Babylon was the "greatest city of its day" (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 8.33.3). Cf. Strabo, *Geography* 15.3.10; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.3; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.7, 28–29.

218. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.3.1–3; cf. Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.3. Nineveh was 480 stades in circumference, compared to 365 stades for Babylon (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.3.3; 7.3).

219. Hellenistic ethnographies contained the following standard features: (a) *archaeologia* (stories of ethnic origins and founding of cities); (b) geography; (c) customs; (d) history. See Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 193–219. Berossus's *Babyloniaca* included all these standard elements. (a) Foundation stories: the stories of primordial Babylon in Book 1; cf. references to "foundation stories" at Berossus *FGrH* 680 T8b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 14 [Mosshammer]), F4c (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.93), F16a (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 245 [Mosshammer]), F14 (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.107). (b) The general geographical description of the land of Babylon in F1a (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 28 [Mosshammer]). (c) Chaldean customs and beliefs, namely, their practice of astrology at F22b (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.2.1–2), F19 (Aetius, *Philosophers' Views of Nature* 2.25.12; 28.1; 29.2), F18 (Cleomedes *On the Circular Motions of the Heavenly Bodies* 2.4). (d) History, occupying books 2 and 3. Stories of architectural wonders were usually introduced in association with the king responsible for their having been built (Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 197). This was the case in Berossus, who described the building projects of Nebuchadnezzar and Nabonidus at *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.131–44), F9a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.145–53).

220. The walls of Babylon were one of the Seven Wonders of the World (Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.5; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.3–5; Strabo, *Geography* 2.1.16; 11.14.8; Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.16.3; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.16). On the "marvellous embankments," see Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121; cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.179, 184, and Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.1–3, where they were attributed to Semiramis. The bridge over the Euphrates was considered one of the "marvels of the Orient" (Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.29; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.8.1–3). The Hanging Gardens were another Wonder of the World mentioned at Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.5; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.10.1–6; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.32. Mounds of Semiramis in various locations in Mesopotamia were mentioned at Strabo, *Geography* 12.2.7; 3.37; 16.1.3; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.1–2; 14.1–2. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.11.4–5 mentioned a huge obelisk erected by Semiramis in Babylon from a single stone and also classified as one of the Seven Wonders of the World. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.1–13.1 surveyed both architectural and natural "wonders" of Babylonia.

221. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.181; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.4; Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.16.3; 8.33.3; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.24; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121; Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.1, 3, 5; Arrian, *History of Alexander* 7.17.1–4.

That the city of Babylon, "the greatest city of its day,"[223] later lay abandoned in ruins was also a cause for comment,[224] and the ruins of the temple of Bel were also sometimes mentioned.[225] Like Genesis, classical sources thus commented on the size of Babylon, its impressive tower, the unique building materials employed at Babylon, and Babylon's later state of abandonment and ruin. The fascination with Babylon's public structures at Gen 11:1–9, without parallel in the rest of the Hebrew Bible, has extremely close affinities with the description of the wonders of Babylon by Greek and Roman historians, geographers and ethnographers.

Naturally, the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus included an extensive physical description of Babylon, its walls, palaces, bridges, gates and temples, including the temple of Bel-Marduk. Berossus had a special reason besides pride in his Babylonian origins to dwell on Babylon's architectural triumphs. Part of Berossus's express purpose was to combat Greek historians' misconceptions about Babylonian history.[226] The accomplishments that the Greeks (starting with Herodotus, but most notably Ktesias) attributed to Semiramis, Berossus attributed to Nebuchadnezzar.[227] Berossus therefore included a description of Babylon and its wonders in his account of Nebuchadnezzar's reign.[228] It is clear that Berossus patterned his account on a similar description in Ktesias regarding the construction projects of Semiramis in Babylon: both mention the two triple walls made of bricks,[229] the fortified walls,[230] the decorated palace gates,[231] the

222. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.181; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.4–5.

223. Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 8.33.3.

224. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.8; Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.5, 16; Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.16.3; 8.33.3; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.122. After Seleucus Nicator transferred the royal capital to Seleucus, Babylon entered a period of final decline.

225. The temple still stood in the time of Herodotus (*Histories* 1.181), but had fallen to ruins by the time of Ktesias, or perhaps Diodorus Siculus (*Library* 2.9.4–5). Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.5 mentioned Alexander's intentions to rebuild the temple. According to Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121, the temple was still standing in his day, but this seems doubtful.

226. "He [Berossus] intended that his book would change Greek ideas about Babylon, and this it signally failed to do" (Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 8).

227. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139–42); cf. T10 (Tatian, *Speech to the Greeks* 36), which mentioned that Berossus singled out Nebuchadnezzar for special attention as the most famous Chaldean ruler. Josephus, *Apion* 1.144 said that Megasthenes claimed Nebuchadnezzar "surpassed Hercules in his strength and in the glory of his accomplishments, as he says the king conquered all of Libya and Spain [Iberia]." Megasthenes here drew on Berossus (see Appendix A).

228. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a, F9a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139–42, 146).

229. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.8.4–6; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139). *Jub.* 10:20–21 knew of the building of Babylon's walls from baked bricks and bitumen. Interestingly, this passage displayed knowledge that bitumen came out of "springs in the land of Shinar"; cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.179; Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.15; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 23.6.16. *Jubilees* claimed that the monumental wall of Babylon took 43 years to build. Ninus and Semiramis were each given a reign of only 42 years (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.20.2; Cornelius Nepos, *Lives* 1.2). Nebuchadnezzar, on the other hand, reigned 43 years, the same figure as *Jubilees* (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a [Josephus, *Apion* 1.135]; F10a [Josephus, *Apion* 1.146]). *Jubilees* may reflect awareness of a tradition that Nebuchadnezzar built Babylon's walls. If so, this most plausibly derived from Berossus, who attributed Babylon's monumental architecture and walls to Nebuchadnezzar rather than Semiramis (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a [Josephus, *Apion* 1.139]).

two palaces,[232] the "temple of Bel"[233] (i.e. the tower of Babel) and the Hanging Gardens.[234] Like Ktesias, the lengthy description in Berossus originally contained the "height and other dimensions" and various decorations of the palace and other buildings which Alexander Polyhistor acknowledged omitting.[235] With respect to the tower of Babel, Alexander Polyhistor sparsely commented that Nebuchadnezzar "zealously decorated the temple of Bel and the rest of the holy places" using war spoils from his Syrian and Egyptian campaigns.[236] However, we may presume that Berossus, the priest of Bel, gave a description of the temple of Bel at least as extensive as that of Herodotus or Ktesias.

We may therefore assuredly conclude that Berossus gave a thorough account of the marvelous buildings at Babylon, mentioning the baked brick and bitumen construction, and including a prominent description of the tower and its great height. The essential descriptive features of Babylon and its tower in Genesis could easily have derived from Berossus.

The Berossan account of the city of Babylon is unique among Classical Era authors in one important respect, namely, the great antiquity of the city. While various sources ascribed great antiquity—from 470,000 to 720,000 years—to the astronomical records of the Babylonians,[237] the city of Babylon was said to have only been founded under Semiramis according to all sources other than Berossus.[238] Berossus claimed that Bel-Marduk constructed the city of Babylon[239] (and the temple of Bel[240]) at the time of earth's creation, following *Enûma Elish*.[241] According to Berossus, the very first year after Marduk created the

230. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.3–4; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139).

231. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.8.7; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.140).

232. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.8.3; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.140).

233. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.3–9; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139).

234. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.10.1–6; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.141).

235. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.140): "It would take a long time to describe this [new] palace, its height and the rest of its dimensions. It took, however, only fifteen days to build it, even though it was exceedingly large and splendidly decorated." See also Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.3–9.8. One may legitimately infer that Alexander Polyhistor also excised Berossus's lengthy description of the other architectural marvels in Babylon, including the tower of Babel.

236. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.4–9; cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.139).

237. Epigenes said astronomical records went back 720,000 years (Pliny, *Natural History* 7.193); Berossus and Klitodemas 490,000 years (Pliny, *Natural History* 7.193); Diodorus Siculus 473,000 years (*Library* 2.31.9); Cicero 470,000 years (*On Divination* 1.36); Chaemeron of Alexandria over 400,000 years (*FGrH* 618 F7 [Michael Psellus 443–46 (Keutz-Drexl)]).

238. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.2–9.8; Strabo, *Geography* 2.1.31; 16.1.2; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 23.6.23; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.24; Cornelius Nepos, *Lives* 1.2. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.1.7 said that at the time Ninus conquered Babylonia various cities already existed there, but not Babylon, which had not yet been founded.

239. Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 11.41.457b–c), drawing on Berossus.

240. Ktesias claimed that Semiramis built the temple of Bel as well as founding the city of Babylon (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.9.3–5). Several later sources, while accepting that Semiramis built Babylon, say that Belus founded the tower or temple, following Berossus (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121; Ammianus Marcellinus, *History* 23.6.23; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 5.1.24).

241. Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 11.41.457b–c) had Marduk restraining Thalassa (Tiamat) and building Babylon's walls; *Enûma Elish* 5.119–31 had a similar

earth, the wise *apkallu* Oannes revealed to humankind how to "build cities and found temples."[242] Berossus recorded that the first king of the pre-flood world ruled out of Babylon.[243] After the flood destroyed Mesopotamia, the deluge survivors were instructed first of all to resettle Babylon and afterwards to restore the cities and temples of Babylonia.[244] While the interest that the author of Gen 11:1–9 displayed in the architectural wonders of Babylon was paralleled by many Classical Era authors, a specific temporal setting in the generation following the flood was only found in Berossus and in the cuneiform sources on which he drew.[245]

### 11. *The Story of the Tower of Babel*

Leaving aside the knowledge of Babylonian public structures in Gen 11:1–9, we now turn to the complex issues relating to the background of the story of the Tower of Babel. Genesis 11:1–5 described the foundation of the city of Babylon and the building of its tower by the survivors of the flood.[246] The remnants of humankind were said to have traveled east to the land of Shinar and founded Babylon as the first post-flood city.[247] The emphasis in Gen 11 was on the building of the city as a whole, not merely the tower.[248] Genesis 11:1–4 was therefore primarily the story of the foundation of Babylon, of which the construction of a temple tower was a secondary aspect. This tradition regarding Babylon as the first city after the flood could scarcely have arisen elsewhere than Babylon itself.

However, certain intrusive non-Babylonian elements also stand out. It is important first to determine which story elements were parts of the underlying Babylonian source and which were secondary additions innovated by the author of Gen 11:1–9. The confusion of languages and scattering of humankind from Babylon after the flood are not themes found in Mesopotamian sources. The

account of Marduk building Babylon after defeating Tiamat and creating the world; cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 17 n. 23.

242. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 29 [Mosshammer]).

243. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 40 [Mosshammer]).

244. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 31 [Mosshammer]).

245. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 40 [Mosshammer]).

246. The foundation story in Gen 11:1–5 was in partial conflict with Gen 10:10, which implied that Nimrod founded Babylon. This story also conflicted with Gen 10 as a whole, which described the orderly settlement of the world by the descendants of Noah in the various lands to which they were assigned. Instead, in Gen 11:1–5, humankind in its entirety ("the sons of Adam") came to dwell in the land of Shinar and there founded Babylon in order to keep from being dispersed. God's wrath was aroused at humankind living at Babylon, so he confused their languages and scattered them across the face of the earth. Humankind's origin from Babylon was thus central to the account in Gen 11:1–9. The story of the tower of Babel thus appears to have drawn on a distinct, idiosyncratic Babylonian tradition that the author of Gen 1–11 failed to fully integrate with his other sources.

247. A similar tradition was found at Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 31–32 [Mosshammer]) where the flood survivors rebuilt Babylon. This tradition appears related to that found in Gen 11; cf. Sarna, *Understanding Genesis*, 69.

248. Gen 11:4 had the first Babylonians use baked brick and bitumen to "build a city and a tower"; Gen 11:8 had them scatter and "leave off building the city."

biblical assertion that the city was named Babel "since Yahweh confused [*balel*] the languages of the earth"[249] contained a play on words which works only in Hebrew. This pun had an anti-Babylonian bias and may have been a polemical response to Mesopotamian traditions deriving Babel from Bab-ilu ("gate of god")[250] or linking Babel to Bel (i.e. Marduk).[251] Yahweh's objection to the god-like aspirations of the builders of Babylon also had anti-Babylonian overtones and continued a non-Mesopotamian theme against *hubris* found elsewhere in early Genesis.[252] The division of humankind that resulted from their having been scattered from Babylon reflected the interests of the final author, as illustrated by the Table of Nations in Gen 10, and must also be considered a secondary addition. For these reasons, the theme regarding the confusion of languages and the resulting scattering of humankind must be regarded as an innovation of the author of Gen 11:1–9 and not derived from a Mesopotamian source.[253]

Subtracting these elements from the account at Gen 11:5–9, the remaining material recounts the founding of Babylon by the survivors of the flood and the scattering of post-flood Babylonians which put a halt to the construction of the city. The story appears to have originally described a local cataclysm that befell Babylon, her residents and her buildings after the first catastrophe of the flood. Clearly this began as a local legend relating to the site of Babylon, and may represent an etiology on the ruins at Babylon in later times. The precise nature of this second catastrophe cannot be ascertained from Gen 11 alone.

*The Poem of Erra*

The Mesopotamian source of the tower of Babel story appears to have been *The Poem of Erra*, which described both the flood and a later destruction of Babylon in a second catastrophe of comparable severity. *The Poem of Erra* was a very popular work, enjoying even a wider circulation in the first millennium BCE than *The Gilgamesh Epic*.[254] According to this poem, the flood occurred when Marduk, lord of the gods, was angered at humankind and rose from his royal throne.[255] A cosmic catastrophe ensued affecting both heaven and earth, and floodwaters

249. Gen 11:9.

250. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.140) said that Nebuchadnezzar "decorated the gate as though it were holy." This phrase suggests Berossus elsewhere derived the name Babel from Bab-ilu, "gate of god." The specific reference may have been to the Ishtar Gate. See D. Wiseman, *Nebuchadrezzar and Babylon* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1985), 44, on the name Babel.

251. Cf. the claim in *Pseudo-Eupolemus OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.2–3) that "the tower was called Belos after its builder."

252. Gen 3:22–23.

253. A Sumerian tablet tells about a mythical time when "the whole universe, the people in unison, to Enlil in one tongue gave praise." Diverse languages later arose, though under circumstances obscured by the fragmentary condition of the tablet. This myth has been viewed as a prototype for the story of the confusion of languages at Babel (see Sarna, *Understanding Genesis*, 67). However, there is nothing to connect this myth (most closely connected with the god Enlil) with the Tower of Babel story (which is more closely connected with Marduk and *The Poem of Erra*—see discussion below).

254. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 5.

255. *The Poem of Erra* 1.132; cf. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 33 n. 36.

destroyed most of humankind as well as the city of Babylon.[256] Marduk himself was drenched and his royal attire darkened and ruined.[257] Marduk rebuilt his house (i.e. his temple at Babylon)[258] and returned to his temple-throne,[259] but his government was inadequate due to the condition of his royal garments.[260] The *apkallu* sages, who alone were competent to create a new splendid idol of Marduk for the temple, had been sent to the underworld.[261] Marduk therefore planned to leave his throne again to descend to the underworld to have his royal attire restored, despite the second catastrophe that would inevitably ensue.[262] In his absence the world would be ruled by Erra, the Mesopotamian god of destruction.[263] Waters again would rise, a storm would blot out the sky, and an evil wind would blow.[264] The remnant of humankind who survived the first flood would be threatened with extinction.[265] Cities would be destroyed and temples laid waste.[266] Babylon would fall,[267] as well as other Babylonian cities, even Sippar, which alone had been spared from the earlier deluge.[268] The ziggurat of the sanctuary of Babylon, the city walls and towers would all be destroyed.[269] But finally the wrath of Erra would be placated. Marduk would be allowed to return to his temple (which, however, Erra still presided over).[270] The gods would be reconciled and return to their proper places,[271] and order would be restored. Babylonia would rise again and Babylon would be rebuilt (although at the direction of a curiously benevolent Erra, god of destruction, not Marduk, as one would expect).[272] "The ruined temples [would again] raise their heads as high as the flaming sun."[273]

*The Poem of Erra* provides the closest Mesopotamian parallel to the biblical story of the tower of Babel. It had Babylon repopulated by the remnant of humankind who survived the flood. It described a second catastrophe that befell the residents of Babylon in the post-flood era. It contained an explicit image of the ziggurat and the city walls and fortifications of Babylon in ruins.[274] *The*

256. *The Poem of Erra* 1.132–38, 145.
257. *The Poem of Erra* 1.140.
258. *The Poem of Erra* 1.139; cf. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 33 n. 37.
259. *The Poem of Erra* 1.143–44.
260. *The Poem of Erra* 1.141–42.
261. *The Poem of Erra* 1.147–62.
262. *The Poem of Erra* 1.170–79.
263. *The Poem of Erra* 1.179–91.
264. *The Poem of Erra* 1.170–74; 2a.6–10.
265. *The Poem of Erra* 1.177.
266. *The Poem of Erra* 2c.24–45. Note especially the cities and temples left in ruins at 2c.24–25, 42–44.
267. *The Poem of Erra* 4.1–44.
268. *The Poem of Erra* 4.50.
269. *The Poem of Erra* 4.14, 117, 126.
270. *The Poem of Erra* 2c.21–22; 3d.7–8; cf. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 19.
271. *The Poem of Erra* 5.31.
272. *The Poem of Erra* 5.24, 35–38; cf. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 16.
273. *The Poem of Erra* 5.35.
274. *The Poem of Erra* 4.117, 126.

*Poem of Erra* indeed contained the first cuneiform reference to the ziggurat Etemenanki at Babylon.[275]

*Pseudo-Eupolemus*

It may be independently established that Berossus drew on *The Poem of Erra* as a source, or a tradition very similar to it. Among cuneiform sources, *The Poem of Erra* uniquely alluded to a tradition that the ancient city of Sippar survived the first deluge.[276] In Berossus, Xisouthros buried tablets containing ancient lore (notably astrological records) at Sippar prior to the flood, and the flood survivors retrieved the tablets afterwards.[277] This suggests Berossus was familiar with the literary traditions related to *The Poem of Erra*.[278] Evidence that Berossus recorded the Mesopotamian version of the tower of Babel story is indirectly provided by *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, which drew on Berossus.

Pseudo-Eupolemus was a Samaritan Jewish author of ca. 250 BCE[279] who wrote a history of the world down to the time of Abraham, loosely based on Genesis, but with an emphasis on the transmission of astrological lore. The writings of Pseudo-Eupolemus, like those of Berossus, were preserved in excerpt by Alexander Polyhistor and subsequently passed on by Eusebius. In one fragment, Pseudo-Eupolemus wrote:

> In anonymous works, we find that Abraham traced his ancestry to the giants. These dwelt in the land of Babylonia. Because of their impiety, they were destroyed by the gods. One of them, Belos, escaped death and settled in Babylon. He built a tower and lived in it; the tower was called Belos after its builder.[280]

A second text recorded a slightly different—or rather complementary—account:

> Eupolemus, in this work, "On the Jews," states that the Assyrian city of Babylon was first founded by those who escaped the Flood. When the tower was destroyed by God's power, these giants were scattered over the whole earth.[281]

275. *The Poem of Erra* 1.128; cf. Van Seters, *Prologue to History*, 182–83. In Van Seters' opinion, the ziggurat at Babylon was no older than the eighth century BCE, and the Tower of Babel story dated to the seventh or sixth century BCE.

276. *The Poem of Erra* 4.50; cf. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 178–80.

277. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 31–32 [Mosshammer]). Ancient literary texts were discovered at Sippar by Nadunaid (Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 180; Komoróczy, "Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 138–39). The tradition of ancient buried tablets surviving the flood may have originated in an etiology for the tablets discovered under Nabonidus. If so, the flood story incorporating Sipparian traditions dated to ca. 555–539 BCE or later.

278. *The Poem of Erra* 1.132–37; 4.50 did not actually describe the first deluge in which "Sippar the primeval city" was spared, but alluded to it as a past event. *The Poem of Erra* thus relied on an earlier literary tradition regarding the flood story—perhaps emanating from Sippar—with which the audience of *The Poem of Erra* was presumed to be familiar. Cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 19 n. 48, on the Sipparian recension.

279. See Chapter 4, §4 on the proposed date of *Pseudo-Eupolemus*.

280. Pseudo-Eupolemus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.18.2). Here Eusebius acknowledged that his source was anonymous.

281. Pseudo-Eupolemus *OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.2–3). Here Eusebius confused the anonymous Samaritan author with the Jewish author Eupolemus. (Hence the scholarly designation of the Samaritan author as Pseudo-Eupolemus. His work is designated *Pseudo-Eupolemus* [italicized].)

These two fragments combine to tell the following story. The giants, including Belos (i.e. Bel-Marduk), originally lived in Babylonia. Due to their impiety (!) the gods destroyed them, presumably by the flood. Belos survived the flood and founded Babylon and its tower. The tower of Babel was named after Belos. After a second act of impiety, the gods destroyed the tower and the giants were scattered across the whole earth. A passage in the *Sibylline Oracle*, widely recognized as dependent on *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, adds another detail: the tower was cast down by a great wind sent from heaven.[282]

This account has many features in common with Berossus and with Gen 11:1–9. All three described Babylon as founded (or re-founded) by survivors of the flood.[283] Additionally, *Pseudo-Eupolemus* contained an account of the destruction of the tower of Babel and the scattering of the giants across the earth, linking up more directly with Genesis.

Several aspects of the story in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* point to a Mesopotamian source independent of Genesis. The description of Belos as a giant may have been based in part on the enormous representations of Bel-Marduk at Babylon.[284] *Enûma Elish*, which described Marduk's gigantic stature,[285] provides another parallel. Several Mesopotamian sources portrayed Bel as founder of Babylon, notably *Enûma Elish*, Berossus (Abydenos) and *The Poem of Erra*.[286] Bel as a king ruling Babylon from his temple-throne was another common Mesopotamian conception.[287] Bel-Marduk was the protagonist in several Mesopotamian literary works. In *The Marduk Prophecy*, the abduction of the statue of Marduk by the Hittites was transformed into a tale in which Marduk, king of Babylon, took a journey to the west and returned.[288] In *The Marduk Ordeal*, the capture of Marduk's statue by Sennacherib was transformed into a tale of Marduk's imprisonment and interrogation for suspicion of rebellion against Assur, Assyrian lord of the gods.[289] *The Poem of Erra*, in close analogy to *Pseudo-Eupolemus*,

282. *Sibylline Oracles* 3.101–3; cf. *Jub.* 10:26. Both passages drew on *Pseudo-Eupolemus*.

283. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 32 [Mosshammer]); Gen 11:1–9; cf. *Pseudo-Eupolemus OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.2–3; 18.2).

284. Berossus drew on the iconography of the gates of Babylon for his description of the primordial monsters that were allied to Tiamat before the creation of the world. See Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 [Mosshammer]); cf. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 10. The huge images of Marduk at Babylon could have served as the basis for the description of Marduk and other Babylonian gods as giants. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.183 said the golden image of Bel in the temple at Babylon stood twelve cubits; Ktesias (Diodorus Siculus. *Library* 2.9.5) claimed the statue had a height of forty feet.

285. *Enûma Elish* 1.99–100: "He was the loftiest of the gods, surpassing was his stature; his members were enormous, he was exceedingly tall."

286. *Enûma Elish* 6.55–58; Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 11.41.457b–c), drawing on Berossus; *The Poem of Erra* 1.139.

287. According to Herodotus, *Histories* 1.182, "the god" (Bel-Marduk) was thought to come down in person at nights into the sanctuary atop the ziggurat of Babylon.

288. B. Foster, *Before the Muses: An Anthology of Akkadian Literature* (2 vols.; Bethesda, Md.: CDL Press, 1993), III.13 i 13ff.

289. A. Livingstone, *Mystical and Mythological Explanatory Works of Assyrian and Babylonian Scholars* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986), 222, 231; T. Frymer-Kensky, "The Tribulations of Marduk: The So-Called 'Marduk Ordeal Text,'" *JAOS* 103 (1983): 131–41 (132, 140).

recounted misfortunes befalling Bel-Marduk. The mortality of the gods (giants) in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* has parallels in Mesopotamian literature such as *Enûma Elish*, in which the gods Apsu and Tiamat and a number of primordial monsters were slain, and in which humans were created from the blood of a beheaded god.[290] These are all indications of an authentic Mesopotamian source behind *Pseudo-Eupolemus*.

Although *Pseudo-Eupolemus* incorporated a flood story, it was not the familiar deluge of *The Atrahasis Epic*. Gilgamesh and Utnapishtim did not appear in *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, nor was the survival of a remnant of humankind a matter of significance. The ark did not even merit mention. In *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, the protagonists were the gods, and the survival of Bel-Marduk, not humanity, was the notable event. The flood was not the exclusive focus of *Pseudo-Eupolemus*. The story continued through a second cataclysm that destroyed Babylon's tower. These details point to a source other than the standard Mesopotamian flood stories.

Parallels between *The Poem of Erra* and the Tower of Babel story in Genesis have already been discussed. Numerous parallels also exist between *The Poem of Erra* and *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, pointing to a genetic relationship between the two. As in *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, Babylon was the main setting of *The Poem of Erra*, and the god Bel-Marduk was the main protagonist. Both *The Poem of Erra* and *Pseudo-Eupolemus* presented Bel-Marduk as building the temple at Babylon. This structure served as the palace from which he ruled the city after the flood.[291] Both associated the departure of Bel-Marduk from Babylon with a catastrophe that struck the city.[292] In *The Poem of Erra*, human impiety was the reason for Bel-Marduk's departure from Babylon and all the cosmic disorder that ensued (and specifically for the flood).[293] *Pseudo-Eupolemus* also cited impiety of the

290. Ea slew Apsu at *Enûma Elish* 1.69, 112; Marduk slew Tiamat at *Enûma Elish* 4.101–5; the gods allied with Tiamat's were slain or imprisoned at *Enûma Elish* 4.106–18; the god Kingu was executed and humankind created from his blood at *Enûma Elish* 6.29–33 (cf. *The Atrahasis Epic* 1.172–73, 208–9, 223–24; Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b [Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 (Mosshammer)]). *The Poem of Erra* 3c.32–33 also alluded to slaying vanquished gods; cf. other references to "dead gods" at Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 45 n. 103. *Pseudo-Eupolemus* is sometimes seen as indebted to Euhemerus, who rationalized the gods as famous men of the past (Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 290; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:85; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 23.360A and Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 6.1.10, where Euhemerus portrayed Zeus as a mortal king, contemporary with Belus, king of Babylon), but the tradition in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* lies closer to Mesopotamian traditions in which gods lived among humans, literally dwelling in their temple palaces.

291. *The Poem of Erra* 1.129; 4.117.

292. In *The Poem of Erra*, Bel-Marduk's departure from Babylon precipitated both the flood and the later fall of Babylon and its tower. Berossus, if he included *The Poem of Erra*'s account of the fall of Babel, would likewise have attributed the fall of the city and tower to the departure of the gods. *Pseudo-Eupolemus* and Genesis reverse the original cause and effect by attributing the departure of the giants, including Belos, to God's action in casting down the tower and scattering the residents of Babylon across the earth. This altered tradition in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* was obviously under the influence of Gen 11, which *Pseudo-Eupolemus* synthesized with his Mesopotamian source, namely, *The Poem of Erra* (by way of Berossus).

293. *The Poem of Erra* 1.122–24; cf. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 31 n. 36.

residents of Babylonia as the cause of the flood.[294] This detail, present in both *The Poem of Erra* and *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, was absent both in Genesis and in *The Gilgamesh Epic*. Most significantly, in both *The Poem of Erra* and *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, Bel-Marduk was himself a survivor of the flood.[295] In *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, as in *The Poem of Erra*, Bel-Marduk was pictured as driven from Babylon, his home, by other powerful gods who destroyed the tower of Babel. In *The Poem of Erra*, Bel-Marduk was the similar victim of a conspiracy led by Erra, god of destruction,[296] who tricked him into leaving Babylon and in his absence staged a coup, took over the government of the universe, and destroyed Babylon, its fortifications and its ziggurat. Only in *The Poem of Erra* do we have a cuneiform example of Bel-Marduk's exile and Babylon's fall resulting from a rivalry of the gods. Another parallel relates to the destruction of the tower of Babel by a wind from the gods, as attested in *Sibylline Oracles* 3.97–109,[297] which is widely acknowledged as having drawn on *Pseudo-Eupolemus*.[298] *The Poem of Erra* also listed an "evil wind" as one of the agents of destruction in the catastrophe that followed Marduk's second departure from the throne.[299] Finally, both *Pseudo-Eupolemus* and *The Poem of Erra* mentioned the fall of Babylon's ziggurat.[300] (Genesis omitted any mention of the fall of the tower of Babel, stating only that the construction in Babylon ceased after its residents were scattered.)

All these pointed parallels demonstrate that *Pseudo-Eupolemus* was specifically indebted to *The Poem of Erra*. However, it seems incredible that Pseudo-Eupolemus, a Samaritan author of the third or second century BCE, would have had direct knowledge of *The Poem of Erra* in cuneiform. Rather, Pseudo-Eupolemus appears to have obtained his knowledge of *The Poem of Erra* by means of an intermediate source, presumably writing in Greek, since Pseudo-Eupolemus himself wrote in Greek and utilized the Septuagint and other Greek sources. Berossus is the most obvious and indeed the only known Greek source on Babylonian cuneiform traditions.

*Berossus*

Opinion is divided over whether *Pseudo-Eupolemus* was dependent on Berossus's *Babyloniaca*.[301] Wacholder, Walter and Schnabel originally held that

294. Pseudo-Eupolemus *OTP* F2 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.18.2).

295. *The Poem of Erra* 1.140.

296. Cagni, *The Poem of Erra*, 15–16.

297. See n. 282 above.

298. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 290; J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (SBL Dissertation Series 13; Missoula: University of Montana, 1972), 25–26, 142 n. 25.

299. *The Poem of Erra* 1.174; 3b.2; cf. *Sibylline Oracles* 3.101–3; *Jub.* 10:26.

300. *The Poem of Erra* 1.129; 4.117.

301. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 83, 93–94; N. Walter ("Zu Pseudo-Eupolemus," *Klio* 43–45 [1965]: 282–90) held that *Pseudo-Eupolemus* was dependent on Berossus. Schnabel (*Berossus*, 67–69) originally did also, but later came to believe *Pseudo-Eupolemus* drew on Samaritan oral tradition (*Berossus*, 246). Kvanvig thought *Pseudo-Eupolemus* was only partially dependent on Berossus and otherwise dependent on authentic Mesopotamian traditions not found in Berossus (*Roots of Apocalyptic*, 235, 261–63).

*Pseudo-Eupolemus* directly drew on Berossus;[302] Schnabel later modified his views, concluding that *Pseudo-Eupolemus* drew on an oral tradition of Mesopotamian origin.[303] Wacholder effectively rebutted this view, pointing out that such phrases as "'some say,' 'the Babylonians say,' and 'called by the Greeks' demonstrated that the author made use of literary sources."[304] Further, Wacholder pointed out the direct literary dependence of *Pseudo-Eupolemus*'s tradition on Abraham as the Babylonian sage in the tenth generation after the flood with a virtually identical tradition in Berossus as quoted by Josephus.[305] Hence it appears certain that *Pseudo-Eupolemus* utilized Berossus, at least in part.[306]

Kvanvig acknowledged that *Pseudo-Eupolemus* drew on Berossus.[307] However, Kvanvig pointed out that the flood story in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* had significant differences from the familiar version found in Berossus. In *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, the flood struck the giants, not humankind;[308] the protagonist was

302. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 83, 93–94; Schnabel, *Berossus*, 67–93.

303. Schnabel, *Berossus*, 246.

304. Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 84.

305. According to Berossus *FGrH* 680 F6 (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.158), "In the tenth generation after the flood there lived among the Chaldeans a just man and great, and versed in the celestial lore." In *Pseudo-Eupolemus OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.3), Abraham was likewise of the tenth generation after the flood and "surpassed all men in nobility and wisdom, who also discovered astrology and Chaldean science and who on account of his piety was well-pleasing to God." On the verbal parallels in the biblical and Berossan accounts of the tenth generation, see Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 93–94, citing J. Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm Erhaltenen reste Judäischer und Samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Breslau: H. Skutsch, 1875), 94. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 232, 235, identified the Babylonian sage of the tenth generation as Ahiqar.

306. Another possible instance of direct dependence of *Pseudo-Eupolemus* on Berossus is the enigmatic mention of "Chus [Cham], who the Greeks call Asbolus" in the genealogy of the Phoenicians at *Pseudo-Eupolemus OTP* F1 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.9). M. Niebuhr (*Geschichte Assur's und Babels seit Phul: aus der Concordanz des Alten Testaments, des Berossos, des Kanons der Könige, und der Griechischen Schriftsteller: nebst Versuchen über die Vorgeschichtliche Zeit* [Stuttgart: Magnus, 1857], 472) plausibly suggested that this non-biblical figure should be equated with a post-flood king in Berossus named Chomasbolus. See, more recently, Wacholder, *Eupolemus*, 87; Schnabel, *Berossus*, 68.

307. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 260, 262.

308. Ibid., 235, 261–63. Kvanvig correctly pointed out that in the summary of Berossus preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, humans for the most part predominate the story. Babylon, the first city of the pre-flood world (Berossus *FGrH* 680 T1, T8b [Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 14, 16 (Mosshammer)]), was ruled by a human, the first king, Aloros (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F3b [Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 40 (Mosshammer)]). The *apkallu*-sage Oannes revealed to humankind the arts of civilization, including the "foundation of temples" as well as laws and government (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F1b [Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 29 (Mosshammer)]): one may reasonably infer that Aloros, the first king of Babylon, was also credited with founding a temple of Bel. The earliest humans engaged in astronomical observations. Astronomical records went back 490,000 years, to the very dawn of time (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b [Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 30 (Mosshammer)] 432,000 years; F16b [Pliny, *Natural History* 7.193] 490,000 years). The longevity enjoyed by the ancients allowed them to notice the cyclic pattern of events and thus to invent astrology (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.106–7; Burstein [*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 29] labeled this a probable fragment of Berossus, following the opinion of K. Müller). The astronomical observations and other primordial lore were recorded on tablets of baked clay (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F16b [Pliny, *Natural*

the god Belos, not Xisouthros; the reason for the catastrophe was impiety, whereas in Berossus no reason was given; and *Pseudo-Eupolemus* connected the flood story with the tower of Babel.[309] Kvanvig commented, "A Babylonian could hardly make Belos, the supreme God of Babylon, the hero of the flood."[310] Kvanvig concluded that the account in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* drew on a Mesopotamian tradition distinct from Berossus. Kvanvig did not suggest what that Mesopotamian source might be (e.g. *The Poem of Erra*) or how Pseudo-Eupolemus might have obtained knowledge of it.

Kvanvig's arguments fail to find their mark, insofar as they only demonstrate that the flood tradition in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* differs from that of *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 and the parallel account in Berossus. Kvanvig failed to note the possibility that Berossus may have drawn on a different cuneiform tradition for the post-flood period. We have already seen that Berossus was aware of the tradition that Sippar survived the flood—uniquely paralleled among cuneiform sources in *The Poem of Erra*. It is possible that just as Berossus combined

*History* 7.193]). Prior to the flood, Xisouthros had been warned to bury these tablets in the city of Sippar. The flood struck humanity; Xisouthros and his human companions survived the deluge; the human survivors of the flood exited the ark, retrieved the tablets from Sippar, and re-founded Babylon and other cities destroyed by the flood. Throughout this material, Babylon was given a predominantly human history, as Kvanvig emphasized: Berossus mentioned Babylon's king, its priestly astrologers and its re-foundation by the human survivors of the flood. And yet Kvanvig overlooked a subtle contradiction in Berossus: there are many indications that Berossus utilized another source or sources in which Bel-Marduk was the protagonist. Berossus attributed the foundation of Babylon to the god Bel-Marduk as one of the first acts of creation: "They say that everything originally was water and was called *Thalassa*. Bel restrained it, assigning a place to each thing, and he surrounded Babylon with a wall. But with the passage of time it disappeared and Nebouchodonosoros again built a wall with bronze gates which lasted until the Macedonian domination" (Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F1 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 11.41.457b–c]; Burstein argued that this passage from Abydenos was a fragment of Berossus based in part on *Enûma Elish* 5.119–31 [*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 17 n. 23; cf. Schnabel, *Berossus*, 41–42]). Elsewhere Berossus stated that Bel-Marduk invented astronomy (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.121) and made certain (astrological) predictions (Berossus *FGrH* 680 T9 [Seneca, *Questions About Science* 3.29.1]) which Berossus, as a priest of Bel proficient in the ancient sacred astrological lore, was able to transmit accurately to the Greek world at large (Berossus *FGrH* 680 T9 [Seneca, *Questions About Science* 3.29.1]; cf. W. Lambert, "Berossus and Babylonian Eschatology," *Iraq* 38 [1976]: 171–73 [171–72]). Despite Kvanvig's observation that humanity plays the dominant role in Berossus, there are several stories in the *Babyloniaca* in which Bel-Marduk was clearly the protagonist. This inconsistency simply reflects the divergence of Berossus's cuneiform sources, of which some took humans as their main focus, and others (e.g. *Enûma Elish* and *The Poem of Erra*) focused on the gods.

309. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 257–58. Additionally, Kvanvig raised the objection that Kronos was implicitly identified as Bel-Marduk in *Pseudo-Eupolemus*, which Kvanvig found inconsistent with Berossus. The key passage in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* read, somewhat nonsensically, "The Babylonians hold that Belus, who is Kronos, lived first. Kronos begot sons named Belus and Canaan" (*OTP* F1 [Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.17.9]). R. Doran ("Pseudo-Eupolemus," *OTP* 2:873–82 [881 n. s]) sensibly emended *einai Kronon* to *einai Kronou* to obtain a reading, "The Babylonians hold that Belus, the son of Kronos, lived first. Kronos begot sons named Belus and Canaan." With this emendation there is no identification of Belos and Kronos, and Kvanvig's objection loses its force.

310. Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 258.

*Enûma Elish*, *The Sumerian King List* and *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 to present a connected narrative of the world down to the flood, he likewise drew on *The Poem of Erra* to extend his account to the post-flood generations. In Berossus the ark was of gigantic dimensions,[311] suggesting that the flood survivors were giants in Berossus as in *Pseudo-Eupolemus*. Kvanvig's objections are thus satisfied by the observation that Berossus supplemented *The Gilgamesh Epic* flood story with *The Poem of Erra* in which the focus was Bel-Marduk and the rivalry of the gods, not Xisouthros and humanity.

*Conclusions (the Tower of Babel)*

In summary, important affinities exist between *The Poem of Erra* and the story of the Tower of Babel as found in Genesis and *Pseudo-Eupolemus*. The account of the Tower of Babel in *Pseudo-Eupolemus* appears to derive from *The Poem of Erra* by way of Berossus according to all available evidence. This supports the conclusion that the story of the Tower of Babel in Genesis, which also has strong parallels with *The Poem of Erra*, likewise derived from Berossus. That the Tower of Babel story derived from *The Poem of Erra* already causes difficulties for the Documentary Hypothesis, given *The Poem of Erra*'s late date (680–669 BCE).[312] It is worth noting that *The Poem of Erra* displayed no special interest (or pride) in Babylonian architectural wonders and construction techniques. It was only in Berossus that we encounter in a single document allusions to Babylon as the first post-flood city, to the burnt brick and bitumen architecture of Babylon, and to *The Poem of Erra*'s account of the fall of Babylon. This unique blend of themes points to Berossus as the Mesopotamian source behind the Tower of Babylon story in Genesis.

## 12. *Creation–Flood Genre*

According to Clifford, early Genesis shows Mesopotamian influence with respect to its genre, that of the creation–flood story:

311. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F4b (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 31 [Mosshammer]).

312. *The Poem of Erra* referred to a period of troubles with the "Sutians" during which the Marduk statue was absent from its temple at Babylon. *The Poem of Erra* was written during a subsequent period of national reconciliation in which the statue of Marduk was refurbished and restored to Babylon. It was only under Sennacherib that the seizure of the Marduk statue took place concurrent with troubles with the Sutians, that is, the Chaldeans and Arameans frequently referred to as Sutians starting in the time of Sargon II (721–705 BCE); cf. M. Heltzer, *The Suteans* (Seminario di Studi Asiatici 13; Naples: Istituto universitario orientale, 1981), 95–97. *The Poem of Erra* made reference to the the looting of Esagil with accompanying bloodshed in 692 BCE during the civil war accompanying the rise of Shuzubu the Chaldean at Babylon (cf. *LAR*, II, §§252, 642, 649, 659b, 679; cf. *The Marduk Ordeal* 26, 50–51) and the defeat of southern cities to Sennacherib's army culminating in the fall of Babylon and its temples in 689 BCE. The later repair and restoration of water-damaged cult idols, central to the plot of *The Poem of Erra*, correspond remarkably to identical activities documented under Esarhaddon (680–669 BCE), who reversed Sennacherib's hostile policies towards Babylonia. *The Poem of Erra* likely dates towards the end of Esarhaddon's reign (ca. 670 BCE), when the restoration of the Marduk cult was closely anticipated.

> A useful approach to Genesis 2–11 is to view it in relation to its genre. The genre of chapters 2–11 is a creation–flood story, directly and indirectly attested in Mesopotamian literature, e.g. the *Sumerian Flood Story*, *Atrahasis*, *Gilgamesh XI*, and Berossus, and echoed in some versions of the *Sumerian King List* and the flood story from Ras Shamra. Typically, a preflood period (express or implied) is ended by a flood, the god of wisdom helps his client (named variously Ziusudra, Utnapishtim, Atrahasis, or Noah) to ride out the storm in a boat, and after the flood there is a new beginning for the human race.[313]

It may be questioned whether the cuneiform Mesopotamian creation–flood stories are capable of accounting for the extended narrative of primordial times in early Genesis.[314] It is interesting that Clifford classified only Gen 2–11 as being of the creation–flood story genre, omitting Gen 1. Of all the cuneiform literature he listed, none contained an account of the creation of the world. Only *The Sumerian Flood Story* and its offshoot, *The Atrahasis Epic*, recounted the creation of humans and animals.[315] The flood story embedded in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11, borrowed from *The Atrahasis Epic*, omitted even the creation of humans. The flood story from Ras Shamra, which mentioned Atrahasis, likewise omitted the creation of humans in surviving fragments.[316] In these accounts, there was no genuine interest in creation of the world as a whole. Rather, humanity's creation was described as a foil to humanity's subsequent destruction by the flood, the real focus of the story.

Of all Mesopotamian literature, the account in Berossus's *Babyloniaca* stands alone as certainly combining the creation of the world, the creation of humans, and the flood that ended the primordial age.[317] Only Berossus and the Neo-Assyrian version of *The Sumerian King List* found in the library of Assurbanipal, ca. 650 BCE, combined a list of pre-flood kings with a flood account; but only Berossus additionally mentioned the *apkallu* culture heroes. Berossus had

313. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 145.

314. I. Kikawada and A. Quinn (*Before Abraham Was: The Unity of Genesis 1–11* [Nashville: Abingdon, 1985]) argued that Gen 1–11 was patterned after *The Atrahasis Epic*. But the parallels in literary structure they put forward are highly contrived and unconvincing.

315. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 14, 141. Jacobsen ("The Eridu Genesis," 129–42) combined three Sumerian texts (*The Sumerian Flood Story* and two earlier texts) into a single narrative that he called "The Eridu Genesis," extending from the beginning of humankind through the flood. Jacobsen proposed that the missing beginning of the Eridu Genesis may have contained an account of the creation of humans and animals, but conceded this was a guess, albeit an informed one ("The Eridu Genesis," 131–32). Jacobsen did not suggest that the Eridu Genesis contained an account of the creation of the world. Jacobson considered the reconstructed Eridu Genesis to have important parallels with P, though he noted that a plausible mechanism for direct influence on P was lacking ("The Eridu Genesis," 140–41). Miller pointed out that the affinities of the Eridu Genesis with J are as striking as P ("Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel," 149–50). It is generally recognized that direct evidence for Jacobson's reconstructed text is lacking (Hess, "Comparative Studies on Genesis 1–11," 17; Miller, "Eridu, Dunnu, and Babel," 145–46; Tsumura, "Genesis and Ancient Near Eastern Stories," 45).

316. Lambert and Millard, *Atra-Hasis*, 131.

317. Kvanvig (*Roots of Apocalyptic*, 234) noted the structural parallels between Genesis and Berossus, but stopped short of suggesting actual dependence, due to his premise of the chronological priority of Genesis.

knowledge of *The Sumerian Flood Story*,[318] a flood story closely related to *The Atrahasis Epic* and *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11,[319] and *The Sumerian King List*,[320] that is, all the cuneiform sources Clifford cited except possibly the fragment of the Ras Shamra *Atrahasis Epic*.

Of all the examples Clifford listed of Mesopotamian creation–flood stories going back to the primordial period, Berossus had the greatest similarity to Genesis. He began with an account of the origins of the physical universe and of humanity. He mentioned the origin of the arts of civilization and listed ten rulers of the pre-deluge world, ending with the hero of the flood that destroyed humankind. His account of the flood closely resembled that of Genesis. His account of the survivors of the flood included the rebuilding of Babylon and its tower and their second destruction. Berossus, like Genesis, presented not just a flood story or a king-list but a comprehensive connected historical narrative of primordial times.[321] As such Berossus followed Greek concepts of historiography rather than Mesopotamian models.[322]

The structural parallels between Berossus and Gen 1–11 are so remarkable as to preclude independence of the two accounts. Nor is there any evidence that the biblical model influenced Berossus. Rather, his was an original synthesis of ancient cuneiform sources from the libraries of Babylon. If Berossus and Gen 1–11 are genetically related, as they appear to be, it must be that early Genesis was patterned on Berossus and not vice versa. Genesis 1–11 does not appear to be merely another generic example of the literary genre of the creation–flood story best typified by Berossus, but a direct imitation of Berossus.

## 13. *General Conclusions*

In the preceding pages evidence for the indebtedness of Gen 1–11 to Mesopotamian sources has been thoroughly explored. This has included a review of past identification of parallels between Gen 1–11 and *Enûma Elish*, *The Sumerian Flood Story*, *The Sumerian King List* and Mesopotamian flood accounts. It has also included the discovery of additional Mesopotamian forerunners of Gen 1–11 traditions, such as Oannes as prototype of the serpent, *The Poem of Erra* as the source behind the Tower of Babel story, and a variety of minor details in Mesopotamian myths that are reflected in Gen 1–11 in the disguised form of polemics. An important result of this investigation has been to demonstrate that the dependence of Gen 1–11 on Mesopotamian materials was even more extensive than has previously been realized.

318. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 20.

319. Ibid., 18.

320. Ibid., 19–20, emphasized the differences between Berossus and *The Sumerian King List*, though acknowledging some relationship.

321. Berossus integrated his Mesopotamian sources into a connected narrative. See Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 17.

322. On Berossus as an example of Hellenistic historiography, transforming Mesopotamian lists into a connected narrative of the past in imitation of Greek historical forms, see Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 25–26.

The major question considered in the preceding pages is whether Mesopotamian traditions entered Jewish awareness through a multiplicity of ancient independent sources, as has commonly been assumed, or whether it derived from a single relatively late source, Berossus's *Babyloniaca*. It has been demonstrated that Berossus drew on all the same older cuneiform sources that have been identified as having parallels to Genesis. In several cases, Berossus provides better parallels than the older cuneiform sources[323] (notably the primordial chaos consisting of water and darkness, and the ten antediluvian kings). In other examples, only Berossus provides a convincing parallel (Nimrod modeled on a Babylonian version of Gilgamesh, the Tower of Babel as a story derived from *The Poem of Erra*). In every case it has been shown that Berossus could have been the immediate source for the Mesopotamian influences reflected in Genesis. Additionally, Berossus not only collected together all the same ancient Babylonian sources that influenced Genesis, but also contained the same overall organization of material in an orderly sequential historical narrative as in Genesis. The entire phenomenon of Mesopotamian traditions in Gen 1–11 is completely explained by dependence on Berossus. (The Table of Nations, which does not directly draw on Mesopotamian materials, will be discussed separately in Chapter 6 below.[324]) The weight of evidence strongly favors Berossus as the specific intermediate source by which ancient Mesopotamian traditions came to the attention of the authors of Gen 1–11.

The economy of this model is striking. Instead of a multiplicity of ancient Sumerian and Akkadian cuneiform sources of different ages influencing Genesis by a hypothetical mechanism of oral tradition, one need only discover the mechanism by which a single copy of Berossus's *Babyloniaca* reached Jewish hands. Berossus made a special study of cuneiform sources (much as Manetho did of hieroglyphic and demotic sources). As a priest of Bel, Berossus had special access to ancient cuneiform sources[325] and possessed the requisite ability to read them. And as a priest of Bel, Berossus also had special knowledge of *Enûma Elish*, and special interests regarding foundation legends of the Babylonian kingdom and of the temple of Bel-Marduk (i.e. the Tower of Babel). By writing the *Babyloniaca*, Berossus intended to make the ancient Babylonian traditions available to a wider readership in the Mediterranean world. Indeed, authentic ancient Mesopotamian traditions—especially those of the Babylonians—only came to the attention of the Greek-speaking world through the translation work of cuneiform sources done by Berossus.[326] A translation of the

323. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 105, 350; Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 226, 226, 232–36.

324. Additionally, the four rivers of Eden—one of them the Nile (Gihon)—likely reflected late Hellenistic geographical theories. See Appendix D.

325. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 16, 37–40; Kuhrt, "Berossus' Babyloniaca," 48.

326. Lambert, *Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 13–14: "Jews in Palestine, as well as those in Babylonia in the Hellenistic period, would certainly know of the existence of Babylonian learning, but in general the formidable cuneiform script would prevent any first-hand acquaintance. However, once this barrier had been overcome there was much to interest Jewish scholars since in the matter of the creation and earliest history of humankind Jewish and Babylonian traditions were related, and

Mesopotamian myths and traditions behind Genesis from their original cuneiform sources into Hebrew in the second millennium BCE is entirely hypothetical; into Greek by Berossus entirely certain. The transmission of Mesopotamian traditions to the wider Mediterranean world by means of Berossus entails no difficulties. Extra-biblical evidence indicates that both Samaritans and Jews knew Berossus by about 250 BCE.[327] There is thus no question of Jewish knowledge of Berossus's book shortly after its publication—and through the *Babyloniaca*, knowledge of the entire corpus of Mesopotamian sources that influenced Genesis.

By contrast, the hypothesized transmission of Babylonian materials to the west ca. 1400 BCE entails numerous difficulties. Under this hypothesis, the Sumerian and Babylonian primordial myths are pictured as circulating throughout the Middle East at an early date, taking unique form in each country and language. The proliferation of translations of *The Gilgamesh Epic* into Hittite, Hurrian, etc., suggests such cultural cross-fertilization. One must therefore presume that *Enûma Elish* and *The Gilgamesh Epic* (or some closely related flood story) independently reached South Syria at some early date, and that the cosmological aspects of these accounts regarding such matters as creation and the flood were faithfully transmitted over several hundred years and later adopted by the Jews, while the narrative structure (i.e. the conflict of Marduk and Tiamat or the adventure of Atrahasis) was rejected. The circumstances and date of the transmission of Babylonian myths to Judea, their assimilation into Jewish oral tradition and their ultimate recording in the book of Genesis are all matters of speculation.

The conventional model requires a whole series of essentially unprovable propositions: that the ancient South Syrians were independently exposed to *Enûma Elish, The Gilgamesh Epic* and perhaps Sumerian lists of rulers before the flood; that these Sumerian and Akkadian myths were incorporated in minute detail into Jewish oral tradition and passed down for from anywhere between 500 years (J) to nearly a thousand years (P); and that the essential cosmological details of these Babylonian myths, such as the order of events of creation and many specific details of the flood narrative, were preserved intact through this lengthy process despite a complete change in the cast of gods and human heroes.

Babylonian history impinged on Israelite history during the later monarchy, the exile and thereafter. The Babylonian scholar Berossus, by putting this and other material into Greek in the first half of the third century B.C., provided access..." See also Hess, "Comparative Studies on Genesis 1–11," 4.

327. The Samaritan author commonly called Pseudo-Eupolemus drew heavily on Berossus (Kvanvig, *Roots of Apocalyptic*, 257–60). His work appeared shortly after the third-century BCE *Astronomical Book of Enoch* (to which he favorably referred) and was attacked in the *Book of Watchers*, *Genesis Apocryphon* and *Jubilees*. Several fragments of Berossus are preserved in the writings of Pseudo-Apollodorus, a Jewish chronicler writing ca. 60–30 BCE. Additionally, if Schnabel and Lambert were correct in detecting Jewish interpolations in passages of Berossus quoted by Alexander Polyhistor (see n. 39 above), this would further document Jewish interest in Berossus. See especially Lambert, *Background of Jewish Apocalyptic*, 14–15 and accompanying notes, on Jewish research using Berossus (although his claim that the fragments of the anonymous Samaritan author Pseudo-Eupolemus were authentic fragments of Eupolemus must be rejected).

The above model relies for support primarily on discoveries of fourteenth-century BCE Babylonian literature in the west. Yet the Babylonian literature that is known to have penetrated the west does not include the specific works thought to have been forerunners of Gen 1–11. For instance, *Enûma Elish* and *The Sumerian King List* are known only from Mesopotamian sites. A fragment of the *Atrahasis* flood story found at Ras Shamra provides the closest early parallel to Genesis found in the west, but this fragment lacks the specific striking parallels to Genesis in *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11. Fragments of *The Gilgamesh Epic* dating to the El Amarna age have been found at Megiddo and Boghazköy (in both Hittite and Hurrian translation). However, there is no evidence that the flood story had been incorporated into *The Gilgamesh Epic* at this early date. Rather, cuneiform evidence indicates that the flood story was only attached to *The Gilgamesh Epic* in the late "Standard" version, of which copies have only been discovered in Mesopotamia, and these from only around 750 BCE and later. Since *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 provides the most compelling parallels to the Genesis flood story, this creates a serious problem, since the J flood story was supposed to date to the ninth century BCE. The derivation of the Tower of Babel story from the seventh-century BCE *Poem of Erra* creates a similar difficulty. Based on current evidence, cuneiform sources with strong parallels to the Genesis account have either been found exclusively in Mesopotamia, or, as in the case of *The Gilgamesh Epic* tablet 11 and *The Poem of Erra*, are of an inconveniently late date. Hence the early western transmission of Mesopotamian forerunners of the Genesis account still remains in the realm of hypothesis. The fact that a whole series of Mesopotamian traditions are each required to have been independently handed down in this manner—*Enûma Elish*, the Babylonian flood story, *The Sumerian King List* and legends regarding Nimrod and Babel—puts additional strain on this theory.

Even under the hypothesis that Sumerian and Babylonian–Akkadian traditions entered South Syria in the 1400s BCE, the adoption of these ancient Mesopotamian traditions by the Canaanites also remains a matter of speculation and has not been confirmed by surviving Canaanite or Phoenician materials.[328] The transmission of Babylonian legends by way of Canaanites therefore remains a case of special pleading for which the primary evidence is Gen 1–11 itself. Significantly, while other cosmological traditions in the Hebrew Bible reflected the Canaanite Baal myths of the defeat of the leviathan, Canaanite influences have not been found in Gen 1–11.[329] This suggests that the Mesopotamian tradi-

328. Millard, "A New Babylonian 'Genesis' Story," 126–27: "Reconstruction of a process whereby Babylonian myths were borrowed by the Hebrews, having been transmitted by the Canaanites, and 'purged' of pagan elements remain imaginary. It has yet to be shown that any Canaanite material was ever absorbed into Hebrew sacred literature on such a scale or in such a way." Millard suggested that Babylon's conquest and rule of Israel might have provided a more suitable opportunity for direct exposure to cuneiform sources, but evidence for Babylonian cuneiform literary texts reaching Judea even at this late date is lacking. It seems especially doubtful that literary texts in Sumerian, normally housed in temple or royal libraries, were accessible to any but Babylonian priests whose training included the ancient lore written in this dead language.

329. See n. 14 above.

tions in Gen 1–11 did not arrive by Canaanite intermediaries. Conversely, the Mesopotamian legends of Gen 1–11 do not appear elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible as one would expect if these traditions reflected ancient Jewish oral tradition.[330] Rather, the impact of Mesopotamian myth on the Hebrew Bible was precisely restricted to Gen 1–11, where their influence was pervasive. This striking fact is best explained by Gen 1–11 having been a late addition. Claus Westermann persuasively argued that just as Gen 12–50 provided an introduction to the Exodus story, so Gen 1–11 provided an introduction to Gen 12–50.[331] It stands to reason that Gen 1–11 was the last addition to the Pentateuch, post-dating both the Exodus and patriarchal accounts, and represents one of the very last strata of Jewish tradition.

The account of primordial times at Gen 1–11 thus presents us with several paradoxes. Although Gen 1–11 contained a purported account of the earliest events in human history, this material represents the latest layer of writing in the Pentateuch; and although the primordial history reflects the most ancient of Mesopotamian certain traditions tracing back to sources of 1400 BCE or earlier, these are first documented as coming to Jewish attention only by way of Berossus, writing in Greek in 278 BCE. All these considerations force us to reject, decisively, the old model of Mesopotamian sources influencing Jewish tradition in the second millennium BCE in favor of Berossus as the late source of all Mesopotamian influences on Gen 1–11.[332]

330. Clifford, *Creation Accounts*, 137. H. Gunkel (*Schöpfung und Chaos in Urzeit und Endzeit* [Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1895]) believed that allusions scattered in the Hebrew Bible to Yahweh's battle against Leviathan and other monsters drew on Mesopotamian traditions. However, the tablets unearthed at Ugarit show these passages drew on Canaanite rather than Mesopotamian mythology. See Lambert, "The Babylonian Background of Genesis," 99. Hence the problem of Mesopotamian influences on Hebrew traditions of primordial times is restricted to Gen 1–11.

331. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 2.

332. The extensive use of Berossus's *Babyloniaca* as a historical source in Kings is outside the scope of this book, which deals exclusively with the Pentateuch, but will be addressed in a future study.

# Chapter 6

## THE TABLE OF NATIONS

Genesis 10 contains what is commonly referred to as the Table of Nations, a schematic listing that traces the descent of the various nations of the eastern Mediterranean world from Noah via his three sons Shem, Ham and Japhet.[1] This genealogy charting the eponymous ancestors of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean has close parallels in Greek historiography.[2] This applies especially to P; the story of Nimrod at Gen 10:8–12 from J is an obvious intrusion drawing on Babylonian traditions (see Chapter 5, §9 above).

The Table of Nations is highly problematic in several respects. First, although Gen 10 purported to outline the descent of all humankind from the flood survivors, the Table of Nations was far from all-inclusive. The interests in Gen 10 were restricted to the Egyptian realm to the south (Ham), the Mesopotamian realm to the north (Shem), a scattering of other peoples in northeastern Asia Minor (Japhet), Lydia in central Asia Minor (Shem) and the Ionian Greeks (Javan son of Japhet). Second, it is difficult to identify the underlying principle behind the classification of humankind into the descendants of Shem, Ham and Japhet.[3] In Gen 10 the sons of Noah do not correspond to distinct geographical regions, in contrast for instance to the book of *Jubilees*, where Shem, Ham and Japhet correspond to the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe.[4] The sons of

1. See, generally, Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 495–530; H. Gunkel, *Genesis* (trans. M. Biddle; Macon, Ga.: Mercer University Press, 1997), 85–94, 152–54; N. Sarna, *The JPS Torah Commentary: Genesis* (New York: The Jewish Publication Society of America, 1989), 67–82; U. Cassuto, *A Commentary on the Book of Genesis: Part II, From Noah to Abraham* (Jerusalem: Magnes, 1964), 172–225.

2. Van Seters, *In Search of History*, 23–24.

3. Sarna, *Genesis*, 68: "The Table itself is riddled with difficulties, many of which remain insoluble in the present state of knowledge. It defies the consistent application of any single criterion of selectivity or principles of classification, apart from the very general and rudimentary distribution according to the three broad groupings. Racial characteristics, physical types, or the color of skin play no role in the categorizing. Nor is language a guideline since Canaan, recognized in Isa 19:18 to have the same tongue as Israel, is affiliated with Egypt among the Hamites, while the Elamites, who spoke a decidedly non-Semitic language, are classified under Shem."

4. In *Jub.* 8:10–9:13, the portions of Shem, Ham and Japhet correspond to the continents of Asia, Africa and Europe according to Hecataean geographical conceptions. That is, Japhet included all of Europe from the Atlantic ("Gadeira" in Spain) to the river Tanais ("Tina"); Shem consisted of the regions between the Tanais and the Nile ("Gihon"); Ham consisted of the southern continent from the Nile to the Atlantic ("Atel Sea"). Similarly, Josephus, *Ant.* 1.122–47, roughly equated

Noah do not correspond to language groups, either. Nor was the Table of Nations organized along strict ethnic lines. There are some hints that the nations were grouped politically, as in the designation of Canaan as a son of Ham,[5] but an explanation along these lines has never been seriously or systematically pursued.

Third, the date of the Table of Nations is a subject of perpetual debate. The identification of distinct sources J and P seems valid,[6] but the dating of these sources to the ninth century BCE (J) and fifth century BCE (P) is entirely unsubstantiated by external evidence. This chapter will examine the genealogical information from the P source and demonstrate that it reflected political boundaries of the eastern Mediterranean of 273–272 BCE, approximately contemporary with the Septuagint translation. This will provide for the first time an objective basis for dating the P source in Genesis. For this reason, it is important to undertake a fresh effort to date the Table of Nations.

## 1. *Lydia and the Sons of Shem*

Our analysis of the chronological clues in the Table of Nations will begin with the sons of Shem. The descendants of Shem were listed in Genesis as follows:

> The children of Shem; Elam, and Asshur, and Arphaxad, and Lud, and Aram.[7]

*Elam* referred to the well-known kingdom east of Babylon and Chaldea and along the Persian Gulf. In classical times the name Elam was preserved in the province called Elymais, overlapping the territory of Susiana in western Persia.

*Asshur* referred to the kingdom of Assyria.

*Lud* referred to the kingdom of Lydia in Asia Minor.

*Aram* referred to the peoples of Mesopotamia and Syria.

Shem, Ham and Japhet with Asia, Africa and Europe (though he postulated migrations to have taken place since the original distribution of nations in Gen 10).

5. Sarna, *Genesis*, 64, 68.

6. See the discussion of sources at Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 495–501. The repetitive genealogical formulas used by P in Gen 10:1–7, 20–23, 31–32 form a consistent and self-contained system. The J additions regarding Nimrod son of Kush (10:8–12), the descendants of Egypt (10:13–14), Canaan (10:15–19), Arphaxad (10:24–25) and Joktan (10:26–30) are more problematic. These additions did not form a self-contained system. Westermann believed the original structure of the J material was

I. To Shem (Ham and Japhet) sons were born
   list of sons
II. And he...begot...
III. Their territories extended from...to...

A difficulty is that there is no evidence for this structure in surviving J fragments. Evidence that J originally contained a complete Table of Nations descended from Noah is lacking. Rather, this skeletal structure is provided by P. It is assumed that the redactor R integrated older J and younger P tables, supplementing P with J, and omitting some older J material in the process. There is nothing in Gen 10 to preclude an alternative and simpler theory that the J materials were younger and were added onto the already existing, authoritative Table of Nations from P. This model requires no redactor R.

7. Gen 10:22.

*Arphaxad* is the most obscure of the peoples descended from Shem. The J source identified Arphaxad as the ancestor of Hebrews and, ultimately, of Abraham and the Jews.[8] It has perhaps most plausibly been suggested that Arphaxad referred to Babylonia or Chaldea, which otherwise would be missing from the sons of Shem.[9] The book of *Jubilees* identified Arphaxad as the ancestors of the Chaldeans, as did Josephus.[10] The last three consonants of Arphaxad (ארפכשד) correspond with the Babylonian *Kashdu* or Hebrew *Chesed*, that is, Chaldea, strengthening this identification.[11] But Ptolemy referred to a province of Arrhapachitis in northern Assyria.[12] The precise identification of the people or territory corresponding to Arphaxad therefore remains uncertain, although the association with the vicinity of Mesopotamia seems assured.

The principle underlying the association of Elam, Assur, Arphaxad, Lud and Aram has proven difficult to identify. Assur, Arphaxad and Aram appear to have been the Semitic peoples of Mesopotamia and Syria. The Elamites, though adjacent to Mesopotamia, were of a different ethnic and linguistic group.[13] Lydia in Asia Minor was neither ethnically or linguistically Semitic,[14] nor contiguous with Mesopotamia or Syria. Geographically, Lydia was located in the midst of the Japhetic peoples of Asia Minor. For these reasons, the presence of Lydia among the nations of Shem is considered anomalous and highly problematic.[15]

However, Lydia did have political connections with Mesopotamia and Syria at various points in its history, as shall be discussed below. In what follows, the history of Lydia will be traced through five major historical phases: (a) Lydia as an independent kingdom, ca. 700–547 BCE; (b) Lydia as a Persian satrapy, 547–334 BCE; (c) Lydia under Alexander the Great, 334–323 BCE; (d) Lydia during the Wars of the Successors, 323–278 BCE; (e) Lydia after the Wars of the Successors, 278–246 BCE. Later periods are ignored, since the translation of the Septuagint (ca. 273–269 BCE) under Ptolemy II Philadelphus provides a *terminus ad quem* for the Table of Nations (and for the Pentateuch as a whole). In the

8. Gen 10:22, 24.

9. J. Simons, *The Geographical and Topographical Texts of the Old Testament: A Concise Commentary in XXXII Chapters* (Leiden: Brill, 1959), §24. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.144 equated Arphaxad with the Chaldeans.

10. *Jub.* 9:4; Josephus, *Ant.* 1.144.

11. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 512; Sarna, *Genesis*, 78; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 219; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §24.

12. Ptolemy, *Geography* 6.1.2; cf. 6.1.6 where the city of Arrhapa was mentioned. No weight can be attached to the reference to Arphaxad, king of Media, in Jdt 1:1–5, 11–16, which is full of anachronisms and clearly devoid of authentic historical content.

13. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §28.

14. J. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea: Imperial Interaction in Western Anatolia* (Brown Judaic Studies 52; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1984), 61. The Lydians continued to use their own distinctive script well into the fourth century BCE. In Assyrian omen literature dating to 668 BCE relating to the first contacts of Gyges with Assurbanipal, it was said that the Assyrians were unable to find a translator for the first Lydian ambassador who reached Nineveh, highlighting the strangeness of the Lydian language to Mesopotamians. See A. Olmstead, *History of Assyria* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1951), 421.

15. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 512–13; Sarna, *Genesis*, 78; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 219. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.144 equated Lud with the Lydians.

historical survey that follows, the period 700–246 BCE will be explored to discover in which specific periods Lydia, Mesopotamia and Syria all fell within the bounds of a single empire (and when the other nations of Gen 10 fell outside the boundaries of that same empire). Any time span in which the sons of Shem approximately correspond to an existing historical empire will be considered a possible candidate for the historical context behind the Table of Nations.

*a. Lydia as an Independent Kingdom, ca. 700–547 BCE*

The Lydians were known as Maionians in earliest times[16] when they were ruled by a local dynasty known as the Tylonids.[17] The kingdom of Lydia was established by Gyges, who overthrew the Tylonids and founded of the Mermnad dynasty ca. 680 BCE.[18] Sardis only rose to the status of capital city of Lydia in the seventh century BCE.[19] The name Lydia is first encountered in Assyrian inscriptions shortly after 700 BCE referring to Gyges of Lydia ("Guggu of Luddu").[20] These facts indicate that the Table of Nations was written no earlier than 700 BCE.[21]

The history of the kingdom of Lydia is well known. The major rulers of the independent kingdom of Lydia were Gyges (ca. 680–ca. 645 BCE), Ardys (ca. 645–ca. 624 BCE), Sadyattes (ca. 624–ca. 612 BCE), Alyattes (ca. 612–560 BCE) and Croesus (560–547 BCE).[22] During the 600s to mid-500s BCE when Lydia

16. Homer, *Iliad* 2.864–66; 3.401; 4.141–45; 10.431; 18.291; Herodotus, *Histories* 1.7; 7.77; Strabo, *Geography* 12.8.12; Pliny, *Natural History* 5.11.

17. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 34. The Tylonid (Heracleid) kings of Lydia are mostly known from Herodotus, *Histories* 1.7–13, 93–94, Xanthus's *Lydaica* and Nicolaus of Damascus's *Universal History* (*FGrH* 90 FF 22–29, 46, 49). See also generally L. Alexander, *The Kings of Lydia and a Rearrangement of Some Fragments of Nicolaus of Damascus* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1914).

18. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 33.

19. It is unknown when the transformation from village to city took place at Sardis, but the site was transformed into the capital city of a true kingdom in the early seventh century BCE under Gyges. During the archaeological phase of the Lydian Kingdom (680–547 BCE), monumental architecture expressive of royal power was seen for the first time in archaeological features such as the triple fortifications of the acropolis with its new royal palace, the massive walls of the lower city and the outsized burial mounds of the Lydian kings. See G. Hanfmann and W. Mierse, *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times: Results of the Archaeological Exploration of Sardis 1958–1975* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983), 33, 59, 84–85, 212–13.

20. Ibid., 213.

21. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §§150–51, found the late date of the Lydians "whose history begins shortly before 700 BCE, outside the framework of the main group of Shem." Simons, who perceived the descendants of Shem as roughly corresponding (in their "original" conception) to the Fertile Crescent or Mesopotamian realm (in contrast to Ham, representing the Pharaonic Egypt), found Lydia's presence among the sons of Shem an inconvenient, "discordant" element both geographically and chronologically, and thus suggested the deletion of Lydia from the Table of Nations. See J. Simons, "The 'Table of Nations' (Genesis 10): Its General Structure and Meaning," in Hess and Tsumura, eds., *"I Studied Inscriptions from Before the Flood,"* 234–53 (246–47). Simons did not suggest why Lydia was later added (or why under Shem, when Lydia would properly have been grouped with Japhet geographically).

22. For the Mermnad dynasty, see Herodotus, *Histories* 1.14–56, 69–92, 153–56; Nicolaus of Damascus *FGrH* 90 FF 62–68; Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 33–57; J. Pedley, *Sardis in the Age of Croesus* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1968), 38–57.

dominated Asia Minor, Lydia was a rival in power and wealth to Greece, Persia and Egypt. However, the Table of Nations could not have been written during the heyday of the Lydian kingdom, since Mesopotamia was then ruled by another kingdom, the Persians, and since the Ionians (i.e. Javan the son of Japhet) were ruled by Lydia.

*b. Lydia as a Persian Satrapy, 547–334 BCE*

In 547 BCE Cyrus the Great defeated the Lydian king Croesus and incorporated Lydia into the Persian Empire.[23] Lydia became another satrapy of Persia alongside Assyria, Media, Persis, Syria and others.[24] Sardis served as capital of the western Persian Empire.[25] The grouping of Lydia together with districts in the vicinity of Mesopotamia and northern Syria as sons of Shem in the Table of Nations therefore corresponds to political realities after the Persian conquest in 546 BCE.

However, the Persian period can be easily excluded as the historical backdrop of the Table of Nations. Cyrus the Great (559–530 BCE) ruled the Medes as well as Persians, and the Medes (Madai) were included among the sons of Japhet. Additionally, Cyrus ruled the Ionians (i.e. Javan the son of Japhet). Even less suitable is the time of Cambyses II (529–522 BCE) during which the Persians conquered Egypt (i.e. Mizraim son of Ham). By the time of Darius I (521–486 BCE), the Persian Empire included within its borders the entirety of the biblical Shem, Ham and Japhet combined.[26]

A comparison of the boundaries of the Persian Empire under Darius I with the territories included in the Table of Nations is nevertheless revealing. Excluding the eastern territories conquered by Darius, the regions included within the Persian Empire correspond almost precisely with the countries listed in the Table of Nations.[27] This suggests that the Table of Nations displayed an implicit historical awareness of the world ruled by the Persians. The Table of Nations appears to reflect some later historical period after the breakup and partition of the Persian Empire.

*c. Lydia Under Alexander the Great, 334–323 BCE*

One must therefore consider the period following the fall of the Persian Empire to Alexander the Great as a possible background for the Table of Nations. The

23. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 33.

24. For the conquest of Lydia, see Herodotus, *Histories* 1.84–88; A. Burns, *Persia and the Greeks: The Defence of the West, c. 546–478 B.C.* (London: Duckworth, 1984), 36–47; Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 95–122. See Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 170–71, on the satrapies of western Anatolia listed at Herodotus, *Histories* 3.89 as financial districts rather than true satrapies.

25. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.120 (on the appointment of Oroetes as governor of Sardis); cf. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 105, 109.

26. The Persian Empire also included Javan (i.e. the Ionians of Asia Minor), unless it is insisted that this term included mainland Greece and Macedonia.

27. See Herodotus, *Histories* 3.97 on the Caucasus as the boundary of the Persian Empire. This may be compared with Gen 10, where none of the Japhetic countries extended as far as the Caucasus. In *Jubilees*, Shem was assigned all of Asia as far as the river Tanais, and Japhet included all of Europe as far as the Atlantic (see n. 4 above).

prominent role of Javan (i.e. the Ionians) in the list of nations shows an extraordinary interest in the Greek world that is highly appropriate to the Hellenistic period. Under Alexander, Lydia was ruled by the Macedonians alongside the other territories allotted to Shem in the Table of Nations. Yet the conquests of Alexander the Great included nearly the entire Table of Nations, that is, all of the former Persian Empire (with a few minor exceptions, mostly to be found among the sons of Japhet). Since Alexander's empire included Ionia (Japhet), Egypt (Ham), Lydia, Asia Minor and Mesopotamia (Shem), the national affiliations in the Table of Nations find no correspondence with political boundaries during the lifetime of Alexander.[28]

*d. Lydia During the Wars of the Successors, 323–278 BCE*

During the chaotic decades immediately following the death of Alexander, the political map of the eastern Mediterranean was redrawn on almost a yearly basis as Alexander's generals fought over the scraps of his empire. During this turbulent period, Lydia was briefly united with Syria, Mesopotamia and adjacent territories only once, during the years 315–312 BCE,[29] when general Antigonus, whose empire was centered in Lydia in Asia Minor, overcame his rivals in the east and drove Seleucus, satrap of Babylonia, into exile in Egypt. This suggests the Table of Nations might have been written in 315–312 BCE. However, Antigonus also controlled Cappadocia (Japhet) throughout the entire period 318–302 BCE (see further §3 below). Antigonus's holdings during the years 315–312 BCE therefore exceed the boundaries allotted to Shem in the Table of Nations. This period may therefore also be excluded as having given rise to the Table of Nations.

In 312 BCE, Antigonus suffered a military defeat at the battle of Gaza in Syria and Seleucus returned to power in Babylonia. (The Seleucid Era dates to 312 BCE, which Seleucus later retroactively counted as his first year as king.) Between the years 312–301 BCE, Antigonus held Asia Minor, including Lydia, while Seleucus held Babylonia and the east. After the death of Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus in 301 BCE, the victorious generals agreed that Lysimachus, king of Thrace, should also rule Asia Minor and Macedonia, while Seleucus was assigned Syria, Babylon and the east. Lydia was thus politically severed from Mesopotamia in the years after the battle of Ipsus. This situation changed dramatically in 281 when Lysimachus was defeated and slain by the army of Seleucus in the battle of Corupedion. Lydia was now united with Mesopotamia and northern Syria under the rule of Seleucus, as in the Table of Nations. However, it first seemed that Seleucus would also inherit Thrace and Macedonia as well, regions not included among the sons of Shem, or indeed in the Table of Nations. But in 280, just seven months after the death of Lysimachus, Seleucus was assassinated en route to Macedonia with his army by Ptolemy Keraunos.

28. Further, Alexander's empire included Macedonia, which did not appear in the Table of Nations.

29. Elam, Assur, Arphaxad and Aram roughly correspond to areas where Antigonus campaigned during 317–312 BCE; cf. E. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus* (2 vols.; repr.; Chicago: Argonaut, 1969), 1:45–49, 51–52.

Antiochus I (280–262 BCE), who was already ruling the eastern satrapies while Seleucus was at war, inherited his father's kingdom. By 278 BCE Antiochus had regained control of Lydia in Asia Minor, but Thrace and Macedonia were permanently lost to the Seleucids.

*e. Lydia After the Wars of the Successors, 278–246 BCE*

In 278 BCE, the War of the Successors came to an end.[30] Alexander's empire had been broken up into three stable kingdoms, that of the Antigonids, the Seleucids and the Ptolemies. The Antigonids ruled Macedonia, the Seleucids ruled in Lydia, northern Syria, Mesopotamia and the east, and the Ptolemies ruled over Egypt and southern Syria. The former Persian Empire was essentially divided up into the Seleucid realm and the Ptolemaic realm, plus a scattering of territories around the periphery of Asia Minor that had managed to regain their independence in the interim after the fall of the Persians. This tripartite division of the former territories of the Persian Empire corresponds to the Table of Nations to a remarkable degree.

*Summary*

As a direct result of this historical survey, two periods have been identified in which Lydia, Mesopotamia and Syria were united politically within the bounds of a single kingdom. These were 315–312 BCE (under Antigonus) and 278–246 BCE (under the Seleucids Antiochus I and II). An analysis of the sons of Japhet in Gen 10 will eliminate 315–312 BCE from serious consideration, and the Septuagint translation in ca. 273–269 BCE provides a further chronological constraint. The Table of Nations was thus composed sometime within the period 278–269 BCE. The listing of Lydia (Lud) among the sons of Shem, far from being anomalous or problematic, provides an important clue to identifying both the date and organizational principle behind the Table of Nations. Significantly, Seleucid holdings in Asia Minor after 278 BCE were confined to Lydia and adjacent Phrygia. To the north, the entire Black Sea coast from Bithynia to Pontus had reverted to native rule during the War of the Successors. To the south, the coasts of Caria, Lycia, Paphlagonia and western Cilicia were occupied by the Ptolemies as a result of the First Syrian War. The Seleucids held only the central plateau, from the Cilician Gates to the Ionian coast, administered from Sardis. Sardis, former capital of the kingdom of Lydia, served as the regional capital of Seleucid Asia Minor.[31] When the king was in the east, Babylon served as the royal city of the Seleucids, but in the west Sardis served as capital city when the king was present.[32] Of the two capitals, Lydia may have been the more important to the earliest Seleucid kings.[33] The prominent mention of Lud (Lydia)

30. See, generally, ibid., 1:144–45.

31. Ibid., 1:151. Of the six satrapies in Asia Minor under Alexander the Great, only two—Lydia and Phrygia Hellespontine—are documented as having continued under the Seleucids, Lydia the more important of the two administratively.

32. Ibid., 1:151.

33. Ibid., 1:151 n. 1, commented, "It would therefore be as appropriate to call the Seleucids *Lydians* as Syrians" (emphasis his).

among the sons of Shem in the Table of Nations—problematic in any earlier period—reflects the important position of Lydia in the early Seleucid Empire.[34]

### 2. *The Sons of Japhet (Geographical Analysis)*

We next consider the nations listed as descendants of Japhet. The regions included under Japhet, bordering Mesopotamia and Lydia to the north, together with the Ionian coasts of Asia Minor, correspond strikingly well with the territories of the former Persian Empire that Alexander failed to conquer[35] or which had regained their independence by the year 278 BCE. The sons of Japhet were cataloged as follows:

> The sons of Japhet; Gomer, and Magog, and Madai, and Javan, and Tubal, and Meshech, and Tiras. And the sons of Gomer; Ashkenaz, and Riphath, and Togormah.[36]

It is convenient to discuss the sons of Japhet first from a geographical and then from a historical viewpoint.

*Madai* was used in the Hebrew Bible to refer to the Medes or sometimes the Medes and Persians together. The Medes emerged in the seventh century BCE as a kingdom centered in the eastern Taurus and the Zagros mountain ranges.

*Gomer* is universally recognized as the Gimirrai of cuneiform sources, the Cimmerians of classical historians.[37] Originally occupying the northern coast of the Black Sea, they invaded Urartu in the late 700s and Asia Minor in the early 600s BCE.[38] After suffering defeats from the Assyrians and briefly occupying Lydia,[39] they were eventually restricted to the region of Cappadocia, called Gamir by later Armenian sources.[40]

34. The territories occupied by the sons of Shem did not exactly correspond to the Seleucid Empire, in that the satrapies of the farthest east were ignored. This may simply reflect a lack of interest in the distant east, which does not figure elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible (including the Table of Nations).

35. Mithridates VI Eupator (120–63 BCE) listed the lands that escaped Alexander as follows: "Not one of the peoples subject to [Mithridates] had experienced foreign domination, he said; never had they been ruled by kings not of their own race—whether they looked at Cappadocia or Paphlagonia; or else Pontus or Bithynia, and likewise Greater and Lesser Armenia. None of these peoples had ever been reached by the famous Alexander who subdued the whole of Asia, nor by anyone who succeeded or preceded him." See Justin, *Epitome* 38.7.2.

36. Gen 10:2–3.

37. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §96; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 190; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 504; E. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier: Invading Hordes from the Russian Steppes* (Grand Rapids: Baker Book House, 1982), 49–61; Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, 196.

38. The Cimmerians invaded Urartu in 714 BCE under Rusi I and in 707 BCE under Argishti II. Esarhaddon defeated Teispa the Cimmerian in 679 BCE (Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 35, 52–53). From 676 to 638 BCE the Cimmerians invaded Phrygia and Sardis in Asia Minor (Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 41–44; Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 53–57).

39. Balcer, *Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 41–44; Pedley, *Sardis in the Age of Croesus*, 44–45.

40. Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, *History of Armenia* 1.2 (trans. K. Maksoudian in *Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i History of Armenia* [Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1973; photocopy of the transcript, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1982]); Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 504;

*Ashkenaz* represents the Scythians who were associated with the Cimmerians in cuneiform inscriptions (where Ashkenaz appeared in the form Asguzi) as well as biblical texts.[41] The Scythians, in origin a northern tribe like the Cimmerians, invaded and settled in Armenia and Urartu in the seventh century BCE shortly after the Cimmerians invaded Asia Minor.[42]

*Tubal* and *Meshech* were mentioned together in several biblical passages, in cuneiform inscriptions (where they occured as *Tabalu* and *Muski*[43]) and in Herodotus (where they occured as *Tibareni* and *Moschi*[44]). The kingdom of *Muski*, with its capital at Gordion in central Anatolia, fused with the kingdom of Phrygia by the eighth century BCE.[45] The *Tabalu*, having originally settled in eastern Asia Minor above Cilicia,[46] were eventually forced to the mountains above the Black Sea in what later became part of the kingdom of Pontus,[47] and Herodotus and Strabo located the *Moschi* and *Tibareni* above the Black Sea.[48]

*Magog* appeared in Ezekiel in association with Gog, Tubal and Meshech in eastern Asia Minor.[49] The derivation of Magog is obscure, but Magog has occasionally been suggested to derive from the Assyrian *mat Gugu* or "land of Gyges," suggesting a connection with Lydia.[50] It is probable that Magog referred to a people of eastern Asia Minor.

*Togormah* appeared in Ezekiel as a northern invader in association with Gomer in eastern Asia Minor.[51] Later Armenian historians listed Togormah as

Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 57, 71–72; Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, 196, and references cited there.

41. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §28; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 506; Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 63.

42. Herodotus, *Histories* 4.12; Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 61–70, 77–80. Ashkenaz was associated with Armenia at Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, *History of Armenia* 1.15.

43. Tabal was first mentioned under Shalmaneser III (858–824 BCE) and Tiglath-pileser III (745–727 BCE). *Tabalu* and *Muski* were mentioned together in the vicinity of Cilicia (Hilakki) at *LAR*, II, §§55, 80, 92, 99, 118, 137. See Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §162; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 19; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 505; Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 24, 25 n. 22 and the literature cited there.

44. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.94; 7.78; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.124.

45. King Mita of *Muski* of the Assyrian records was referred to as Midas king of Phrygia at Herodotus, *Histories* 1.14. He was allied with Ambaris of Tabal against the Assyrians at *LAR*, II, §55. Cf. Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 26–27.

46. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §162; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 191. Mita of *Muski* held territory in Que, near Cilicia (*LAR*, II, §§16, 18, 42–43, 71, 92).

47. Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, 199. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.124 located Tabal in Iberia and Meschos in Cappadocia. It may have been the defeat of Mita of *Muski* and Ambaris of *Tabalu* by Sargon II of Assyria that led to this emigration.

48. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.94 located the *Moschi* and *Tibareni* in the nineteenth satrapy along with the *Macrones* and *Mosynoeci* bordering the Black Sea approaching Colchis. Strabo, *Geography* 12.3.18 put the *Tibarini* and *Macrones* above Trapezus and Pharnacia, and the Moschian Mountains above Colchis.

49. Ezek 38:2.

50. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §154; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 504–5; Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 23; Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, 197.

51. Ezek 38:6.

an ancestor of the Armenian people.[52] Togormah was possibly identical with *Tegarama* of Hittite documents, located (probably at Gürün) between the upper Halys and the Euphrates.[53] It has been suggested that Togormah came from the Assyrian *Til-garimmu*, a fortress on the border of the Assyrian people called *Tabal*,[54] the biblical Tubal, who then occupied portions of Cilicia before pressures drove them north toward the Black Sea.[55]

*Riphath* is identified with the Paphlagonians by Josephus,[56] but this appears to have been merely a guess. In Gen 10:3, Riphath was associated with Gomer (the Cimmerians) and Ashkenaz (the Scythians), both of whom were historically northern tribes who came from the Caucasus.[57] The book of *Jubilees* associated Riphath with the Rhipean mountains,[58] which classical sources equated with the Caucasus.[59] This suggests that Riphath was also viewed as northern invaders from the Caucasus who had settled in Cappadocia or Armenia.

*Tiras* cannot be identified with certainty. One modern suggestion identifies Tiras with the *Tursha*, a Sea People of the late thirteenth century BCE.[60] However, it seems unlikely that P would have known about or included such ancient and obscure information, even under the Documentary Hypothesis. Another suggestion identifies Tiras with the Tyrrhenians who had once lived in the Aegean islands and coasts of western Asia Minor.[61] It was said that famine

52. Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, 197; cf. Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, *History of Armenia* 1.14–15. Yovhannes labeled Togormah a son of Tiras, ruler of the Thracians. The Phrygians of central Anatolia came from Thrace (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.73), probably after the fall of the Hittite Empire (Yamauchi, *Foes from the Northern Frontier*, 77).

53. Sarna, *Genesis*, 71; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 192; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §258.

54. *LAR*, II, §239.

55. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §258; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 506.

56. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.126.

57. J. Gardiner-Garden, *Ktesias on Early Central Asian History and Ethnography* (Papers on Inner Asia, 6; Bloomington, Ind.: Research Institute for Central Asian Studies, 1987), 9–10. "That 'r-p-a' may have designated not only a mountain range (the Caucasus) but also a people is evident from Genesis I.x.12 [*sic*] where Japhet's son Gomer is said to have had three sons, Ashkenaz, Riphat and Togarma... As 'Gomer' is clearly from 'Gimirri', the first wave of horsemen to come down from the Caucasus, and 'Ashkenaz' is clearly from the Assyrian 'A/Is-k/gu-zu-ai'... Riphat too may be supposed to be a mounted people from the Caucasus." Yovhannes Drasxanakertc'i, *History of Armenia* 1.13 had Riphath as ancestor of the Sauromatians.

58. *Jub.* 8:10, 16 referred to the Rafa (i.e. Rhipean) mountains from which the Tanais flowed, possibly associating the biblical Riphat with the Rhipean peaks of Greek literature.

59. The Tanais flowed from the Caucasus in Pseudo-Plutarch, *de Fluviis* 5.3; Strabo, *Geography* 11.2.2; Dionysius Periegetes 663–65. The Tanais flowed from the Rhipean Mountains in Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia* 1.115; Pliny, *Natural History* 4.78; Lucan, *Pharsalia* 3.273; Paulus Orosius, *Seven Books Against the Pagans* 1.2.4. The Rhipean Mountains were viewed as an extension of Mount Caucasus at Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia* 1.109; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.15. Dionysius Periegetes 663–65 used the term "Rhipean Caucasus," combining the two into one.

60. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §256; Sarna, *Genesis*, 70; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 191; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 505. The *Tursha* were mentioned in Merneptah's account of his war with the Sea Peoples in ca. 1220 BCE (*ARE*, 3:574, 579).

61. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §256; Sarna, *Genesis*, 70; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 506.

had forced them to emigrate west where they became the ancestors of the Etruscans.[62] But it seems unlikely that the author of the Table of Nations was aware of such an obscure western nation as the Etruscans.

Josephus and later rabbinical authorities equated Tiras with Thrace.[63] The name Thracia applied primarily to the ancient inhabitants of the region of Europe just opposite Asia Minor across the Dardanelles, Propontis and Hellespont. The other sons of Japhet were all associated with Asia Minor, not Europe. Consequently, the ancient identification of Tiras and Thrace has met with little approval in modern times. However, Thracians also occupied the regions of Thynia and Bithynia on the Asian side of the Thracian Bosporus.[64] Tiras may conceivably have referred to Asiatic Thrace or Bithynia.

*Javan* is universally acknowledged to refer to the Ionians of the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor.

Genesis 10 elaborated on Javan as follows:

> And the sons of Javan; Elishah, and Tarshish, Kittim, and Dodanim. By these were the isles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one after his tongue, after their families, to their nations.[65]

*Elishah* conceivably reflects the old East Mediterranean name for the island of Cyprus, Alashiya.[66] A connection with Elaioussa, an island off Cilicia, has also been suggested.[67] *Kittim* originally referred to the city of Kition on Cyprus, but was later extended to mean the island as a whole.[68] At 1 Macc 1:1 Kittim referred to the Macedonians and at Josephus, *Ant.* 1.128 to the Greek isles and coasts as a whole.

*Dodanim/Rhodanim* appears in both the Septuagint and the Samaritan text of Gen 10:4 as *Rhodanim*.[69] Rhodanim also appeared in the Masoretic text of 1 Chr 1:7. Dodanim thus appears to have been a mistake for Rhodanim at Gen 10:4 (*daleth* [ד] and *resh* [ר] being similar in form and often confused). Rhodanim referred to the inhabitants of the island of Rhodes.[70]

*Tarshish* was associated with joint Phoenician–Israelite naval enterprises of the ninth and tenth centuries BCE in biblical historiographical accounts.[71] Ezekiel 27:12 associated Tarshish with the export of silver, iron, tin and lead (cf. Jer 10:9, also which also mentions silver from Tarsus). In the past this had been considered to correspond well with Tartessos, which was famous for its ore

62. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.94.

63. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.125; cf. Skinner, *Commentary on Genesis*, 199, and literature cited there.

64. Herodotus, *Histories* 7.22, 25 referred to the Bithynians as "Asiatic Thracians."

65. Gen 10:4–5.

66. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §73; Sarna, *Genesis*, 71; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 192–93.

67. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §73.

68. Ibid., §141; Sarna, *Genesis*, 71; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 508.

69. Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 193.

70. Sarna, *Genesis*, 71; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 193.

71. 1 Kgs 22:48 (Jehoshaphat, ninth century BCE); cf. 1 Kgs 9:26–28; 10:11, 22 (Solomon, tenth century BCE).

mines,[72] but archaeological evidence shows that Phoenician presence at Tartessos, and the development of its mining capabilities, began no earlier than 770–760 BCE, seemingly too late to accommodate some biblical references to Tarshish.[73] Tarshish is sometimes taken to refer to Tharros in western Sardinia.[74] Both of these distant westerly locations seem unlikely.[75] Another theory associates the ships of Tarshish with Tarsus of Cilicia (Que) in Asia Minor.[76] Ezekiel 27:12–15 associated Tarshish with other Anatolian place names such as Javan (Ionia), Tabal, Meshech, Togormah and Dedan (Rhodes). Josephus identified Tarshish with Tarsus, capital of Cilicia in southeast Asia Minor.[77] This identification is considered linguistically difficult, since in Hebrew Tarshish was תרשיש while Tarsus appeared on coins (in Phoenician script) as תרז (with a ז instead of an ש)[78] and in most inscriptions as Tar-zi.[79] But in one Assyrian inscription Tarsus may have appeared in the form Tar-si-si,[80] which is a close equivalent to Tarshish. Additionally, the Nora Inscription appears to have

72. Pliny, *Natural History* 4.112 mentioned mines of gold, silver, iron, lead and tin; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 5.35–36. Herodotus, *Histories* 4.152 dated the first Greek voyage to Tartessus by the Samian Colaeus, from which he returned with six talents of silver, to around 630 BCE. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.163 recorded trade relations established by the Phocaeans with Arganthonius king of Tartessus about 600 BCE; Arganthonius was Celtic for "Lord of Silver" (R. Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History: Iberians, Phoenicians and Greeks* [London: Thames & Hudson, 1988], 51). Gades (Cadiz) at the outflow of the Tartessos river, was the Phoenician trading port of the kingdom of Tartessus. Cadiz was once considered a Phoenician outpost of Hiram I, despite an absence of archaeological evidence to corroborate such an early date. See W. F. Albright, "New Light on the Early History of Phoenician Colonization," *BASOR* 83 (1941): 14–22 (21 n. 29); S. Moscati, *The World of the Phoenicians* (New York: Praeger, 1968), 100, 231.

73. M. Eugenia and A. Semmler, "Spain," in *The Phoenicians* (ed. M. Andreose et al.; New York: Abbeyville, 1988), 226–42 (228); Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History*, 40–68.

74. W. F. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1968), 219 n. 30; cf. Sarna, *Genesis*, 71; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 508. Albright's theory was based on a mistaken interpretation of the Nora Inscription: see Appendix E.

75. Cf. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §251.

76. According to D. Wiseman ("Ships and Boats," in *The New Bible Dictionary* [ed. J. Douglas et al.; Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1962], 1178–81 [1180]), "It is more likely that Tarshish refers to the well-known port of Tarsus in Cilicia and is in some way connected with the Gr. *tarsos*, 'oar.'" S. Hoenig ("Tarshish," *JQR* 69 [1978]: 181–82) saw Tarshish as the transliteration of the Greek *thalassos* and argued that "ships of Tarshish" merely referred to "sea-going vessels."

77. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.127. "Tharsos [gave his name] to the Tharsians; the latter was the ancient name of Cilicia, as is proved by the fact that its principal and capital city is called Tarsus, the *Th* having been converted into *T*."

78. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §251. Yet this objection overlooks the possibility that the Hebrew Tarshish derived from the Greek *Tarsos* (Ταρσος) rather than from Semitic.

79. Tarsus occurs as URU=tar-zi in texts under Shalmaneser III (*LAR*, I, §583) and as URU=tar-zi and URU=ta-ar-zu in a text under Sennacherib (*LAR*, II, §§286–87); cf. S. Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms* (AOAT 6; Kevalaer: Butzon & Bercker, 1970), 349.

80. Tarsus occurs as KUR=tar-si-si in a text under Esarhaddon: "All kings who live in the midst of the sea, from Cyprus and Javan as far as Tarshish, submit to my feet" (trans. at Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 507; cf. *ANET*, 290; Parpola, *Neo-Assyrian Toponyms*, 349). Whether this referred to Tarsus or Tartessos is a matter of some debate.

referred to Tarsus as תרשש.[81] Cilicia (like Tartessos in Spain) was an important ancient source of silver, iron and tin.[82] Phoenician pottery at Tarsus began in the ninth century BCE,[83] and early trade with Tyre is plausible.[84] The close proximity of Tarsus with Cyprus, Syria and Seleucid Lydia, makes good geographical sense in the overall context of the Table of Nations.

*The Isles of the Gentiles* were settled by the sons of Javan according to Genesis 10:5. The "isles (or coasts) of the Gentiles" may have referred to Ionian Greek colonies of the Aegean and along the southern coasts of Asia Minor, including Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and perhaps Cilicia.

*Summary*

The sons of Japhet appear to have occupied a contiguous stretch of land from the trans-Taurus mountains of Media and Armenia, along the northern Asia Minor coast as far as Bithynia, together with the Ionian coasts of western and southern Asia Minor. All the sons of Japhet appear to have been located somewhere in the trans-Taurus and Asia Minor, while the only non-Japhetic region in this area was that of Lud (Lydia) son of Shem. That Japhet comprised the trans-Taurus and Asia Minor exclusive of Lydia thus seems plausible independent of specific, often tenuous identifications of the obscure tribes included among Japhet's descendants.

### 3. *The Sons of Japhet (Historical Analysis)*

Having roughly identified the territories occupied by the sons of Japhet, we may next consider these same territories from a historical perspective. It is convenient to discuss them in geographical order, counterclockwise around Asia Minor, starting at Media in the east.

*Media* was one of the richest and most important provinces of the Seleucid Empire.[85] Media thus seemingly should have been assigned to Shem, if Shem represented the Seleucid domains after 278 BCE.[86] However, a significant portion

81. See Appendix E.

82. The mountains above Tarsus were known in Assyrian records as the "Mountains of Silver" (*LAR*, I, §§579, 682). Cilicia was an important source of iron from Hittite to Neo-Babylonian times (W. F. Albright, "Cilicia and Babylonia under the Chaldean Kings," *BASOR* 120 [1950]: 22–25 [24]). Archaeological discoveries of tin mines above Cilicia show it to have been an important source for that metal (A. Yener and P. Vandiver, "Tin Processing at Göltepe, an Early Bronze Age Site in Anatolia," *AJA* 97 [1993]: 207–38; B. Earl and H. Özbal, "Early Bronze Age Tin Processing at Kestel/Göltepe, Anatolia," *Archaeometry* 38 [1996]: 289–303).

83. I. Winter, "On the Problems of Karatepe: The Reliefs and Their Context," *Anatolian Studies* 29 (1979): 115–51 (136–39); W. Pitard, "The Identity of the Bir-Hadad of the Melqart Stela," *BASOR* 272 (1988): 3–17 (14–15).

84. Cf. the association of Tyre and Tarshish at Isa 23:1–9.

85. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.5.4 calls Media the "greatest of all satrapies."

86. Simons ("The 'Table of Nations' [Genesis 10]," 247–48) found it discordant that Media (i.e. the Medo-Persian Empire) was not included under Shem for geographical reasons, due to its proximity to Mesopotamia. Simons also found the late date of the Medo-Persian Empire (i.e. after 546 BCE) to be inconsistent with his picture of the Table of Nations as originating in an earlier period.

of Media fell outside of Seleucid boundaries during this period, namely Media Atropatene, named after Atropates, a native ruler of northern Media. Atropates had been the satrap of Media under Darius III.[87] At the battle of Gaugamela, which Darius lost to Alexander, Atropates had been the commander of the Medes, Cadusians, Albanians and Sacesenians.[88] Alexander appointed Atropates satrap of Media[89] and continued friendly relations with him.[90] Perdiccas, Alexander's general, married a daughter of Atropates.[91] At the death of Alexander in 323 BCE, Media was divided between Atropates and the Greek general Pithon.[92] Northern Media became subsequently known as Media Atropatene while the remainder was known as Media Major. Media Atropatene, though initially a Macedonian satrapy, soon became fully independent under Atropates, who declared himself king. As Strabo related,

> Media is divided into two parts... The other part is Atropatian Media, which got its name from the commander Atropates, who prevented also this country, which was a part of Greater Media, from becoming subject to the Macedonians. Furthermore, after he was proclaimed king, he organized this country into a separate state by itself, and his succession of descendants is preserved to this day.[93]

The classification of Madai (Media) as a son of Japhet, that is, outside the realm of the Seleucids, indicates Media here referred specifically to Media Atropatene, the most easterly portion of the anti-Taurus mountains to gain independence after the fall of the Persian Empire.

*Armenia*, comprising the thirteenth satrapy of the Persian Empire,[94] theoretically fell within the domains of Alexander's empire, but for all practicalities became independent after the defeat of Darius III at Gaugamela.[95] After the death of Alexander the fiction of an Armenian satrapy was abandoned. No satrap was subsequently appointed over Armenia.[96] Down to 317 BCE Armenia was ruled by the native satrap Orontes.[97] When we next hear of this region, in 302 or

87. Arrian, *History of Alexander* 3.8.4; 4.18.3.

88. Arrian, *History of Alexander* 3.8.4.

89. Arrian, *History of Alexander* 4.18.3.

90. Arrian, *History of Alexander* 7.13.2 reported an anecdote in which Atropates sent Alexander 100 Amazonian warriors as a present. This is highly reminiscent of the 100 boys and 100 girls the inhabitants of Colchis and the Caucasus sent each year as tribute to the Persians during the time of Xerxes (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.79). The Colchians and inhabitants of northern Caucasus, though not included in the Persian satrapies, lay within the Persian sphere of influence and contributed soldiers to Xerxes' army. That they apparently sent their yearly allotment of girls (and boys?) to Alexander —mediated by Atropates, Alexander's representative this far south—suggests their formal recognition of Alexander as successor to the Persians.

91. Arrian, *History of Alexander* 7.4.5; Justin, *Epitome* 13.4.13.

92. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.3.1, 3.

93. Strabo, *Geography* 11.13.1.

94. Herodotus, *Histories* 7.93; cf. 7.73.

95. Alexander appointed a Persian, Mithrenes, as satrap of Armenia. Arrian, *History of Alexander* 3.16.5.

96. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.3.1–3.

97. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.41.1; 19.23.3.

301 BCE, a native ruler, King Ardoates, governs it.[98] The Seleucids regained control of Armenia sometime in the third century BCE after the death of Ardoates.[99]

*The Kingdom of Pontus*, ruled by the dynasty of Mithridates, arose in the region of the *Moschi* and *Tibareni* that once comprised the nineteenth satrapy of the Persian Empire.[100] The line of Mithridates originally served as satraps under the Persians. Mithridates II (337–302 BCE),[101] surnamed Ktistes ("the Founder"), was considered founder of the kingdom of Pontus,[102] although during the Wars of the Successors he remained nominally subject to Antigonus. His son Mithridates III (302–266 BCE) extended his rule over parts of Cappadocia and Paphlagonia.[103] Mithridates III formally declared himself king in 281 or 280 BCE[104] and joined the anti-Seleucid Northern League, an alliance between Pontus, Heraclea, Byzantium and Chalcedon, located on the coasts of the Black Sea and the Propontis.

*Cappadocia*, together with Bithynia, comprised the third satrapy of the Persian Empire along the northern coast of Asia Minor.[105] This region was not conquered by Alexander, but after his death Eumenes was appointed general over Pontus, Paphlagonia and Cappadocia and assigned the task of defeating Ariarathes I, ruler of Cappadocia.[106] Eumenes displayed staunch loyalty to Perdiccas, Alexander's immediate successor, and as a reward Perdiccas assisted Eumenes in conquering Paphlagonia and Cappadocia in 322 BCE.[107] Ariarathes I was defeated in battle, captured and crucified, along with several of his kinsmen.[108] Ariarathes II, his nephew, fled to Armenia for protection.[109] Perdiccas left Cappadocia under the rule of Eumenes, but when Perdiccas was slain in 321 BCE, the opponents of Perdiccas labeled Eumenes their enemy and set about his capture. Eumenes suffered a defeat by Antigonus in Cappadocia in 320 BCE[110] and abandoned the province permanently in 318 BCE.[111] In 316 BCE he was

98. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 31.19.5. Ariarathes II, scion of Cappadocia, fled to Armenia in 315 BCE and at a later date returned to Cappadocia and expelled the Macedonians with the assistance of Ardoates. The date of this incident, approximately contemporary with the battle of Ipsus, is discussed below.

99. According to S. Sherwin-White and A. Kuhrt (*From Samarkhand to Sardis: A New Approach to the Seleucid Empire* [London: Duckworth, 1993], 15, 190–94), Armenian rulership throughout the third century BCE was at the largesse of the Seleucids (on evidence of Appian, *Syrian Wars* 57; Polybius, *Histories* 4.17), but the evidence for this is clear only in the account of Antiochus III's Armenian campaign in 212 BCE.

100. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.94.

101. See Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.111 for the dates of Mithridates II and III.

102. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 16.112.

103. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.111.3.

104. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:153.

105. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.90.

106. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.3.1.

107. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.16.1–3; Justin, *Epitome* 13.6.1–3.

108. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 31.18.16; 19.4.

109. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 31.19.5.

110. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.4.1–5.1.

111. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.59.1–2.

finally captured and slain by Antigonus in Mesopotamia.[112] In 315 BCE, after the death of Eumenes, Cassander attempted to take over Cappadocia with an army under the command of one of his generals, but Antigonus sent his own forces under general Ptolemy (his nephew) and recovered the province.[113] Thereafter it was ruled by Amyntas, a general under Antigonus until shortly before the battle of Ipsus in 301 BCE. It was about this time that Ariarathes II, the exiled scion of Cappadocia returned to his homeland and regained power with Armenian military assistance. As Diodorus related:

> Not long after, Eumenes and Perdiccas having died, and Antigonus and Seleucus being elsewhere engaged, he [Ariarathes II] obtained an army from Ardoates, king of Armenia, slew Amyntas, the Macedonian general, expelled the Macedonians from the land in short order, and recovered his original domain.[114]

The date of this event is important for our purposes. The eviction of the Macedonians was said to have taken place after the death of Perdiccas (321) and Eumenes (316), but before the death of Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus (301). At the time Ariathes II returned to power, both Antigonus and Seleucus had claims on Cappadocia, but were (according to the above passage) "elsewhere engaged." Seleucus had spent his first ten years (312–302 BCE) consolidating his power in the east.[115] According to all available evidence, Antigonus retained control of Cappadocia until the year 302 BCE. In the winter of 302/301 BCE, the troops of Seleucus, newly arrived from the eastern satrapies, wintered in Cappadocia.[116] Seleucus's territorial claims on Cappadocia must date to this event. When spring arrived, Seleucus proceeded into Asia Minor, where he defeated Antigonus at the battle of Ipsus. That "Antigonus and Seleucus were elsewhere engaged" suggests that Ariarathes II regained southern Cappadocia in 301 BCE, after the departure of Seleucus's troops. The independence of Cappadocia from the Macedonians may therefore be dated to 301 BCE.[117]

The northern coastal portions of Cappadocia came under the control of Mithridates III about this same date.[118] Around 280, Ariarathes II was succeeded as king of Cappadocia by his son Ariamnes II. Cappadocia thereafter remained independent. In later times, under Antiochus II Theos (262–246 BCE), a diplomatic marriage took place between the ruling houses of the Seleucids and the Cappadocians.[119]

The province of Cappadocia thus appears to have remained under the control of Antigonus throughout the period 315–302 BCE. Earlier we noted that during

112. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 19.44.2; cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:44.

113. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 19.57.1, 4; 60.2.

114. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 31.19.5.

115. Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 11–13; Justin, *Epitome* 15.4.10–12; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 55. It was only in 302 BCE that Seleucus entered Asia Minor to wage war against Antigonus. Cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, I, 57, 59; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.113.4.

116. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.113.4.

117. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:97.

118. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.111.3.

119. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 31.19.5–6.

the period 315–312 BCE Antigonus controlled Lydia, Mesopotamia and Syria, the territories subsumed under the sons of Shem. But it may now be seen that he also controlled Cappadocia, within the region assigned to Japhet. This inconsistency excludes the period 315–312 BCE as a possible date for the Table of Nations. The Table of Nations must therefore have been composed during the years 278–269 BCE on the evidence so far considered.

*Paphlagonia* consisted of the northern shore of Asia Minor between Pontus and Cappadocia in the east and Bithynia in the west. After fleeing the camp of Antigonas ca. 320 BCE, Mithridates II established an independent domain at first centered at the fortress Cimiata in Paphlagonia. He may have abandoned Paphlagonia when he later established the kingdom of Pontus further to the east.[120] His son Mithridates III managed to regain power over portions of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia after 301 BCE.[121] At some point in the early third century BCE, Paphlagonia appears to have again come under the power of a native ruler, Morzias.[122]

*Bithynia* lay immediately west of Paphlagonia along the northern Asia Minor coast. Not conquered by Alexander, Bithynia became fully independent when the Macedonian general Callas was slain there in 325 BCE. A native ruler, Ziboetes, assumed the title of king of Bithynia in 297 BCE[123] and held out against repeated Macedonian attacks under Seleucus I and Antiochus I.[124] His son, Nicomedes, joined the anti-Seleucid Northern League in 281/280 BCE and was appointed its head. He held out against the armies of Antiochus I in several battles.[125] In 278–277 BCE Nicomedes admitted an army of marauding Gauls, recently evicted from Greece and Macedonia, into Asia Minor as his mercenaries. After wreaking considerable havoc in Seleucid domains, the Gauls were finally confined to a region in the interior that was thereafter known as Galatia. Bithynia ceased to come under Seleucid attack after the incursion of the Gauls.

*Ionia* referred primarily to the twelve coastal cities of the Ionian league in western Asia Minor. These Greek cities, though under the direct rule of the Persians, were "liberated" under the Macedonians and remained technically independent during the Seleucid control of Asia Minor.[126]

*Summary*

This entire region, although subject to the Persians, had regained independence by the year 278 BCE, comprising a series of minor kingdoms under local native rule, together with the free city-states of the Ionian league.[127] Definite declara-

120. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 2.9; Plutarch, *Demetrius* 4.

121. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.111.3.

122. Strabo, *Geography* 12.3.41; Polybius, *Histories* 25.2.9; cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:155.

123. Ibid., 1:98.

124. Ibid., 1:131–33.

125. Ibid., 1:134–35.

126. Ibid., 1:100–16, 157–68.

127. See ibid., 1:91–126, 153–68, on the status of the minor native kingdoms and the Ionians of Asia Minor under Alexander, the Successors and the early Seleucids.

tions of independence from Seleucid rule came as late as 301 BCE (Cappadocia), 297 BCE (Bithynia), or 281–280 BCE (Pontus). All indications are so far consistent with the Table of Nations having been written anytime in the period 278–269 BCE. An analysis of the sons of Javan will allow us to narrow this date range somewhat.

### 4. *The Sons of Javan*

Although identification of the regions referred to under the sons of Javan must in some cases remain tentative, the Ionian territories all appear to fall within the boundaries of the former Persian Empire. In the period 278–269 BCE all fell within the Ptolemaic sphere of influence.

*Cyprus* had a strong Greek component since ancient times.[128] Under the Persian Empire, Cyprus had comprised the fifth satrapy.[129] Cyprus changed hands several times during the Wars of the Successors.[130] Ptolemy I Soter permanently annexed Cyprus about 294 BCE.[131]

*Rhodes* referred to the entire island in earlier times. The city of Rhodes was founded only in 408 BCE by inhabitants from Ielysus, Lindus and Cameirus, the island's three major cities.[132] Starting in the late fifth century BCE, Rhodes was subject first to the Persians, then to the Athenians, Spartans and finally the Macedonians.[133] With the death of Alexander in 323 BCE, Rhodes evicted the Macedonian garrison and proclaimed its independence.[134] In the War of the Successors, Rhodes maintained a policy of neutrality to all the warring parties, but inclined towards the Ptolemies due to trade relations.[135] In 305–304 BCE, it was drawn into the war and sustained "the most famous siege in ancient history"[136] under assault by the fleet and army of Demetrius son of Antigonus. Ptolemy I sent relief to the Rhodians in the form of a fleet of cargo ships loaded with provisions and 1500 soldiers.[137] After the siege was lifted, the thankful Rhodians officially established a cult of Ptolemy Soter ("the Savior") with yearly

128. J. Cook, *The Greeks in Ionia and the East* (New York: Praeger, 1963), 63–65; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 193.

129. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.91 included Cyprus, Phoenicia and Palestine Syria within the fifth satrapy.

130. On the struggle between Antigonus and Ptolemy I Soter over Cyprus in 315–313 BCE, see, for instance, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 19.59.1; 62.3–5; 79.4.

131. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:146; idem, *The House of Ptolemy*, 37; W. Tarn, "The New Hellenistic Kingdoms," *CAH*[1], 7:73–107 (78).

132. Diodorus of Sicily, *Library* 13.75.1.

133. See, generally, R. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1984), 19–58.

134. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 18.8.1.

135. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.88.1–4.

136. W. Ellis, *Ptolemy of Egypt* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 48. For an account of the siege of Rhodes, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.81.1–88.9; 91.1–100.4; cf. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 59–80.

137. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.96.1–3; 98.1.

festivities centered at the Ptolemaeum, a sacred precinct constructed in the city of Rhodes.[138]

To commemorate its victory over Demetrius in 304 BCE, the city of Rhodes commissioned the construction of the famous Colossus of Rhodes, one of the Seven Wonders of the ancient world, taking twelve years to complete, financed by the sale of Demetrius's siege engines.[139] Rhodes subsequently became the most powerful independent state of the eastern Mediterranean outside the Seleucids, Ptolemaic and Antigonid kingdoms, and attained a reputation as the wealthiest and best-governed Greek city.[140] That Rhodes merited an independent position in the Table of Nations indicates a date after 304 BCE.

*Cilicia* comprised the fourth satrapy of the Persian Empire, under semi-independent native rule.[141] Greek tradition named the Phoenicians as the ancient inhabitants of Cilicia.[142] Contact between Cilicians and Ionians occurred as early as ca. 700 BCE.[143] But the classification of Cilicia as a son of Javan, that is, a colony of the Greeks, seems better suited to the period after the conquests of Alexander. Alexander sent 10,000 discharged troops to settle the plains of Cilicia in 325 BCE,[144] and the native Cilicians were progressively confined to the mountains of Cilicia Trachea (Rough Cilicia). During the Wars of the Successors, Cilicia was the site of many battles. Antigonus and his son Demetrius managed to retain control of Cilicia through most of this period, although Ptolemy I Soter briefly held the cities of western Cilicia in 310–309 BCE.[145] Seleucus occupied Cilicia in about 293 BCE.[146] During the First Syrian War,[147] Ptolemy I gained control of western Cilicia (or Cilicia Trachea) along with major portions of Caria, Lycia and Pamphylia along the southern Asia Minor coast.[148] Theocritus,

138. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.100.3–4; Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.8.6.

139. Berthold, *Rhodes in the Hellenistic Age*, 80 and n. 42. For a survey of what is known of the Colossus of Rhodes, see R. Higgins, "The Colossus of Rhodes," in *The Seven Wonders of the Ancient World* (ed. P. Clayton and M. Price; New York: Dorset Press, 1988), 124–37.

140. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.81.2; Polybius, *Histories* 33.16.3.

141. Per Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:702, Callicrates of Samos succeeded Philocles as navarch in 278 BCE.

142. The Cilicians were said to be descended from "Cilix, son of Agenor, a Phoenician" (Herodotus, *Histories* 7.91). In the fifth century BCE, Pherekydes (*FGrH* 3 FF 21, 86–87) had Cilix as son of Phoenix, ancestor of the Phoenicians. After the fifth century BCE, it became customary to link Cilix, Phoenix and Kadmos (also a Phoenician) as brothers. See Edwards, *Kadmos the Phoenician*, 25–28, and literature cited there.

143. Ionian merchants had been hired by the Cilicians of Tyre in 696 BCE to fight the Assyrians, but were forced to flee in their ships (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F7; Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F5). Nevertheless, Ionian connections with Tarsus were such that the god of Tarsus, Sandon (or Sandes), was equated with Hercules (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F12 [Agathias, *Histories* 2.24]; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 34.183, 192).

144. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 17.109.1–2; 18.4.1.

145. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 30.19.4–5; 28.1.

146. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:65.

147. On the First Syrian War (from ca. 276 to ca. 272 BCE), see, generally, Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:699–705.

148. Ibid., 7:704.

*Idyll* 17, written in Alexandria under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 273–270 BCE,[149] listed Cilicia as one of Ptolemy's foreign possessions.[150] Ptolemaic rule during this period is confirmed by various Ptolemaic cities along the coast of southern Asia Minor, including a new city called Arsinoe in Cilicia Trachea as well as other Ptolemaic foundations in Pamphylia, Lycia and Caria.[151] By 246 BCE, Cilicia had been lost to the Seleucids (as evidenced by the Adulis Inscription, which listed Cilicia as a territory recaptured by Ptolemy III Euergetes[152]). The Ptolemies likely regained Cilicia during the Second Syrian War of 260–ca. 255 BCE. If it could be known that Tarshish of the Table of Nations referred to Tarsus in Cilicia, this would indicate a probable date of composition before 255 BCE, but due to the uncertainty regarding the identity of Tarshish, no firm conclusion can be drawn.

*Caria*, *Lycia*, *Pamphylia* along the southern Asia Minor coast, together with the Ionians, formed the first satrapy of the Persian Empire under Darius.[153] These Greek foundations were "liberated" under the Macedonians and were fought over during the Wars of the Successors. The Ionian cities fell under Ptolemaic "protection" during much of the period under question, when Ptolemy I Soter attempted to extend his realm into Asia Minor and the Aegean by means of his navy. Caria entered into the Ptolemaic alliance in 315 BCE,[154] and Ptolemy I conducted raids in Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia about this same time. In 286 BCE Philocles king of Sidon and admiral of Demetrius defected to Ptolemy I and delivered the better part of the Antigonid fleet to the Ptolemies (for which Philocles was rewarded with the position of *navarch* or supreme naval commander). This gave the Ptolemies decisive dominance at sea relative to the Seleucids. In about 278 BCE, Callicrates of Samos succeeded Philocles as *navarch* of the Ptolemaic fleet.[155] Under his command, Ptolemaic naval dominance added the maritime coastal regions of Caria, Lycia, Pamphylia and Cilicia Trachea to the Ptolemaic realm in 274 BCE during the course of the First

149. Gow, *Theocritus*, 2:326. Theocritus wrote *Idyll* 17 during the lifetime of Arsinoe II (Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.129–34), the sister and wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Arsinoe II married Ptolemy II in 278 or 276 BCE and died in July 269 BCE (Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:703). *Idyll* 17.89–92 listed the dominions of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. That this list included Libya (i.e. Cyrenaica) indicates that the poem postdated the abortive attempt of Magas, governor of Cyrenaica, to invade Egypt with the backing of Antigonus in 274 BCE (Gow, *Theocritus*, 2:339). Hence it is to be dated to 273–270 BCE, probably (but not certainly) before the conclusion of the First Syrian War in 273/272 BCE (Gow, *Theocritus*, 2:326, 339; cf. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:704).

150. Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.88.

151. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:704; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:148; G. Cohen, *The Hellenistic Settlements in Europe, the Islands, and Asia Minor* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1995), 243–71, 327–42, 355–72.

152. Gow, *Theocritus*, 2:340; Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:179. For the text of the Adulis Inscription, see S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age from the Battle of Ipsos to the Death of Kleopatra VII* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 125–26.

153. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.90; 7.22. Balcer (*Sparda by the Bitter Sea*, 170–71) considered Herodotus's "Ionian" satrapy to have been a fiscal district rather than a satrapy.

154. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 19.62.2.

155. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:702.

Syrian War.[156] Pamphylia appears to have been lost during the Second Syrian War, as it was absent from the Adulis Inscription.[157]

*Summary*

Interest in Cyprus, Rhodes, Cilicia and the Ionian islands and coasts in the Table of Nations closely corresponds to Ptolemaic naval interests under Ptolemy I Soter and Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and is generally consistent with the period 273–269 BCE. The appearance of the Ionian coasts in the Table of Nations, if taken to refer primarily to the southern coasts of Asia Minor, is also consistent with this late date after the major conquests of the First Syrian War. That Rhodes merited its own mention among the sons of Javan may reflect Ptolemaic pride in its role in lifting Rhodes' siege in 304 BCE, since Rhodes—though maintaining friendly diplomatic relations with Egypt—was an independent free state and was at times more closely aligned with Antigonus than with the Ptolemies.[158]

Although the sons of Javan were outside the Seleucid realm, it is interesting that they were assigned to Japhet rather than Ham. This may indicate that although the Table of Nations was dependent on Ptolemaic sources of information, the author of the Table of Nations did not look favorably on Ptolemaic expansionism.

### 5. *The Sons of Ham*

A third section of Gen 10 dealt with the descendants of Ham:

> And the sons of Ham: Cush, and Mizraim, and Phut, and Canaan. And the sons of Cush: Seba, and Havilah, and Sabtah, and Raamah, and Sabtechah; and the sons of Raamah: Sheba, and Dedan.[159]

The sons of Ham correspond reasonably well with the Ptolemaic realm in the period 273–270 BCE.

*Mizraim* and *Ham* were both designations of Egypt.

*Put* is most often taken to refer to Libya.[160] Put may reflect the name Putaya—corresponding to Cyrenaica—which first appeared as a subject people in ca. 513 BCE on a stele near Darius's canal linking the Nile and Red Sea.[161]

*Canaan* as a "son of Ham" seems to imply Egyptian political control of Egypt over Palestine. This cannot reflect the biblical period of Canaan and Israel,[162] and is therefore most often referred to the period of Dynasties XVII and XVIII

156. Ibid., 7:704.

157. Cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:179.

158. In the treaty terms that concluded the siege of Rhodes, the city of Rhodes agreed to support Antigonus militarily except if this brought them into conflict with the Ptolemies. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.99.3.

159. Gen 10:6–7.

160. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §198.

161. B. Mitchell, "Cyrene and Persia," *JHS* 86 (1966): 99–113 (107); Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 199; cf. Burns, *Persia and the Greeks*, 110; Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 148–49.

162. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 82–83; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 490–91.

of Egypt, when Egypt ruled much of South Syria.[163] During the Hellenistic period, southern Syria remained under Ptolemaic control after 301 BCE.[164]

*Cush* was the biblical transliteration of the Egyptian name for Nubia or Ethiopia. The name Cush first appeared as a Persian satrapy in ca. 513 BCE.[165] The Ptolemies did not rule Ethiopia proper, but Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent a military expedition there.[166] This campaign may be dated to the 270s BCE on the evidence of Theocritus, who listed Ethiopia as a Ptolemaic possession in *Idyll* 17 written in 273–270 BCE.[167]

The descendants of Cush refer to various locations in the Arabian and (possibly) African coasts bordering the Red Sea.[168] A systematic exploration of these coasts appears to have been first undertaken by Ariston under Ptolemy II Philadelphus sometime between 278 and 276 BCE.[169] The "sons of Cush" in the Table of Nations covered the same Arabian coasts explored by Ariston and may have drawn on his *perigeisis*. Ptolemy II Philadelphus was active in developing a naval presence in the Red Sea and in establishing colonies on both its Arabian and African coasts. The first stage in Egypt's expansion into the Red Sea under

163. See references at Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 491. It seems highly unlikely that Gen 10 preserved such ancient information.

164. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:700.

165. Mitchell, "Cyrene and Persia," 107.

166. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.37.5; 3.36.3; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.194; 37.108; Gow, *Theocritus*, 2:340; Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 36–37; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:176; 2:296 n. 338. Other obscure early Ethiopian expeditions were mentioned at Pliny, *Natural History* 6.183. *The Letter of Aristeas* 13 said that Psammetichus used Jewish troops against the Ethiopians. A Greek papyrus found at Elephantine mentioned attacks by Ethiopians on a guard-post in the early Ptolemaic period, perhaps in conjunction with the Ethiopian campaign under Ptolemy II Philadelphus (cf. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 71; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:297 n. 342). The Jewish troops of the Elephantine military colony served as a border garrison against the Ethiopians, although the actual frontier was further up the Nile (Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 35–36).

167. Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.87.

168. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §58; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 511–12. Sheba referred of course to the Sabean kingdom of southwest Arabia (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.151, 154, 161; Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.2, 19, 21). Dedan, the modern Al-'Ula, located on the main caravan route along the Arabian Red Sea coast, was the main city of the Minaean kingdom, mentioned in Minaean and Lihyanite inscriptions. On Dedan and its inscriptions, see, generally, F. Winnett and W. Read, *Ancient Records from North Arabia* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1970), 38–42, 113–29. Havilah may have been the Arabian tribe of Avalitae mentioned at Pliny, *Natural History* 6.157 near the Nabateans. Sabtah and Sabtechah were likely variants of Sabbatha (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.154) or Sobota (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.155), to be identified with modern Sawa. This city was the capital of the kingdom of Hadramat (the "Chatramotitae" of Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.2) where the Red Sea entered the Indian Ocean. Raamah may refer to the Arab tribe of Rhammanitae mentioned at Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.24. Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.8, 10 also listed Sabean ports on the African coast of the Red Sea, but it is probable that the Table of Nations referred exclusively to cities and kingdoms on the Arabian coast. Under Alexander the Great, Anaxicrates sailed much of this coast, and may have been the source for Theophrastus's knowledge of Arabia (W. Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," *JEA* 15 [1929]: 9–25 [13]).

169. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 3.42.1; Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," 14. Eratosthenes' knowledge of the four South Arabian kingdoms of Minaea, Sabaea, Qataban and Hadramat probably derived from Ariston (Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," 14).

Ptolemy II was the dredging out of a section of the old Darius canal from Heroonpolis (Pithom) to the Arabian Gulf.[170] From the port of Heroonpolis, Ptolemy II led naval expeditions along both coasts of the Red Sea near Egypt between 279 and 274 BCE, probably subduing some Arab territory[171] as well as the Troglodytic coast of Africa.[172] Theocritus listed Arabia as a Ptolemaic possession in 273–270 BCE.[173] In 270/269 BCE, after the clearing of a second section of the canal linking Heroonpolis and the Nile,[174] Ptolemy II sent further expeditions establishing a series of colonies along the African coast of the Red Sea.[175] It would appear that Ptolemy II's efforts were far more successful on the African coast than the Arabian, where the rich Arab kingdoms managed to exclude a substantial Ptolemaic presence south of the Aeleanic Gulf (the Gulf of Aqaba). Ptolemy II's Red Sea expedition under general Eumedes in 270/269 was restricted to the African coast. There is no evidence of further Arabian military ventures after 270 BCE, and Arabia was not included in the Adulis Inscription among the possessions inherited in 246 BCE by Ptolemy III.[176] Sometime between 270 and 246 BCE, Ptolemaic claims to Arabia were thus

170. See Chapter 10, §2.

171. *Pithom Stele* line 11 referred to a naval campaign between 280/279 and 274/273 BCE against "Persia." At "Ptolemy II and Arabia," 9–12, Tarn demonstrated that a Ptolemaic expedition to Persia contradicts all our information for the period, and that the expedition must have been against former Persian holdings in northwest Arabia. He correlated this with references to a sea campaign against Nabatean pirates harassing commercial traffic on the Red Sea (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 3.43.4–5; Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.18). Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:301 n. 350) tentatively agreed with this analysis and dated this campaign to 280–274 BCE, despite his assertion elsewhere that Ptolemaic fleets plied the Red Sea only after 270/269 BCE. Additionally, the Greek colony of Ampelone on the Arabian coast of the Red Sea, settled by Milesians, was likely established at this time, as Miletus was under Ptolemaic control during 279–258 BCE (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:177; 2:301 n. 357; Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," 21–22). This colony was probably at the starting point of a road that led to Dedan (mentioned at Gen 10:17), capital of the Minaean (or possibly Lihyanite) kingdom. Lihyanite inscriptions mention two governors named "Tolmai" (i.e. Ptolemy), showing Ptolemaic influence (Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," 19). The object of the naval expedition as well as the foundation of Ampelone was likely to gain some direct control over the Arabian spice caravans that normally traveled down the Hedjaz coast to Nabatean Petra (cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:180). Ptolemy II's capture of Damascus in 276 BCE, setting off the First Syrian War, possibly also aimed at control of Nabatean trade routes.

172. The *Pithom Stele* line 11 mentioned a naval expedition to "Khemtit" (the Troglodytic coast) between 280/279 and 274/273 BCE. This may have preceded or was perhaps identical to the exploratory mission down the African coast by Satyrus (Strabo, *Geography* 16.4.5) in which Philoteria was founded. Tarn ("Ptolemy II and Arabia," 14) said this foundation occurred before the marriage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Arsinoe II, but Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:299 n. 348) disagreed. Fraser's dating of Satyrus's expedition to 270 BCE or later was based on his mistaken understanding of the *Pithom Stele* that the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal was only completed in 270/269 BCE; part of the canal, from Pithom to the Red Sea was open prior to 273/272 BCE (see Chapter 10, §2).

173. Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.86.

174. *Pithom Stele* line 16.

175. *Pithom Stele* lines 20–23.

176. "The great king, Ptolemaios (III)...having inherited from his father dominion over Egypt and Libya and Syria and Phoinikia and Kypros and Lykia and Karia and the Cycladic Islands..." (trans. S. Burstein, *The Hellenistic Age*, 125; cf. Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements*, 362).

abandoned. This suggests an early date for the list of sons of Cush, probably contemporary with the similar exaggerated claims of Ptolemaic rule over Arabia found in Theocritus.

The sons of Ham appear to correspond with the Ptolemaic realm. As with the sons of Javan, the author of the Table of Nations appears dependent here on a source of information reflecting Ptolemaic propaganda. The assignment of Ethiopia and Arabia to the sons of Ham in the Table of Nations reflects exaggerated Ptolemaic claims of conquest and power, much like the Ptolemaic claim to Cilicia. *Idyll* 17 of Theocritus—dating to 273–270 BCE, and reflecting Ptolemaic territorial holdings as of the First Syrian War[177]—is of special importance in documenting Ptolemaic propaganda claims precisely contemporary with the Table of Nations:

> Of all Lord Ptolemy is king. Aye, and of Phoenicia he takes himself a part, and of Arabia, and Syria and Libya and of the swart Ethiopians. In all Pamphylia his word is law, and with the spearmen of Cilicia, the Lycians and the warlike Carians; in the Isles of the Cyclades also, for the best ships that sail the seas are his—aye, all the sea and the land and the roaring rivers admit the lordship of Ptolemy.[178]

Here Arabia, Ethiopia and Cilicia were all directly claimed as Ptolemaic possessions.

*Preliminary Conclusions*

The systematic analysis undertaken here has shown that the P materials in the Table of Nations consistently reflected political realities of the period 273–269 BCE, shortly after the conclusion of the First Syrian War. Ham seems to correspond to the Ptolemaic realm, Shem to the Seleucid realm, and Japhet the remaining portions of Asia Minor and the eastern Mediterranean independent of both. It is possible to detect a historical interest in the former Persian Empire and its breakup under Alexander and the Successors. The special position of the Ionians in the list and the attention paid to the independence of Rhodes also points to a particular interest in the world of the Greeks.[179] Ptolemaic interests and propaganda claims of 278–269 BCE are clearly detectable in its treatment of the sons of Ham; a date of 273–269 BCE in the immediate aftermath of the First Syrian War seems probable. The mainly coastal and island areas assigned to Japhet in the Table of Nations perhaps represent the Ptolemaic "sphere of influence."[180] A Ptolemaic perspective is not entirely unexpected, as Judea was

177. See n. 149 above.

178. Theocritus, *Idyll* 17.85–92.

179. The neglect of the eastern satrapies of the Seleucids showed a pointed disinterest in Bactria and India, which were of negligible significance in the Wars of the Successors and do not figure elsewhere in biblical literature.

180. Ptolemaic attempts to gain and hold territory around the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor are well documented. For evidence of Ptolemaic foundations, see generally Cohen, *Hellenistic Settlements*. Although Rhodes maintained its independence throughout the late third and second centuries, it considered Egypt an important ally, and its treaties with various members of the Diadochi always included a clause of non-aggression with Egypt (Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:162). The island had a temple dedicated to Ptolemy "Soter" (or "Savior"), a title reportedly given

within the Ptolemaic realm during this period. The possible access to information from Ariston's voyage on the Red Sea in 278–276 BCE is particularly interesting from a source-critical perspective.

### 6. *The Curse of Canaan and the Date of the J Source*

The dating of P to 273–269 BCE, based on the evidence from the Table of Nations, calls into question the whole chronological framework of the Documentary Hypothesis. The J source in Gen 9–10, although containing traditions divergent from P,[181] appears to have accepted the basic framework of the Table of Nations in P.[182] This fact appears to imply that J was as late or later than P, despite the general assumption that J was earlier than P. For instance, in the above analysis of the Table of Nations it appeared that Shem, Ham and Japhet in the P source reflected specific political realities as of 273–269 BCE. It is unreasonable to hold that a similar division of the world into the territories of Shem, Ham and Japhet existed at some distant previous time. Both J and P had Canaan as the son of Ham. In P this reflected the Ptolemaic control over South Syria that dated from about 301 BCE.[183] It is unreasonable to suppose that Canaan as son of Ham coincidentally formed a tradition at an earlier period for entirely unrelated reasons. Further, both J and P knew of Arphaxad. Yet this obscure territorial name, known only from the P source of the Table of Nations (and possibly the geographer Ptolemy in the second century CE[184]), likely dated to the Seleucid period. Finally, the J source knew of both Sheba and Ophir.[185] But the first specific inscriptional references to Sabeans came from the eighth century BCE,[186] which is also when archaeological evidence for a Sabean kingdom begins.[187]

to Ptolemy I for Egyptian assistance in lifting the siege of Rhodes in 304 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 19.100.3; see also the Decree of the League of Islanders of ca. 280–278 BCE quoted at Burstein, *Hellenistic Age*, 117–18). Ptolemaic friendly relations with the anti-Seleucid Northern League after 177 BCE is probably indicated by the use of Gallic mercenaries in the Ptolemaic army (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.2). The Ptolemaic navy penetrated the Black Sea as far as Ankyra where, however, Mithridates stole the anchors from their ships (Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ankyra; cf. Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:154); this incident, though obscure, demonstrates Ptolemaic interests in the northern Asia Minor coast.

181. At Gen 10:8 (J) Nimrod was the son of Cush, but the sons of Cush at Gen 10:7 (P) did not include Nimrod. At Gen 10:28–29 (J) Havilah and Sheba were sons of Joktan, descendant of Shem via Arphaxad, while at Gen 10:7 (P) Havilah and Sheba were sons of Cush.

182. Gen 9:18–27 (J) accepted that the three sons of Noah were Shem, Ham and Japhet; cf. Gen 10:1 (P). Gen 9:18, 22 (J) also accepted that Canaan was the son of Ham; cf. Gen 10:6 (P). The story of Nimrod at Gen 10:8–12 (J) labeled Nimrod a son of Cush; cf. Gen 10:6 (P). The sons of Mizraim at Gen 10:13–14 (J) and the sons of Canaan at Gen 10:15–19 (J) took as their starting point Mizraim and Canaan the sons of Ham at Gen 10:6 (P). The list of descendants of Arphaxad at Gen 10:24–30 (J) took as its starting point Arphaxad the son of Shem at Gen 10:22 (P).

183. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:700.

184. Ptolemy, *Geography* 6.1.2 mentioned an Assyrian province of "Arrhapachitis."

185. Gen 10:28–29.

186. *LAR*, I, §§778, 818 on Sabeans; *LAR*, II, §§18, 55 on "It'amra the Sabean."

187. P. Hitti, *History of the Arabs* (London: Macmillan, 1958), 50–53.

The first inscriptional evidence for Ophir also came from the eighth century BCE.[188] This is later than the ninth century BCE date assigned to J under the Documentary Hypothesis. These preliminary considerations strongly suggest that the J source was later than the usual date under the Documentary Hypothesis and quite likely as late or later than the P source. Given that P dated to 273–269 BCE, approximately the same time as the Septuagint translation, which was also the latest possible date for J, this suggests that J also dated to 273–269 BCE and that J and P were effectively contemporary.

This leads us to consider the story of the Curse of Canaan at Gen 9:18–27, a story in J with direct links to the P source in the Table of Nations. Noah became drunk with wine and his son Ham "saw his nakedness." His other two sons Shem and Japhet covered up Noah, without, however, looking on his nakedness.[189] As a result of this incident, Canaan, the son of Ham[190] (here in J as in the P source in the Table of Nations), was cursed with servitude to Shem and Japhet:

> Blessed be the Lord God of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant. God shall enlarge Japheth, and he shall dwell in the tents of Shem; and Canaan shall be his servant.[191]

This story is problematic in many respects. It does not appear to draw on Mesopotamian traditions, despite Noah having been based on the Mesopotamian flood hero: neither *The Gilgamesh Epic* nor the older Sumerian flood stories contain parallels to the drunkenness of Noah. It is also striking that Noah, though elsewhere a righteous figure, was here in Genesis portrayed as falling victim to drunkenness and as a result perhaps having been unwittingly involved in a forbidden sexual act.[192] That the three sons of Noah were part of this story suggests a connection with the Table of Nations rather than with Mesopotamian legends.

Another difficulty in this passage is why Canaan was cursed for his father Ham's sin. Various solutions to this problem have been suggested, mostly

188. H. Katzenstein, *The History of Tyre* (Jerusalem: Schocken Institute for Jewish Research of the Jewish Theological Seminary of America, 1973), 109.

189. The Noah incident perhaps excused an isolated, atypical sexual encounter as the result of drunkenness and shifted the blame to the other party, much as Gen 19.31–35 placed the blame for "righteous" Lot's incest on drink and Lot's daughters. This parallel is all the more telling since Lot was spared from God's wrath on the inhabitants of Sodom and Gomorrah for his righteousness just as Noah was from the flood, and since Noah's grandson Canaan was condemned for sexual abominations in both incidents (see Gen 10:19 on Sodom and Gomorrah's residents as Canaanites; cf. Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 168).

190. Gen 9:18; cf. 10:6.

191. Gen 9:25–26.

192. See discussions at Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 484–85, 488; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 151–53. It is interesting to note, in light of the late date of the Table of Nations demonstrated earlier, the strong parallels between Noah and Alexander the Great. The portion of the world divided among Noah's sons approximately corresponds to that of Alexander's conquests, divided up among his generals after his death. Alexander's drunkenness was notorious, and his sexual preferences were also the subject of much speculation, rumor and debate (see the primary sources discussed at W. Tarn, *Alexander the Great: Sources and Studies* [2 vols.; Chicago: Ares Publishers, 1981], 2:319–26).

revolving around source-critical and redactional issues relating to the Documentary Hypothesis.[193]

A final problem consists of assigning a historical context to the prophesied "Curse of Canaan." The predominant theory is that the servitude of Canaan to Shem and Japhet reflected the subjugation of Canaan, or portions thereof, by Israel (represented by Shem) and the Philistines (represented by Japhet).[194] This theory is beset by numerous difficulties. First, there is no supporting evidence for Shem as Israel or Japhet as the Philistines elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible. Neither Shem nor Japhet occur elsewhere in the Hebrew Bible outside of Gen 9–10 and 1 Chronicles, which is clearly dependent on Genesis. Second, the Table of Nations listed the Philistines as descendants of Ham and Canaan, not Japhet.[195] Gunkel, recognizing these problems, suggested that the subjugation of Canaan by Shem and Japhet reflected the invasion of Sea Peoples (Japhet) and Arameans (Shem) even earlier than the Israelite conquest.[196] Gunkel proposed that this story represented an extremely ancient oral tradition, the core of which was the poetic Curse of Canaan. Bertholet's suggestion that Japhet having been "enlarged" by "dwelling in the tents of Shem" reflected the historical conquests of Alexander the Great over the Persian Empire has for the most part been disregarded.[197]

The affinities between the story of the Curse of Canaan and the Table of Nations suggest that the former also dates to the period 273–269 BCE, even later than Bertholet's suggestion. In this context, Canaan as son of Ham can scarcely refer to anything but Ptolemaic rule over Palestine, while Shem represents the Seleucid realm. The expansion of Japhet's realm to include the tents of Shem may be taken as a reference to the Greek rule of the Seleucids in the east.[198] (Here J appears to have had in mind the Ionian Greeks as a major component of Japhet.) That Japhetic (Greek) rule over Shem took place with God's blessing shows a pro-Seleucid bias. Conversely, the moral condemnation of Ham and Canaan demonstrated opposition to the Ptolemies. God's blessing on Shem and on the tents of Shem likewise reflected a pro-Seleucid sentiment. The Curse of

193. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 79–84; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 149, 157, 164–70; Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 483–84.

194. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 82–83; Sarna, *Genesis*, 64; Cassuto, *Book of Genesis*, 167; criticized at Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 490–91.

195. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 82–83; cf. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 490–91.

196. Gunkel, *Genesis*, 82–83; criticized at Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 490–91.

197. Bertholet considered the pronouncement on Japhet to have been a secondary insertion. See Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 491.

198. The reference to Japhet dwelling among the tents of Shem is hard to understand unless Japhet stands specifically for the Ionians (Javan, i.e. the Greeks). None of the other sons of Japhet historically controlled Canaan or occupied territory of Shem, with the exception of the Medes, and only then if one takes the reference to Madai to refer to the greater Medo-Persian Empire rather than Media Atropatene. This is apparently the theory found at *Jub.* 10:35, where Madai, disliking his inheritance in Europe, requested territory "from Elam and Asshur and Arphachshad" where he settled with the permission of the sons of Shem. But Madai as the Medo-Persian Empire is inconsistent with the time (270s BCE) and location (Media Atropatene) argued in the previous section on the Table of Nations.

Canaan envisioned the possibility that Canaan (South Syria) might come under the rule of Shem and Japhet (the Seleucid Greeks). This curse appears to have expressed the hope that the Seleucids would be the victors in a war with the Ptolemies involving South Syria.

The Second Syrian War of 260–253 BCE provides an unlikely background for the Curse of Canaan. This was largely a naval war over control of the Ionian coasts, although Syria was peripherally involved. At no point do our sources indicate that an invasion of Egypt was anticipated or that there was a serious threat of Judea changing hands.[199] Rather, the wish or prediction of Seleucid victory over Egypt and Syria (in the form of an imprecation on Ham and Canaan) is more plausibly interpreted against the background of the First Syrian War of ca. 276–ca. 272 BCE.[200]

The first known incidents in the somewhat obscure First Syrian War took place in 276 BCE, when the Seleucid army, responding to the Ptolemaic occupation of Damascus and the Marsyas valley in Coele-Syria, delivered the Ptolemies a defeat at Damascus.[201] It is doubtful that this defensive Seleucid response prompted an immediate anticipation of the demise of the Ptolemies. At some point during the course of the First Syrian War, likely in 274 BCE,[202] Antiochus I prepared to invade Egypt. At the same time his ally Magas, governor of Cyrenaica and half-brother of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, actually set out towards Egypt with an army of invasion.[203] The collapse of the Ptolemaic empire may likely have been considered a realistic possibility in 274 BCE, when an invasion

199. See, generally, Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:710–15. M. Hengel, *Jews, Greeks and Barbarians: Aspects of the Hellenization of Judaism in the Pre-Christian Period* (trans. J. Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1980), 23: "The so-called Second Syrian War (260–253) was waged almost exclusively in Asia Minor and the Aegean, and hardly affected Palestine at all."

200. On the dates and course of this war, see W. Tarn, "The First Syrian War," *JHS* 46 (1926): 155–62.

201. According to the Babylonian Chronicles, Ptolemy I invaded Coele Syria and captured Damascus in spring, 276 BCE, and Antiochus I recaptured Damascus later that same year (cf. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 62; Tarn, "The First Syrian War," 155; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Sardis to Samarkhand*, 35, 46–47; Polyaenus, *Stratagems* 4.15 may have referred to Antiochus's capture of Damascus). Ptolemy II's capture of Damascus was in line with his military adventures along both shores of the Red Sea in 279–274 BCE and parts of Arabia about the same time in order to expand his control over the lucrative trade routes to the east (see n. 171 above). It is likely that Ptolemy II's occupation of Damascus and the Marsyas valley set off the First Syrian War. The beginning of the First Syrian War thus dates ca. 276 BCE. Cf. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:702; Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 61–62. Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.1–3 thus appears incorrect in claiming that the First Syrian War began when Antiochus I and Magas colluded to invade Egypt. Pausanias's source, quite knowledgeable about events affecting Egypt, appears to have been biased in favor of the Ptolemies.

202. It seems highly probable that Antiochus I's plans to invade Egypt were made in the aftermath of his victory over Ptolemy I in late 276 BCE. Antiochus I was occupied with his campaign against the Gauls threatening Asia Minor that ended in the "elephant victory" of early 275 BCE. The unrealized plan to invade Egypt in conjunction with a second force led by Magas is reasonably dated to 274 BCE at Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:703–4; Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 61, 63; W. Tarn, *Antigonas Gonatas* (Chicago: Argonaut, 1969), 261.

203. Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.1–3.

of Egypt appeared imminent.[204] But Magas was forced to turn back due to a Libyan uprising[205] (likely with Ptolemaic support[206]) behind him in Cyrenaica, while raids on Cilicia and the southern Asia Minor coast by the Ptolemaic fleet under Callicrates kept Antiochus far away from Egypt.[207] Sometime in 273 or 272 BCE, Antiochus I sued for peace and the First Syrian War came to an end.[208] After this event, Jewish hopes for Seleucid rule in South Syria could scarcely have been sustained.

Genesis 9 appears to claim that God was on the side of the Seleucid Greeks in this struggle and would ultimately be victorious. As a result, Canaan would pass into servitude to Japhet and Shem, that is, the Seleucid Greeks. This possibility would likely not have been raised after the conclusion of the First Syrian War in 273–272 BCE, which left South Syria in firm control of Ptolemy II Philadelphus. This suggests a further refinement of the date of the Table of Nations (earlier dated to 273–269 BCE) and the Curse of Canaan to the years 273–272 BCE, before the conclusion of the First Syrian War.

This precise historical context may shed light on the circumstances that prompted the textual modifications that have given so much trouble to interpreters of Genesis. It is generally agreed that Ham was the original or intended recipient of the curse in Gen 9.[209] That is, according to the pro-Seleucid authors of Gen 9:25–26, the entire Ptolemaic realm fell under the condemnation of God and was originally predicted to fall to the Seleucids. The conquest and occupation of Judea under Ptolemy I Soter had been harsh and oppressive.[210] The desire for the punishment of the Ptolemies evident in the story of the Curse of Canaan was therefore consistent with the history of the times. The curse and prophesied punishment of Ham is best placed during the period of Antiochus I's planned invasion of Egypt and Magas's military expedition towards Egypt in ca. 274 BCE. It may have been in the midst of these events that the servitude of Ham to Shem, that is, a Seleucid conquest of the Ptolemies, was predicted as imminent. After the collapse of the Egyptian invasion, there seemed no prospect for a defeat of the entire Ptolemaic realm: not even the Seleucids contemplated a conquest of the entire Ptolemaic realm. However, Seleucid partisans may still have held out hope for a Seleucid recapture of South Syria while the war was still

204. Since Gallic mercenary troops were present in Ptolemy I's army at the time of Magas's attempted invasion of Egypt (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.2), it is certain that this event took place after 277 BCE.

205. Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.2.

206. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:704.

207. "When Antiochus resolved to attack, Ptolemy dispatched forces against all the subjects of Antiochus, freebooters to overrun the lands of the weaker, and an army to hold back the stronger, so that Antiochus never had an opportunity of attacking Egypt" (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.3). This in all probability referred to Ptolemaic naval forces sent against Asia Minor under the command of Callicrates (Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:704). On Callicrates' dates and position as *navarch* under Ptolemy II Philadelphus in the 270s BCE, see especially W. Tarn, "Nauarch and Nesiarch," *JHS* 31 (1911): 253–55.

208. Tarn, "Struggle Against Syria," 7:704.

209. Westermann, *Genesis 1–11*, 484.

210. See Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 71–76, and classical literature cited there.

active in 273/272 BCE.[211] It is possible that the authors (now editors) of Gen 9:25–26, in light of the course of events during the First Syrian War, modified an original "curse of Ham" to instead read "Canaan."[212]

The systematic consideration of all available evidence thus leads to the conclusion that the P source in the Table of Nations and related J story of the Curse of Canaan (in its final form) both likely date to 273–272 BCE, that is, approximately the last year of the First Syrian War.

Under the Documentary Hypothesis, the J source was the earliest (ninth century BCE), while the P source was the latest (fifth century BCE), E and D assigned to the eighth and seventh century BCE respectively. E and D both utilized J. That the earliest and latest sources behind the Pentateuch now both appear to date to 273–272 BCE calls into question the entire chronological framework of the Documentary Hypothesis. Rather than the sources J, E, D and P representing different stages in Jewish history and in the gradual evolution of the Pentateuch, it now appears that these sources may have been contemporary.

211. The inspection visit of Ptolemy II and Arsinoe II to the frontier fortress of Heroonpolis in January 273 BCE, as evidenced by the *Pithom Stele* line 15, suggests Ptolemaic concerns about the security of their northern border. However, the immediate purpose of their visit may have been the selection of the proper location of a water-lock on Nile-to-Red-Sea canal. (See Chapter 10, §2 on the chronology of the canal construction.)

212. The Jews were subject to the Ptolemies throughout the First Syrian War. A direct curse on Ham could scarcely have been interpreted as anything other than specifically directed against the Ptolemies. Such a direct condemnation of the Ptolemies as such would have viewed as seditious. Hence the authors of Gen 9:25–26 may have judged that a curse on Ham, if it came to the attention of the Ptolemies, might have proved dangerous to its authors. This may have provided an additional motive for substituting a curse of servitude on Canaan for a less realistic and more politically provocative curse on Ham. In any case, the curse on Canaan is generally intelligible against the historical background of the First Syrian War.

# Chapter 7

## MANETHO AND THE HYKSOS

The Egyptian priest Manetho, author of the *Aegyptiaca* in ca. 285–280 BCE,[1] wrote at least two accounts of the expulsion of aliens from Egypt into South Syria and Judea.[2] These tales, preserved in Josephus's work *Against Apion*, are commonly thought to contain an Egyptian response to the Jewish Exodus story.[3] The first story recalls the terrible conquest and rule of Egypt by foreigners called the Hyksos or Shepherd Kings. The Hyksos, comprising Egypt's Dynasties XV–XVII, dominated Egypt for generations until they were finally expelled into Judea by Tethmosis, founder of Dynasty XVIII in ca. 1550 BCE. In the second story, the Hyksos were invited back into Egypt during Dynasty XIX by certain polluted Egyptians led by a former priest from Hieropolis called Osarseph. The Hyksos and polluted Egyptians ruled Egypt for 13 years until they too were expelled by a pharaoh named Ramesses. In both cases, the Hyksos rule of Egypt had as its capital Avaris, that is, Pi-Ramesses, a city that also seemingly figures in the Exodus story as the store city Ramesses.[4]

These two stories in Manetho bear important resemblances to the Jewish Exodus story, especially with respect to the geographical locales and the theme of expulsion of foreigners from Egypt to Judea. It appears almost self-evident that Manetho's tale bears some sort of genetic relationship to the Exodus account. But the exact nature of that relationship is far from obvious. Do Manetho's stories and the Exodus story bear independent witness to the same historical event, namely, the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt? Did Manetho contain a polemical response to the Exodus account? Or did the Exodus account contain a polemical response to the stories in Manetho? This last possibility has not occurred to most authors who have written on the possible relationship between Manetho and the Exodus story, for the simple reason that the Exodus

1. See Chapter 11, §1 on the dating of Manetho.

2. Varied tales found in Chaeremon, Lysimachus, Apion and Tacitus may also stem from Manetho; Manetho also recorded "other similar stories" that Josephus omitted (*Apion* 1.27).

3. Gager, *Moses*, 116; A. Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt* (Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr [Paul Siebeck], 1985), 327–32; Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 148; Sacks, "Response," 30; P. Shäfer, *Judeophobia: Attitudes Towards the Jews in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 17, 20–21; B. Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Temple—The Origins and Development of the Slander," in Feldman and Levison, eds., *Josephus' Contra Apionem*, 310–26 (320); Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 42 and literature in n. 4.

4. Exod 1:11; 12:17.

story has been almost universally presumed to predate Manetho. The Documentary Hypothesis aside, Manetho clearly wrote after the time of Hecataeus of Abdera,[5] and Hecataeus of Abdera was thought to bear witness to the Jewish Exodus story. But as Chapter 3 above has demonstrated, the major excursus on the Jews commonly assumed to have been written by Hecataeus in the late 300s BCE was actually penned by Theophanes of Mytilene in 62 BCE. There exists no external witness to the Pentateuch generally, or to the Exodus story specifically, that predates Manetho. This leaves the relative chronology of Manetho and the Exodus story an open question: it is entirely possible that Manetho was the older of the two.

This chapter will explore whether Manetho responded to the Exodus story or vice versa, or, alternately, whether the two independently described the same historical events. The discussion will hinge on several issues of a source-critical nature. A key question is whether Manetho can be shown to have relied on native Egyptian literary sources, especially on details that bear a superficial resemblance to the Exodus story. If Manetho demonstrably used Egyptian rather than Jewish sources, this raises the possibility that the Pentateuch borrows from Manetho instead of the reverse. A second, related question is whether Manetho's literary sources on the Hyksos and polluted Egyptians even referred to the Jews, much less contained Manetho's "answer" to the Jewish Exodus story, as often proposed.[6] A third question is whether the Exodus account lies closer to Manetho's account than to historical events in the Hyksos or Ramesside periods. If the Exodus agrees with Manetho, especially on historical inaccuracies otherwise unique to Manetho, this points to Manetho as a Pentateuchal source. Finally, if it can be shown that the Pentateuch agrees with Manetho on details neutral or favorable to the Jews, but disagrees precisely on such points in Manetho as reflected badly on the Jews, this would support an interpretation of the Exodus story as a polemical response to Manetho.

## 1. *Manetho and the Hyksos*

The first story recorded in Manetho regarded the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos of Dynasty XV. Manetho was the only Hellenistic author—Josephus aside—who wrote about the Hyksos.[7] In *Apion* 1.75–91, Josephus recorded Manetho's account, which will be discussed in detail below.

### *Josephus,* Apion *1.75*

> Tutimaeus. In his reign, I know not why, a blast of God's displeasure broke upon us. A people of ignoble origin from the east, whose coming was unforeseen, had the audacity to invade the country, which they mastered by main force without difficulty or even a battle.[8]

5. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition*, 128–32.
6. See n. 3 above.
7. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:507.
8. Translation is by Thackerey, *Josephus* (LCL).

It is important to establish, first, to what degree Manetho's account corresponds to what is known about the Hyksos from inscriptional and archaeological sources. One may list a number of points in which Manetho's account reflected the historical rule of the Hyksos during Dynasties XV–XVII. Dynasty XV, centered at Avaris in the eastern Delta, consisted of foreign rulers as Manetho recorded.[9] The term Hyksos itself, meaning "foreign ruler," appears in Egyptian records.[10] Egyptian records mentioning the Hyksos as foreign kings frequently associated them with Retenu (Syria) and Phoenicia east of Egypt. An Egyptian priest such as Manetho would likely have encountered various references to obscure foreign kings living in the east. But no Egyptian inscriptions recorded Dynasty XV as having been established by an invasion of such foreign kings from the east. The alleged Hyksos invasion described by Manetho may be unfactual.

Whether the Hyksos came to power by means of a sudden invasion from the east, as Manetho alleged, is now considered doubtful. Evidence favoring an invasion is the first appearance of the war-chariot in Egypt, once thought to have been a Hyksos innovation and the key to their military might.[11] Additionally, the glacis fortress architecture of the Hyksos in Egypt was also utilized in South Syria and the Orontes valley at this time, suggesting ties between Egypt and territory to the north.[12] However, a chariot invasion of northern Egypt is without documentation in our sources. The chariot is first mentioned in accounts of the Hyksos expulsion and the transition to Dynasty XVIII.[13] The common architectural tradition as well as shared pottery forms suggests cultural interaction between northern Egypt and South Syria,[14] and textual evidence points to Egyptian hegemony over territory to the north.[15] The interpretation of the archaeological data as speaking of an invasion of Egypt from Syria is based on Manetho, writing centuries later, and may be legitimately questioned.[16] Foreigners are known to have lived in the Delta region in considerable numbers prior to Dynasty XV. Some Egyptologists now believe that the Hyksos dynasty arose, not by means of an invasion from South Syria, but among an indigenous "foreign" population of the eastern Delta, namely, Arameans and others who had

9. Josephus, *Apion* 1.75, 81–82; D. Redford, "The Hyksos in History and Tradition," *Orientalia* 39 (1970): 1–51 (13, 19); idem, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History* (SSEA 4; Mississauga, Ont.: Benben, 1986), 200.

10. Redford, "Hyksos in History and Tradition," 12–13.

11. J. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt: The Evidence for the Authenticity of the Exodus Tradition* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), 64; J. Van Seters, *The Hyksos: A New Investigation* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966), 183–85.

12. T. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," *JEA* 37 (1951): 53–71 (60).

13. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," 59–60; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 64.

14. C. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier: An Archaeological History of the Wadi Tumilat* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1989), 220–68, especially 265–68.

15. The Khamose Stele referred to the Hyksos ruler Apophis as "chief of the Retenu" and referred to "tribute of Retenu" (Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 170). The Hyksos' flight to the fortress of Sharuhen near Gaza after their expulsion from Egypt indicates Hyksos presence in this area (Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," 71).

16. Cf. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 121–22.

settled in this region in the previous centuries.[17] The idea of a Hyksos invasion in Manetho is thus of doubtful historicity. Rather, Manetho appears to have relied on late Egyptian literary traditions for his thesis that the Hyksos invaded Egypt from the east. The theme of an invasion of impious Asiatics from the east was increasingly common in Egyptian literature approaching Manetho's time.[18] Manetho's basic account of Egypt's conquest from the east appears to have drawn on these native Egyptian literary traditions.

Nevertheless, there are some striking parallels between Manetho's account of the Hyksos conquest and the biblical account in Exodus. The "blast of God" that smote the Egyptians has an obvious parallel with the biblical ten plagues. Manetho's characterization of the Hyksos as "invaders of obscure (ἀσήμοι) race" is interesting. As Redford points out, the Greek word ἀσήμοι did not denote one of unknown or mysterious origin, but one of vile or lowly birth, and corresponds to the pejorative term *hsi* ("vile") used regularly in Egyptian texts to describe foreign enemies.[19] Manetho's description thus has Egyptian antecedents, yet is also reminiscent of Gen 46:34, which stated that the Egyptians considered all shepherds—such as the Israelites—an "abomination." Yet these parallels with the biblical account also contain jarringly dissonant aspects. The Jewish shepherds, considered an abomination in Egypt, did not conquer that land in the biblical account, but settled there peacefully. And the biblical plagues did not strike Egypt on the arrival of Jacob and his sons, but of the departure of the Israelites four generations later. The plagues did not allow the Jews to conquer Egypt, but to escape.

There does appear to have been some relationship between Manetho's account and that of the Pentateuch. The parallels—notably the plagues on Egypt—have often been interpreted to imply that Manetho was aware of the Jewish Exodus story. The equally significant contrasts suggest a polemical interaction between the two accounts. One school of thought therefore maintains that Manetho's story represents a polemical response to the Exodus story.[20] Yet Manetho appears to have relied wholly on native Egyptian traditions.[21] A second school of thought, focusing on the Egyptian data, therefore discounts any awareness of the Pentateuchal account here in Manetho.[22] A solution that accounts for all the data, both Egyptological and biblical, is that Manetho indeed wrote using only Egyptian sources, and that the Pentateuchal account contained polemics against Manetho. According to this polemical response, if Egypt fell victim to divine plagues, it was because the Egyptians had enslaved the Jews, not because the Jews were seeking to conquer Egypt.

17. Hyksos rule as the end result of infiltration of the Delta by Asiatics was argued at Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 87–96; Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," 53–71. Redford (*Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 101–6) argued for a Hyksos invasion.

18. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 250, 276–96.

19. Redford, "Hyksos in History and Tradition," 2 n. 2; idem, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 98–100.

20. See n. 3 above.

21. Gager, *Moses*, 116; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 60–61.

22. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 60; Droge, "Josephus," 136 n. 45.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.76*

> Having overpowered the chiefs, they then savagely burnt the cities, razed the temples of the gods to the ground, and treated the whole native population with the utmost cruelty, massacring some, and carrying off the wives and children of others into slavery.

Manetho's portrait of a reign of terror under the Hyksos was certainly unhistorical. It is true that a central Hyksos deity was Seth, the god of foreigners.[23] But the rest of the Egyptian pantheon was also worshipped, and several Hyksos rulers incorporated the theophoric element Ra into their names.[24] The Seth cult may have become less popular after the fall of Dynasty XV, but it experienced an official revival under the Ramesside pharaohs of Dynasty XIX, despite the past association of Seth with the Hyksos.[25] Egyptian literary sources grew increasingly hostile towards the Hyksos and the god Seth in the Late Kingdom and the Persian period.[26] The alleged hostility of the Hyksos towards Egyptian gods in Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* reflected the xenophobia of Manetho's own day rather than historical realities of the Hyksos era.[27]

The account in Manetho was strongly colored by events of the Persian period. The Persian conquest of Egypt, first under Cambyses in 525 BCE and later under Artaxerxes III Ochus in 343 BCE, was accompanied by various actions taken against Egyptian cities and temples. Later tradition would speak of "the madness and sacrilege of Cambyses, who partly by fire and partly by iron sought to outrage the temples, mutilating them and burning them on every side, just as he did with the obelisks."[28] There must be some truth to such accounts, for the Jewish military colonists at Elephantine claimed that while Cambyses had "overthrown the Egyptian temples," he had left the Jewish temple at Yeb intact and undisturbed.[29] The income of Egyptian temples is known to have suffered drastically under Cambyses.[30] Yet the story that Cambyses slew the Apis bull

23. On Seth as god of foreigners, see, generally, H. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (Leiden: Brill, 1977), 109–38. Seth was worshipped in Egypt with characteristics of Baal, the Hittite god Teshub, or other foreign gods (pp. 109, 119–20).

24. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 172; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 108–9, 116–17.

25. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 124–26, 129–33.

26. *Papyrus Sallinger* (Dynasty XVIII) described the rule of the Hyksos under Apopis (Ra-Apopi) as the period when "Egypt belonged to the Impure" and when the king "served no other god in the entire land but Sutekh" (see G. Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt* [New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1967], 269–74). An inscription of Hatshepsut (Dynasty XVIII) described the "Asiatics (who) were in Avaris" as roving hordes overthrowing Egypt and ruling without Ra. Under Dynasty XIX the worship of Seth was revived in the eastern nomes, but the Saite period saw the persecution of the Seth cult. This continued through the Persian period, when *The Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* and *Papyrus Jumilhac* exulted in the imagined (?) destruction of temples and statues of Seth. Cf. Säve-Söderbergh, "The Hyksos Rule in Egypt," 55; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 138–51.

27. Cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 295–96; idem, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 413. Redford ("Hyksos in History and Tradition," 14) noted that the name Hyksos was sometimes applied to the Persians and the Ptolemies.

28. Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.27; cf. 10.3.21.

29. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.13–14; cf. Strabo, *Geography* 10.3.21.

30. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 91; T. Young, "The Early History of the Medes and the Persians and the Achemenid Empire to the Death of Cambyses," *CAH*$^2$, 4:1–52 (50).

was untrue, for Egyptian records show the bull lived for several years after the Persian conquest and eventually died a natural death.[31]

The outrages attributed to Artaxerxes III Ochus have more of a claim to historicity. The reports that Artaxerxes III slew the Apis and Mnevis bulls were likely true;[32] the alleged madness of Cambyses appears to have been modeled on the later outrages under Artaxerxes. Artaxerxes' brutality was famous; after he ascended the throne, his first act was to slaughter all relatives, male and female.[33] According to Diodorus of Sicily, "Artaxerxes [Ochus], after taking over all Egypt and demolishing the walls of the most important cities, by plundering the shrines gathered a vast quantity of silver and gold..."[34] Braun compared this passage with Manetho's account and concluded that the Hyksos conquest was modeled after the relatively recent Persian conquest under Artaxerxes in Manetho's source.[35] This conclusion appears to be confirmed by Manetho's assertion that the Hyksos conquered Egypt without having to fight a battle: "By main force they easily seized it without striking a blow." For when Artaxerxes III Ochus won a minor victory at Pelusium and entered Egypt in 343 BCE, Nectanebos II, the last of the Egyptian kings, retreated with his army to Memphis; and when city after city surrendered to Artaxerxes, Nectanebos II retired to Ethiopia without engaging the armies of the Persian king.[36] It thus appears that the final fall of Egypt to Artaxerxes III Ochus colored Manetho's account of the conquest of Egypt by the Hyksos.[37]

Manetho's description of the Hyksos conquest of Egypt closely resembles the Israelite conquest of the Promised Land in Joshua. The Pentateuch enjoined the Jews to raze the shrines of other gods and exterminate the natives of the land.[38] But the biblical account reversed that of Manetho: the Jewish entry into Egypt was peaceful, while their return to Syria took the form of an invasion.

Manetho's statement that the Hyksos "treated all the natives with a cruel hostility, massacring some and leading into slavery the wives and children of others" has very strong parallels with the oppression and enslavement of the Israelites by the Egyptians. One frequently encounters the assertion that the oppression of the Israelites must be historical because no nation would invent the story that their ancestors were slaves.[39] But the story of the enslavement of

31. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 89–90; Young, "The Early History," 4:51.

32. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 440; Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; *On Animals* 10.28; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 11.355C; W. Budge, *Egypt Under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies* (8 vols.; London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1902), 7:126–27.

33. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 424.

34. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.2.

35. M. Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1938), 19–20.

36. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.1.

37. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:733 n. 118. Other literary accounts close to Manetho's time also combine literary motifs of a Hyksos invasion from Asia with details drawn from the recent Persian invasion. See n. 27 above.

38. E.g. Deut 7:1–3, 25; 12:1–3; cf. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 64–66.

39. J. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus and Conquest* (JSOTSup 5; Sheffield: Almond Press, 1981), 10, and the literature cited there.

the Israelites by the Egyptians can be interpreted as a polemical response to the story of the enslavement of the Egyptians by the Hyksos in Manetho. The Exodus story appears to have claimed, "We did not enslave the Egyptians, the Egyptians enslaved us." This parallel is especially significant because the enslavement of the Egyptians by the Hyksos appears to have been a novel feature introduced by Manetho (or rather his demotic source) based on the outrages of the Persians: the older archaeological inscriptions did not refer to the Hyksos enslaving Egypt.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.77*

> Finally, they made one of their number, named Salitis, king. He resided at Memphis, enacted tribute from Upper and Lower Egypt, and left garrisons in the places most suited for defence. In particular he secured his eastern flank, as he foresaw that the Assyrians, as their power increased in the future, would covet and attack his realm.

Here Salitis, the preeminent Hyksos ruler, was credited with having the foresight to strengthen the eastern Delta against Assyrian invaders. This tradition displayed no animosity towards the Hyksos, but rather reflected the perceived importance of the eastern nomes for Egypt's defense. The Hyksos ruins at Avaris were here etiologically interpreted as the remains of an old fortress protecting Egypt from its major foreign threat, the Assyrians.[40] The intrusive appearance of the "Assyrian threat" in the Hyksos account reflected Egyptian perspectives after the attacks on Egypt by Esarhaddon in 671, 666 and 663 BCE.[41]

Manetho's assertion that the Assyrians would "one day come and attack his kingdom" is thought by some to have been based on the legend of Ninus, who conquered Egypt according to the standard tale told by Ktesias.[42] But *The Oracle of the Lamb*, purportedly a prophecy written during the reign of Bocchoris (Bakenranef, 720–715 BCE), similarly predicted an Assyrian invasion.[43] Manetho referred to the talking lamb that prophesied under Bocchoris,[44] and elsewhere recorded a prophecy of Amenophis,[45] so it appears probable that the foresight of Salitis with regard to the coming Assyrians was based on an Egyptian rather than Greek literary tradition.

40. Hecataeus of Abdera similarly described Sesostris as fortifying the eastern provinces (constructing numerous canals that prevented chariot attacks and building a wall along the eastern frontier) in anticipation of an invasion from "Syria [i.e. Assyria] and Arabia" (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.57.2–4).

41. Cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 276, 295; idem, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 101. Redford also saw influence from Babylonian invasions of Egypt in 600 and 567 BCE.

42. W. Waddell, *Manetho* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1980), 80–81; the story of Ninus and Semiramis is found at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.1–20.

43. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 145; cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:509; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 286–87. According to Griffiths (*Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 550), the "talking lamb" referred to the oracle of Mendes, where a ram was worshipped.

44. Manetho, LCL (Waddell) FF 64–65.

45. Manetho, LCL (Waddell) F54 (Josephus, *Apion* 1.232–36). The *Oracle of the Potter* was attributed to Amenophis. Cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:509; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 284; J.-W. van Henten and R. Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians and Josephus' Strategy of Refutation in *Contra Apionem*," in Feldman and Levison, eds., *Josephus' Contra Apionem*, 271–309 (273).

The name of the first Hyksos king, "Salitis," is sometimes thought to underlie the obscure title "shalit" given Joseph by Pharaoh at Gen 42:6.[46] The district east of the Nile fortified by the Hyksos ruler was the same general area in which the Israelites settled in the biblical account.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.78*

> Having discovered in the Sethroite nome a city very favorably situated on the east of the Bubastis arm of the river, called after some ancient religious tradition Auaris, he rebuilt and strongly fortified it with walls, and established a garrison there numbering as many as two hundred and forty thousand armed men to protect his frontier.

The wall surrounding Avaris was also mentioned at 1.86–87, where Avaris was the name of an entire district, the wall encompassing the region in its entirety. This was the same wall built by Salitis at 1.78. Historically, the Hyksos were associated with the city of Avaris (Egyptian *Hatwaret*, generally identified with the site of Qantir[47]) east of the Bubastite (Pelusiac) branch of the Nile. Avaris was fortified with a rectangular wall in the Hyksos period, as shown by archaeological remains;[48] and indeed the name *Hatwaret* incorporated the Egyptian word for wall.[49] Manetho doubtless drew on native Egyptian sources in identifying Avaris as the stronghold of the Hyksos. Manetho here cited "an ancient religious tradition" for the name Avaris; at 1.277 he added, "According to the religious tradition this city was from earliest times dedicated to Typhon." This twice-cited "religious tradition" said the Hyksos, in establishing Avaris, dedicated it to Seth-Typhon, the god of foreigners.[50] This will become significant later when the Hyksos are said to have established Jerusalem's temple.

In the time of Ramesses I, Avaris was re-founded as Pi-Ramesses. Significantly, Exodus also identified "Raamses" as one of the treasure cities built by the enslaved Israelites (Exod 1:11). The Jews of the Exodus were thus localized in the precise region occupied by the Hyksos in Manetho.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.79–81*

> (79) This place he used to visit every summer, partly to serve out rations and pay to his troops, partly to give them a careful training in maneuvers, in order to intimidate foreigners. After a reign of nineteen years he died. (80) A second king, named Bnon, succeeded and reigned for forty-four years; his successor, Apachnas, ruled for thirty-six years and seven months; next Apophis for sixty-one, and Jannas for fifty years and one month; (81) and finally Assis for forty-nine years and two months. The continually growing ambition of these six, their first rulers, was to extirpate the Egyptian people.

46. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 56 n. 3. It has been suggested that the names Salitis and the Hebrew word *shalit* are related to the Semitic title Sultan (Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 182).

47. J. Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East* (New York: Dorset Press, 1979), 255–56, 261–62; see Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 127–51, on the location of Avaris.

48. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 63.

49. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 149. *Hwt*, the first element of *Hatwaret*, denoted a settlement surrounded by a rectangular brick wall, as also pictured in its hieroglyphic.

50. Inscriptions call Seth "lord of Avaris" (Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 102).

The succession of Hyksos kings of the Dynasty XV corresponds in large part to a similar list of kings in the Turin Canon.[51] There is no doubt that Manetho drew on native Egyptian inscriptions and papyri. Very significantly, Manetho (inaccurately) characterized these Hyksos rulers as "ever more eager to extirpate the Egyptian stock." This statement had no historical basis with respect to the Hyksos rule, and was doubtless influenced by later Persian outrages. This was also the exact accusation the biblical account levels against the Egyptians. Exodus 1:15–16 went so far as to allege that the Egyptians gave orders that all Hebrew babies were to be slain. Moses alone was saved by being placed in an ark of bulrushes and floated downstream on the Nile where he was discovered and adopted by an Egyptian princess. This subplot to the Exodus story appears to have been a defense against the accusation of Hyksos genocide of the Egyptians: it was not the Hyksos foreigners (Israelites) who tried to exterminate the Egyptians, but the Egyptians who tried to exterminate the Israelites.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.82*

> Their race bore the generic name of Hycsos, which means "king-shepherds." For HYC in the sacred language denotes "king," and SOS in common dialect means "shepherd" or "shepherds"; the combined words form Hycsos. Some say they were Arabians.

Manetho correctly interpreted "HYK" as king, but interpreted "SOS" as shepherd. It is true that the term "SOS" means "shepherd" or "herdsman" in Egyptian.[52] Arab nomads who occasionally brought their herds to Egypt, especially in times of drought, appear in Egyptian inscriptions under the name *Shasu.* According to the etymological speculation recorded by Manetho, the term Hyksos was essentially interpreted to mean "*Shasu* kings"; hence the theory that the Hyksos were Arabs was recorded in connection with the proposed etymology of Hyksos as shepherd kings. The transformation of the name *Shasu* into the Egyptian verb *Shasa(h),* "to plunder," may have influenced Manetho's association of the *Shasu* with the Hyksos.[53]

This derivation of Hyksos was of course inaccurate, since the term Hyksos, a common Egyptian expression frequently encountered in inscriptions, actually meant "rulers of foreign lands." Manetho's explanation of the Hyksos as shepherd kings thus lacked historical or linguistic basis. Nevertheless, the book of Genesis appears to have adopted this derivation, for the Israelites were characterized as shepherds sojourning in Egypt.[54] This surely reflected the Hyksos, for the Israelites were said to have settled in the land of Goshen (the Wadi Tumilat, east of the Nile delta, in the heart of Hyksos territory[55]), where they

51. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists,* 98–200; idem, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel,* 106–8; idem, "Hyksos in History and Tradition," 20. Redford noted that the Turin Canon was preserved by Ramesses II, who revived the Seth cult in the eastern Delta in the region formerly occupied by the Hyksos.

52. Waddell, *Manetho,* 85.

53. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel,* 272.

54. Gen 46:32–34; 47:3.

55. See Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier,* 220–68, on Hyksos (Asiatic) artifacts in the Wadi Tumilat.

were isolated due to the Egyptian hatred of shepherds.[56] At Gen 46:34 the statement that the Egyptians considered shepherds an abomination was historically inaccurate,[57] and can only refer to the hatred of the Egyptians for the Hyksos.

The specific etymology of Hyksos meaning "shepherd kings" may also have given rise to the legend of Joseph's rise to power as second in the kingdom, exercising the full power of the pharaoh.[58] Joseph, the Jewish ruler in Egypt who invited in his relatives, a tribe of shepherds, was the proto-typical Shepherd King.[59] As noted above, Joseph was also given the title "shalit" at Gen 42:6, thought to reflect the name Salitis, Manetho's founder of the Shepherd Kings dynasty. It has often been pointed out that the name Jacob recurs on scarabs as the name of a Hyksos ruler in Egypt and Palestine, strengthening the connection of the Israelites with the Hyksos.[60]

Manetho's comment that "some say [the Hyksos] were Arabs" seriously undermines arguments that the story about the Hyksos engaged in polemics against the Jews. Manetho nowhere equated the Hyksos with the Jews:[61] on the contrary, Manetho mentioned certain Egyptian oral traditions current in his day equating the Hyksos with the Arabs. Under that theory, which contained obvious polemics against the Arabs, Arab *Shasu* tribes once ruled and oppressed Egypt. This identification of the Hyksos with the Arabs was certainly late. The district east of the Nile was called "Egyptian Arabia" in later classical sources.[62] Arabs assisted Cambyses in invading Egypt,[63] and Arabia, though not a satrapy, paid yearly tribute of precious frankincense to the Persians and provided troops to the Persian army.[64] The Arabs appeared to have achieved a significant presence east of the Nile during the sixth century BCE. An inscription of about 518 BCE at Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wadi Tumilat, in former Hyksos territory, referred to offerings there by a son of Gashmu (Gesham), a prominent Arab ruler whose family was also mentioned in Nehemiah.[65] As inscriptions of North Arabia show, Gesham's rule was centered in the Lihyanite kingdom adjacent to the Gulf of

56. Gen 46:34; cf. 47:3–6.

57. Gen 47:6 had the Egyptians maintaining flocks of their own, and Egyptian inscriptions were full of accounts of desert bedouins having been given refuge (with their flocks) in Egypt. Cf. *Papyrus Anastasi* 6.4.16 on pastoral *Shasu* bedouins from Edom given refuge for their herds at the pools of Per-Atum.

58. Gen 41:43–44.

59. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 58 n. 56, referred to an article by A. Catastini that "has Manetho respond to the Exodus story but then sees the Joseph tale in Genesis as a counter-retort in the polemic" ("Le testimonianze di Manetone e la 'storia di Giuseppe' [Genesis 37–50]," *Henoch* 17 [1995]: 279–300).

60. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 108 and n. 57.

61. See n. 77 below. It was Josephus, and not Manetho, who identified the Hyksos with the Jews.

62. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.158; Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.21, 30.

63. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.9.

64. Herodotus, *Histories* 3.97; 7.69.

65. I. Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century B.C.E. from a North-Arab Shrine in Egypt," *JNES* 15 (1956): 1–9 (2, 5–7); cf. Neh 2:19; 6:1, 6.

Suez,[66] but also extended into the territory east of the Nile Delta. Arab presence east of the Delta contributed to the Egyptian perception of the Arabs as somehow related to the Hyksos. Egyptian willingness to identify the hated Hyksos with the Arabs was likely also influenced by Arab collaboration with the equally hated Persians. Manetho's account of the Hyksos dynasty has been colored by the more recent Persian conquest of Egypt, as we have seen: small wonder, then, that at least one native Egyptian tradition linked the Hyksos with the Arab allies of the Persians.

The tradition that the Hyksos were Arabs thus certainly postdates the Persian conquest and shows residual hatred of the Arabs even after Persian rule had been overthrown by Alexander. Yet this same tradition surfaces at least twice in the biblical account of the Sojourn and Exodus. First, Moses spent time in the Arabian desert, in Midian. His father-in-law was Jethro, whose name was perhaps related to the Arabian tribe of Jethur.[67] Second, there is a litany of references to the region assigned to the Israelites as the land of Goshen.[68] This region is universally equated with the fertile Wadi Tumilat east of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile not far from Avaris.[69] The name Goshen itself points to the Arabs, for Goshen derives from the name of the Qedarite ruler Gesham[70] whose rule in "Egyptian Arabia" has already been noted. That Goshen derives from Gesham appears certain, for the Septuagint translation of Genesis routinely referred to Gesham instead of Goshen, and twice referred to Goshen as "Gesham of Arabia."[71] The Hyksos territory where the Israelites came to reside could only have been known as the "land of Goshen" (or the "land of Gesham of Arabia") in the sixth century BCE or later. The identification of the district of Israel's sojourn as the land of Goshen strongly suggests awareness of the post-Persian tradition that equated the Hyksos with the Arabs.

It is possible that Manetho reported one variant account of the Hyksos rule in which the Hyksos were identified with the Arabs (and their stronghold identified as "Gesham of Arabia"). That a tradition in Manetho equated the Hyksos with Arabs may find independent corroboration in a passage by Artapanus, a Jewish historiographer writing ca. 200 BCE,[72] who wrote a "life of Moses" in response to Manetho's account of the Jews.[73]

66. Winnett and Read (*Ancient Records from North Arabia*, 115–17) discussed an inscription mentioning Gashm b. Shahr found at Dedan. The name Qainu son of Gashmu king of Qedar was found on a bowl at Tell el-Maskhuta (Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," 7).

67. 1 Chr 5:19.

68. Gen 45:10; 46:28–29, 34; 47:1–6, 47; 50:8; Exod 8:22; 9:26.

69. See discussion in Chapter 10.

70. Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," 6–7; Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 129–40.

71. Gen 45:10; 46:34.

72. Artapanus wrote between the time of the Septuagint translation (273–269 BCE) and Alexander Polyhistor (ca. 50 BCE). A reference to Moses using peasant farmers in his army probably reflects the period after the battle of Raphia in 217 BCE (J. Collins, "Artapanus," *OTP* 2:889–903 [890–91]).

73. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:705; 2:733 n. 116.

In Artapanus's *Life of Moses* the exile of Moses took place in "Arabia" and Jethro (Raguel)[74] was an Arabian king:

> Moses fled to Arabia and lived with Raguel, the ruler of the region, whose daughter he married. Raguel wished to campaign against the Egyptians, wishing to restore Moses and establish dominion for his daughter and son-in-law. But Moses restrained him, taking thought of his compatriots. Raguel ordered the Arabs to plunder Egypt but withheld them from a full campaign.[75]

Artapanus would scarcely have invented an invasion of Egypt by Raguel, the father-in-law of Moses. Rather, Artapanus may have found an account of an Arabian invasion of Egypt in Manetho's account of the Hyksos and somehow linked with the Jews. In Artapanus's version of events, this Arabian invasion was not intended to install Moses as king; quite the contrary, Moses opposed this Arab invasion, which was limited to a raid for spoils.[76] This analysis suggests that the biblical story of Moses' exile in the (Arabian) land of Midian and his marriage to the daughter of Raguel (Jethro) reflected traditions linking the Hyksos and Arabs. The Pentateuchal story of Moses and Raguel likely responded to the same story in Manetho to which Artapanus defensively responded. In the biblical account, as in *Artapanus*, Moses returned to overthrow the Egyptians and free the Israelites immediately after his sojourn in Midianite Arabia.

### *Josephus,* Apion *1.83*

> In another copy, however, it is stated that the word HYC does not mean "kings," but indicates, on the contrary, that the shepherds were "captives." For HYC in Egyptian, as well as HAC with an aspirate, expressly denotes "captives." This view appears to me the more probable and reconcilable with ancient history.

It is important here to clearly distinguish the statements of Manetho from those of Josephus. Manetho merely recorded a second possible etymology for Hyksos as "captive shepherds." Josephus accepted this etymology and applied it to the Jews, whom he identified with Manetho's Hyksos. Manetho nowhere equated the Hyksos with the Jews;[77] this identification was original with Josephus, based on similarities between the accounts in the Pentateuch and Manetho. The Pentateuch identified the Israelites with the "shepherd-kings," as has already been discussed, but the idea of "shepherd-captives" may also be seen in the account of the slavery of the Jews in Egypt and their forcible detainment despite their repeated request to leave the country. The biblical account weaved together a period of Jewish ascendancy as the Shepherd Kings under Joseph with a later

74. In Exod 3:1 Moses' father-in-law was Jethro, but in 2:18 Raguel (LXX) or Reuel (MT).

75. Artapanus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.27.19). Trans. J. Collins in *OTP* 2:897–903 (900).

76. One may note in passing the recurring theme of the "spoiling of the Egyptians" common to both the biblical story and Manetho's account of the Hyksos (Exod 11:2–3; 12:35–36; cf. Josephus, *Apion* 1.87, 89).

77. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 314 n. 58; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 56; Droge, "Josephus," 121–22.

period of Jewish slavery as the captive-shepherds leading up to the Exodus. This twin portrayal in the Hebrew Bible appears to have specifically reflected the dual etymology of Hyksos in Manetho, as both shepherd-kings and shepherd-captives. Josephus's observation of parallels between the Jews of the Exodus story and the Hyksos of Manetho led him to equate the Jews and Hyksos, even though Manetho did not have the Jews in mind when writing his account. Yet it may now be appreciated that these parallels seen by Josephus, far from coincidental, were due to the biblical account modeling itself on and responding to the account in Manetho.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.84–85*

> (84) The kings of the so-called shepherds, enumerated above, and their descendants, remained masters of Egypt, according to Manetho, for five hundred and eleven years. (85) Then the kings of the Thebaïd and of the rest of Egypt rose in revolt against the shepherds, and a great war broke out, which was of long duration.

In the biblical account, the situation was reversed: rather than the Egyptians revolting, the Egyptians dominated the Jews until the Jews revolted under the leadership of Moses. The liberation of the Jews was the result of a fierce and prolonged conflict between Moses and Pharaoh, although it was resolved by magical rather than military means. That there was an underlying tradition of a military conflict that stood behind the Exodus account is reasonably inferred by the pursuit of the Jews by Pharaoh's full army and chariotry. But the biblical story has in large part substituted a conflict of magicians for the military conflict in Manetho. (However, we may note that Moses was cast as a general both in Artapanus's response to Manetho and in Josephus.[78])

*Josephus,* Apion *1.86*

> Under a king named Misphragmouthosis, the shepherds, he says, were defeated, driven out of all the rest of Egypt, and confined in a placed called Auaris, containing ten thousand *arourae.*

In Genesis, the Jews were also confined to the region of Goshen with its capital city Ramesses (Avaris).[79] But this was not due to a military defeat; rather, Joseph requested that his tribe be allowed to settle there.[80] In Genesis, the Jews were granted this isolated portion of Egypt because of their profession, that of shepherds. Genesis thus acknowledged the essential facts in Manetho—the shepherd Hyksos' confinement in eastern Egypt—but suggested that this was a simple accommodation to their offensive profession, not because of an Egyptian rebellion against oppression by Shepherd Kings.

78. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.238–53; Artapanus *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.27.7–8, 11).

79. Gen 47:1–6, 11. Goshen is a parallel to the "land of Ramesses" at 47:6, 11.

80. Gen 46:34; 47:1–3.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.87*

> The shepherds, according to Manetho, enclosed the whole of this area with a great strong wall, in order to secure all their possessions and spoils.

Here a wall surrounded not just the city of Avaris, but the entire eastern district. The Exodus account mentioned such a wall when it said that the Israelites left Egypt by the "way of Shur," that is, the way of the Wall.[81]

Manetho referred again to the Hyksos spoiling the Egyptians. Historically there is no evidence to suggest that the Hyksos looted Egyptian cities and temples. However, the Persian conquest of Egypt under Artaxerxes III Ochus saw extensive looting of Egyptian temples. The Hyksos spoiling of the Egyptians in Manetho's account thus reflected the infamous conquest of Egypt under the Persians. In the Exodus account, the spoiling of the Egyptians figured prominently.[82] In Exodus, these spoils were not obtained during the oppressive rule of the Hyksos. Rather, the biblical account asserted that the Egyptians were so happy to see the Israelites depart that they voluntarily gave the Israelites spoils of gold and silver. This version of events may be seen as a defensive response to Manetho's account of the Hyksos looting Egypt.[83] Since a looting conducted by the Hyksos only became a motif after the Persian conquest, this detail in the biblical account points to the late date of the Exodus story.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.88*

> Thoummosis, the son of Misphragmouthosis (he continues), invested the walls with an army of 480,000 men, and endeavored to reduce them to submission by siege. Despairing of achieving his object, he concluded a treaty, under which they were all to evacuate Egypt and go whither they would unmolested.

This prolonged siege, ending with a treaty by which the Shepherds were allowed to depart Egypt, has an obvious and striking parallel with the extended effort by Moses to persuade Pharaoh to allow the Israelites to depart Egypt. In Manetho, as in the Exodus account, the Pharaoh finally despaired and agreed to let the foreigners depart. Manetho was the first Egyptian source, literary or inscriptional, to write of a blockaded "race" or tribe (*gens*) seeking to leave Egypt's borders.

Manetho's account of the expulsion of the Hyksos, although containing a core of historical facts, also contained significant inaccuracies. Contemporary historical inscriptions recorded military defeats inflicted on the Hyksos by Khamose and Ahmose in ca. 1550 BCE.[84] Some of the Hyksos fled to Sharuhen in Phoenicia, where they were besieged and defeated by Egyptian forces. With the eviction of the Hyksos, Dynasty XVIII was established, much as Manetho claimed. Egyptian records thus support an emigration of Hyksos from Egypt to Syria, but there is no inscriptional support for a peaceful departure by treaty;

81. Gen 16:7; Exod 15:22.
82. Exod 11:2–3; 12:35–36.
83. Cf. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 180.
84. *ANET*, 230–34, 554–55. See discussion of the *Khamose inscription* at Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 126–29.

quite the contrary, the Egyptians continued to prosecute the war against the Hyksos as far as Sharuhen in Phoenicia. The negotiated peaceful departure of the Hyksos appeared in literary sources no earlier than Manetho; the Pentateuchal account of the Jews negotiating their escape from Egypt appears specifically dependent on Manetho's account.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.89*

> Upon these terms no fewer than two hundred and forty thousand, entire households with their possessions, left Egypt and traversed the desert to Syria.

Manetho reported a migration of 240,000 shepherds across the desert into Syria. The number of Israelites who left Egypt—about 600,000[85]—was comparably high and may have been based on the large numbers in Manetho. Scholars who are willing to grant a historical basis to the Exodus are usually unwilling to credit the numbers reported in the Hebrew Bible. Rather, they usually envision the migration of a few dozen *Shasu* bedouins from Egypt to the wilderness.[86] Redford proposed that the Sojourn and Exodus stories recalled brief periods of *Shasu* residence in Egypt during periodic times of drought.[87] Redford believed the Pentateuchal account also somehow reflected South Syrian memories of their connection with the Hyksos.[88] Yet Redford recognized that the Sojourn and Exodus accounts did not correspond to historical realities in the Hyksos period, notably Hyksos rule. Redford also pointed out numerous anachronisms that date the Pentateuchal account to the Saite period or later.[89] Redford's willingness to grant some sort of underlying historical basis to Pentateuchal parallels to the Hyksos or to *Shasu* bedouins, despite the numerous other indications of late date in the Pentateuchal account, points to an oversight on his part, namely the failure to note that similarities to the Hyksos or to the *Shasu* can be readily explained by dependence on Manetho.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.90*

> There, terrified by the might of the Assyrians, who at that time were masters of Asia, they [the Hycsos] built a city in the country now called Judaea, capable of accommodating their vast company, and gave it the name of Jerusalem.

Manetho again referred to the Assyrian threat in what was essentially a doublet of the tradition at 1.77 that the Hyksos built their capital city Avaris out of fear of an invasion from Assyria. Neither passage displayed any hostility towards the Hyksos, but if anything commended their foresight in anticipating the danger of the Assyrians. The above passage, for the first time in Manetho's account,

85. Num 2:32.

86. Cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 226.

87. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 269–75; idem, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 150–51, 155 n. 25.

88. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 412–13; idem, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 150.

89. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 408–12.

pointed to a connection between the Hyksos and the Jews, but in a surprisingly favorable context. Much as the construction of Avaris by Salitis at 1.77 highlighted the importance of the eastern nomes as a defense against invasion, especially by the Assyrians, so 1.90 appears to have interpreted Judea as a sort of Egyptian buffer state, a first line of defense against the great Mesopotamian powers, which was exactly how Judea and the Levant functioned historically. This was a surprisingly realistic appraisal of Jerusalem's historical importance for Egypt, and likely recalled the several occasions in which Jerusalem attempted to hold off Assyrian or Babylonian sieges (701, 597, 586 BCE), usually at a time when Egypt, too, was under attack. A second surprising accuracy was the rise of the Jews in the post-Hyksos period. Manetho did not claim that the Hyksos were Jews who had invaded Egypt from Jerusalem,[90] but rather that the territory of Judea and city of Jerusalem arose after the Hyksos Dynasty.

This tradition regarding the Hyksos foundation of Jerusalem was not very well integrated into the main story. At 1.89, the Shepherds were said to have migrated under terms of a negotiated withdrawal into "Syria" (1.251); at 1.90 the destination became "the land now called Judea." The Hyksos were now suddenly treated rather favorably. It thus appears doubtful that the foundation of Judea and Jerusalem at 1.90 was taken from Manetho's literary source on the expulsion of the Hyksos. Nor does the story of the Hyksos emigration to Judea resemble the Exodus story, but rather appears to have incorporated elements of the story of Jerusalem's foundation found in Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*. Hecataeus had Judea colonized by Egyptians led by Moses, who founded Jerusalem and its temple. At 1.90, Manetho similarly wrote that Judea was founded from Egypt, with Jerusalem as its chief city. Manetho, like Hecataeus, attributed the construction of Jerusalem to the first generation of colonists from Egypt. Manetho stated that Jerusalem's temple was also founded at this time (1.278). It is not certain whether Manetho mentioned Moses in connection with the Hyksos foundation of Jerusalem. Josephus later implied that he did (1.280), but it is likely that Josephus only inferred Moses' role in this episode. Nevertheless, the resemblances are such that one may conclude that the foundation of Judea and Jerusalem at 1.90 was primarily indebted to Hecataeus of Abdera.

Although the foundation stories at 1.90 and in Hecataeus are very similar, they are not identical. Two differences are that in Manetho, the founders were Hyksos, not true Egyptians, and that Jerusalem was built to serve as a border defense against an anticipated attack from Assyria. Even this last detail is generally consistent with Hecataeus, who was aware of the threat that Assyria posed. Hecataeus praised Sesostris for providing defenses against Assyrians and Arabs from the east.[91] Hecataeus said that Moses wisely provided for the defense of the new colony and made extensive provisions for training and subsidizing the military.[92] Moses' military preparations in Hecataeus, like those of Sesostris,

90. Indeed, in excerpts of Manetho recorded by Eusebius, the Hyksos originated from Phoenicia.

91. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.57.2–4.

92. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.6–7.

were likely intended to counter an Assyrian threat. It is thus conceivable that defensive role of Jerusalem against a future Assyrian invasion derived from Hecataeus of Abdera.

The main change in the story definitely attributable to Manetho was the substitution of the Hyksos for the Egyptians who colonized Judea according to Hecataeus. The story as told by Manetho appears to have been a conscious correction of the Hecataean foundation story. According to Hecataeus of Abdera, Egyptians colonized Jerusalem and Judea. Hecataeus viewed Colchians, Greeks and others as Egyptian colonists. But Egyptians had an ingrained xenophobia that, if not always expressed in active hatred of foreigners, at least carefully distinguished foreigners from native Egyptians. While Greeks were proud to point out Greek descendants in colonies around the world, Egyptians carefully distinguished between native residents of Egypt (the land of Horus) and foreign lands (the lands of Seth, especially those towards the east). While Egyptian kings may have ruled other lands, native traditions did not speak in terms of colonization or Egyptians living abroad. The Egyptian priestly reaction to Hecataeus of Abdera's story of Jerusalem's foundation from Egypt was to deny an ethnic connection. Instead, Manetho expressed the theory that the Jews were true foreigners: if they came from Egypt as Hecataeus claimed, they could only have been descendants of the Hyksos. Such polemical content as found in Manetho's story of Jerusalem's foundation by the Hyksos appears to have been directed against Hecataeus of Abdera—whom Manetho on occasion seems to have corrected on minor factual matters[93]—rather than towards the authors of the Jewish Exodus story.

This source-critical analysis confirms the central conclusion that Manetho's Egyptian story of the Hyksos' reign of terror had nothing to do with the Jews. The one detail that suggested that it did, namely, the alleged Hyksos foundation of Judea and Jerusalem at 1.90, has been shown to have had nothing to do with the Pentateuch, but was an extraneous detail correcting the *Aegyptiaca* of Hecataeus of Abdera.

### *Josephus,* Apion *1.91*

> In another book of his Egyptian history Manetho states that this race, the so-called shepherds, were described as captives in the sacred books of his country. In this statement he is correct. Sheep-breeding was a hereditary custom of our remotest ancestors, and from this nomadic life they came to be called shepherds.

Manetho called the rulers of the Hyksos Dynasty XV the Shepherd Kings (or shepherd-captives). This term only denoted the kings: Josephus called the foreign race itself the Shepherds. According to Eusebius, as reported by Syncellus and in the Armenian version, the Hyksos were "shepherds (ποιμένες) and

93. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 9.354C–D recorded a difference of opinion between Manetho and Hecataeus of Abdera on the etymology of Ammon. This likely came from Manetho, although it is possible that Plutarch (or some intermediate source) read both sources and independently noted the difference.

brothers (ἀδελφηοι)" originating from Phoenicia.[94] It is noteworthy that Genesis applied both terms "brothers" and "shepherds" to Joseph's family that came up from Egypt.[95] As Josephus pointed out, Genesis also reported that Josephus was a shepherd-captive, that is, kidnapped while shepherding his flock and taken captive to be sold into slavery in Egypt.[96] The parallel between the shepherd terminology in Manetho and Genesis is significant, especially since in Manetho it stems from a false etymology of Hyksos. The biblical account appears to have been based on Manetho's etymological speculations rather than a genuine historical memory of the Hyksos as a race of "shepherds" sojourning in Egypt.

## 2. *Conclusions*

Conclusions about the relationship between the Exodus story and Manetho's account of the rise and fall of the Hyksos Dynasty must begin with an accurate appraisal of Manetho's sources. An Egyptian king-list related to the Turin Canon formed the skeleton of his account of the Hyksos Dynasty XV.[97] This was fleshed out by a negative account of the Hyksos conquest and oppression of Egypt and later expulsion taken from a late literary source that was influenced by the recent Persian conquest of Egypt as well as by the legend of Nectanebos. Manetho also drew on contemporary etymological speculation that interpreted the term Hyksos to refer to rulers of *Shasu* (Arab) descent. Manetho's account was thus entirely based on native Egyptian sources, supplemented only by Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*.

Manetho predated the Septuagint, the first Greek translation of Jewish writings.[98] This chronological consideration alone excludes possible influence of the Jewish Exodus story on Manetho's account of the Hyksos.[99] To the extent that Manetho's account of the Hyksos was colored by later developments, it reflected native resentment against the conquest and occupation of Egypt by the Persians and the related occupation of parts of the eastern Delta by Arabs. Manetho's account of the Hyksos Dynasty does not show familiarity with Jewish traditions equating the Hyksos with the Jews. Indeed, Manetho recorded an entirely different theory that some had proposed, identifying the Hyksos as Arabs.

Despite the eventual settlement of the Hyksos in Jerusalem and geographical Judea, Manetho did not bring the Hyksos into ethnic or historical relationship

94. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 164. Waddell, *Manetho*, 94 n. 2, commenting on the text, considered "brothers" an error in transcription.

95. Joseph and his brothers appear throughout Gen 37 and 39–50. Gen 46:32–34; 47:1–2 note their occupation as shepherds.

96. Josephus, *Apion* 1.91–92; cf. Gen 37:25–28.

97. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 106–8.

98. Manetho was the contemporary of Ptolemy I Soter (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 28.362A) and Demetrius of Phaleron (Tertullian, *The Defense* 9.6), thus predating the translation of the Septuagint under Ptolemy II Philadelphus. For a more detailed discussion, see Chapter 11, §1.

99. Dating issues aside, one may discount the idea of Manetho having responded to the Septuagint, which was almost never quoted by non-Jewish writers and had little influence in Egypt; cf. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 60, 62; Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 164.

with the Jews, except as an afterthought at the very end,[100] when he equated the Hyksos migration to "Syria" with the colonization of Judea and Jerusalem recounted by Hecataeus of Abdera. Manetho stopped short of identifying the Hyksos with the Jews. Since he later mentioned Moses, founder of the Jewish nation, in connection with events in the Ramesside period (see Chapter 8 below), it may be questioned whether Manetho regarded the Jews as the original inhabitants of Jerusalem and "the land which is now called Judea." Rather, Manetho may have viewed the Hyksos as the precursors of the Jews of Judea. But whether Manetho equated the Hyksos with the Jews or not, it is clear that such an identification was not made in his major Egyptian literary and inscriptional sources: the foundation of Jerusalem did not appear in Manetho's Egyptian sources, but was taken from Hecataeus of Abdera. Manetho's central account of the rise and fall of the Hyksos Dynasty of Egypt thus had nothing to do with the Jews and was not dependent on the Pentateuchal tradition.

That said, the parallels between Manetho's account of the Hyksos and the Jewish Exodus account are numerous and striking. Both Hyksos and Jews were foreigners in Egypt evicted by the Egyptians. Both were described as Shepherds. Both were centered, at the time of their expulsion, at the eastern border of Egypt. Accounts of both Hyksos and Jews recorded a "blast of God" on Egypt. Both groups were known as spoilers of the Egyptians, and both, after having been driven from Egypt, settled in Jerusalem in the geographical territory of Judea. There were, of course, important differences as well. Whereas the Hyksos enslaved and attempted to exterminate the Egyptians, the Jews were said to have been slaves and captives when the Egyptians tried to drive them to extinction. There clearly exists some sort of genetic relationship between the accounts of Manetho and the Pentateuch, one apparent to later writers such as Josephus and others. Yet Manetho shows no trace of dependence or even awareness of Jewish traditions. This strongly suggests the possibility that Manetho was chronologically prior to the Exodus account and that the Pentateuchal tradition was dependent on Manetho.

The evidence for the dependence of the Pentateuch on Manetho is of two types. First, there are the many details shared by the Exodus account and Manetho's description of the Hyksos. Second—and at first glance paradoxically—there are the many other details in which the Pentateuch and Manetho were in diametric disagreement.

Clearly it would be improper methodology to arbitrarily enlist every point of both agreement and disagreement between Manetho and the Pentateuch as an argument in favor of the latter's dependency on the former. But the points of agreement and disagreement are anything but random or arbitrary. Rather, there is a systematic, consistent, predictable pattern in the points of similarity and violent contradiction. This pattern is intrinsic to the nature of polemics and is easy to describe. On details that were neutral to the reputation of the Jews, the Pentateuch accepted Manetho's account. The Pentateuch indeed accepted as

100. Cf. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 9, 71.

much of Manetho's account as possible, due to the authority and reputation of Manetho. But on details that reflected unfavorably on the Jews, the Pentateuch actively contradicted the account in Manetho. The purpose of the Pentateuch story was not to reject Manetho's authoritative account in its entirety, based as it was on ancient Egyptian records. Rather, the authors of the Jewish Exodus story chose their battles carefully, accepting the basic framework of Manetho's account, accepting whatever details were deemed harmless, but rising to the defense of the Jews on every point of honor. Such was the essential character of polemical literature.[101]

Thus for instance there were many neutral details that the authors of the Exodus account could accept and incorporate into their story to raise the credibility of their own version of events without undermining the reputation of the Jews. The authors of the Pentateuch could portray their ancestors as foreigners residing in Egypt and describe their profession as that of nomads and shepherds. They could also accept Manetho's description of their ancestors as "captives." The authors of the Exodus story could locate them in the vicinity of Avaris (Pi-Ramesses) at Egypt's eastern border.[102] They could describe Egypt's blockade of the Jews in the eastern Delta that prevented their leaving the country and they could describe the extended negotiations that allowed the Jews to leave unmolested and emigrate to Judea and Jerusalem. None of these details reflected unfavorably on the Jews and none of these details therefore required defense or contradiction.

It was precisely in all details in which Manetho criticized the Hyksos that the Exodus account provided an alternative version. The Jews, instead of conquering Egypt and ruling it for six generations, resided there for a similar period, first as peaceful immigrants invited by a friendly Pharaoh and later as captives. Instead of a Hyksos oppression of Egypt, there was an Egyptian oppression of the Jews. When Manetho described the Hyksos massacring Egyptians and subjecting the women and children to slavery and trying to "exterminate the Egyptian stock," the Exodus account described the enslavement of the Jews by the Egyptians and slaying of male Jewish offspring. Instead of the Hyksos occupation of Egypt being equated with a "blast of God," in Exodus God smote Egypt for refusing to allow the Jews to depart. The Pentateuch accepted that the Jews, like the Hyksos, spoiled the Egyptians—and there are even hints that the spoils included goods from Egyptian temples—but the Exodus account insisted that the Egyptians gave the Jews these spoils voluntarily, in return for the many

101. Josephus's polemics against Manetho, for example, accepted as much of Manetho's account as possible, finding confirmation there for the antiquity of the Jews (*Apion* 1.93, 104, 228, 280), their occupation as shepherds (1.91), their arrival in Egypt from elsewhere (1.104, 253), their captivity in Egypt (1.83, 91), their expulsion into Judea (1.228, 253, 280). He then argued against every objectionable aspect of Manetho's story (1.254–87). See R. Hall, "Josephus, *Contra Apionem* and Historical Inquiry in the Roman Rhetorical Schools," in Feldman and Levison, eds., *Josephus' Contra Apionem*, 229–49, on the use of classical rhetoric in Josephus.

102. The authors of Exodus presumably knew that the city of Avaris in Manetho was located in the land of Ramesses.

years the Jews toiled as slaves.[103] All major points of criticism against the Hyksos were answered in the Jewish account.

The Pentateuch's version of events thus both accepted Manetho's history as essentially factual and challenged it on all points affecting Jewish reputation. Some details in Manetho served double duty, accepted as accurate but turned against their source. Using an opponent's own argument against them was a common device in Greek rhetoric and is also evident in the Pentateuchal account. Thus, for instance, the Exodus account accepted the association of the Hyksos period with a "blast of God" falling on Egypt, but said the Egyptians brought the plagues on themselves by refusing to let the Jews depart peacefully . Similarly, the Exodus account accepted the tradition that the Hyksos were "captives" and used that datum to prove the Jews were enslaved by the Egyptians.

In summary, Manetho's account of the Hyksos appears to have been based on native Egyptian records and displays no knowledge of Jewish tradition. Conversely, the Pentateuchal account shows considerable knowledge of Manetho's account, agreeing on the overall historical framework but engaging in polemics on precisely such details as reflected badly on the Jews. The evidence points to the Exodus account having been a response to Manetho rather than Manetho having responded to Jewish traditions.

The evolution of the Exodus story may therefore be outlined as follows based on our analysis so far. The historical period of Hyksos dominance in the Delta, partially documented by contemporary Egyptian records, was revised in later Egyptian literary traditions recalling Hyksos rule as a time of oppression. Later accounts of the Hyksos were colored by the period of Persian hegemony over Egypt. Around 285 BCE Manetho incorporated into his history of Egypt an account of the Hyksos period based on native Egyptian records (and also countering Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*). Sometime after 285 BCE the Jews wrote the Exodus story in response to Manetho's history. (Other features in the story make a date around 272 BCE probable, but in the current section we only draw the limited conclusion that the Exodus story postdates Manetho.) There is no evidence that the Exodus account preserved an ancient or authoritative historical memory of Jewish residence in Egypt or of the Hyksos period. Rather, a number of features of the Exodus story appear specifically to reflect late and unhistorical traditions previously recorded only in Manetho. One may include among these features Manetho's incorrect interpretation of Hyksos as signifying Shepherd Kings or shepherd-captives. Both interpretations were historically incorrect, yet both were incorporated into the Exodus account. Similarly, the details of the Hyksos oppression that actually derived from later Egyptian experiences under the Persians found their way into the Exodus account. The description of the excesses of the Hyksos unique to Manetho—pillaging and

103. Exod 11:2–3; 12:35–36. Diamond interpreted the spoiled jewels and raiment as temple vessels and garb of Egyptian statues of the gods (*Hecataeus of Abdera*, 178, 372 n. 62). Diamond suggested that incredible stories of the Egyptians' voluntary gifts of valuables to the Jews were a response to accusations that the Jews looted Egypt. Interestingly, Jewish looting of Egyptian temples was recorded at Justin, *Epitome* 36.2.13.

oppressing Egypt, spoiling the temples and attempting to exterminate the Egyptian people—were drawn from the relatively recent conquests under Cambyses and Artaxerxes III Ochus. Yet these details found response in the Exodus story, demonstrating the late date of the Pentateuch account and its specific dependence on Manetho. The Exodus story thus appears to have its foundation in polemics against Manetho rather than an independent memory of ancient historical events.

# Chapter 8

## MANETHO AND THE POLLUTED EGYPTIANS

The preceding chapter presented arguments that Manetho's account of the expulsion of the Hyksos was based on native Egyptian records and had no reference to the Jews. A later passage in Manetho—quoted and commented on by Josephus at *Apion* 1.228–51, and commonly thought to record a slanderous Egyptian tradition regarding the origin of the Jews—described a second conquest and expulsion of the Hyksos together with a band of polluted Egyptians under the leadership of Osarseph, a priest from Heliopolis. This lengthy passage will be analyzed below to discover its relationship to the Exodus account. The discussion will initially focus on three key questions: whether Manetho's account was based on native Egyptian records; whether Manetho's account displayed any awareness of the Pentateuchal Exodus story; and whether this account even described the origin of the Jews. As with the previous section, it will be shown that Manetho relied entirely on Egyptian sources that had nothing to do with the Jewish Exodus story, and that any parallels between the Exodus and Manetho's tale must be explained by the Pentateuch responding to Manetho.

This story of a second Hyksos invasion and expulsion has been thought to have drawn on the Jewish Exodus story for a number of reasons. First, there are obvious parallels to the Exodus story, such as the enslavement and oppression of the followers of Osarseph before their rebellion, the dwelling place of the polluted Egyptians and the returned Hyksos in the eastern Delta (near the land of Goshen), the spoiling of the Egyptians, the eviction of the Hyksos and diseased Egyptians into Syria. The formulation of laws of sacrifice and other customs inimical to the Egyptians by the priest Osarseph is commonly thought to have been a slanderous reference to the Jewish Torah.[1] Josephus clearly interpreted the story of Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians as a negative account of Jewish origins in Egypt.[2] A number of other Greek and Roman authors also took Manetho's account to refer to the Jews; the descent of the Jews from lepers evicted from Egypt was found in the anti-Semitic writings of Lysimachus and Tacitus (as well as the partially favorable account of Jewish origins in Pompeius Trogus).[3] Finally, Manetho himself recorded that some thought Osarseph was

1. E.g. van Henten and Abusch, "Jews as Typhonians," 278: "Manetho presents Moses' [*sic*] laws as antithetical to Egyptian practices." What van Henten and Abusch refer to are, to be accurate, Osarseph's laws.

2. Josephus, *Apion* 1.229, 251.

3. Stern, *GLAJJ* §§63 (taking Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.1–5 as drawing on Apollonius Molon by way of Posidonius: see Appendix F, §§8–9), 158, 281.

Moses.[4] For these various reasons, the story of Osarseph and the second Hyksos invasion has been widely considered a slanderous Egyptian account of Jewish origins.[5] Due to the perceived anti-Semitic content of this story, some scholars questioned whether the story came from Manetho, arguing that it was by a later unknown author they labeled Pseudo-Manetho.[6]

Other considerations point to an essentially opposite conclusion that the second Hyksos story in Manetho had nothing to do with the Jews or the Exodus. Manetho did not mention the Jews in his main story, only the Hyksos, certain polluted Egyptians, and their leader Osarseph. It was only at the conclusion of this story—almost as an afterthought—that Manetho said that some identified Osarseph with Moses. This statement was awkward, repetitive and used a different spelling for Osarseph, which has led some to view it as a later interpolation.[7] Additionally, several researchers have done important work identifying Manetho's native Egyptian sources for this story. The story line of a return of the Hyksos from Syria, finally repelled by an Egyptian pharaoh named Ramesses, suggests the account contains echoes of the historical Sea Peoples invasions.[8] Some view the iconoclasm and sacrilege of Osarseph as reflecting the monotheistic reforms of the heretic pharaoh Akhenaten.[9] The sacrilegious activities of the polluted Egyptians and their allies, the Hyksos, has also been thought to reflect historical circumstances close to Manetho's own time, when Persian conquerors conducted outrages against Egyptian temples.[10] Redford pointed out the common Egyptian themes of the impure foreigners and invasions from Asia in Egyptian literature.[11] Yoyotte has shown that the themes of sacrilege against Egyptian cults and the expulsion of non-Egyptians are particularly characteristic of Egyptian writings of the Persian period.[12] These various studies all tend toward the same conclusion that the basic themes of Manetho's second account are found in Egyptian literature and display no awareness of the Jewish Exodus narrative.[13]

In what follows, the first task will be to analyze Manetho's account of the Hyksos and the impure Egyptians in order to determine whether it displayed any

4. Josephus, *Apion* 1.256.

5. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 164; Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Jewish Temple," 322; M. ben Zeev, "The Reliability of Josephus Flavius: The Case of Hecataeus' and Manetho's Accounts of Jews and Judaism: Fifteen Years of Contemporary Research (1974–1990)," *JSJ* 24 (1993): 215–34 (233); see also the literature cited at Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 58 n. 56.

6. Cf. ben Zeev, "The Reliability of Josephus Flavius," 230–33, and literature cited there.

7. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 19–20; Gager, *Moses*, 117–18; Kasher, *The Jews in Hellenistic and Roman Egypt*, 231 and n. 47; Droge, "Josephus," 135–36.

8. This was first suggested by E. Meyer; cf. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 165.

9. The theory associating Osarseph and Akhenaten was originated by E. Meyer (cf. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 165), but more recently was argued by Redford (see n. 24 below).

10. Braun, *History and Romance*, 20–21; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 277, 291, 295–96.

11. Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 148–49; idem, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 276–94.

12. J. Yoyotte, "L'Égypte Ancienne et les Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," *RHR* 163 (1963): 133–43 (138–43).

13. Cf. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 60–61; Gager, *Moses*, 116.

knowledge of the Exodus account or whether it relied exclusively on native Egyptian sources. One major result of this discussion will be the rejection of the theory that Akhenaten's monotheistic heresy influenced Manetho's account. Rather, it will be shown that Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians were intended to represent the cult of the god of confusion, Seth-Typhon, who by the time of Manetho had been turned into an Egyptian anti-god. This new understanding bolsters the thesis that Manetho's story did not originally apply to the Jews at all, but to a native Egyptian cult that was described in highly negative terms in contemporary Egyptian literature.[14] Once it has been demonstrated that Manetho's account was based on native Egyptian traditions, the relationship of Manetho's story to the Exodus will be discussed. It will be shown that the Pentateuch borrowed from and polemicized against Manetho's second account of the Hyksos, as with his first account.

### 1. *Detailed Commentary*

The section on the expulsion of the impure Egyptians, at Josephus, *Apion* 1.228–50, will be analyzed in detail below.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.228*

> I mean Manetho. This author, having promised to translate the history of Egypt from the sacred books, begins by stating that our ancestors entered Egypt in their myriads and subdued the inhabitants, and goes on to admit that they were afterwards driven out of the country, occupied what is now Judea, founded Jerusalem, and built the temple. So far he followed the chronicles.

This summarizes Manetho's earlier passage on the Hyksos. A new detail found here is that the Hyksos were said to have built the temple at Jerusalem. As discussed earlier, this detail came from the foundation story of Hecataeus of Abdera in which Moses led a band of colonists from Egypt to Judea and built the city of Jerusalem and its temple. This foundation story displays no special knowledge of the Jews and bears no obvious relationship to the Exodus story.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.229*

> But at this point, under the pretext of recording fables and current reports about the Jews, he took the liberty of introducing some incredible tales, wishing to represent us as mixed up with a crowd of Egyptians lepers and others who for various maladies were condemned, as he asserts, to banishment from the country.

It is significant, in terms of identifying Manetho's sources, that the story of Osarseph and the expulsion of the polluted Egyptians came from a literary source

14. Van Henten and Abusch have an excellent discussion of the Typhonian mythology underlying Manetho's story of Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians ("The Jews at Typhonians," 275–79). Unfortunately, van Henten and Abusch (following Stern, *GLAJJ,* 1:63) take the identification of Osarseph with Moses by some of Manetho's fellow-Egyptians at Josephus, *Apion* 1.229 to imply that the whole story of Osarseph was written with the Jews (not the Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon) in mind.

referred to as a "legend" (μυθενόμενα) and as an "improbable tale" (λόγους ἀπιθάνους). Josephus also referred to this in an earlier passage: "As for the addition which Manetho has made, not from the Egyptian records, but, as he has himself admitted, from anonymous legendary tales (μυθολογουμένων), I shall later refute them in detail, and show the improbability of his lying stories (ψευδολογίαν)."[15] Josephus contrasted the reliable "Egyptian records" (1.105) and "chronicles" of the Egyptian kings (1.228), from which Manetho obtained his king-lists, with the anonymous contemporary legend which Josephus considered completely improbable.[16] The important point, in terms of the current discussion, is not the absence of accuracy or antiquity in this latter tale of the impure Egyptians, but rather that it derived from a native Egyptian literary document. Josephus additionally referred to a third, non-literary source, "current talk (λεγόμενα) about the Jews," which he distinguished from both the chronicles and from the "improbable" legend. Manetho thus presented material from Egyptian chronicles, from a native Egyptian literary document of doubtful credibility, and from current "talk" in which the literary document was said to refer to the Jews.[17]

It will be important to identify what sources lie behind the native Egyptian tale and whether the Osarseph story shows an acquaintance with the Jewish Exodus story or even refers to the Jews. To the extent that the story was brought into relationship with the Jews—as it clearly was when Manetho reported that some identified the leader of the polluted Egyptians with Moses—it is important to realize that this identification was late and oral ("current talk about the Jews") rather than the perspective of Manetho's literary source itself. As will be shown below, Manetho's literary source had nothing to do with the Jews (or the Exodus): it was only later Egyptian "talk" which equated the impure Egyptians with the Jews.

### *Josephus,* Apion *1.230*

> Inventing a king named Amenophis, an imaginary person, the date of whose reign he consequently did not venture to define fix (although he adds the exact years of the other kings whom he mentions), he attaches to him certain legends, having presumably forgotten that he has already stated that the departure of the shepherds for Jerusalem took place 518 years previously.

15. Josephus, *Apion* 1.105.

16. Josephus, *Apion* 1.229 later again made this same contrast between reliable "chronicles" and "improbable stories."

17. To my knowledge, no previous discussion of Manetho has noted that Josephus listed three distinct sources on the Hyksos. Manetho's "improbable tales" or "legends" are routinely if mistakenly equated with the "current talk" on the Jews (e.g. Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Temple," 323; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 57). This has led to the conclusion that the source of the story of Osarseph and the Hyksos was oral tradition (not a literary document), bolstering its interpretation as late and Pseudo-Manethoan. Redford originally viewed the story as a Pseudo-Manethoan oral tradition ("Hyksos in History and Tradition," 40–41), but later revised his opinion, recognizing that the tale came from a literary document housed in a temple library (or "House of Life") (*Pharaonic King-Lists*, 227–28, 229 n. 104). Yet it is not clear that Redford later properly distinguished categories of legend and oral tradition (cf. *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 214).

Manetho's literary source deals with events under a certain "fictitious" king named Amenophis. Manetho characterized Amenophis as legendary since his name and regnal length did not appear in the Egyptian royal chronicles. Josephus accused Manetho of an inconsistency in first relating the earlier "exodus" of the Hyksos to Jerusalem (ca. 1790 BCE by Manetho's chronology) and then relating a second "exodus" 518 years later (ca. 1275 BCE by Manetho's chronology).

*Josephus,* Apion *1.231*

> For it was in the reign of Tethmosis that they left, and, according to Manetho, the succeeding reigns covered a period of 393 years down to the two brothers, Sethos and Hermaeus, the former of whom, he says, took the name of Aegyptus and the latter that of Danaus. Sethos, after expelling Hermaeus, reigned fifty-nine years, and his eldest son Rampses, who succeeded him, for sixty-six.

This passage situates the story of Amenophis and the polluted Egyptians chronologically. Manetho's list of kings and regnal years between Tethmosis and Sethos—i.e. the kings of Dynasty XVIII—is found at *Apion* 1.93–97. The conflict between Hermaeus and Sethos appears to have referred to the transition of power from Horemhab, the last pharaoh of Dynasty XVIII, to Sethos I, the first pharaoh of Dynasty XIX.[18] Manetho equated Hermaeus with Danaus, the Egyptian ancestor of the kings of Argos according to Greek legend.[19] Manetho's dating the flight of Danaus to Greece to the time of Sethos appears to have been influenced by Egyptian inscriptions describing the expulsion of the Sea Peoples, one of whom was listed in the Medinet Habu Inscription and Papyrus Harris as the Denyen.[20] In the story of Hermaeus's revolt against Sethos found at *Apion* 1.98–102, Hermaeus was said to have seized the throne while Sethos was occupied with a land and naval war.[21] This may have contained further echoes of the Sea Peoples episode, which also involved battles on land and sea.[22] Manetho

18. The Sethos of Manetho was Seti I (ca. 1304–1290 BCE), while Rampses was Ramesses II (ca. 1390–1224 BCE). This book follows the dates of Egyptian rulers in Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East.*

19. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.91; Apollodorus, *Library* 2.1.4.

20. *ARE*, 3:64, 81, 403.

21. Herodotus and Hecataeus related essentially the same story with Sesostris instead of Sethos as the hero of the tale. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.105–9; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.57.6–8; cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 256–59.

22. See *ARE*, 4:64 on the advance by land from Anatolia to Amor and Egypt; *ARE*, 4:65, 73 on the use of chariot forces as well as ships (cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 258); *ARE*, 4:73 pictured oxcarts with women and children among the land forces of the Peleset in *Djahi* (Phoenicia); *ARE*, 4:115–31 described a subsequent war in Syria in which Ramesses III made raids against the Hittites, Amorites and Peleset. It is likely that the Peleset (Philistines) were already established in southern Syria before the assault on Egypt, and as a result of their defeat were confined to their settlements in Philistia. Papyrus Harris indicates that some of those defeated by Ramesses III were brought as captives to Egypt and resettled in Egyptian strongholds there (*ARE*, 4:403); Egyptian records do not support the idea of the Philistines having been settled in fortresses in southern Syria as in the usual construct. The above analysis draws on an unpublished 1992 Master's thesis by G. Doudna, "The 'Sea Peoples' Invasion of the Levant in the Twelfth Century B.C.E., with Particular Focus on the Philistine Settlement in Canaan" (M.A. diss., Cornell University, 1992).

thus appears to have mixed reminiscences of the historical invasion of the Sea Peoples during Dynasty XIX with Greek legends. While the first incursion of the Sea Peoples occurred ca. 1225 BCE under Merneptah, the main invasion of the Sea Peoples took place ca. 1175 BCE under Ramesses III.

The precise date of the Amenophis episode is difficult if not impossible to establish, not least of all due to the contradictions in Manetho and the difficulty in aligning the kings of Manetho's Dynasty XIX with those of archaeology. From 1.231 above, the Amenophis episode followed the first two kings of Dynasty XIX, namely Seti I and Rampses I: but in the list of kings at 1.93–97, Hermaeus was followed immediately by Ramesses I, while Sethos I, although historically the first king of Dynasty XIX, was omitted. Further, the regnal years of Sethos (59) and Rampses (66) in 1.231 correspond to the regnal years of Sethosis Ramesses (Seti II) and Ramesses II in the middle of Dynasty XIX. From 1.245, 251, it is learned that Amenophis was the son of Rampses (perhaps Ramesses I) and father of Sethos-Rameses (a name which compounds Seti II and Ramesses II). Amenophis was thus portrayed as following Sethos-Ramesses at 1.231 but fathering Sethos-Ramesses at 1.245. Finally, as noted above, the revolt and expulsion of Danaus, if it indeed reflected the defeat of the Sea Peoples, was situated at the end of Dynasty XIX under Ramesses III. It is tempting to see the second invasion of the Hyksos under "Amenophis" (1.248) as the first wave of Sea Peoples under Merneptah and the eviction of the Hyksos under Amenophis's son Ramesses (1.251) as the final defeat of the Sea Peoples under Ramesses III, as first proposed by E. Meyer.[23] Although it is probably too simplastic to posit a direct equation between Amenophis and Merneptah, it seems likely that the Hyksos invasion under Amenophis and his son Ramesses reflected the Sea Peoples invasion (part of which came overland from Syria).

Solving all the chronological problems of Manetho's Dynasty XIX is unnecessary in the present context. For our purposes it is sufficient to observe that the episode under Amenophis was definitely associated with Dynasty XIX and as such may have related to the Sea Peoples invasion.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.232–33*

> (232) Thus, after admitting that all those years had elapsed since our forefathers left Egypt, he now interpolates this fictitious Amenophis. This king, he states, wishing to be granted, like Or, one of his predecessors on the throne, a vision of the gods, communicated his desire to his namesake Amenophis, son of Paapis, whose wisdom and knowledge of the future were regarded as divinity. (233) This namesake replied that he would be able to see the gods if he purged the entire country of lepers and other polluted persons.

Here begins the literary document containing a tale from before Manetho's time. The immediate problem is ascertaining the period this literary document referred to. Since Amenophis was said to have been the father of "Sethos, also called Ramesses" at 1.245, Manetho was likely correct in associating the tale with the Ramesside Dynasty XIX, in which the names Sethos and Ramesses recurred.

23. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 163.

Redford argued that the episode actually pertained to Amenophis III and Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) of Dynasty XVIII.[24] A grave difficulty under Redford's interpretation was his identification of Amenophis III with both the Amenophis of Manetho's story and with this same Amenophis's "predecessor." Redford argued that the prophet "Amenophis, Paapis' son" referred to Amenophis son of Haapi, scribe of Amenophis III. Yet this Amenophis son of Haapi was legendary in later times as prophet and healer[25] and was associated with other literary documents such as *The Oracle of the Potter*, a late composition with no historical connection to Dynasty XVIII.[26] It is likely that Amenophis son of Paapis was here invoked as a stock literary figure. Additionally, Redford noted that Or is simply Horus, and pointed out that Manetho listed "Oruus" as a Dynasty XVIII ruler immediately following Amenophis II. Redford asserted that Horus was part of the throne-name of Amenophis III. For these various reasons Redford found identification of Or with Amenophis III plausible.

Redford's central argument was that the sacrilegious legislation and acts of the heretic Osarseph (see below) reflected the theological reforms of Amenophis IV (Akhenaten) who promoted the monotheistic religion of the sun disk Aten. This interpretation of Osarseph does not appear to be correct. Rather, Osarseph's cult was that of Seth-Typhon, god of the Hyksos. Amenophis's predecessor Or likely referred to Horus himself, who was the first human pharaoh ("Orus") according to Manetho's arrangement. After Osiris was slain by Seth, Isis and her child Horus were driven into hiding. On attaining manhood, Horus expelled Seth-Typhon and his wicked confederates from Egypt as a preliminary to resurrecting his father Osiris.[27] In the time of Manetho, the adherents of the cult of Seth-Typhon were considered polluted. There are hints that the followers of Seth-Typhon were maligned as leprous, for Egyptians believed the pig conveyed leprosy,[28] and a boar was one of Typhon's special, sacred animals.[29] Amenophis's purging the land of lepers and other polluted persons thus corresponded to Horus's original purging Egypt of Seth-Typhon and his polluted followers. The episode under Amenophis is thus to be interpreted as a reenactment of the expulsion of Seth-Typhon (a motif that frequently recurs in Egyptian literature). This undermines the theories of Meyer and Redford that Manetho's story pertained to the cult of the sun-disk Aten.[30]

24. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 292–93; idem, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 415–16.

25. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:684.

26. Ibid., 1:683–84, dated the composition to the early Ptolemaic period.

27. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 19.358B–F.

28. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 8.353F–354A; Aelian, *On Animals* 10.16. According to this last source (citing Manetho), "All Asiatics hate these diseases." See J. Lindsay, *Men and Gods on the Roman Nile* (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1968), 309, on Seth's connection with leprosy.

29. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 272, 282, citing *The Book of the Dead* spell 112 and other Egyptian texts; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 8.354A, where the only Egyptian sacrifice of a pig was at a yearly festival memorializing Typhon's discovery of Osiris's body while pursuing a boar in the Nile marshes.

30. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 415–16; cf. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 165.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.234–35*

> (234) Delighted at hearing this, the king collected all the maimed people in Egypt, numbering 80,000, (235) and sent them to work in the stone-quarries on the east of the Nile, segregated from the rest of the Egyptians. They included, he adds, some of the learned priests, who were afflicted with leprosy.

Two points may be made here. First, these polluted lepers and others were explicitly identified as Egyptians, as Josephus repeatedly emphasized.[31] Within the literary source reproduced by Manetho, there is no hint that these polluted Egyptians were ancestors of the Jews.[32] Rather, in Manetho's source they represented the polluted native Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon (as will become increasingly clear). Second, there is no historical basis for the assignment of diseased or crippled Egyptians to quarry labor.[33] Rather, corvée labor in the quarries was a routine duty performed by ordinary Egyptians. The etiology of the cult of Seth-Typhon from quarry-workers east of the Nile will be discussed below.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.236*

> Then this wise seer Amenophis was seized with a fear that he would draw down the wrath of the gods on himself and the king if the violence done to these persons were detected; and he added a prediction that the polluted people would find certain allies who would become masters of Egypt for thirteen years. He did not venture to tell this himself to the king, but left a complete statement in writing, and then put an end to himself. The king was greatly disheartened.

The reference to the "full account...in writing" of the prophecy of Amenophis shows Manetho's source here to have been a literary work. Embedded within this story is what we might term The Oracle of Amenophis, of the same genre as the well known *Oracle of the Potter* and others. The prophecy that foreigners would rule Egypt for 13 years shows that Manetho's literary source on Amenophis drew material from a similar well-known Egyptian tale regarding Nectanebos II, the last Egyptian king. In brief, this latter story predicted that the fall of Egypt (to the Persians) would last thirteen years, at the end of which Nectanebos II would restore the kingdom.[34] Other parallels to the Nectanebos story will be noted below.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.1.237*

> Then Manetho proceeds (I quote his actual words): When the men in the stone-quarries had continued long in misery, the king acceded to their request to assign them for habitation and protection the abandoned city of the shepherds, called Auaris, and according to an ancient theological tradition dedicated to Typhon.

31. Josephus, *Apion* 1.234, 248.

32. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 58–60.

33. According to Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 292, quarry work was part of the normal corvée labor required of all Egyptians; but at *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 416, he noted that quarry and heavy stonework were sometimes assigned to captives.

34. Braun, *History and Romance*, 20–21; cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 2:733 n. 118; Budge, *Egypt Under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies*, 7:126, 128.

Manetho transferred the residence of the polluted Egyptians from the quarries to Avaris, the former Hyksos capital. Here the connection of the story with the cult of Seth-Typhon was made explicit.[35] Manetho's assertion that "according to religious tradition" Avaris was "from earliest times dedicated to Typhon" (1.237) should be compared with his earlier assertion (1.78) that the capital city founded by the Hyksos was "called Avaris after an ancient religious tradition." Manetho claimed that Avaris, the Hyksos and the cult of Seth-Typhon were all linked from the earliest times. This accords well with archaeological and literary evidence: Seth was well known as the favored god of the Hyksos,[36] and inscriptions have been discovered calling Seth "lord of Avaris."[37] Although Seth-worship was accepted in Egypt from earliest times through at least the seventh century BCE, by Manetho's time Seth had become associated with the evil Titan Typhon of Greek myth,[38] and the worshippers of Seth were considered enemies of Egypt and her gods. The impure Egyptians, centered at Avaris, were clearly meant to represent an earlier generation of devotees to Seth-Typhon.

Seth had of course been a prominent deity of the Hyksos Dynasty XV (though not to the detriment of the rest of the Egyptian pantheon[39]). Various Asiatic gods, notably Baal and Teshub, were worshipped in Egypt under the name Seth, the god of foreigners.[40] With the fall of the Hyksos dynasty, the Seth cult lost much of its former popularity. The rise of Dynasty XIX saw a royal revival of the Seth cult, as evidenced for instance by the names Seti I and II. The city of Pi-Ramesses was constructed at the old site of Avaris as a new northern capital of the Ramessides, and a new temple of Seth was erected there. The famous "400 year stele" of Ramesses II prominently celebrated the god Seth.[41]

The pharaohs of Dynasty XIX, having decided for strategic reasons to rebuild Avaris as the new "city of Ramesses," considered it entirely appropriate to promote the traditional local god of the Sethroite nome. The story of "polluted Egyptians" rebuilding the site of Typhonian Avaris under the Dynasty XIX obviously recalls the Ramesside revival of the Seth cult.[42] The author of

35. Redford, ignoring the obvious association of Avaris with the cult of Seth-Typhon, implausibly proposed that the polluted Egyptians were said to be relocated to Avaris in Manetho due to the similarity of that "desert city" with El Amarna, the seat of Akhenaten's government and cult of Aten (*Pharaonic King-Lists*, 293). Van Henten and Abusch simply take it as obvious that the association of the polluted Egyptians with Avaris indicated that these Egyptians were Typhonians ("The Jews as Typhonians," 275, 278).

36. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 121; Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 171–77; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 117.

37. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 102.

38. Aeschylus, *Suppliants* 559–60; Herodotus, *Histories* 2.156; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.21.2. The first classical source equating Seth and Typhon was Pherekydes of Syros in the sixth century BCE (Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.42; cf. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 259 n. 2, 389).

39. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 172.

40. Iconography of Seth combined native Egyptian motifs with features of Baal, etc. See te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 109, 119–20, 126; Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 174–77.

41. *ANET*, 353; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 124–26.

42. Curiously, this fact has escaped the notice of previous writers on Manetho.

Manetho's literary source was clearly scandalized that under the Ramessides native Egyptians adopted the Seth cult. In the time of Manetho, hostility towards the Seth cult was extreme; hence the Egyptian adherents of Seth during the Ramesside period were labeled as polluted, enemies of the gods, and so on (see below). It is important to note that these polemics were not directed against Jews in Egypt, but native Egyptians. Manetho's literary source did not disparage the Jews, but the native Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon.

Many details in Manetho's account appear reasonable in connection with the revival of the Seth cult in Dynasty XIX. One may first of all accept that a great deal of quarry work took place in conjunction with the building program of the Ramessides, especially Ramesses II. It is also likely that some of these same quarry workers were used to transport stone to the new capital of Pi-Ramesses at the old site of Avaris and were involved in construction work there. (At 1.240 the former quarry workers were said to have helped rebuild the walls of Avaris.) During the period of construction at Pi-Ramesses, the workforce naturally resided at the royal city, and it is possible that some workers were encouraged or subsidized to settle there, populating the new city. The resettlement of quarry workers to Pi-Ramesses (Avaris) is thus within the realm of historical possibility. Those working or residing in the new capital would naturally have participated in the revived cult of Seth, "lord of Avaris," promoted by the kings of Dynasty XIX. Setting aside the malicious description of Ramesses corvée workforce as polluted, the historical core of the story is—so far—entirely plausible.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.238–40*

> (238) Thither they went, and, having now a place to serve as a base for revolt, they appointed as their leader one of the priests of Heliopolis called Osarsiph, and swore to obey all his orders. (239) By his first law he ordained that they should not worship the gods nor abstain from the flesh of any of the animals held in special reverence in Egypt, but should kill and consume them all, and that they should have no connexion with any save members of their own confederacy. (240) And laying down these and a multitude of other laws, absolutely opposed to Egyptian custom, he ordered all hands to repair the city walls and make ready for war with King Amenophis.

This section described the anti-Egyptian character of the new cult that arose under the leadership of Osarseph at Avaris. Osarseph is here portrayed as the founder of the native Egyptian cult of Seth under its Ramesside revival. Obviously the royal promotion of the renewed cult of Seth at Pi-Ramesses required the appointment of priests to organize and run the new temple. There is thus no real question that Dynasty XIX saw the rise of a new order of priests of Seth at Pi-Ramesses. It is even conceivable that Manetho's source document drew on a genuine historical tradition in naming Osarseph as one of these prominent Ramesside priests of Seth.

The above description of a Ramesside revival of the cult of Seth had nothing to do with the Jews. This passage has often been interpreted as a slanderous description of Jewish origins.[43] The passage was indeed highly slanderous, but

43. See n. 5 above.

the polemics were directed against Egyptians—adherents of the wicked cult of Seth-Typhon—not Jews. The characterization of Osarseph's followers as "rebels" was consistent with their identity as Typhonians.[44] The charge that the followers of Osarseph did not "worship the gods" was completely consistent with similar charges of atheism against the worshippers of Seth around Manetho's time.[45] Similarly, the worshippers of Seth-Typhon were accused of sacrificing and consuming animals sacred to the Egyptians during the Persian period.[46] These charges thus did not criticize Jewish sacrificial practices, but rather those of the cult of Seth-Typhon (especially in the Persian period).

Similarly, the law that "they should have intercourse with none save those of their own confederacy," though almost universally taken to refer to Jewish *amixia* or social self-isolation,[47] again referred to the followers of Seth-Typhon. The "confederacy" or "gang" of Seth-Typhon was a recurrent motif in Egyptian literature. In Egyptian myth, Typhon slew Osiris with the assistance a group of co-conspirators.[48] When Osiris was later dismembered, his limbs were distributed among the members of Typhon's gang who scattered them throughout the 14 or 16 nomes of Egypt.[49] These conspirators, having shared in Typhon's guilt, were forced to defend his rule against Isis.[50] When Horus, the son of Isis and Osiris, grew to be a man and avenged his father's murder, he drove Typhon out of Egypt.[51] An Egyptian document dated to 361 BCE entitled *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* began with Seth and his impious Asiatic allies (a reconstituted confederacy) reconquering Egypt,[52] then described the

44. In Ptolemaic times, the suppression of rebellion was described in terms of Horus defeating Seth. See the *Rosetta Stone* 10, 26 (Greek), 15 (demotic), 22 (hieroglyphic).

45. Van Henten and Abusch ("The Jews as Typhonians," 296) remarked that Seth developed into the "quintessential enemy of the other deities. In this new role he attacks the deities, threatens their cult and destroys their temples." Both Seth and Typhon rebelled against the established gods (Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 259).

46. At Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.8, Artaxerxes III Ochus was said to have sacrificed the Apis and Mnevis bulls to Typhon. See also Urk. VI.18–22 §E.3 on Seth's sacrifice of all the sacred animals of Egypt.

47. Gager, *Moses*, 119; Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 21, 168. Shäfer considered the formulation ("they should have intercourse with none save those of their own confederacy") to be "peculiar." Although Shäfer wrote about the ancient allegations of Jewish Typhonianism and ass-worship (*Judeophobia*, 55–62), he failed to note the terminological connection between the "confederates" at Josephus, *Apion* 1.239 and the confederates of Seth-Typhon frequently mentioned in Egyptian and Greek accounts of the legend of Isis and Osiris. Shäfer also viewed traditions of Jewish "impiety" and "misanthropy" as arising separately (*Judeophobia*, 19, 165–69), although both were descriptive of the followers of Seth-Typhon as Egyptians viewed them in the post-Saite period.

48. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 13.356B.

49. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.21.2 (26 parts); cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 18.358A (14 parts), 3.356B–C (where the conspirators were numbered at 72). The division of Horus into 14 or 16 parts was also found in Egyptian sources (Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 53, 338).

50. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.21.2.

51. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.21.3; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 19.358B–F. After attaining manhood, Horus drove out Seth and his confederates. Chaeremon used Horus as a model for a similar story of Ramesses attaining manhood and driving the Jews from Egypt (Josephus, *Apion* 1.292; cf. van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 280).

52. Urk. VI.16–17 §E.3.

magical rituals required to drive Seth and his gang from Egypt back into Asia.[53] Although not explicitly named as such, the wretched Asiatics allied to Seth in this document may in part recall the Hyksos.[54] It appears that Manetho modeled his account of the expulsion of the Sethite priests and their Hyksos allies on an Egyptian literary work embodying ideas such as those found in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*. In any case, the confederacy under Osarseph was an obvious allusion to "Seth and his gang," not to Jewish *amixia*. In conclusion, then, this passage contained a slanderous description of the hated native Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon, not a hostile account of Moses and the Jews as commonly held in secondary literature.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.241*

> Then, in concert with other priests and polluted persons like himself, he sent an embassy to the shepherds, who had been expelled by Tethmosis, in the city called Jerusalem, setting out the position of himself and his outraged companions, and inviting them to join in a united expedition against Egypt.

At this point in the narrative, the stage was set for the polluted, but unjustly oppressed Egyptians, together with Hyksos brought back from Jerusalem, to rise up against their fellow-Egyptians. As noted above, this story line was paralleled by a return of Asiatics to Egypt in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*. In earlier periods of Egyptian history, when foreigners had not yet conquered Egypt, the association of the Seth cult with foreigners carried few negative connotations.[55] On the contrary, in Dynasty XIX it was Seth who delivered foreign lands into the hands of the Egyptians.[56] But with the Assyrian and Persian conquests, Seth became the god of Egypt's enemies, and the native Egyptian Seth cult was demonized for its foreign associations.[57] This same late xenophobic view of the Seth cult was expressed above in the traitorous alliance between the Egyptian adherents of Seth-Typhon and the hated Hyksos.

*Josephus,* Apion *1.242–43*

> (242) He undertook to escort them first to their ancestral home at Auaris, to provide abundant supplies for their multitudes, to fight for them when the moment came, and without difficulty to reduce the country to submission. (243) The shepherds, delighted with the idea, all eagerly set off in a body numbering 200,000 men, and soon reached Auaris. The news of their invasion sorely perturbed Amenophis, king of Egypt, who recalled the prediction of Amenophis, son of Paapis.

53. "They chase out the Perverse-of-nature: 'We send you in misery back to the land of Asia. Egypt obeys Horus and leaves you wounded.'" Urk. VI.12 §C.9.

54. Yoyotte, "Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," 141–42. *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* alludes to the more recent conquest of Egypt by Cambyses (E. Drioton, *Pages d'Egyptologie* [Cairo: Le Revue du Caire, 1957], 320–21). But the Persians were viewed as an incarnation of the Hyksos and were sometimes referred to as Hyksos in Egyptian inscriptions (Redford, "The Hyksos in History and Tradition," 14).

55. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 108–38.

56. Ibid., 129–34.

57. Ibid., 138–51.

According to this tradition, there was a return of the Hyksos from Jerusalem to their old lands east of the Delta. Since these events were placed in the Ramesside period, this may have recalled the Sea Peoples invasion, part of which came by land by way of Palestine.[58] Egyptians considered the turbulent sea to have been an important and dangerous manifestation of Seth;[59] this may have contributed to an association of the Sea Peoples with Seth-Typhon. "The return of the Typhonians" was a recurrent motif in Egyptian literature.[60] In the Osiris myth, Seth murdered his brother Osiris and ruled Egypt as Pharaoh while Osiris's child Horus went into hiding. Eventually, Horus grew to adulthood and—trained in war by the spirit of Osiris—marshaled forces that expelled Seth and his allies into Syria. But Seth-Typhon periodically recouped his powers and returned to pillage Egypt, to be wounded and evicted again, in an endless cycle of battles against the evil god of foreigners. The theme of Seth's return from Asia to conquer Egypt a second time was especially prominent in the late magical text *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*.[61] In several passages, Plutarch commented that Seth could never be destroyed or permanently vanquished, but only wounded, regaining strength after a time.[62] That Manetho recorded two separate occupations of Egypt by the Hyksos is highly consistent with the Hyksos' character as Typhonians and indicates that both accounts regarding the Hyksos came from a single literary source.[63] What is most important to the current discussion is that the return of the Hyksos was based on familiar Egyptian themes.

### *Josephus,* Apion *1.244–47*

> (244) He [Amenophis] began by assembling the Egyptians, and, after deliberation with their chiefs, sent for the sacred animals which were held in most reverence in the temples, and instructed the priests in each district to conceal the images of the gods as

58. See n. 22 above.

59. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 32.363D–E; 33.364A; 64.376F; Lindsay, *Roman Nile*, 178–79.

60. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 276–83 (although Redford emphasized the northern origin and impiety of the invaders, but not their association with Seth-Typhon).

61. Urk. VI.16–17 §E.3: "Behold, the wretched Seth has arrived on the highways. He has come to pillage with his hand. He has schemed to carry out rapine by force, as it has been done formerly, destroying cities, ruining their sanctuaries, setting tumult in the temples."

62. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 30.362E ("The power of Typhon, weakened and crushed, but still fighting and struggling against extinction"), 40.367A ("Typhon was vanquished but not annihilated"), 43.368D ("The destructive activity of Typhon does not always prevail, but oftimes is overpowered...and put in bonds and then at a later time is released and contends against Horus").

63. Literary features common to both accounts include the Hyksos' desecration of Egyptian temples, their location at Avaris, the massive walls surrounding Avaris, and the Hyksos' expulsion into Syria. The second story referred back to the first at Josephus, *Apion* 1.237 ("the abandoned city of the shepherds, called Auaris"), 241 (the embassy to "the shepherds, who had been exiled by Tethmosis"), 242 ("their ancestral home at Auaris"), 248 (the returned Solymites and polluted Egyptians make "the regime of the shepherds seem like a golden age"). The story of the Hyksos Dynasty and its sequel, the story of the Hyksos revival in the time of Ramesses, appear to have drawn on the same native Egyptian literary source. The common literary elements in these two tales is inconsistent with the theory that views the first account as coming from Manetho and the second from an anti-Semitic "Pseudo-Manetho."

> securely as possible. (245) His five-year-old son Sethos, also called Ramesses after his grandfather Ra(m)pses, he entrusted to the care of a friend. He then crossed [the Nile with] 300,000 of the most efficient warriors of Egypt and met the enemy. Instead, however, of engaging them, (246) he, under the belief that he was about to fight against the gods, turned back and repaired to Memphis. There he picked up Apis and the other sacred animals which he had ordered to be brought thither, and at once, with all his army and the Egyptian population, started up country for Ethiopia, whose king was under obligation to him and at his service. (247) The latter made him welcome and maintained the whole multitude with all the products of the country suitable for human consumption, assigned them cities and villages sufficient for the destined period of thirteen years' banishment from the realm, and moreover stationed an Ethiopian army on the Egyptian frontier to protect King Amenophis and his subjects.

The special concern of Amenophis to save the Apis bull and other sacred animals from the Hyksos and polluted Egyptians was a clear reference to the slaughter of sacred animals (including the Apis bull) by the Persians.[64] The flight of Amenophis in the face of a second Hyksos invasion has long been recognized as an exact parallel to historical and legendary accounts of the flight of Nectanebos II at the second Persian invasion under Artaxerxes III Ochus in 343 BCE.[65] Nectanebos, too, initially gathered an army to oppose the invaders. But after one of his armies suffered defeat in the Delta, Nectanebos withdrew to Memphis. This move prompted the cities of the Delta to surrender to the Persians, and Nectanebos wound up relinquishing Egypt without a battle, fleeing to Ethiopia.[66]

According to certain legends, Nectanebos II was predicted to return from exile to liberate Egypt.[67] In the literary text recorded by Manetho, this legend was applied to Amenophis. It is therefore quite clear that the conquest of Egypt by the Persians greatly influenced this late story of a second Hyksos invasion.[68]

*Josephus,* Apion *1.248–49*

> (248) Such was the condition of affairs in Ethiopia. Meanwhile the Solymites came down with the polluted Egyptians, and treated the inhabitants in so sacreligious a manner that the regime of the shepherds seemed like a golden age to those who now beheld the impieties of their present enemies. (249) Not only did they set cities and villages on fire, not only did they pillage the temples and mutilate the images of the gods, but, not content with that, they habitually used the very sanctuaries as kitchens for roasting the venerated sacred animals, and forced the priests and prophets to slaughter them and cut their throats, and then turned them out naked.

64. Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28; *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; 6.8.

65. Braun, *History and Romance*, 19–20; cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 296. At p. 293, Redford somewhat contradictorily attributed the 13 years exile to the combined rules of Akhenaten (11) and Tutankhamen (2).

66. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.1: "But King Nectanebôs, while still tarrying in Memphis and perceiving the trend of the cities toward betrayal, did not dare risk battles for his dominion. So, giving up hope of his kingship and taking with him the greater part of his possessions, he fled into Aethiopia."

67. *Demotic Chronicle* 6.15–20; *The Alexander Romance* 1.34; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:682; 2:952 n. 34; Braun, *History and Romance*, 19–25.

68. Braun, *History and Romance*, 20; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 296.

The impiety and savagery of this alleged second Hyksos domination of Egypt was described in anachronistic terms more appropriate to the Persian conquests under Cambyses and Artaxerxes III Ochus. Strabo referred to "the madness and sacrilege of Cambyses, who partly by fire and partly by iron sought to outrage the temples, mutilating them and burning them on every side, just as he did with the obelisks."[69] Cambyses' oppression of the Egyptians appears to have been somewhat exaggerated by later generations, although contemporary records show that he deprived the local Egyptian temples of income,[70] and the Elephantine Papyri indicate that the Jewish temple at Yeb was exceptional as having been spared from destruction by Cambyses.[71] But Artaxerxes III Ochus's reprisals against Egypt for the rebellion under Amyrtaeus very closely correspond to the above description of the impious acts performed under the Jewish–Hyksos regime. One of the worst sacrileges conducted by Artaxerxes III Ochus was his slaughter of the sacred Apis bull.[72] Artaxerxes Ochus also destroyed cities and plundered shrines.[73] Manetho's literary source thus modeled the second Hyksos reign of terror on Persian outrages under Artaxerxes Ochus. This story thus post-dated Artaxerxes' conquest in 343 BCE. Since it also recounts a period of "Hyksos" (read "Persian") rule for 13 years, it (like the Nectanebos prophecy) likely dated to ca. 333 BCE or later, very close to the time of Manetho.

The impiety of the polluted Egyptians and the Hyksos allies resembles late Egyptian propaganda that accused the cult of Seth-Typhon of similar acts of atheism and impiety. The Persians were said to have promoted the cult of Typhon at the same time they oppressed other native Egyptian cults,[74] so perhaps the demonizing of the Seth cult starting in the sixth and fifth centuries was somehow related to a perceived collaboration between the worshippers of Seth and the hated Persians.[75] It is interesting to note that in Manetho, the polluted Egyptian worshippers of Seth and their Hyksos allies were portrayed as "pillaging the temples and mutilating the images of the gods without restraint." Is it possible that Seth worshippers, once the Persians were in power, helped conduct such acts against their fellow-Egyptians? In anti-Sethian literature of later times, Egyptians were encouraged to destroy Sethian temples and deface Sethian images,[76] perhaps in memory of similar past actions by devotees of Seth; and images of the god Seth were in fact systematically defaced during this

69. Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.27.

70. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 89–91.

71. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.12–13.

72. Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28; *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; 6.8; cf. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 440.

73. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.2.

74. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.46.4; *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.14.

75. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 147–49.

76. Ibid., 144, 146–47. "Ombos is pulled down. Their temples are destroyed. All who belonged to them are not. Their lord is not" (Urk. VI.17 §D3). Ombos was a prominent site of a temple of Seth built under Tuthmosis I and restored under Ramesses II (te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 116, 131, 146).

period.[77] Manetho's account thus reflected a virtual war in Manetho's day between adherents of the Seth cult and those of the other Egyptian gods. All this reinforces the conclusion that Manetho's literary source contained violent polemics against the contemporary Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon.[78]

*Josephus,* Apion *1.250–51a*

> (250) It is said that the priest who gave them a constitution and code of laws was a native of Heliopolis, named Osarsiph after the Heliopolitan god Osiris, and that when he went over to this people he changed his name and was called Moses. (251) Such and much more, which, for brevity's sake, I omit, is Egyptian gossip about the Jews...

At 1.250, Manetho (as reported in Josephus) made an important change in subject matter. Previously he had been recounting his literary source—what Josephus called "legends" or "improbable tales" (1.229; cf. 1.287) —on the expulsion of Seth and his allies during Dynasty XIX. Now Manetho shifts briefly to "current talk about the Jews" (1.229), that is, the opinions of Manetho's contemporaries. That he shifted from a written literary source to an oral source (i.e. "current talk about the Jews") is indicated by the transition "It is said..."[79] as well as his subsequent reference to "Egyptian stories [gossip]." This distinction is essential to understanding what the above passage does and does not say. Manetho did not assert that his literary source referred to Moses or the Jews: clearly, it did not. Had the story been written about Moses and the Jews, it would have referred to them as such throughout instead of to Osarseph, a band of polluted Egyptians, and their Hyksos allies. What Manetho did assert was that some of his contemporaries who were familiar with the literary story Manetho recounted were of the opinion that the lead character of that story, Osarseph, was identical with Moses (the well-known lawgiver of the Jews). This later theory must be carefully distinguished from the earlier story itself. This distinction in Manetho was evident to Josephus, who contrasted the "legends" and "improbable tales" of Manetho's literary source with the "current talk about the Jews" that "confuse us with a crowd of Egyptians, who for leprosy and other maladies had been condemned, he says, to banishment from Egypt" (1.229) based on "the statement of prejudiced opponents" (1.287). Josephus carefully distinguished the legend of the banished Egyptian lepers—nowhere called Jews in Manetho's literary source—with current talk that "confused" the Jews with

77. So the *Papyrus Jumilhac*: "He (Horus) defeated Seth and annihilated his gang. He destroyed his towns and his nomes and he scratched out his name in the lands after he had broken his statue in pieces in all the nomes" (ibid., 147–48).

78. Akhenaten's long-overthrown heresy, by contrast, had virtually no contemporary relevance in Manetho's day.

79. The phrase "It is said" was mistakenly argued to show that Josephus, *Apion* 1.250 was a late anti-Jewish interpolation by Gager, *Moses,* 117; Droge, "Josephus," 135–36. The different spelling *Osarsiphos* at 1.250 was also cited as supporting evidence. Gruen (*Heritage and Hellenism,* 71) took the unusual position that 1.250 was a *Jewish* interpolation, arguing that the Jews inserted themselves into the story out of sympathy with the basic story line of razing idolatrous shrines, etc., in harmony with Deuteronomy's injunctions.

that crowd of Egyptians. Josephus indeed repeatedly emphasized that the followers of Osarseph were Egyptians, not Jews, which appears to have been a valid and sensible reading of Manetho. Like other Hellenistic historiographers, Manetho first related a legend and then recorded contemporary theories on the legend's meaning. Manetho's comprehensive approach is comparable to other ancient authors who also recorded variants and differing interpretations of ancient legends.[80]

Understanding Manetho's approach is essential to evaluating the question of the anti-Semitism of Manetho or his sources. It now emerges that Manetho's literary source was not overtly anti-Semitic, although it contained strong polemics against both the Hyksos and the Ramesside and Persian cults of Seth-Typhon.[81] Manetho does not himself appear anti-Semitic, since he also presented alternative theories, such as the possible identity of the Hyksos with the Arabs. But Manetho did report, in a relatively skeptical fashion, contemporary anti-Semitic views that sought to equate the Jewish religion with the Hyksos and Ramesside cult of Seth-Typhon. One may also mention in this connection the tradition recorded by Plutarch—almost certainly deriving from Manetho—that after Typhon was evicted from Egypt by Horus, he fled on the back of an ass into Syria where he fathered two sons "Hierosolymus and Judaeus."[82] Significantly, Plutarch also indicated that this tradition was from a questionable oral source that sought to interject the Jews into the story of Seth-Typhon.[83] This comment likely also derived from Manetho, who carefully distinguished the authentic Egyptian legend of Osiris and Seth from later variants in which the Jews were brought into the tale. The original story of Osiris and Seth was obviously not written against the Jews; few today allege that the first story about the Hyksos was composed with the Jews in mind;[84] one should likewise abandon the view that the story of Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians originally referred to the Jews.[85] Starting in the time of Manetho, such stories began to be reinterpreted in a manner slanderous to the Jews, but the original literary sources were directed against Seth-Typhon and his cult.

### *Josephus,* Apion *1.251b–52*

> (251) ...Manetho adds that Amenophis subsequently advanced from Ethiopia with a large army, his son Rampses at the head of another, and that the two attacked and defeated the shepherds and their polluted allies, killing many of them and pursuing the remainder to the frontiers of Syria. (252) That, with more of a similar kind, is Manetho's account.

80. See for instance the variant stories related at Herodotus, *Histories* 4.5–11; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.15.1–4; 20.3–5.

81. The only hint of anti-Semitism in Manetho's written source was the tradition that the Hyksos settled in Judea and Jerusalem.

82. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363D.

83. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363D. See discussion in Appendix F, §4.

84. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 58–60; Shäfer (*Judeophobia*, 18) said the Jews were present in Manetho's first story about the Hyksos only by implication.

85. Cf. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 58–60; Droge, "Josephus," 135.

Manetho's story may partially reflect historical events under Dynasty XIX. The conclusion to this story is reminiscent of the repulse of the Sea Peoples by Ramesses III in Egyptian inscriptional accounts. At 1.272, the crucial defeat of the Hyksos was said to have taken place at Pelusium, which is also consistent with Egyptian stories of Ramesses III's victory over the Sea Peoples.[86] Some of the Sea Peoples (including the Peleset or Philistines and the Denyen who may have given rise to the "Israelite" tribe of Dan[87]) settled permanently in Palestine around this time. The eviction of the Hyksos to Syria also recalls *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* and similar late stories.[88] Manetho's account appears to have drawn in its entirety on native Egyptian materials, whether literary or historical.

## 2. *Manetho's Sources*

The relationship of the Exodus account with Manetho's story of Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians must begin—as in the previous chapter on the rise and fall of the Hyksos Dynasty—with a careful appraisal of Manetho's sources. Manetho again utilized Egyptian king-lists for his chronological framework. Manetho also appears to have utilized historical reminiscences of the Sea Peoples invasions, which he interpreted as a return of the Hyksos—perhaps here influenced by literary motifs of the return of Seth-Typhon. Manetho may have transferred one story from Hecataeus of Abdera, that of the colonization of Argos by Danaus in the time of Sesostris, to the time of Sethos I.[89] But Manetho's major source was a literary work on Osarseph, the founder of the Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon in the Ramesside period. (The theory that the story drew on the unpopular religious reforms of Akhenaten may be discounted.) This Egyptian story, with close affinities to the ideas in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*, was strongly influenced by the recent Persian conquests as well as the legend of Nectanebos. Finally, Manetho also drew on a contemporary oral source that equated the figure of Osarseph, founder of the cult of Seth-Typhon, with Moses, founder of the Jewish nation. It is clear, however, that Manetho only reported this as an afterthought, and that the Egyptian story of Osarseph envisioned him as a native Egyptian, not a Jew.

Manetho's literary source dated to around the fall of the Persian Empire and was heavily colored by late polemics against the Persians and the cult of Seth-

86. According to the Medinet Habu Inscription translated at *ANET*, 262–63, the battle occurred at the Egyptian frontier at a fortified mouth of the Nile. This description is consistent with a location at Pelusium. The phrase "frontier of Djahi" (the term Djahi normally meaning the Phoenician coast) perhaps here meant the coast above Egypt.

87. Y. Yadin, "'And Dan, Why Did He Remain in Ships?' (Judges 5:17)," *Australian Journal of Biblical Archaeology* 1 (1968): 9–23.

88. *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* referred to multiple invasions of Sethians from Asia and their expulsions back again (Urk. VI.12 §C.9).

89. Redford argued that the Osarseph story, the Harmais legend (which Manetho related to the Greek story of the flight of Danaus) and the *Oracle of the Lamb* all came from literary documents from the House of Life (*Pharaonic King-Lists*, 227, 292).

Typhon. It displayed no awareness of the Exodus story of the Pentateuch.[90] Rather, it was a historicized retelling of native Egyptian motifs such as those found in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*. The account may be accepted as genuine, rather than a late anti-Semitic forgery ("Pseudo-Manetho"), as believed by some earlier in this century: Manetho's literary source should be understood as containing polemics against the Egyptian followers of Seth-Typhon, not the Jews. However, in Manetho's day some understood this anti-Typhonian tale to refer to the Jews, who were identified with the expelled Hyksos and/or polluted Egyptians. This identification was not made in Manetho's literary sources, but represented "current talk about the Jews" which Manetho appended to the tale.

Knowledge about the Jews displayed in Manetho's account is really quite limited. First, Manetho or his sources knew that Jerusalem was located in Judea across the Syrian border and that it contained a temple (1.90, 124): Manetho here drew on Hecataeus of Abdera (see Chapter 7). Second, Manetho's contemporaries knew of a Jewish figure named Moses whose role relative to the Jews was comparable to that of Osarseph relative to the Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon, namely lawgiver and founder.[91] As discussed in Chapter 3, Hecataeus also knew of Moses as the lawgiver and founder of the Jews in Judea. Manetho's level of knowledge about Moses or the Jews cannot be shown to have been an improvement over that of Hecataeus.

### 3. *Manetho and the Exodus*

As demonstrated above, Manetho's story of Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians drew exclusively on native Egyptian sources containing themes related to those in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*, supplemented only by Hecataeus of Abdera. The many striking parallels with Exodus story, notably the expulsion motif, led many in the past to assume that Manetho's account was a slanderous parody of the Exodus story. Yet Manetho shows no awareness of the Jewish Exodus account, but relied entirely on native Egyptian materials. The extensive parallels between Manetho and the Exodus story must therefore be accounted for in some other manner, and the only alternative is that the Jewish Exodus story account responds to Manetho.

The Exodus story adopts a number of details in Manetho's account that did not reflect negatively on the Jews. For instance, geographical references in Manetho recurred in the account of the Sojourn and Exodus. The Israelites resided in the eastern Delta in the vicinity of Avaris. The "land of Rameses" and the store-city "Pi-Ramesses" were mentioned in conjunction with the period of

90. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 60; cf. Droge, "Josephus," 136 n. 45.

91. The identification of Moses with Osarseph in Manetho is comparable to similarly superficial identifications of Ammon with Zeus, Osiris with Dionysius, Isis with Athena, Horus with Hercules, Seth with Typhon (a Greek giant who had rebelled against Zeus) and so forth. See Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 572–78, for an extensive catalog of such equations from Plutarch's *On Isis and Osiris*.

oppression.[92] The association of Ramesses with the Exodus story appears to have derived from Manetho. These references to Ramesside locales create great difficulties for those who attempt to view the Exodus account as a historical memory. Following the biblical data, the Sojourn is commonly thought to have begun several hundred years before the Ramesside period, perhaps in the period of Hyksos domination; yet on first entering Egypt, the Israelites were said to have been allocated territory in "the land of Rameses." This obvious anachronism is explained by the relationship of the Pentateuch account to Manetho. If the Sojourn of the Pentateuch mingled data appropriate to the Hyksos and Ramesside periods, this is because the Pentateuch responded to stories in Manetho set in precisely these two eras.

The Pentateuch also adopts a number of other details from Manetho's account. Both the quarry workers' request for their own land and their subsequent settlement in the region of Avaris are reminiscent of the Jewish request and grant of land in Goshen (Gen 47:4–6). The Jewish account even acknowledged that the Jews were segregated from the rest of the Egyptians. But according to Genesis, they were isolated from the Egyptians not due to leprosy (cf. 1.235), but due to their occupation as shepherds (Gen 46:34). The rebuilding of the walls of Avaris by the former quarry workers is highly reminiscent of the construction work at Egyptian store-cities, including Pi-Ramesses (Avaris), by the enslaved Israelites. The large number of polluted Egyptians (80,000 at 1.234) and Hyksos (200,000 at 1.243) is comparable to the huge number of Jews reported at the time of the Exodus (603,550 at Num 2:32).

Although Manetho identified Osarseph, the leader of the polluted Egyptians, with Moses, in the Pentateuch Osarseph was the model for the figure Joseph. The relationship between the names Osarseph and Joseph has often been noted. Most often it has been suggested that the name Osarseph substitutes the Egyptian theophoric element Osar (from Osiris) for the Jewish theophoric element Yah.[93] However, the only Jewish figure referred to in Manetho was Moses, which renders that suggestion dubious: if Osarseph was based on Joseph, why did Manetho report his identification with Moses? Given that Manetho made no connection between Osarseph and Joseph, a relationship between these figures is plausible only if the transformation took place in the opposite direction: that the name Joseph derived from Manetho's Osarseph. Significantly, while Manetho identified Osarseph as an Egyptian priest from Heliopolis, Joseph—though not himself a priest—married one Asenath, the daughter of Potipherah, an Egyptian priest from Heliopolis (On).[94] This tradition denied that Joseph (Osarseph) was himself an Egyptian priest of Heliopolis, but instead claimed that he merely married into a priestly family of that city.[95] One may presume from the Genesis account that Joseph once resided in Heliopolis, but—like Osarseph—transferred

92. Exod 1:11; 12:37.

93. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:85.

94. Gen 41:45, 50; 46:70. On was well known as Heliopolis and was so translated in the Septuagint.

95. Gen 41:50.

his residence to the eastern Delta. Again, much as Osarseph summoned the Hyksos from Judea, so Joseph summoned his relatives from Judea where they were settled, at his request, in Goshen. Interestingly, in Gen 43–45, Joseph's brethren did not recognize him, but instead believed that Joseph was an Egyptian, due in part to deliberate deception from Joseph. This subplot within the Joseph novella may have been designed to answer the Manethoan tradition that Joseph (Osarseph) was a true Egyptian.

A central feature of Manetho's story was that the polluted followers of Seth-Typhon suffered from leprosy and other diseases. Defamatory though this story was, it finds several echoes in the Pentateuch. There was, first, the assertion that Moses could turn his hand leprous and heal it at will as a magical sign to Pharaoh (Exod 4:6–7).[96] There was additionally the strange story of Miriam's brief leprosy, imposed on her by God as punishment for rebellion (Num 12:10). Both these anecdotes appear to have been polemics against the charge that all the Jews of Egypt had leprosy. The laws for treating leprosy were of course prominent at Lev 13–14; 21:17–23; Num 5:2.[97] A very interesting passage at Deut 28:60 warned that if the Jews ever apostasized, God would "bring on them again the diseases of Egypt."[98] This quote appears to acknowledge the tradition in Manetho that the Jews of the Exodus had suffered from various diseases while residing in Egypt. The passage implied that these diseases had been brought on them as punishment for not worshipping the true God. Manetho's story of the Jews arising from diseased Egyptians was thus acknowledged and handled in a variety of ways in the Pentateuch.

The Exodus story did not directly acknowledge the Egyptian slander that the Jews worshipped Seth-Typhon. And yet Exodus did acknowledge that Jewish animal sacrifices were an abomination to the Egyptians (Exod 8:25–28; cf. Gen 46:32–34). It was partially for this reason that the Jews requested to be permitted to journey three days into the desert to sacrifice to their God (Exod 8:25–28). Interestingly, the god Seth-Typhon was viewed as god of the desert.[99]

Finally, there was the Exodus itself. Although the Pentateuch emphasized the incompatibility of Jewish and Egyptian religion, it did not record Jewish acts of violence against the temples of Egypt. Quite the contrary, it claimed that the Egyptians prevented the Jews from practicing their religion.[100] One Pentateuchal tradition does possibly imply a Jewish looting of Egyptian temples, however. Exodus 12:35–36 said that the Jews were instructed to spoil the Egyptians, and listed the loot they obtained as golden ornaments and clothes. This may have

96. Moses was instructed to put his hand into his bosom (or garment-fold) and take it out "leprous with snow"; doing this a second time, his hand was restored. A similar tale was told of Horus, who put his hand between Seth's thighs and withdrew it polluted. Isis replaced it with a healthy one. See Lindsay, *Roman Nile*, 308–9, where it was noted that Seth was associated with leprosy.

97. Cf. Josephus, *Apion* 1.279–85.

98. Cf. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 214.

99. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 110–11, 116. See further Appendix F, §5 on Yahweh's Typhonian characteristics in the Exodus story.

100. Exod 3:18; 5:3; 7:16; 9:1, 13.

referred to golden vessels and gods' robes from the temples. If so, it may display awareness of the tradition in Manetho that the Jews pillaged the Egyptian temples.[101] In the Pentateuch's account, it was claimed that this loot was not seized violently, but given voluntarily by the Egyptians out of love for the Jews.[102]

The Pentateuch consistently denied that the Jews fought, enslaved or spoiled the Egyptians. In Manetho's account the Hyksos and polluted Egyptians rebelled against Egypt and were eventually expelled into Syria (perhaps Judea) by the army of Ramesses. A forcible Egyptian expulsion of the Jews appears to lurk behind the story of the Exodus.[103] The alliance between the polluted Egyptians and the Hyksos is highly reminiscent of Egyptian fears expressed at Exod 1:10, that "if war befell us, they [the Jews] join our enemies and fight against us." But the Pentateuch carefully avoided portraying the conflict between Moses and Pharaoh as military in nature. Instead, Moses fought Pharaoh with the weapons of magic.[104] If there was a war, it was one-sided: the Jews were merely trying to leave Egypt, but Pharaoh sent a pursuing army with chariots. Here the parallel with Manetho's account is striking, for Manetho reported that Ramesses' army pursued the fleeing Hyksos and polluted Egyptians across the desert in a series of military encounters that drove them back into Syria (1.266, 277). The Exodus account preserved the pursuit of Pharaoh's army, but had it end badly for the Egyptians.[105]

One final interesting parallel between the Exodus story and Manetho may be noted. It has frequently been observed that the Golden Calf that the Israelites worshipped while Moses was absent on Mount Sinai was modeled on the calf worshipped at Sebennytus.[106] The city of Sebennytus (Tsebnûter, "city of the sacred calf") was not only the capital of the last Egyptian kings of Dynasty XXX, but was also Manetho's birthplace.[107] May we see in the Golden Calf a deliberate slap at Manetho?

In summary, the Exodus story contained extensive polemics against Manetho's story of Osarseph and the polluted Egyptians (as well as his earlier story of the Shepherd Kings). The identification of the polluted Egyptians as Jews by some of Manetho's contemporaries required a vigorous response. Details of the story that did not reflect badly on the Jews, such as the geographical locale and the expulsion across the desert into Syria, were accepted in the Jewish version of events. The unjust employment of the polluted Egyptians as slave labor was enthusiastically adopted in the Pentateuch as demonstrating the

101. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 178, 372 n. 62; cf. Justin, *Epitome* 36.2.13.

102. Exod 11:2–3; 12:35–36.

103. The biblical theme of expulsion by Egyptians is seen at Exod 11:8; 12:31, 33, 38–39; cf. Diamond, *Hecataeus of Abdera*, 211, 385 n. 11.

104. For Moses as magician having been modeled on the figure of Nectanebos II, see Chapter 9 below.

105. For a discussion of the Crossing of the Red Sea, see Chapter 10, §2 below.

106. Exod 32; cf. 1 Kgs 12:28. Waddell (*Manetho*, xi n. 1) associated Sebennytus with the Golden Calf of Exod 31 and 1 Kgs 12:21–29.

107. Manetho *FGrH* 609 F19, TT 2–3, 10b; cf. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 96; Waddell, *Manetho*, xi.

oppressive tyranny of the pharaohs. The authors of the Jewish Exodus story naturally denied that the Jews led an armed uprising against the Egyptians or looted their temples. Several Pentateuchal passages contained polemics against the tradition that the Jews suffered from leprosy or other maladies. There is a clear pattern of accepting details neutral or favorable to the Jews and vigorously contesting other details that reflected negatively on the Jewish reputation. While Manetho displayed no awareness of the Jewish traditions, the story of the Sojourn and Exodus of the Jews engaged in systematic polemics against Manetho.

This in turn has two important implications. The first is chronological: the Exodus account must postdate Manetho. The second is historical: the native Egyptian materials used by Manetho do indeed contain historical recollections of the Hyksos period and of the Ramesside revival of the Seth cult, colored by the recent Persian conquest and contemporary negative attitudes towards the cult of Seth-Typhon; but the Jewish Exodus story did not draw on an independent recollection of actual events from the past and thus lacks a genuine historical basis. A search for the history behind the Jewish Sojourn and Exodus is misguided: these stories appear to contain nothing more substantial than polemics against Manetho. The Exodus of the Jews was a literary response to Manetho's reference to anti-Semitic interpretations of an Egyptian tale with motifs similar to those found in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*.[108]

108. For evidence that slanders against the Jews as worshippers of Seth-Typhon led to the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus IV Epiphanes, see Appendix F, §7.

# Chapter 9

## NECTANEBOS AND MOSES

In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that the biblical Sojourn and Exodus stories responded to an Egyptian story in Manetho with motifs similar to those found in *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*. This tale provided for such details as the enslavement of the Jews in Egypt, their expulsion into the wilderness, and their ultimate relocation into Judea. The biblical story related more than the national history of the Jews, however. It also contained romances centered on two figures, Joseph and Moses. The figure of Joseph, linked with a priestly family at Hieropolis, appears indebted in various ways to the portrait of Osarseph in Manetho. Moses, however, little resembles the leader of Seth and his gang, despite Egyptian opinion equating Moses with Osarseph. It is true that, much as Osarseph gave the followers of Seth their anti-Egyptian laws, Moses was also known as the Jewish lawgiver: it was the foundation of religious institutions by Moses and Osarseph that provided the impetus for identifying the two by those Egyptians who equated Judaism with the cult of Seth. Both ultimately led an exodus of their followers from Egypt to Judea (the Jewish Exodus patterned on the account by Manetho). But there the parallels end. Osarseph, unlike Moses, was a priest, and slaved in the rock quarries east of the Nile along with his defiled fellow-Egyptians. Moses, unlike Osarseph, was an Egyptian royal who went into forced exile and returned to deliver his people, using magic to do so. Moses and Osarseph little resemble each other in biographical detail, despite both having been leaders of their respective peoples. Rather, the figure of Moses appears to have been based on Nectanebos II (359–343 BCE), the last pharaoh of Egypt, who was also forced into exile, but according to legendary accounts was expected to return someday to deliver his people —and who was also described in some accounts as a magician.

Nectanebos II, the last ruler of Dynasty XXX, came to power in 359 BCE, the year before Artaxerxes III Ochus came to the Persian throne. In 351–350 BCE, Artaxerxes Ochus attempted to regain Egypt for Persia, but gave up the effort.[1] In 343 BCE, Ochus led a second campaign against Nectanebos II, with 500,000 soldiers and 80 triremes.[2] Marching his army south from Phoenicia, Ochus lost a

1. See Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 433 n. 7, for bibliography on this campaign.

2. According to the numbers at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.47.3. Artaxerxes II Ochus's second campaign began in 345 BCE with the reduction of Phoenicia. For the invasion of Egypt in

significant number of troops in the bogs of Lake Sirbonis[3]—an event that has been compared to the destruction of Pharaoh's troops trying to cross the Red Sea.[4] Reaching Pelusium with the remainder of his army, he found the approaches of the Nile protected by an army of 100,000 troops of Libyan, Greek and native descent, manning fleets of warships, a string of border fortresses and other temporary fortifications.[5] Thus defended, the Egyptians believed they could hold out until the rising of the Nile forced the Persian invading troops to abandon the Delta,[6] but one of Ochus's Greek generals, using native guides, managed to sail eighty triremes through the back canals and attack the Egyptian rear.[7] The Egyptians lost a Greek general in command of 5000 mercenaries and Nectanebos II withdrew to Memphis.[8] Abandoned by Nectanebos, first the Greek garrison at Pelusium defected to the Persians, then one by one the cities of the Delta followed suit. Nectanebos, hearing that he had lost the Delta, gave up Egypt without further fight, fleeing with as much wealth as possible into exile in Ethiopia, where he was granted refuge.[9] Artaxerxes III Ochus took the rest of Egypt without further difficulties.[10] Nectanebos regained control of part of Upper Egypt, which he ruled down to 341 BCE,[11] encouraging hopes that he would liberate all Egypt.

The native Egyptians suffered considerable reprisals under Artaxerxes III Ochus for their rebellion against Persian rule under Amyrtaeus in ca. 404 BCE. Temples were plundered.[12] Ochus reputedly himself slew the Apis bull and the ram of Mendes, feasting on their flesh.[13] In their place he required Egyptians to worship the ass, a sacred animal of Seth-Typhon, god of foreigners.[14] Chafing under Persian rule, Egyptians gave credence to a subversive prophecy that Nectanebos II would return from Ethiopia, after an absence of 13 years (343–331 BCE), to overthrown the Persian oppressors and deliver the Egyptians.[15] When

343 BCE, see, generally, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.43–51; Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 436–41; Budge, *Egypt Under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies*, 7:111–13.

3. Diodorus Siculus 16.46.5; cf. 1.30.4.

4. O. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* (Halle: Niemeyer, 1932), 61–65.

5. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.47.5–7.

6. So Olmstead's analysis of events (*History of the Persian Empire*, 438, 440).

7. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.48.3–5.

8. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.48.6–7.

9. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.1.

10. Budge, *Egypt Under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies*, 7:113.

11. The *Demotic Chronicle* 4.18 gave Nectanebos a rule of 18 years; in an inscription dated that year, Nectanebos granted lands to the priests of Horus at Edfu; cf. Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 440.

12. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.2.

13. Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28; *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; 6.8.

14. Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28.

15. *Demotic Chronicle* 6.15–20; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:682; cf. 2:952 n. 34. The expected return of Nectanebos shows this "prediction" was updated in light of Alexander's conquest of Egypt; cf. Braun, *History and Romance*, 19–25. The prediction of Nectanebos's triumphant return from exile was partially based on the Horus myth, the Pharaoh having been the living incarnation of

Alexander the Great conquered Egypt in 332 BCE, he posed as its liberator from the Persians and benevolent successor to the pharaohs, participating in Egyptian rites honoring the Apis bull and other Egyptian gods, and visiting the oracle of Ammon at Siwa.[16] The native population welcomed his "liberation" of Egypt from the Persians, and it appears that many accepted Alexander as the fulfillment of the Nectanebos prophecy, that is, as the liberator Nectanebos returned.[17] The identification of Alexander with Nectanebos is documented in *The Alexander Romance*, the oldest parts of which were written not long after Alexander's conquest.[18] *The Alexander Romance* recorded an interesting story in which Nectanebos fled Egypt to Macedonia where he secretly fathered Alexander the Great.[19] Alexander, though seemingly a Greek conqueror, was in actuality—according to this legend—born an Egyptian prince. Philip of Macedon suspected the baby Alexander was not his and sought to slay him, but the gods saved the child. Due to the prodigies that accompanied Alexander's birth, Philip was convinced that the child was offspring of a god and raised him accordingly.[20] Later, when Alexander conquered Egypt, he was shown the statue of Nectanebos that predicted Nectanebos's return as a young man.[21] Alexander was publicly revealed as the son of Nectanebos—Nectanebos reincarnate—and the fulfillment of the Nectanebos Prophecy.[22]

The Moses Romance, if we may call it that, had striking parallels to both versions of the Nectanebos Romance. Moses, though a Hebrew, was raised as an Egyptian prince. Like Nectanebos, Moses was forced to flee into exile.[23] (The

Horus. According to legend, when Seth slew Osiris and imposed his wicked rule on Egypt, Isis gave birth to Horus who was put in hiding, while the other gods of Egypt turned into different animals and fled. After a number of years, Horus returned and defeated Seth in battle, ridding Egypt of Seth and his confederates. The story of the exile and prophesied return of Nectanebos (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.1; *Demotic Chronicle* 6.15–20) and Amenophis and his son Ramesses (Josephus, *Apion* 1.244–47 [citing Manetho], 292 [citing Chaeremon]) both follow a similar pattern. At Josephus, *Apion* 1.243–46 the pattern is strengthened since at the conquest of the Sethians and Hyksos, Amenophis put the sacred animals and gods into hiding, as in the flight of the gods in the legend of Isis and Osiris (cf. J. Griffiths, "The Flight of the Gods Before Typhon: An Unrecognized Myth," *Hermes* 88 [1960]: 374–76). At Josephus, *Apion* 1.292, Ramesses was also born in hiding and returned as a man to liberate Egypt, a clear allusion to Horus (van Henten and Abusch, "Jews as Typhonians," 281–82).

16. *The Alexander Romance* 1.30; Plutarch, *Alexander* 27.3–4; Arrian, *History of Alexander* 3.3.1; Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 4.7.5.

17. *The Alexander Romance*, γ-text 27 (at R. Stoneman, *Greek Alexander Romance* [London: Penguin, 1991], 173); Braun, *History and Romance*, 21–25.

18. Braun, *History and Romance*, 35–39.

19. *The Alexander Romance* 1.1–14. Nectanebos donned the guise of Ammon in the form of a serpent to seduce Olympias. The motif of Alexander's divine parentage from the cohabitation of Olympias and a god in the form of a serpent was an early feature of the Alexander legend, combining Olympias's snake-handling as a priestess of the Orphic rites of Samothrace with rumors of Alexander's illegitimacy (cf. Plutarch, *Alexander* 2.1, 4–6; 9.4–5; Justin, *Epitome* 9.11).

20. *The Alexander Romance* 1.13.

21. *The Alexander Romance* 1.34.

22. *The Alexander Romance* 1.34.

23. Exod 2:11–15.

curious tradition that Moses had an Ethiopian wife[24] suggests a tradition, not quite completely suppressed in the Pentateuch, in which Ethiopia was the scene of Moses' exile.) Moses later returned to Egypt to free his enslaved people, as Nectanebos was expected to do according to all versions of the Nectanebos Prophecy. Just as Alexander was portrayed as a Greek Nectanebos, so Moses was in effect a Jewish Nectanebos.

Greco-Egyptian legend also portrayed Nectanebos II as a magician who defeated his military foes by means of esoteric rituals. The story is known both from *The Alexander Romance* (Pseudo-Callisthenes)[25] and in a Greek papyrus of the second century BCE, *The Dream of Nectanebos*, setting forth the same story (in part) in a more authentic Egyptian setting.[26] In both variations the story was set in Memphis at a time when Egypt was under attack by Persian fleets (that is, after the retreat of Nectanebos II in 343 BCE).[27] Nectanebos set about combating the Persian fleet by his customary magical means, creating miniature wax fleets and soldiers, which he set afloat in a bowl of spring water, which he planned to sink by his own hand and thereby, through sympathetic magic, cause the real Persian fleet to be destroyed.[28] But according to Pseudo-Callisthenes, this time Nectanebos saw the gods of Egypt themselves guiding the Persian warships. Nectanebos, knowing he could not fight the gods, fled Egypt to Macedonia, where he seduced Olympias, wife of Philip of Macedon. *The Dream of Nectanebos* was thus incorporated into an early version of *The Alexander Romance.*

In the papyrus version of *The Dream of Nectanebos*, probably closer to the Egyptian original, Nectanebos fell into a sleep and dreamed he saw a boat carrying with the gods of Egypt coming into harbor at Memphis.[29] One of these gods, Onuris, the Egyptian God of War,[30] told Isis, queen of the gods, that he could no longer protect Nectanebos, since Nectanebos had neglected the temple of Onuris at Sebennytus. Awakening from the dream, Nectanebos was told that the temple of Onuris lacked only the necessary hieroglyphic inscriptions to be complete. Nectanebos therefore dispatched a skilled craftsman named Petesis to finish the urgent inscription, but on the way to Sebennytus Petesis got drunk and was seduced by the perfumer's daughter. The story breaks off here, but it appears

24. Num 12:1.

25. The story is found at *The Alexander Romance* 1.1–3.

26. The *Dream of Nectanebos* was most extensively treated at D. Perry, "The Egyptian Legend of Nectanebus," *Transactions of the American Philological Society* 97 (1966): 327–33.

27. Ibid., 330. By astronomical references, it can be determined that Nectanebos consulted the gods on July 3, 343 BCE (Olmstead, *History of the Persian Empire*, 438). Olmstead believed Nectanebos's strategy was to await the rising waters of the Nile, which would flood enemy positions. On the Nile flood around the time of the summer solstice, see Herodotus, *Histories* 2.19; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.19.1; 36.7.

28. Perry, "The Egyptian Legend of Nectanebus," 331. Heating the water caused the wax to melt, destroying the images of the enemy army.

29. For the text, see Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, 285–89. In *The Dream of Nectanebos*, the dream vision was of a traditional Egyptian procession of the gods by divine bark; *The Alexander Romance* interpreted the boat as a Persian warship steered by Egyptian gods.

30. A gloss in the text reads, "He who is called Onûris in Egyptian, Ares in Greek" (Maspero, *Popular Stories of Ancient Egypt*, 286–87; cf. Perry, "The Egyptian Legend of Nectanebus," 331).

Petesis never completed his mission, with the result that Nectanebos, though personally blameless for the misfortune, was forced to flee Egypt, the native God of War having turned against him.[31]

Both these stories sought to explain why Nectanebos was defeated by Artaxerxes III Ochus and subsequently abandoned Egypt without a fight. What is of special interest in connection with the Moses Romance is that Nectanebos was portrayed as having previously used magical powers to destroy enemies in war by drowning them at sea. One may inquire how Nectanebos II acquired such a reputation as a magician-warrior. One possibility is Nectanebos's victory over Artaxerxes III Ochus in 351–350 BCE, in which the rising of the Nile flooding enemy positions may have been a factor in Ochus's withdrawal from Egypt. Also relevant was the later dramatic drowning of a large portion of the army of Artaxerxes III Ochus in the bogs of Lake Sirbonis in 343 BCE. The main account of this military disaster was found at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.46.5:

> As he came to the great marsh where are the baratha or Pits, as they are called, he lost a portion of his army through his lack of knowledge of the region. Since we have discoursed earlier on the nature of the marsh and the peculiar mishaps which occur there in the first Book of our History, we shall refrain from making a second statement about it.

An earlier statement, Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.30.4–9, gave a detailed account of the danger of drowning of those who accidentally strayed into the bogs, which had the treacherous appearance of dry land since the wind would deposit a fine layer of sand that would disguise the slippery mire, from which there was no escape:

> For this reason many who were unacquainted with the peculiar nature of the place have disappeared together with whole armies, when they wandered from the beaten road. For as the sand is walked upon it gives way gradually, deceiving with a kind of malevolent cunning those who advance upon it, until, suspecting some impending mishap, they begin to help one another only when it is no longer possible to turn back or escape. For anyone who has been sucked in by the mire cannot swim, since the slime prevents all movement of the body, nor is he able to wade out, since he has no solid footing... Consequently those who enter upon these regions are borne towards the depths and have nothing to grasp to give them help, since the sand along the edge slips in with them...[32]

Here a large portion of an enemy army was entrapped by the mire of Lake Sirbonis and drowned. According to Frontinus, *Stratagems* 2.5.6, the Egyptians covered the marsh with seaweed and then, by feigning retreat, lured the Persian army into the mire. Other than the ruse with the seaweed, this was the same means by which the pursuing armies of pharaoh were destroyed by Moses, who lured their chariots into pursuit and then causing the waters of the Red Sea to drown the pursuers when the chariots mired down.[33] Indeed, the striking similarities in the Exodus story and the drowning of Artaxerxes III Ochus's troops in

31. See Perry, "The Egyptian Legend of Nectanebus," 332.

32. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.30.6–9. The bogs were also briefly described at Strabo, *Geography* 1.3.4; 16.2.33.

33. Exod 14:15–28. The magician's staff of Moses figured prominently in the story of the Crossing of the Red Sea. See Exod 4:2; 7:10–12, 17–20; 8:5, 16–17; 9:23; 10:13; 14:16; 17:5–6, 9.

the bogs of Lake Sirbonis led Eissfeldt to suggest that Sirbonis was the site of the Crossing of the Red Sea.[34] The suggestion that the path of the Exodus went up the coast by Lake Sirbonis has since been discredited on archaeological grounds;[35] yet it is possible that the seemingly magical destruction of Persian invading forces in the bogs of Sirbonis in 343 BCE may have influenced the Exodus account by way of the legend of Nectanebos. The close parallels between the drowning of Artaxerxes III Ochus's troops in 343 BCE and those of Pharaoh in the Exodus story is hard to account for any other way.

The figure of Moses closely resembled that of Nectanebos II, the magician-pharaoh who went into exile and was expected to return to deliver the Egyptians from their oppressors. The general outline of Moses' career shared traits with both Greek and Egyptian versions of the Nectanebos legend. The story of Nectanebos's ability to drown his enemies by magic—based largely on the destruction of Artaxerxes III Ochus's troops in the bogs of Lake Sirbonis in 343 BCE[36]—was also transferred to Moses.[37] The sources behind this portrayal of Moses were documents such as *The Dream of Nectanebos*, the *Demotic Chronicle* and *The Alexander Romance*, all available in early third-century BCE Alexandria. It seems likely that the figure of Moses drew on an early version of *The Alexander Romance* which incorporated significant Egyptian legendary material regarding Nectanebos. If *The Alexander Romance* could be accurately dated, this would provide a *terminus a quo* date for the composition of the Moses Romance, if we may call it that. Unfortunately, *The Alexander Romance*'s date of composition is unknown, as is its true author. It is commonly accepted that Alexander's identification with Nectanebos took place in Alexander's lifetime, likely at his conquest of Egypt or very soon thereafter.[38] Early biographies of Alexander written at Alexandria likely featured the identification of Alexander and Nectanebos, much as early biographies by Alexander's flatterers also stressed Alexander's connection with Hercules[39] and Sesostris.[40] *The Alexander Romance* is

34. Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon*, 48–65; W. Albright, "Exploring Sinai with the University of California African Expedition," *BASOR* 109 (1948): 5–20 (14–15). Lake Timsah also contained "treacherous boggy areas, where a sea of mud and salt in dissolution lay under a thin, seemingly solid crust, that posed a very real danger to both man and beast" (Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 37).

35. The identification of Lake Sirbonis with the Red Sea was bolstered by the theory that nearby Mount Casios held the ancient site of Baal-Zephon (Eissfeldt, *Baal Zaphon*, 30–48, relying largely on classical sources); Albright thought ancient Baal-Zephon was located at Daphne/Tahpanhes ("Baal-Zephon," in *Festschrift Alfred Bertholet zum 80 Geburtstag* [ed. W. Baumgartner et al.; Tübingen: J.C.B. Mohr, 1950], 1–14 [13–14]). Archaeological surveys of Zeus Casios (Ras Kasrun) and Daphne (Tell Defenneh) demonstrate that archaeological remains at neither site were older than the Saite period (Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 144).

36. So Budge, *Egypt Under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies*, 7:111.

37. Note that there were similar treacherous bogs on the route of the Exodus near Lake Timsah (Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 37).

38. Braun, *History and Romance*, 20–21; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:680–81. The *ex eventu* prophecy that Nectanebos II would return after 13 years (343–330 BCE) was likely written shortly after Alexander's conquest of Egypt in 332 BCE.

39. Strabo, *Geography* 11.5.5; 16.1.8–9; Arrian, *History of Alexander* 4.10.6; *Indika* 8.5.10.

thought to have been based on a biography by one of Alexander's flatterers, one combining fact with very odd flights of fantasy.[41] The most common suggestion is that *The Alexander Romance* drew on Cleitarchus,[42] who wrote just such a quasi-historical biography of Alexander.[43] Cleitarchus, one of Alexander's generals, settled in Alexandria where he composed his fanciful history of Alexander's exploits,[44] probably shortly after 278 BCE (see Chapter 11, §1). If Cleitarchus was the source for *The Alexander Romance* and if *The Alexander Romance* the source for the figure of Moses, this would imply that the Moses Romance was composed no earlier than the 270s BCE.

40. See *The Alexander Romance* 1.33; 3.24 on Alexander's vision of Sesostris (Sesonchosis).

41. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des Griechischen Alexander-Romans* (Munich: Beck, 1954), 121–51; cf. L. Pearson, *The Lost Histories of Alexander the Great* (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 262.

42. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:678; cf. Stoneman, *Greek Alexander Romance*, 10.

43. Cleitarchus's *Life of Alexander* was discussed at Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 1:43–54; Pearson, *Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, 212–42.

44. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:495–96 (on Cleitarchus probably residing at Alexandria), 677 (on *The Alexander Romance* composed at Alexandria).

# Chapter 10

## THE ROUTE OF THE EXODUS

The preceding chapters argued that the Exodus story was written in response to Egyptian stories about the colonization of Judea found in Manetho (ca. 285 BCE) and conveys no independent historical information. If this conclusion is correct, then the geographical data in the Sojourn and Exodus accounts were of late date, reflecting either contemporary Egyptian geography and toponyms or archaic locales mentioned in late literary sources such as Manetho. This inference may be tested by analysis of the geographical references in the biblical account.

The geographical data presented by the Pentateuch relating to the Israelites' stay in Egypt were as follows. When the sons of Israel came to live in Egypt at the time of Joseph, they were put in the land of Goshen (LXX Gesham of Arabia), also called the land of Ramesses. At a later date they were forced to build Pharaoh's store sites at Pithom (LXX Heroopolis), Raamses and Heliopolis (LXX). At the time of the Exodus, they departed from Raamses to Succoth by way of the wilderness of the Reed Sea (LXX Red Sea). From Succoth they traveled to Etham at the edge of the wilderness. Turning back to avoid the Way of the Philistines, they encamped before Pihahiroth (LXX "mouth of Iroth," "Epauleus [ἐπαυλέως]") between Migdol and the Sea (LXX Red Sea) against Baal-zephon by the sea (LXX Red Sea). There Pharaoh's pursuing army entrapped them. Then Moses commanded the Reed Sea (LXX Red Sea) to part, forming a wall of water left and right, and the Israelites crossed over on dry land. The Reed Sea (LXX Red Sea) engulfed Pharaoh's forces. Moses and the Israelites proceeded to the vicinity of the waters of Marah, three days journey into the wilderness of Sinai, bordering the Red Sea.

Such are the geographical data of the Pentateuch. These data have been debated for well over a century, with archaeological, inscriptional and papyrological discoveries helping to resolve a number of problems, although many difficulties still remain. In what follows, the location of key toponyms will be discussed, with special emphasis on dating issues.

### 1. *Toponyms in the Exodus Account*

*Goshen*

According to numerous passages in Genesis and Exodus, the Israelites on arriving at Egypt were confined to the "land of Goshen" on the border of Egypt facing the Sinai Peninsula. The fertile land of Goshen is universally identified

with the Wadi Tumilat, an extinct branch of the Nile that occasionally still flowed with water when the Nile was in flood stage. This relatively lush valley began at the Pelusiac (Bubastic) branch of the Nile a little above Avaris/Pi-Ramesses. From the Nile it extended eastward to the vicinity of Lake Timsah (Crocodile Lake) on the edge of the Sinai desert. It is thought that the toponym Goshen derived from the dynastic name of late local rulers in this region.[1] The Septuagint consistently translated "the land of Goshen" as "the land of Gesham"; twice it referred to "the land of Gesham of Arabia."[2] Gesham was the name of several Arabian rulers of the Qedarite kingdom bordering the Red Sea near Egypt in the seventh to fourth centuries BCE.[3] An inscription documenting a temple offering by Qainu the son of Gesham in the fifth century BCE was found at Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wadi Tumilat near Lake Timsah.[4] This location was likely the site of an Arabian garrison that guarded the canal constructed under Darius I in ca. 518–513 BCE[5] linking the Nile and the Red Sea by way of the Wadi Tumilat, Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes. The portion of Egypt east of the Nile became known as Egyptian Arabia after incursions by Arabs into this region in conjunction with the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses in 525 BCE.[6] Part of Egyptian Arabia appears to have been ruled by the Lihyanite kings in the fifth century BCE, at which time it presumably became known as "the land of Gesham the Arabian."[7] That the Israelites occupied the "land of Gesham" in Egyptian Arabia already points to the late date of the Exodus story.[8]

Another indication of late date is the description of Goshen as among the most fertile, choice land in Egypt. The Wadi Tumilat was unoccupied through

1. Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 139–40; Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 274 n. 6; Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," 6–7.

2. For Gesham of Arabia, see Gen 45:10; 46:34.

3. See Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," 8–9, on Qedarites in Assyrian and Babylonian inscriptions.

4. Ibid., 1–9.

5. The stelae erected by Darius I to celebrate the completion of the canal are believed to demonstrate knowledge of the campaign in Libya and Kush by Darius's satrap Atyandes in 513 BCE (Herodotus, *Histories* 4.145, 167), but took no note of Darius's Scythian campaign the same year, and are consequently thought to have been inscribed before news of the latter reached Egypt. See T. Young, "The Consolidation of the Empire and its Limits under Darius and Xerxes," *CAH*$^2$, 4:53–111 (66).

6. According to Herodotus, *Histories* 3.88, Arabs escorted Cambyses to Egypt; cf. Rabinowitz, "Aramaic Inscriptions of the Fifth Century," 9. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.158 called Patumos "the Arabian town." Redford ("An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 139–40) dated Qedarite presence across the Sinai to Esarhaddon's conquest of Egypt in 671 BCE. See Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.21, 30 for Egyptian "Arabia"; cf. E. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom and the Route of the Exodus* (London: Egypt Exploration Fund, 1903), 34, 37. In Egyptian the Heroonpolitan nome was called "Ro ab" or "door of the east"; Naville (*The Store-City of Pithom*, 8) believed "Ro ab" was the Egyptian equivalent to Arabia (which resembles it in sound).

7. Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 139–40; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 121–22. Hoffmeier considered Goshen (Gesham) to have been a "modernization" (a term he used to mean "anachronism").

8. Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 139–40; cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 121.

most periods, although it likely provided nomads pasturage for their herds.[9] The valley had a few small sites occupied by Asiatics during the Hyksos period,[10] but these locations were soon abandoned. During the Ramesside period a canal went from the Nile halfway down the Wadi Tumilat to Tell er-Retabah, a substantial if isolated settlement, the site containing a temple of Atum. Small nearby lakes in the middle of the Wadi Tumilat were likely referred to as the "pools of Atum" in the Ramesside text *The Tale of Sinuhe*.[11] The same document also referred to a nearby fortress that has not yet been discovered. The Wadi Tumilat had no Ramesside remains between Tell er-Retabah and Lake Timsah. From the Ramesside period to the start of the Saite period, Tell er-Retabah continued to function as an isolated Egyptian border fortress. With the construction of a new canal through the Wadi Tumilat to Lake Timsah under Pharaoh Necho II (610–595 BCE), the eastern end of Wadi Tumilat was occupied, and Tell er-Retabah was essentially superseded by Tell el-Maskhuta near Lake Timsah, founded in ca. 695–605 BCE.[12] Although Necho II abandoned construction on the canal,[13] the waterway was completed all the way to the Red Sea by Darius I, allowing ships to enter the Red Sea from Egypt. The whole valley flourished in the Saite, Persian, Hellenistic (Ptolemaic) and Roman periods when the canal was in operation.[14] The fertility of the land of Goshen in the biblical account suggests a date no earlier than the time of Pharaoh Necho II.

*The Land of Ramesses*

The equation of Goshen with the land of Ramesses (Gen 47:6, 11) is somewhat problematic. In the Ramesside period the only occupied sites in the Wadi Tumilat were Tell er-Retabah and a nearby fortress (the latter, known only from *The Tale of Sinuhe*, not detected in an archaeological survey of the valley in 1983).[15] The isolated border town of Tell er-Retabah would hardly have given rise to the regional name "the land of Ramesses." In the Saite period some Ramesside inscriptions were transferred from Tell er-Retabah to the new city of Tell el-Maskhuta (Pithom) in the Wadi Tumilat near Lake Timsah,[16] perhaps leading to the perception that the entire valley—now heavily occupied—had been occupied under the Ramesside rulers. Another hypothesis is that the land of Goshen extended beyond the Wadi Tumilat to the town of Pi-Ramesses on the eastern Bubastic branch of the Nile. This site was known for its Ramesside ruins as late as the time of the pilgrimess Egeria.[17]

9. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 56–57, 277, 295, 317.
10. Ibid., 177, 211, 310.
11. Ibid., 295.
12. J. Holladay, *Tell el-Maskhuta: Preliminary Report on the Wadi Tumilat Project 1978–1979* (Cities of the Delta, Part III; ACRE Reports 6; Malibu, Calif.: Undena, 1982), 19.
13. Reportedly 120,000 Egyptians died during canal construction efforts under Necho (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.158).
14. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 217–18, 313.
15. Ibid., 293–94, 311.
16. Ibid., 152–53, 153 n. 17.
17. *Itinerary of Egeria* 8.1.

*Raamses, Pithom and Heliopolis*

The biblical account related that after a period, the Israelites sojourning in Egypt were forced to do slave labor at the store cities (LXX fortresses) of Raamses, Pithom (LXX Heroonpolis) and (LXX only) Heliopolis. Heliopolis was the well-known city prominent in the Classical Era located on the Nile above the Wadi Tumilat. Raamses is commonly taken to refer to the city of Pi-Ramesses, which Ramesses built on the older site of Avaris,[18] the Hyksos stronghold, now widely identified with Qantir[19] on the Bubastic[20] branch of the Nile a little below the Wadi Tumilat.

Pithom, the last store city, reflects the Egyptian place name Per-Atum, or house of (the god) Atum, a site in the Wadi Tumilat referred to as early as the Middle Kingdom. Atum was the god of the 22nd Nome, centered at Wadi Tumilat. There are two candidates for Pithom, namely Tell er-Retabah and Tell el-Maskhuta in the Wadi Tumilat. Both were occupied under the Hyksos.[21] Only

18. Avaris was the Egyptian *Hatwaret*, first mentioned in connection with the expulsion of the Hyksos at the start of Dynasty XVIII (Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 255–56, 261–62). See Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 132–37 on the location of Avaris. Similar Egyptian descriptions of the sites of Avaris and Pi-Ramesses, together with the 400-Year Stele and other evidence of Ramesside revival of the cult of "Seth, Lord of Avaris" at Pi-Ramesses, all point to an identification of Avaris and Pi-Ramesses (Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 301, 315; Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 415 n. 22; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 117; Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 36–37; W. Stiebing, *Out of the Desert: Archaeology and the Exodus/Conquest Narratives* [Buffalo, N.Y.: Prometheus, 1989], 59). One difficulty in identifying the biblical store city Raamses with Pi-Ramesses is the dropping of the element "Pi." D. Redford ("Exodus I 11," *VT* 13 [1963]: 408–18) considered this to be evidence pointing to the lateness of the biblical Exodus tradition; but W. Helck has since documented other examples dating to the New Kingdom of place names in which "Pi" has been dropped ("Tkw und die Ramses-Stadt," *VT* 15 [1965]: 35–48; cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 117–18). Redford noted that such exceptions as exist substitute a different formula, "The town of Ramesses" ("An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 139).

19. It was once argued that Avaris (Pi-Ramesses) was to be identified as Tanis on the Tanaic branch of the Nile. See Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 256, 310; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 117–19; Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 35–38. For a history of identifications of Raamses, see Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 33–40. The identification of Tanis as Avaris or as Ramesses has been abandoned in recent literature. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §419a, still maintained the city of Raamses was Tanis, based on the statement at Ps 78:12, 43 that God performed wonders at Zoan; cf. Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 61–62. Yet God performed wonders throughout Egypt; it is not at all clear that Zoan represented either Goshen or the Egyptian capital in Ps 78. Zoan may have been a synonym for Egypt, as at Isa 19:11, 13; 30:4; Exod 30:14; "the field of Zoan" was used in parallel with "the land of Egypt" in the passages at issue, namely, Ps 78.12, 43. Tanis lacks either a stratigraphical level or architectural phase associated with either the Hyksos or the Ramessides. Tanis appears to have been founded in Dynasty XXI. Ramesside remains found there appear to have been transported from elsewhere, perhaps from Qantir. See Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 128–31; cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 117; Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 35–36; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 60–61. Qantir had both Hyksos artifacts and a Ramesside occupation layer (Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 132–37). Avaris appears to have included the adjacent site Tell ed-Dab'a, where numerous Hyksos architectural remains have been found (Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 60).

20. On the identity of the Pelusiac and Bubastic branches of the Nile, see Ptolemy, *Geography* 4.5; Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 256.

21. Cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 120; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 58; W. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities* (London: Office of School of Archaeology, University College, 1906), 28–29, 32.

Tell er-Retabah was occupied in the Ramesside period.[22] A canal flowed at least halfway down the Wadi Tumilat to Tell er-Retabah during Ramesside times.[23] It is not known whether the canal continued from the Nile as far as Tell el-Maskhuta at the far end of the Wadi Tumilat by Lake Timsah. The dominant view identifies the Pharaoh of the oppression with Ramesses II,[24] since one of the store cities at which the Israelites labored was called Ramesses and since the land of Goshen was occasionally called the land of Ramesses.[25] Consequently, the existence of Ramesside buildings at Tell er-Retabah and not at Tell el-Maskhuta is considered by some a decisive argument identifying Tell er-Retabah as Pithom.[26] Additionally, inscriptions referring to Atum have been found at Tell er-Retabah.[27] However, although the temple of Atum at Tell er-Retabah may have been known as per-Atum in Ramesside times,[28] there is no evidence that the name per-Atum was applied as a place name for the city at Tell er-Retabah.[29] Pithom as a Ramesside place name is thus without inscriptional evidence and would appear to be anachronistic.[30]

In later times, Pithom was certainly used as a place name. Herodotus referred to an Arabian city called Patumos (i.e. Pithom) next to the canal connecting the

22. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 120; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 59; cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 66; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 2, 28.

23. Redmount (*On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 131, 134) noted that two canals went as far as Tell er-Retabah in the Ramesside period. Hoffmeier (*Israel in Egypt*, 165) noted Ramesses II stelae along the canal route.

24. Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 31–33; Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 372 n. 90; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 59, 63.

25. Exod 1:11 ("Raamses"); Gen 47:11 ("land of Rameses"); cf. Gen 47:6, etc.

26. Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 62–63; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 119; Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 134. Hoffmeier believed Succoth was Tell el-Maskhuta (*Israel in Egypt*, 120). A. Gardiner ("The Geography of the Exodus: An Answer to Professor Naville and Others," *JEA* 10 [1924]: 87–96 [95–96]) argued that Pithom was Tell er-Retabah based on the Roman milestone found at Heroonpolis; but Bimson (*Redating the Exodus*, 42) noted that no Roman remains were found at Tell er-Retabah; cf. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 28; Gardiner, "Geography of the Exodus," 96. Ptolemy located Clysma one degree south of the head of the Arabian Gulf; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 24. The sixth-century CE *Itinerary of Egeria* 7.4 doubtfully located the Crossing of the Red Sea at Clysma near Suez where the ruts of Pharaoh's chariots could still allegedly be seen in the shoal waters! Monks also pointed out a nearby site they equated with Epauleus of Exod 14:2, 9 in the Septuagint and Old Latin Bible; whether this was an actual surviving place name is doubtful; cf. G. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness: A Geographical Study of the Wilderness Itineraries in the Old Testament* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979), 6, 95 n. 7. ἡ Ἔπαυλις probably had the meaning of "(military) quarters" at Exod 14:2, 9; cf. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 5.

27. Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 2, 29; cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 119; Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 41.

28. *Papyrus Anastasi* 6.4.16; cf. Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 256; Bimson, *Redating the Exodus*, 41–42; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 59. Redford ("An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 141–42) pointed out that the phrase "the pools of Per-Atum which are in Tjeku" only indicated that the pools lay near Tell er-Retabah, not the temple or house of pr-Itm itself.

29. Cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 119.

30. Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 58–59; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 120.

Nile and the Red Sea that was begun under Pharaoh Necho II (610–595 BCE) and completed under Darius I (521–485 BCE).[31] In the famous *Pithom Stele* discovered at Tell el-Maskhuta by the ancient shore of Lake Timsah, the name Pithom refers to the site of Tell el-Maskhuta itself.[32] The *Pithom Stele*, documenting the accomplishments of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and erected at Tell el-Maskhuta in 265/264 BCE, also referred frequently to the temple of Atum at Pithom (and a second temple of Atum at nearby Pi-khehereth). Tell el-Maskhuta, although occupied under the Hyksos, was not occupied during the Ramesside period[33] and appears to have been re-founded under Pharaoh Necho II during the construction of the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal.[34] The *Pithom Stele* recorded the reopening of the canal under Ptolemy II Philadelphus and provides evidence that Pithom served as an important harbor for ships sailing to the Red Sea. Significantly, an inscription of the Saite period found at Pithom referred to its storehouse.[35] The *Pithom Stele* also referred to Pithom as a Ptolemaic store city.[36] Tariffs from royal trade passing through Pithom were stored in special royal facilities at Pithom.[37] The reference to Pithom as a royal storehouse at Exod 1:11 is best taken to refer to Tell el-Maskhuta in the Saite, Persian or Ptolemaic periods.

Other inscriptions found at Pithom make it probable that this site was also known by the name Heroonpolis in Greek and Roman times.[38] Various geographers referred to Heroonpolis as the major port of Egypt on the Arabian Gulf of the Red Sea.[39] The geographer Ptolemy put Heroonpolis only a sixth of a degree west of the Arabian Gulf, showing its close proximity,[40] while Strabo called the Arabian Gulf the Gulf of Heroonpolis.[41] That Heroonpolis served as an important port of the Red Sea in the Greco-Roman period was only made possible by the canal connecting the site of Tell el-Maskhuta with the Red Sea. Its connection with the Nile by way of the canal running through the Wadi Tumilat made Heroonpolis a key stopping port for ship travel from the spice coasts of the Red

31. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.158.

32. Pithom was written with the determinative of a city at *Pithom Stele* lines 10, 13; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 7. *Pithom Stele* line 25 appears to have referred to Pithom as "the harbor of his father Tum" unless this meant Pikerehet.

33. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 16, 148, 152; Holladay, *Tell el-Maskhuta*, 18–23, 44–47; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 120; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 55, 61; *contra* Bimson (*Redating the Exodus*, 31–33, 40), who relied on Naville's obsolete claim that Ramesses II built at Tell el-Maskhuta. Tell el-Maskhuta was not occupied between MB II and the Saite period. Ramesside blocks at the site came from elsewhere (Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 120; Stiebing, *Out of the Desert*, 58; Petrie, *Hyksos and Israelite Cities*, 28; Redford, *Egypt, Canaan, and Israel*, 407–8).

34. Cf. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 133.

35. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 10, 17.

36. *Pithom Stele* line 25; cf. line 13.

37. *Pithom Stele* lines 25–27; cf. lines 8–9, 16–17.

38. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 25 and Plate XI.

39. Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25–26; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.9.

40. Ptolemy, *Geography* 4.5; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 24.

41. Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.11.

Sea to Egypt and the Mediterranean. The Septuagint—roughly contemporary with the *Pithom Stele* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus—translated Goshen as "Heroonpolis in the land of Ramesses," demonstrating that the Septuagint translators believed the store city of Pithom was located at the site of Tell el-Maskhuta.[42]

Ships from the Red Sea, after stopping at Pithom, proceeded by canal up the Wadi Tumilat to the Nile at a point slightly below Heliopolis.[43] Arriving at the Nile, they could either go upriver to Heliopolis or downriver past the site of Qantir/Pi-Ramesses to Pelusium and the Mediterranean. The canal connected both Heliopolis and Pi-Ramesses to Pithom; the *Pithom Stele* stressed the importance of the canal in commercial relations with both sites.[44] The royal store cities Pithom, Heliopolis and Pi-Ramesses thus all figure prominently as major cities of the eastern delta associated with or strongly affected commercially by the Ptolemaic Nile-to-Red-Sea canal.

*Succoth*

According to the Pentateuch, the starting point of the Exodus was the store city of Raamses (Exod 12:37; Num 33:3, 5). This is generally interpreted to mean that the Israelites set out from the vicinity of Pi-Ramesses (Avaris) on the easternmost branch of the Nile a little below the start of the Wadi Tumilat. From there, the Israelites proceeded to "Succoth."[45] This is widely interpreted as a transcription of Tjeku, the Egyptian place name by which the Wadi Tumilat was known.[46] This name appeared in various geographical lists. A famous Middle Kingdom text referred to the "pools of Per-Atum in Tjeku," associating Atum with the district of Tjeku (or Succoth).[47] The *Pithom Stele* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus referred several times to Pithom as the principal city of Tjeku[48] and to Atum as the god of the Tjeku district.[49] The Exodus thus passed from Pi-Ramesses by the Nile through the Wadi Tumilat, presumably as far as Pithom and Lake Timsah by the edge of the Arabian desert.

42. The Sahidic (Coptic) version of Gen 46:28–29 reads "Pithom in the land of Ramesses" (A. Gardiner, "The Delta Residence of the Ramessides," *JEA* 5 [1918]: 242–71 [261–62]).

43. *Pithom Stele* line 16.

44. The *Pithom Stele* stated that the last phase of construction of the canal, fully completed in 270/269 BCE, connected Pithom and Heliopolis. Line 16 emphasized that a major objective of the canal was connecting Pithom with the Soped Nome; Pi-Ramesses was the major city of the Soped Nome XII on the Nile.

45. Exod 12:37; 13:20.

46. Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 430 n. 27; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 179; M. Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys: The Route of the Exodus* (Los Angeles: Ridgefield, 1983), 154; Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 79; Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 29; Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 140; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §420, interpreted Succoth as the Semitic term meaning "booths."

47. *Papyrus Anastasi* 6.4.16. The pools of Per-Atum may have referred to lakes in the middle of the Wadi Tumilat (Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 295).

48. *Pithom Stele* lines 13, 25; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 7. In Egyptian geographical lists, "Pi Tum" ("house of Tum") was sometimes written as "Ha Tum" ("abode of Tum"); the phrase "which is at the eastern door" was often added (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 6).

49. *Pithom Stele* lines 1–3, 7, 14, 16, 25, 28 referred to Tum as "god of Tjeku."

*Etham*

The next stopping point listed was "Etham by the edge of the wilderness."[50] Etham is variously interpreted as Atum, that is, Pithom,[51] or as a transcription of the common Egyptian term *Khetem* meaning fortress or stronghold.[52] (A fortress was mentioned near the pools of Per-Atum in *Papyrus Anastasi* 6.51-61.) As a royal store city, Pithom was itself fortified against forays by Arab raiding parties, as the *Pithom Stele* makes clear.[53] Either interpretation is linguistically problematic, but Etham's location "by the edge of the wilderness" is consistent with the Pithom/Lake Timsah vicinity. The *Pithom Stele* mentioned Pithom's location at the border of Egypt.[54]

*The Way of Shur*

From the vicinity of Pithom, the Israelites had the choice of three roads. They could have proceeded north to the Mediterranean and followed the coast west into Syria into Philistine country.[55] In doing so at any age they would have encountered a series of fortresses along the coast that would have hindered their travel. The Pentateuch recorded that the Exodus route avoided the coastal "way of the Philistines" lest the Israelites "see war" and become discouraged.[56]

A second route went due north from Pithom to Judea by way of Beersheba and Kadesh-Barnea. This route was called the "way of Shur" (or "way of the wall"). It was by this road that Jacob and his sons had arrived from Canaan entering Egypt at Pithom in the land of Goshen.[57] "Shur" or "the wall" has been interpreted to refer to the string of fortresses in this area that protected the border of Egypt from eastern invaders.[58] (Some would interpret the wall as the canals along the eastern border of Egypt that also acted as a block to raiders.[59]) *The Tale of Sinuhe* mentioned the "royal wall" (of fortresses) in the vicinity of Tjeku

50. Exod 13:20; Num 33:6.

51. Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 142; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 182 (but Hoffmeier questioned why the city prefix *Per-* was dropped); cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 28–29, where Etham was interpreted as the district called Atuma, located near the canal of Pithom in Tjeku according to the *Tale of Sinuhe*.

52. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §426; Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 28; Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 79–80; cf. *Papyrus Anastasi* 6.55, 60. This identification is philologically difficult; H. Cazelles ("Les Localizations de l'Exode et la Critique Littéraire," *RB* 62 [1955], 321–64 [359]) suggested that the Egyptian word *Khetem* was mispronounced in Semitic.

53. *Pithom Stele* lines 4–5, 16.

54. *Pithom Stele* line 4 alluded to repulsion of the Tesheru (a nomadic Arab tribe); line 16 indicated the eastern canal formed a boundary protecting Egypt from rebellious foreigners.

55. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §418a; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 183 (where this route was identified with the "Way of Horus"); Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 73–74 (where this route was identified with the Via Maris).

56. Exod 13:17; as Hoffmeier (*Israel in Egypt*, 183) pointed out, the reference is anachronistic.

57. Gen 45:19; 46:1.

58. Y. Aharoni, *The Land of the Bible* (trans. A. Rainey; Philadelphia: Westminster, 1967), 179; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 188; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §426; Har-El (*The Sinai Journeys*, 313) considered the Way of Shur to refer to a "low wall of hills."

59. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 188.

and Kemuer or the Great Black Sea (i.e. Lake Timsah or the Bitter Lakes).[60] The *Pithom Stele* also mentioned a wall in this same area of some 100 cubits tall (wide?).[61]

The third road, "the way of the wilderness," was a caravan route by which trade goods arrived overland from the rich southern spice coasts of Arabia Felix (Arabia the Blest). This route went east to the tip of the Red Sea and skirted the northern shore of the Arabian Gulf, crossing the Arabian Desert (or Sinai Peninsula) to Elath at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba, another gulf of the Red Sea. It was by this route that the Israelites ultimately reached Mount Sinai in the biblical tale.[62]

*The Reed Sea*

The first stage of this journey started from Pithom and went around the southern shore of Crocodile Lake (modern Lake Timsah), an isolated salty lake whose shores are surrounded by reeds (notably halophytes that thrive near salt marshes).[63] Lake Timsah appears to be identical with the (ancient) Bitter Springs or Bitter Lakes of the classical geographers,[64] Kemuer or the Great Black Sea of Egyptian records,[65] and the *Yam Suf* or Sea of Reeds of the Hebrew Exodus account.[66] Another candidate for the Sea of Reeds is the nearby (modern) Bitter Lakes, of a similar character to Lake Timsah, but considerably larger.

The Israelites' escape from Egyptian territory took place at the "Crossing of the Red Sea," the famous episode at which the waters of the sea parted to allow the Israelites to pass on dry land, and closed again to swallow the pursuing chariots and army of pharaoh. The Israelites were described as crossing either the Reed Sea[67] or simply the sea.[68] The Septuagint regularly translated Reed Sea (יַם סוּף) as Red Sea (ἡ ἐρυθρὰ θάλασσα).[69] From this it follows that the Septuagint translators understood the Israelites to have crossed the Red Sea. Yet the Hebrew term *Yam Suf* or Sea of Reeds indicates the crossing likely took place at Lake Timsah, which lay between Pithom and the Red Sea. Scholarly

60. Exod 12:18; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 210.

61. *Pithom Stele* line 16.

62. Exod 13:18; cf. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 187–88; Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 75.

63. Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 36; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 209; cf. Fig. 27. Har-El (*The Sinai Journeys*, 149) incorrectly posited that reeds only grew beside fresh water.

64. Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 26.

65. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 60; Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 25.

66. Exod 13:18; 15:4, 22; Num 33:10; cf. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §212; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 207–10; Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 73; Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 311. The *Yam Suf* was also identified with the Gulf of Suez at Num 33:10 and the Gulf of Aqaba at 1 Kgs 9.26 (LXX, "Edomite Sea"); Num 21:4.

67. Exod 13:18; 15:4, 22; cf. Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §§417.2, 3.

68. Exod 14:2, 6, 9, 21, 23–29; 15:1, 4; Num 33:8; Hoffmeier (*Israel in Egypt*, 201) noted that at Exod 15:4; Josh 24:2, "*Yam*" and "*Yam Suf*" were in parallel.

69. Exod 13:18; 15:4, 22; cf. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 6, 70; Hoffmeier (*Israel in Egypt*, 205) suggested that the Reed Sea was translated as the Red Sea in the Septuagint due to the canal of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

opinion generally posits a combination of contradictory Exodus traditions, at least one of which put the escape of the Israelites at the Red Sea, another at the Reed Sea.[70] A third possibility has been widely overlooked, namely that the Red Sea of the Exodus tradition may have geographically included the Reed Sea. This geographical conception prevailed, for instance, during the Classical Era when Pithom (Heroonpolis) on Lake Timsah (the Reed Sea) was considered to border on the Arabian Gulf of the Red Sea. Lake Timsah effectively became an extension of the Red Sea due to the watery connection provided by the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal. As discussed immediately following, several geographical clues in the Exodus account indicate the crossing of the Red/Reed Sea took place where the (Ptolemaic) canal joined these two bodies of water.

Lake Timsah (or Crocodile Lake) lies in a depression that runs along a fault line from the Mediterranean through the (modern) Bitter Lakes region to the Gulf of Suez and the Red Sea. This shallow valley with its impassable, salty lakes was the ancient boundary between Egypt and Arabia and a natural defense against raiders from the desert.[71] During various historical periods a canal ran from the Wadi Tumilat east through the length of this depression connecting Pithom and Lake Timsah with the Red Sea. The Suez Canal was built in part along the path of this older canal. A stretch of dry land separates Lake Timsah from the (modern) Bitter Lakes, the Scorpion Lake of the *Pithom Stele*. The Bitter Lakes region appears to have been shallow and marshy, for excavation was required here to extend the canal to the sea at a sufficient depth to allow ships to pass between the Red Sea and the harbor of Pithom on Lake Timsah.[72] Another stretch of dry land separated the Bitter Lakes from the Red Sea.[73]

*Migdol and Baalzephon*

The location of the Crossing of the Red Sea was specified in extraordinary detail in the Pentateuch. Exodus 14:2 stated that the Israelites camped "between Migdol and the sea, over against Baal-Zephon before the sea." There, according to the familiar story, Moses parted the Red (Reed) Sea and led the Israelites across on dry land to the safety of the other side, the waters returning to drown pharaoh's pursuing army. The account gives a number of clues to the whereabouts of the miraculous event: it was twice stated to have been by the sea, and the place names Migdol ("fortress"), Baal Zephon and Pihahiroth further specified the locale. The Israelites were also said to have been "entangled in the

70. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 200–201; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §417.5; Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 72.

71. Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 142, 312; Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 134.

72. *Pithom Stele* line 10 (according to the interpretation of Budge, *Egypt Under the Saïtes, Persians, and Ptolemies*, VII, 201), 12; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165.

73. Naville and others thought that the Bitter Lakes were connected to the Arabian Gulf of the Red Sea, since Pithom (Heroonpolis) was located on the Arabian Gulf by classical geographers (Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165). This hypothesis is not borne out by geological evidence (Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 303). Rather, it seems that the Pithom-to-Red-Sea canal raised Heroonpolis to the status of a major harbor, despite its inland location, leading to its somewhat inaccurate description in Pliny.

land," suggesting nearby hills that blocked limited escape routes from Pharaoh's chariots.[74]

The sites Migdol and Baal Zephon were mentioned in a geographical text at the Cairo Museum dating to the Ptolemaic Era.[75] This geographical itinerary listed a series of four "migdols" (or fortresses) that served as border fortresses of Ptolemaic Egypt as well as guard stations for caravan traffic.[76] The third of these four fortresses was called "Migdol Baalzephon." (Or perhaps the itinerary listed two separate but adjacent sites, Migdol and Baalzephon.[77]) The striking juxtaposition of Migdol and Baalzephon in this geographical text both points to the location of the biblical event[78] and suggests that the geographical details of the event reflect toponyms of the Ptolemaic period, when the itinerary was written. The fortresses are thought to have been located on the route through the Wadi Tumilat to the Red Sea coast.[79] Migdol Baalzephon, second to last in the list, lay close to the sea. Indeed, given that Baal Zephon was considered protector of sailors[80] and was elsewhere often associated with seaports,[81] it seems probable that the temple of Baal Zephon in the Ptolemaic geographical itinerary was associated with the sea trade that emanated from the port of Pithom/Heroonpolis.[82] It

74. Exod 14:3. Josephus, *Ant.* 2.324–25 interpreted this to mean Israelites trapped between the mountains and the sea. Josephus was the first to introduce mountains into the Exodus story; cf. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 9.

75. *Cairo Demotic Papyrus* no. 31169 3.20–23, discussed at Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 153 n. 12; see Cazelles, "Les Localizations de l'Exode," 351, for literature.

76. These were Migdol, Migdol of the region of thorn bushes (?), Migdol Baalzephon and Migdol Pohay. See G. Daressy, "La Liste Geographique du Pap 31169 du Caire," *Sphinx* 14 (1910–11): 155–71; Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 154 n. 14.

77. On Migdol of Baalzephon, see Daressy, "La List Geographique," 169–70; cf. Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 81.

78. Exod 14:2. Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 143: "Its [Migdol's] association in the Exodus narrative with Baal Zephon is strikingly confirmed by the Demotic geographical papyrus in which the two names occur side by side." See also C. Bourdon, "Le Route de l'Exode," *RB* 41 (1932): 538–49 (541–32).

79. The *Itinerary of Egeria* mentioned guard stations for travelers on this same route. On the location of these fortresses near the Wadi Tumilat, see Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 142–43; Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 81. Place names near the Mediterranean were found at *Cairo Demotic Papyrus* no. 31169 2.14–17.

80. Albright, "Baal-Zephon," 9, 11–13; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 190.

81. Albright, "Baal-Zephon," 9, 11–12; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 190.

82. Albright ("Baal-Zephon," 13) thought that Baal Zephon's role as protector of sailors required that the temple of Baal Zephon be located near a body of deep water, and therefore excluded the possibility of its location by Lake Timsah. Albright's analysis ignored the canal that at various times connected Lake Timsah with the Red Sea. According to Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 142–43, Baal Zephon was "obviously related to the demotic, which is plausibly located in the vicinity of Lake Timsah." Eissfeldt, believed Baal Zephon was located at Mount Casios near Lake Sirbonis (*Baal Zaphon*, 30–48), but subsequent archaeological soundings at Ras Qasrun determined that Mount Casios was occupied only in the Early Bronze, Iron Age B, Persian and Greek periods, not in the required time span (Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 312; Davies, *The Way of the Wilderness*, 81, 116 n. 17; Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 144). Albright identified Baal Zephon with Daphne ("Baal-Zephon," 13–14), but

would thus have been located along the canal that linked Pithom and the Red Sea. The most logical position for the sailor's temple of Baal Zephon would have been at or near the harbor city of Arsinoe-Cleopatra where the Ptolemaic canal entered the Arabian Gulf of the Red Sea.[83] This location would accord with the biblical description of Migdol and Baal Zephon as "before the sea." The site of Arsinoe has not yet been identified archaeologically, but a reasonable suggestion would place it between Lake Timsah and the western end of the modern Bitter Lakes. Arsinoe was also the location of the junction of three major roads from Egypt leading to the Mediterranean coast.[84] The fourth of the fortresses of the Ptolemaic geographical itinerary may have lay further east along this road.[85] The "way of the wilderness" that Moses and the Israelites traveled to reach Sinai in the Arabian Desert doubtless passed through the vicinity of Ptolemaic Arsinoe.

*Pihahiroth*

The other geographical location specified by the Exodus account was Pihahiroth. There are two theories as to the identity and location of Pihahiroth. One theory identifies this site with the place called Pi-khehereth ("the house of the serpent") or Pikerehet in the *Pithom Stele* of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[86] This city near Pithom, containing temples to the Egyptian gods Osiris and Atum,[87] was closely associated with the ship trade through Ptolemy's canal.[88] Naville plausibly identified Pihahiroth with the above-mentioned harbor of Arsinoe, named after the wife of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[89]

The second theory, first proposed by Albright, derived the name Pihahiroth from an Aramaic expression signifying "mouth of the canal." The word "pi" is Hebrew/Aramaic for mouth or outflow and was used for instance at Isa 19:7 to refer to the mouth of the Nile. "Ha" is of course the Hebrew article. "Hiroth"

this site also lacks Bronze Age archaeological remains (Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 144).

83. The foundation of Arsinoe was mentioned at *Pithom Stele* lines 20–21 ("After these things, His Majesty went to Kemuer; he founded there a large city to his sister with the illustrious name of the daughter of King Ptolemy [i.e. Arsinoe]; a sacred abode was built likewise to his sister [i.e. Philoteria]").

84. Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.12; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.167.

85. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.167.

86. *Pithom Stele* lines 7, 26; cf. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 8. Egyptian geographical lists associate a location Sekeheret ("the abode of the serpent") with the Heroonpolitan nome.

87. An image of Osiris on the *Pithom Stele* was labeled "Osiris, the lord of Ro Ab (the Arabian city), who resides at Pikerehet" (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 18). *Pithom Stele* line 7 referred to the "temple of Pikerehet." Pithom also held a temple of Tum (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 24); it seems royal revenues were shared between the temples of Atum at Pithom and Pikerehet. Naville placed Pikerehet at Gebel Mariam, 14 miles from Tell el-Maskhuta, in approximate agreement with a Serapeum (or "sanctuary of Osiris") 18 miles from Ero (Heroonpolis) according to the Peutinger map (Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 25).

88. *Pithom Stele* lines 9, 26; cf. lines 4, 14, 24–25, which also mentioned ships.

89. Naville, *The Store-City of Pithom*, 15.

was suggested to derive from the Aramaic root HRT meaning to cut or dig, a term sometimes associated with canals.[90] "Pi-ha-hiroth" would therefore translate the phrase "mouth of the digging" or "mouth of the canal."[91] Some support for this is found in the translation of Pihahiroth as "the mouth (στόμα) of Iroth" at Num 33:7 (LXX).[92] Under this interpretation, Pihahiroth also plausibly refers to the outflow of the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal in the vicinity of Arsinoe.[93] Both theories regarding Pihahiroth may be correct.[94] Under either theory Pihahiroth is best taken to refer to Pi-khehereth/Arsinoe.

### 2. *The Crossing of the Red Sea*

We may summarize the evidence for placing the Crossing of the Red Sea at Arsinoe as follows. The location Pihahiroth, whether interpreted as Pi-khehereth/Arsinoe or as "mouth of the canal," points directly to Ptolemaic Arsinoe. The sites Migdol and Baal Zephon appeared in the Ptolemaic geographical itinerary as Migdol-Baalzephon approaching the Red Sea. The cult of Baal Zephon was associated with harbors and sailors, consistent with a location by a port of the Red Sea. The Exodus account twice specified the location of the crossing as "before the sea." The parting of the waters was alternately put at the "sea," the "Reed Sea" or the "Red Sea" (LXX). A site between the Red and Reed Seas (joined together by the Ptolemaic canal) satisfies all these descriptive details. Several roads led to Arsinoe from the Mediterranean[95] and likely continued along the Red Sea coasts. The Israelites, coming from Pithom and attempting

90. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 170.

91. Albright, "Exploring Sinai," 15–16; Redford, "An Egyptological Perspective on the Exodus Narrative," 153 n. 12.

92. Compare Isa 19:7, which referred to the mouth ("pi") of the Nile (Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 170).

93. There are three major theories on the location of Pihahiroth on the premise that it referred to the debouching of a canal. Bourdon ("Le Route de l'Exode," 545–49) located it at the outflow of the canal near Arsinoe. Albright suggested Pihahiroth referred to a mouth or canal entering the Nile (see n. 91 above). Hoffmeier (*Israel in Egypt*, 164–69) proposed a location where a canal starting at Pelusium entered Lake Timsah. Research subsequent to Hoffmeier's book demonstrated that the canal from Ismail to Lake Menzaleh was never functional or connected with Lake Timsah (Redmount, *On an Egyptian/Asiatic Frontier*, 131 and n. 24). It probably served as part of Egypt's border defenses rather than as a passageway for boats.

94. Non-Egyptians who knew about the Egyptian city Pi-khehereth (Arsinoe) might conceivably have interpreted this place name as "mouth of the digging [canal]," especially if they served as forced labor in the canal construction and related public works projects of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 280–269 BCE. The excavation of the canal under Necho II required over 120,000 workers (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.158 claimed that many died in the project). Ptolemy I Soter reportedly brought 110,000 Jewish war captives to Egypt (*The Letter of Aristeas* 12, 19) where many may have been set to work at state projects. Hecataeus of Abdera, writing under Ptolemy I, claimed that Sesostris used war captives for building projects (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.56.1–3; 1.56.2 mentioned canals): this may have been based on contemporary Ptolemaic practices. The story of the enslavement of the children of Israel by the Egyptians for use in building projects (Exod 1:11) may have been influenced by Jewish experiences in Ptolemaic Egypt.

95. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.167.

to exit Egypt via the "way of the wilderness" would have crossed the boundary of Egypt at Arsinoe.

The identification of the location of the Crossing of the Red Sea with immediate vicinity of Arsinoe suggests a new interpretation of the Red Sea event. The most common interpretation—one might say rationalization—of this event is that Moses and the children of Israel crossed the (modern) Bitter Lakes at a shallow point where, it is hypothesized, dry land occasionally appeared at low tide under the action of a strong wind.[96] This location is identified as an isthmus separating the two lakes today known as the Bitter Lakes.[97] However, an identification of the location of the crossing point at or near Arsinoe places this event west of the (modern) Bitter Lakes and argues against the above model. Instead, it suggests that the body of water crossed by Moses and the children of Israel was the canal linking Lake Timsah and the Red Sea. This canal—wide enough to allow the passage of "two triremes rowed abreast," and about 16 meters deep[98]—posed a significant obstacle to crossing the Egyptian border and indeed served an additional purpose as part of the Egyptian border defenses.[99] The canal undoubtedly had a bridge for crossing by foot, but this bridge was guarded by a garrison and fortress[100] (perhaps the Migdol Baalzephon of the biblical and Ptolemaic references). Had not such a canal been in operation at the time of the Exodus, an escape from Egypt would have been easily accomplished by simply passing between Lake Timsah and the Bitter Lakes, or between the Bitter Lakes and the Arabian Gulf. It was the watery barrier of the canal[101] that entrapped the Israelites inside the bounds of Egypt, requiring a miracle to effect their escape.

96. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 208, 214; Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 351, 353; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §425. Exod 14:21 indicated that the waters were driven back by the action of the east wind.

97. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 212; Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 351, 353; Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §425.

98. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.156. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165, said it was 100 feet wide and 30 feet deep. C. Oldfather, *Diodorus of Sicily* (12 vols.; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 1:113 n. 2, said remains of the canal show it to have been about 150 feet wide and 16 to 17 feet deep.

99. *Pithom Stele* line 16; cf. Finegan, *Archaeological History of the Ancient Middle East*, 247; Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 55–57, 166–67.

100. Cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.8, 12, from Agatharchides (ca. 150 BCE), described the "seven mouths" of the Nile (and "other mouths" excavated artificially): "At each mouth is a walled city, which is divided into two parts by the river, provided on each side of the mouth with pontoon bridges and guard-posts at suitable points. From the Pelusiac mouth [i.e. the Pelusiac branch of the Nile] there is an artificial canal to the Arabian Gulf and the Red Sea... The river which runs through this canal is named Ptolemy after the builder of it, and has at its mouth the city called Arsinoe." From this material from Agatharchides, one may infer the existence of a walled outpost with fortresses and bridge at Arsinoe that may have been identical with the Migdol Baalzephon of the demotic geographical itinerary as well as the Exodus account.

101. Exod 14:22, 29 say "the waters were like a wall unto them." *Pithom Stele* line 16 associated Ptolemy's canal with a great wall on the east a hundred cubits high (!) that protected Egypt from rebels (i.e. Arab marauders); did this describe the canal itself, a "wall" a hundred cubits wide? See also n. 59 above.

The chronology of the construction of the Ptolemaic Nile-to-Red-Sea canal becomes relevant. This took place in two phases. First, the old Darius canal was dredged out between Pithom above Lake Timsah to the Red Sea. This phase of excavation was completed perhaps as early as 280/279 BCE.[102] The canal between the Nile and Pithom also had some water in it, but the two sections of canal were not yet linked. It was determined that connecting the (partially operational) Nile-to-Pithom canal and the Pithom-to-Red-Sea canal would allow saltwater to enter the Wadi Tumilat above Pithom, possibly affecting water supplies for drinking and irrigation.[103] The completion of the Nile-to-Pithom canal dredging and the linking of this canal with the one to the Red Sea were therefore suspended until a technical solution could be found. In 274/273 BCE, hydrologists at the Museum of Ptolemy II Philadelphus solved the problem, inventing the water lock.[104] The best location for this water lock was determined to have been between Lake Timsah and the Red Sea, preventing salt water from the sea to reach Lake Timsah or the interior portions of the canal.[105] From purely historical and geographical considerations, one may locate the Ptolemaic water lock in the vicinity of Arsinoe, the approximate location of the Crossing of the Red Sea, and date its construction to 274/273 BCE or shortly thereafter,[106] that is, approximately the same time as the proposed date of composition of the Exodus story. This strongly suggests that the episode of the Crossing of the Red Sea was influenced or even inspired by the creation of the water lock by the hydraulic engineers under Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[107]

102. On the Darius canal, see Herodotus, *Histories* 2.158; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.9; Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1.14.352b. On its dredging under Ptolemy II Philadelphus, see Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.11; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165. A navigable canal linked the harbor of Pithom with the Red Sea in the period between 280/279 and 273/272 BCE, since the *Pithom Stele* lines 11–14 recorded a military expedition in which Philadelphus sailed to both Arabian and Ethiopian shores of the Red Sea and returned to Pithom by way of Scorpion Lake and the Canal of the East. The canal excavations of 280/279 BCE (line 10) appear to have been restricted to a stretch extending from Pithom east through Scorpion Lake (the modern Bitter Lakes) to the Red Sea. The primary purpose of the dredging of the Canal of the East was to establish Pithom as a harbor for ships sailing to the Red Sea.

103. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165–66.

104. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.9–12.

105. That the installation of the water lock resulted in the desalinization of the Bitter Lakes (Lake Timsah) is shown by Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25.

106. Line 15 of the *Pithom Stele* recorded a visit of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and Queen Arsinoe II to the Heroonpolitan nome on his year 12 (274/273 BCE). This visit likely had to do with strengthening of fortifications along the eastern canal and deciding "the most suitable spot" (in the words of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.11) for installing the newly designed water lock. The city of Arsinoe, where the canal entered the Red Sea, was founded about this time (Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.33.12; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.167; *Pithom Stele* line 20 [unless this last referred to Philoteria]). Excavation on the canal was resumed after this royal visit and was finally completed in Ptolemy's year 16 (270/269 BCE). The completed canal ran from north of Heliopolis to the Red Sea (*Pithom Stele* line 16).

107. It is frequently noted that Egyptian magicians also had the power to cause lakes or rivers to move aside or part; see M. Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature: A Book of Readings* (3 vols.; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980), 1:217, 3:130; cf. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 411 n. 88. But were Jewish authors aware of this Egyptian literary motif?

The water lock on the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal was a technological marvel, a new invention by Ptolemy's hydraulic experts.[108] Diodorus emphasized the ingenuity of this solution to the problems posed by the construction of the Ptolemaic canal. The *diaphragm* (διάφραγμα) or water lock of Diodorus was, in effect, a wall of water. Between the two walls of the water lock the water level could be raised or lowered at will to allow the passage of ships. Conceivably, the water lock may have been periodically emptied entirely by water pumps to allow maintenance, creating a wall of water on both sides with dry ground between. One could walk on dry land in the middle of the sea with water held back right and left.[109] When the Nile was at its lowest water level in winter and spring, the canal would have dried up as far as the water lock, which would have held back the salt waters of the Red Sea. Canal workers, who may have included Jewish war prisoners, would have seen such technologically impressive marvels first-hand.

The Crossing of the Red Sea, at the same approximate location as Ptolemy's lock, also took place by means of a wall of water, but in Exodus the wall of water was effected by miraculous means, not mechanical.[110] The water lock at Arsinoe was a contemporary symbol of Ptolemaic engineering genius. In the Exodus account, Ptolemy's engineering marvel was in effect exceeded by Moses. If Ptolemy's ability to raise and lower a wall of water allowed the passage of ships between the Reed Sea and the Red Sea, Moses' similar ability allowed the passage of the children of Israel through the midst of these same waters. In the Exodus account, Moses' miraculous ability indeed did Pharaoh Ptolemy one better: after the Israelites passed through, Moses used his powers to drown Pharaoh's army.[111] This event turned on its head the technological accomplishments

108. The invention of the water lock was doubtless an early product of the Museum of Alexandria founded by Ptolemy II Philadelphus. Philadelphus had a special corps of water engineers to handle the technical problems of irrigation in Egypt. A number of important inventions related to hydraulics came out of third-century BCE Ptolemaic Alexandria, including Ctebius of Alexandria's invention of the two-valve mechanical force pump in ca. 270–250 BCE, Archimedes' invention of the screw pump during a visit to Egypt in 250–220 BCE (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.34.2), and the invention of the dry dock for the harbor of Alexandria under Ptolemy IV Philopater (221–204 BCE). For a history of water-lifting technology, see generally J. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices: The History of a Technology* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1984).

109. The dry dock, invented at Alexandria about fifty years later for making repairs on Ptolemaic sailing vessels, used this same technology. A ship was rowed into a trench extending inland from the harbor. The entrance was closed and the water was emptied by pumps (likely using screw pumps and wheels with compartmented rims that were used to dry out coffer dams; Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 5.12.5; Oleson, *Water-Lifting Devices*, 33, 109, 326). Repairs were made to the hull, the water compartment flooded again, and the ship sailed back out to sea (Athenaeus, *Philosophers' Banquet* 5.204c–d).

110. Exod 14:22, 29 spoke of a wall of water formed on both the left and right; Exod 14:21 somewhat inconsistently said the waters were held back by an east wind.

111. The drowning of Pharaoh's troops by Moses artfully combined the miracle-worker motif of Moses-as-Nectanebos (Nectanebos, too, used magic to drown his enemies), the theme of deliverance from the Egyptians (also taken from the Nectanebos legend), the idea of a wall of water (taken from the Ptolemaic canal lock, and at the same locale) and the motif of the Jews eviction from Egypt (taken from Manetho). The Crossing of the Red Sea was truly the centerpiece of the newly

of Ptolemaic Egypt by using a marvelous wall of water to effect the drowning of the Egyptians. Jewish resentment of the Ptolemaic conquerors and their claims of cultural superiority were but thinly disguised in the ironic choice for the mechanism of destruction of Egypt's pursuing armies.

*The Waters of Marah*

The Crossing of the Red Sea is not the only aspect of the Exodus story which specially resonates with the construction of the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal by Philadelphus. One must also point to a second marvel performed by Moses. The next camp of Moses and the children of Israel after crossing the Red Sea was the waters of Marah, or Bitter Waters. These waters were bitter and undrinkable, and the children of Israel complained that they had been led out into the wilderness to die of thirst. Moses then performed his next mighty miracle, sweetening the waters of Marah.

The location of the waters of Marah, three days into the wilderness,[112] is a matter of debate.[113] It is often pointed out that in *The Tale of Sinuhe*, the unfortunate Sinuhe, attempting to escape Egypt, complained of the bitter waters near the pools of Per-Atum of Tjeku that nearly caused him to perish of thirst.[114] Lake Timsah was called the Bitter Springs by Pliny and the Bitter Lakes by Strabo.[115] These terms were directly equivalent to the biblical waters of Marah or Bitter Waters, miraculously sweetened by Moses. It may thus be significant that the water lock of Ptolemy II Philadelphus famously transformed the former Bitter Lakes into fresh, sweet waters.[116] This was, indeed, the intended effect of the lock constructed on Ptolemy's canal. The sweetening of the waters of Lake Timsah may have begun as early as 274/273 BCE, when the lock was installed at Arsinoe, although the canal had not been fully dredged to a sufficient depth to allow the passage of seagoing vessels (triremes) until 270/269 BCE.[117] Once again, a miracle performed by Moses may have been intended to exceed a similar marvel performed by the brilliant technological wizardry of scholars and engineers working for Ptolemy II Philadelphus.

composed Exodus story, drawing from diverse strands from contemporary Alexandrian literature and culture.

112. Exod 15:23; Num 33:8.

113. See Simons, *Geographical and Topographical Texts*, §427; Har-El, *The Sinai Journeys*, 353–55. Har-El would locate Marah at Bir-el-Mirah, 14 km east of Suez.

114. Hoffmeier, *Israel in Egypt*, 210.

115. Pliny, *Natural History* 6.165; Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25.

116. See Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.25.

117. The sweetening of Lake Timsah was contemplated as early as 274/273 BCE when the water lock was designed and perhaps constructed and tested. The complete dredging of the Nile-to-Pithom canal took place during the winter seasons of 274–269 BCE, when the Nile was at low water. The canal between the Nile and Pithom was partially operational in the years 274–269 BCE, flowing with water during the summer season when the Nile was at flood stage. In 270/269 BCE the canal was cleared of silt to a sufficient depth to allow ship passage. Fresh water may have flowed in lesser quantity from the Nile to Lake Timsah through the canal as early as 274/273 BCE, and prior to the official opening of the canal to ship traffic, sweetening Lake Timsah.

### 3. *Conclusion*

In summary, the geography of the Exodus best matches the cities and regions under the first Ptolemies. The *Pithom Stele* and the Ptolemaic geographical itinerary provide the closest parallels to many places named in the Exodus account. Further, the Crossing of the Red Sea and the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah appear to display awareness of the new lock system of Ptolemy and its effect on Lake Timsah. This suggests the biblical account dates to no earlier than 274/273 BCE.

# Chapter 11

## Date and Authorship of the Pentateuch

At this point in the investigation, considerable evidence has been introduced pointing to the *terminus a quo* and *terminus ad quem* of the Pentateuch. The *terminus ad quem* is provided by the earliest evidence of Pentateuchal writings, the Septuagint translation of 273–269 BCE (Chapter 4, §4). Several independent lines of evidence are consistent with a *terminus a quo* also in the late 270s BCE.

### 1. *Date of Composition*

Analysis of Mesopotamian materials in Gen 1–11 (J and P) in Chapter 5 shows dependence on some relatively late Mesopotamian materials: the ten generations before the Flood in Neo-Assyrian versions of *The Sumerian King List* (ca. 640 BCE); the Nimrod story in response to the story of Ninus in Ktesias (ca. 400 BCE); and the Tower of Babel story's use of *The Poem of Erra* (ca. 670 BCE). More importantly, it now appears that all Mesopotamian sources echoed in Gen 1–11, and indeed the structure and outline of Gen 1–11, derived from the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus. Berossus was born during Alexander's reign over Babylon in 330–323 BCE.[1] According to the *Babyloniaca*, Berossus wrote in the "third year of Antiochus."[2] If one interprets this as the third year of his co-reign with his father Seleucus I starting in 292 BCE,[3] then the *Babyloniaca* was composed in 290 BCE; but regnal formulae on coins and royal correspondence during the co-rule have either both kings or just Seleucus.[4] If one takes the "third year of

1. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 13.

2. Tatian, *Speech on Greece* 36; cf. Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.122.1; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.11.8–9.

3. Antiochus I began rule as king over the eastern satrapies in 292 BCE. See Plutarch, *Demosthenes* 38.10; Appian, *Syrian Wars* 59.

4. In the period 292–281 BCE, Seleucus resided in the west where he commanded the army in the continuing wars of the Diadochi, while his son Antiochus ruled in the east. Coins minted in the west during the co-rule read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ. Although Seleucus ordered a special coin series to be minted in Babylon reading ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ to commemorate his son's appointment as co-ruler, coins minted as far east as Bactria during their co-reign read ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΣΕΛΕΥΚΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ, showing that the latter was the usual formula in the eastern satrapies under Antiochus. It is thus likely that the dating of Berossus's *Babyloniaca* to the third year of Antiochus referred to his sole rule starting in 281 BCE. On the coins of Seleucus I, see, generally, A. Houghton and C. Lorber, *Seleucid Coins: A Comprehensive Catalogue. Part 1: Seleucus I–*

Antiochus" as counting from his sole rule at the death of his father in 280 BCE, the *Babyloniaca* dates to 278 BCE,[5] and Gen 1–11 was composed no earlier than that date.

Analysis of the Table of Nations in Gen 10 (P materials only) in Chapter 6 shows that it reflected the political landscape after 278 BCE at the conclusion of the War of the Successors, when the old Persian Empire was essentially divided up into Seleucid and Ptolemaic realms (Shem and Ham), plus a few independent kingdoms and disputed territories mainly along the Asia Minor coasts (Japheth). Some of the territories assigned to Ham suggest a date around the conclusion of the First Syrian War or shortly thereafter (ca. 273–269 BCE).

Analysis of the story of Canaan's Curse in Gen 9 (J) suggests a date shortly before the end of the First Syrian War (273–272 BCE), when it appeared the Seleucids might conquer Egypt or Syria. A later date (for instance, during the Second Syrian War) appears to be excluded.

Analysis of the relationship between the Exodus story (JEP) and Manetho in Chapters 7 and 8 shows that the Pentateuchal story of the Sojourn and Exodus originated in polemics against Manetho. Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* is usually dated to the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus and after the publication of Berossus's *Babyloniaca*[6] based on two data of questionable validity. First, a dedicatory letter purporting to have been from Manetho to Philadelphus introduced the *Book of Sothis*.[7] It is universally acknowledged that the *Book of Sothis* was a pseudo-Manethoan work, and the attached letter is an obvious forgery, full of anachronisms.[8] As such it has no evidentiary value (and any suggestion that the forger had independent knowledge that Manetho wrote under Ptolemy II Philadelphus is entirely speculative).[9] The second item of evidence is a statement by Syncellus that Manetho wrote after the time of Berossus in order to refute the claims of antiquity of the Babylonian civilization.[10] As Adler points out, Syncellus here

*Antiochus III* (2 vols.; New York: The American Numismatic Society, 2002), 1:11–110, especially 78, 92, 103–7 on coin legends listing both kings. Similar conclusions on regnal formulae can be drawn from a note of explanation attached to a letter from the period of corule that refers to "kings Seleucus and Antiochus" (B. Welles, *Royal Correspondence in the Hellenistic Period: A Study in Greek Epigraphy* [Chicago: Ares, 1934], 36).

5. Burstein (*The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 34) interpreted an allusion in Alexander Polyhistor to a list of "45 kings totaling 526 years" to be the kings intervening between Sammu-rammat (Semiramis) and Antiochus I, from 806/5 to 281/0 BCE. He therefore dated Berossus to about 281/0 BCE. (Kvanvig [*Roots of Apocalyptic*, 162] also favored this date.) However, Burstein ignored the fact that Berossus claimed to have written his book in the third year of Antiochus I, which would bring the date of composition down to 279/8 BCE.

6. A dating under Ptolemy II Philadelphus was given, for example, by Waddell, *Manetho*, 15; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:505–6.

7. See Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:505; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 63, on the doubtful use of this letter to date Manetho.

8. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:505; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 102; Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 57–60. The letter referred to "Ptolemy Philadelphus *Augustus*" and "Hermes *Trimegistas*"; both italicized terms point to a date in the first century BCE or later.

9. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 57–60; cf. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 97, 102.

10. Berossus *FGrH* 680 T10 (Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 17 [Mosshammer]).

referred to the pseudo-Manethoan *Book of Sothis*, which does indeed show influence from Berossus.[11] Syncellus's claim is not verified by any surviving genuine fragment of Manetho. What polemics exist in authentic works by Manetho were directed against Herodotus and Hecataeus of Abdera.[12] Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* contained no references to Berossus, the *Babyloniaca*, or indeed to Babylon.[13] Instead of Babylon, the *Aegyptiaca* accepted Assyria as the major Mesopotamian power, in line with standard Greek views.[14] Syncellus's claim that Manetho responded to Berossus thus appears to have been based on inference (and an incorrect one) rather than data from the *Aegyptiaca*.

Manetho is more credibly dated late in the reign of Ptolemy I Soter. Approximately 286/285 BCE, Manetho and Timotheus of Athens helped establish the new Greco-Egyptian cult of Serapis for Ptolemy I Soter in Alexandria.[15] This testimonium establishes Manetho as a prominent religious authority under Ptolemy I. Two fragments of Manetho point to the same period. In one, Manetho claimed that neither lions nor rabbits slept, and derived the word rabbit, *lagôs*, from *laô*, "I see";[16] the topic may have been suggested by the name Ptolemy Lagus (i.e. Ptolemy I Soter). In another fragment preserved by Tertullian, Demetrius of Phalerus was apparently listed as an author on Egypt following Manetho:

> [To properly discuss antiquity] the archives of the most ancient of all peoples, the Egyptians, Chaldeans, and Phoenicians would have to be laid open. We would need to have recourse to the fellow citizens of those through whom this information has come to us, men like Manetho of Egypt, Berosus of Chaldea, and Hieronymus of Phoenicia, king of Tyre; their followers, too—Ptolemy of Mendes, Menander of Ephesus, Demetrius of Phaleron, King Juba, Apion, Thallus, Josephus the Jew, the native defender of Jewish antiquities, and any other who either substantiates or refutes them.[17]

Tertullian's research here was substantial.[18] This passage correctly listed the respective primary sources on Egyptian, Chaldean and Phoenician chronicles as Manetho, Berossus and Hieronymus (although Josephus referred to this last

11. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 60–65.

12. For polemics against Herodotus, see Eustathius, *Commentary on Homer's Iliad* 11.480; for Hecataeus of Abdera, see Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 9.354C.

13. Syncellus, *Chronological Excerpts* 38 (Mosshammer) noted the independence of Manetho and Berossus: "Neither mentions nor confirms the other: not the author of the *Aegyptiaka* as to the contents of the *Chaldaïka*...nor the author of the *Chaldaïka* as to the contents of the *Aegyptiaka*" (W. Adler and P. Tuffin, trans., *The Chronography of George Synkellos: A Byzantine Chronicle of Universal History from the Creation* [Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002]).

14. Josephus, *Apion* 2.77, 89–90.

15. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 28.362A; on the date, see Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 97.

16. Eustathius, *Commentary on Homer's Iliad* 11.480.

17. Tertullian, *The Defense* 9.5–6.

18. The list of classical sources in Tertullian was not copied from Josephus, as mistakenly asserted at M. Hardwick, *Josephus as an Historical Source in Patristic Literature through Eusebius* (Atlanta: Scholars Press, 1989), 112: "Tertullian constructs his list by summarizing the ancient writers treated by Josephus in *C.A.* 1 and 2." As Hardwick himself noted, the order in Josephus was different, and neither Ptolemy of Mendes nor Juba was discussed in *Apion*. Hardwick also erroneously argued that Tertullian confused Thales (*Apion* 1.14) for Thallus; but Tertullian accurately quoted both Thales and Thallus shortly before at *The Defense* 9.2, 4.

author as "Hieronymus the Egyptian"[19]). The list of "their followers...and any other who either substantiates or refutes them" consisted of later authors who commented on the reliability of Manetho, Berossus or Hieronymus. Among the list, it appears that Juba and Thallus used Berossus,[20] Menander of Ephesus used Hieronymus,[21] and Ptolemy of Mendes and Apion used Manetho,[22] while Josephus referred to all three.[23] Demetrius of Phaleron can only have commented on the historical value of Manetho. In which one of Demetrius's many works is unknown: perhaps in his book *On Laws*, or *On Customs*, or his *Introduction to History*.[24] In any case, it is evident that Manetho wrote before the death of Demetrius of Phaleron. Demetrius was imprisoned and executed almost immediately after the accession of Ptolemy II Philadelphus in 280 BCE,[25] which implies that both Demetrius and his predecessor Manetho wrote in ca. 285–280 BCE under Ptolemy I Soter.[26] Since the Greek Septuagint translation was not produced until 273–269 BCE, about a decade later than Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*, the *Aegyptiaca* could hardly have contained polemics against the Jewish Exodus story.[27]

19. "Hieronymus the Egyptian" was said to have written an account of the Phoenician foundations, utilizing the annals of the city of Tyre (Josephus, *Ant.* 1.94, 107). Menander of Ephesus and Dius relied on Hieronymus for their works on the kings of Phoenicia. But as quoted at *Ant.* 1.94, 107, Hieronymus also displayed knowledge of the flood story and the great age of the figures from the antediluvian age, also from Berossus. Mnaseas, a student of Eratosthenes in Alexandria ca. 200 BCE, also drew on Hieronymus (*Ant.* 1.94). Josephus was likely acquainted with Hieronymus, Menander and Dius by way of Nicolaus of Damascus (*Ant.* 1.93–95; cf. Droge, "Josephus," 122 n. 15).

20. Tatian, *Speech to the Greeks* 36 said Juba's book *Concerning the Assyrians* was based on Berossus. The Assyrian history of Thallus closely followed that of Castor of Rhodes—the two were often quoted together—and like Castor's history was concerned with chronographical dating (Thallus *FGrH* 256 FF 2–8; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.10.488C, 489A, 490C). Thallus, following Euhemerus and Castor of Rhodes, claimed that Bel and the Titans fought against Zeus (Thallus *FGrH* 256 F2 [*Theophylact on Autolycus* 3.29]; cf. Castor of Rhodes *FGrH* 250 F1 [Eusebius, *Chronicle* 26.13–20 (Karst)]; Drews, "Assyria in Classical Universal Histories," 133 n. 20). It is likely that Castor and Thallus commented on Berossus's earlier chronography.

21. Josephus, *Ant.* 8.144–49, 324; 9.283–87.

22. Ptolemy of Mendes wrote an ancient Egyptian history in three books that included chronicles (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.21; cf. Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.10.490C). Apion wrote an *Aegyptiaca* (Clement of Alexandria, *Miscellanies* 1.21; Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 10.10.490B; Gellius, *Attic Nights* 5.14.1–2). Both will likely have used or commented on their predecessor Manetho.

23. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.93, 103, 158; 10.20, 34, 219–26; *Apion* 1.129–53 (Berossus); *Ant.* 1.94, 107 (Hieronymus); *Apion* 1.73–105, 227–87 (Manetho).

24. Demetrius of Phaleron's works were cataloged at Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.81, drawing on Callimachus's *Pinakes* or list of works in the Alexandrian Library.

25. Diogenes Laertius, *Lives of Eminent Philosophers* 5.78–79.

26. Manetho was likely commissioned to write the *Aegyptiaca* shortly after 286/285 BCE when he assisted in establishing the Ptolemaic cult of Serapis. Within the date range 285–280 BCE, a date near 285 BCE is thus to be preferred. This also allows time for Demetrius of Phaleron to have written historical material commenting on Manetho's *Aegyptiaca*. But a date as late as ca. 280 BCE cannot be excluded.

27. It is often remarked that the Septuagint had little circulation or impact in the greater Hellenistic world (A. Momigliano, *Alien Wisdom: The Limits of Hellenization* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1975], 91–92; Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 60, 62; V. Tcherikover, "Jewish Apologetic Literature Reconsidered," *Eos* 48 [1957]: 169–93 [177]). Specifically, doubts have been

Analysis of the figure of Moses as magician and deliverer of the Jews in Chapter 9 shows that he was modeled on the figure of Nectanebos II. Tales of Nectanebos's magical powers and his prophesied return to deliver Egypt certainly circulated during the time of Alexander the Great and continued into early Ptolemaic times. The Nectanebos legend was incorporated at an early date into *The Alexander Romance*, possibly drawing on Cleitarchus. The date Cleitarchus wrote is difficult to establish with certainty. Cleitarchus appears to have read an account of the exploration of the Caspian by Patrocles, a general under Antiochus I. Patrocles explored the Caspian for Antiochus I with a small fleet built especially for this purpose,[28] writing up a report of his discoveries probably around 282–280 BCE.[29] Patrocles was the only Greek recorded to have made a voyage on the Caspian.[30] Cleitarchus's literary dependence on Patrocles is seemingly demonstrated by their similar comparison of the Caspian to the Black Sea in size,[31] so Cleitarchus will have written after 282 BCE.[32] Cleitarchus also utilized Berossus,[33] which implies that Cleitarchus wrote no earlier than 278 BCE. Cleitarchus, writing in Alexandria,[34] likely claimed that Alexander was the fulfillment of the Nectanebos prophecy, although conceivably this was an innovation of *The Alexander Romance*, also composed at Alexandria;[35] in either case, if the Exodus tale displays awareness of a version of the Nectanebos tale recorded by Cleitarchus, this indicates a date no earlier than 278 BCE.

Analysis of the geography of the Exodus story in Chapter 10 shows its authors' awareness of geographical toponyms or archaeological sites first appearing in the Saite period (Pithom), the Persian period (Goshen), and the early Ptolemaic period (Migdol Baalzephon and Pi-hahiroth or Pikerehet). The story of the Crossing of the Red Sea may show its authors' knowledge of the water locks on the Ptolemaic canal installed in 273/272 BCE. The story of sweetening of the waters of Marah may display its authors' awareness of the sweetening of the Bitter Lakes by the influx of the Nile through the Nile-to-Pithom canal after 273 BCE.

raised that Manetho would have read the Septuagint, much less written a response against it (as his sections on the Hyksos are sometimes interpreted). The redating of Manetho to 285–280 BCE, if accepted, implies that at the writing of the *Aegyptiaca*, no Septuagint translation even existed for Manetho hypothetically to have responded to. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:64, doubtfully claimed that "The Jewish story of the Exodus made an Egyptian reply urgent even before the Bible was translated into Greek."

28. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 1:12.

29. Ibid., 1:19.

30. Ibid., 1:17. Patrocles' *Periplus* was the only one known to Eratosthenes (Strabo, *Geography* 11.6.1); Pompey later also relied on Patrocles' report (W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India* [Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1966], 489).

31. Tarn, *Alexander the Great*, 1:18–19.

32. Ibid., 1:19. According to Tarn (*Alexander the Great*, 1:21), Cleitarchus is to be dated probably to 280–270 BCE, but certainly 280–260 BCE.

33. Schnabel, *Berossus*, 33–66; Pearson, *Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, 230–31.

34. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:496.

35. Ibid., 1:677, noted that the author of *The Alexander Romance* referred to Alexandria as "here" and "this country."

Summarizing these results in chart form, controls on the Pentateuch's date of composition are as follows:

| | *Definite* | *Likely* |
|---|---|---|
| Table of Nations | 278–255 BCE | 273–269 BCE |
| Curse of Canaan | | 273–272 BCE |
| Berossus | after 278 BCE | |
| Manetho | after 285–280 BCE | |
| Nectanebos | Ptolemaic | after 278 BCE |
| Exodus geography | Ptolemaic | 273–270 BCE |
| Septuagint | before 246 BCE | before 273–269 BCE |

Both the Table of Nations and the dependence of Gen 1–11 on Berossus give a hard *terminus a quo* of 278 BCE, while several lines of evidence give a probable upper limit of 273/272 BCE. A *terminus ad quem* of 269 BCE is provided by the Septuagint translation in 273–269 BCE, while a date during the First Syrian War, ending in 273/272 BCE, has much to recommend it. This book will provisionally adopt the years 273–272 BCE as the probable date of the Pentateuch's composition, a date which nicely accommodates all available data.

## 2. *Provenance and Authorship*

The Pentateuch has been provisionally dated to 273–272 BCE. It is now appropriate to inquire into the specific circumstances surrounding its composition beginning with its place of authorship, or provenance.

The Table of Nations (P) contained data concerning both the Seleucid and Ptolemaic realms. Its listing of the constituent territories of the Seleucid Empire—represented by Aram (Syria), Assur (Assyria), Elam (Elymais), Arphaxad (Babylonia?) and Lud (Lydia)—was decidedly limited, ignoring the deep interior Seleucid holdings in the east such as Bactria, Persia and India. This argues against a Seleucid source of information on the Table of Nations. The detailed listings of the territories under Ptolemaic control, including Ethiopia and Arab territories, was exaggerated and appears to have reflected Ptolemaic propaganda claims at the close of the First Syrian War. The geographical information thus appears to have reflected a Ptolemaic perspective, as one would expect, Judea having been under Ptolemaic control since 301 BCE. Knowledge of the petty states of the northern Asia Minor coast is consistent with a Ptolemaic source, as the Ptolemies probably had contact with the Northern League, from whom they plausibly acquired the services of Gallic mercenaries;[36] and the Ptolemies are known to have conducted an abortive naval expedition against Mithridates of Pontus.[37] If Tarshish represents Tarsus, its omission from the Seleucid realm and assignment to Japheth may reflect Ptolemaic exaggeration of

36. Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.7.2.

37. Stephanus of Byzantium *s.v.* Ankyra. If there is any basis to the story that Ptolemy I Soter stole the statue of Pluto (Serapis) from Sinope (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 28.362A; cf. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 44), this also shows Ptolemaic naval contacts with the north coast of Asia Minor.

its influence in Cilicia. The knowledge of Ptolemaic claims along the Arabian coast of the Red Sea—likely deriving from the voyage of Ariston in ca. 278–276 BCE[38]—is perhaps most persuasive in its indication of a specifically Ptolemaic/Egyptian provenance.

The dependency of Gen 1–11 on Berossus also has implications in terms of provenance, though the discussion involves certain complexities. A major defect of previous theories on the Mesopotamian influence of Gen 1–11 has been the lack of a specific proposal explaining how cuneiform sources came to the attention of the Jews. The demonstration that Berossus was the direct source of these Mesopotamian influences greatly advances the discussion, but it remains to explain precisely how the Jews acquired a knowledge of Berossus as early as 273–272 BCE, practically immediately after Berossus authored the *Babyloniaca*.

The starting point here must be the writing and dissemination of the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus. Berossus wrote the *Babyloniaca* in the third year of Antiochus I.[39] That Berossus dedicated the book to Antiochus indicates that he was under Seleucid patronage when he wrote it.[40] His extensive access to cuneiform sources indicates that the *Babyloniaca* was written at Babylon. But very early in the reign of Antiochus I, perhaps out of dissatisfaction at the transfer of the Seleucid capital from Babylon to Seleucia,[41] Berossus reportedly emigrated from Babylon to the Aegean island of Cos[42]—within the Ptolemaic realm—where Berossus was said to have founded a school and become very influential in disseminating Chaldean ideas about astrology.[43] There was extensive interaction

38. On this date see Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 3.42.1; Tarn, "Ptolemy II and Arabia," 14.

39. See n. 2 above.

40. Kuhrt, "Berossus' Babyloniaca," 55–56; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 13.

41. Burstein, *The Babyloniaca of Berossus*, 5; cf. Strabo, *Geography* 16.1.15; Pliny, *Natural History* 6.122. Burstein inferred from Berossus's residence at Cos that he was no longer under Seleucid patronage.

42. Berossus *FGrH* 680 T5a–b (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.2.1; 6.2). Komoróczy ("Berosos and the Mesopotamian Literature," 126 n. 10) favored an earlier date, before Cos came under Ptolemaic control.

43. Berossus *FGrH* 680 T5a–b (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.2.1; 6.2). Kuhrt ("Berossus' Babyloniaca," 36–44) questioned the reliability of this first-century BCE tradition regarding a school on astrology established by Berossus at Cos. Kuhrt pointed out that the authenticity of the astrological fragments of Berossus have been questioned by Lambert and others (cf. Lambert, "Berossus and Babylonian Eschatology," 171–73, and literature cited there). While it is true that the theory of periodic cataclysms by flood and fire which Seneca claimed could be found in Berossus's writings (Berossus *FGrH* 680 T9 [Seneca, *Questions About Science* 3.29.1]) have no parallels in cuneiform traditions, it is possible that this was actually a Persian tradition: a historical survey of the Persian period was included in Berossus's *Babyloniaca* Book 3, which mentioned Persian worship of water and fire (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F11), and Zoroastrian apocalyptic texts feature recurring cataclysmic battles that punctuated history every 3000 years (see, e.g., M. Boyce, *Textual Sources for the Study of Zoroastrianism* [Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984] 20–21; cf. the mention of Zoroaster in Berossus *FGrH* 680 T8d). It is true, however, that the fragments of Berossus do not preserve traces of Babylonian mathematical astronomy, which casts legitimate doubt on whether Berossus actually founded the school on astrology at Cos known to Vitruvius. This school may have instead been founded by Antipater and Athenodorus, whom Vitruvius mentioned as successors of Berossus (Vitruvius, *On Architecture* 9.6.2) and who likely claimed Berossus as an authority on Chaldean

and exchange of ideas between Cos and Alexandria in Egypt under Ptolemy I and II.[44] Ptolemy II Philadelphus was born at Cos in 309/308 BCE.[45] Ptolemy I Soter brought Philetas of Cos, an eminent grammarian and poet, from Cos to Alexandria to educate his sons.[46] Zenodotus, the first Librarian and high priest of the Museum at Alexandria, was also a pupil of Philetas of Cos.[47] Given this constant intellectual interaction, it was inevitable that the *Babyloniaca* of Berossus should have been early acquired for the burgeoning library of Alexandria.[48] This library, conceived under Ptolemy I and established early under Ptolemy II,[49] was patterned after the collections of the Lyceum and Academy at Athens.[50] The Alexandrian library flourished under Ptolemy II Philadelphus, who was famous for his efforts to collect manuscripts from around the Mediterranean world and for his patronage of literary scholarship at Alexandria.[51] His object was to collect together in one location the whole corpus of Greek literature and to attract to Alexandria scholars from around the world to study in the Museum under his royal patronage.[52] The Alexandrian library soon grew to be the most extensive library in the world, boasting as many as 200,000–400,000 scrolls.[53] The *Babyloniaca* was doubtless an early addition to this library. Judea, like Cos, lay within the Ptolemaic realm in this period.[54] It is extremely unlikely that the Jews became acquainted with the *Babyloniaca* at Cos. A great number of Jews lived in Egypt, however, many of them reportedly in Alexandria.[55] Some Jews had Greek education.[56] The Septuagint scholars are prominent among Jews educated in the classics present at Alexandria in this period.[57] It is reasonable to

sciences (perhaps due to the prestige of his name, as Kuhrt suggests). If this was the case, this still suggests that the writings of Berossus were known at Cos at an early date.

44. Cf. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:118–19; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:307, 309.

45. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:119; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:309.

46. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:118; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:309.

47. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:118.

48. Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:505) connected Berossus's residence at Cos with the early acquisition of his book by the Alexandrians.

49. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:105; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:321–22; Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 124.

50. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:106; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:320; Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 124.

51. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:325.

52. *The Letter of Aristeas* 9. On the Museum's library generally, see Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:303–35.

53. *The Letter of Aristeas* 10 claimed the Library held 200,000 volumes at the time of Demetrius of Phaleron and Ptolemy II Philadelphus. By the time of Callimachus (ca. 275–240 BCE), it held 400,000 scrolls; cf. Tzetzes, *Prolegomena to Aristophanes* Pb§20, Mb§29; Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:110–11.

54. Cos was liberated by Ptolemy I Soter in 310 BCE. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:119.

55. *The Letter of Aristeas* 12–13; Philo, *Flaccus* 50; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.117 (citing Strabo) on the Jewish quarter in Alexandria; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:54–55. Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:84) reasonably suggested that the Jewish *politeuma* and Jewish quarter of Alexandria were established under Ptolemy VI Philometer.

56. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:65–78.

57. *The Letter of Aristeas* 121.

propose that Jews gained access to Berossus's *Babyloniaca* at Alexandria. It has been hypothesized by some that the library of Alexandria served as a copying center for production of Greek texts for export and sale.[58] But this supposition is not directly supported by ancient reports of the library.[59] It is in any case unlikely that many copies of Berossus were in circulation, given that almost no later Greek or Roman writers down to the time of Alexander Polyhistor quoted from it.[60] It is thus likeliest that Alexandrian Jews read Berossus's *Babyloniaca* in the Great Library itself. That certain educated Jews had access to the Library is evidenced by *The Letter of Aristeas*, which indicates that the Septuagint translation was produced as a literary project under the patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, under the auspices and oversight of the Museum. One may therefore suggest that Alexandrian Jewish scholars became acquainted with Berossus as early as 273–272 BCE through their patronized activities at the Museum and Library. This proposal fully answers the important question regarding the mechanism of transmission whereby Mesopotamian cuneiform traditions came to the attention of the Jews. The major cuneiform literature was all translated or summarized in Berossus's *Babyloniaca*, which could be found at the Alexandrian library, to which Jewish scholars had access in the 270s BCE. This simple chain of transmission, fully documented at every point, has obvious advantages over hypothesized mechanisms whereby various cuneiform documents migrated to Syria, their contents preserved in oral tradition down through the centuries, until written down by J and—yet further centuries later—P.

A similar Alexandrian provenance is obviously suggested by the influence of Manetho on the Exodus story. Manetho's *Aegyptiaca* was doubtless written under Ptolemaic royal patronage, and copies will have been found in the Library associated with the Museum. Knowledge of Manetho points to access to the Library by highly educated Jewish scholars at Alexandria.

The influence of the Nectanebos legend, in its various versions, on the story of Moses also suggests an Egyptian provenance. Some of the parallels between Nectanebos and Moses are brought out in *The Alexander Romance*, which is, unfortunately for our purposes, of rather late date in all its surviving recensions.[61] However, it is widely acknowledged that certain literary strata within *The Alexander Romance*, notably the story of Alexander's descent from Nectanebos, date to Alexander's own lifetime.[62] It is thought that this story linking Alexander with Nectanebos derived from the writings of Cleitarchus,[63] who resided in

58. This would in part explain the large number of scrolls in the Alexandrian collection, a significant proportion having been copies. Cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:329.

59. Gellius, *Attic Nights* 6.16 implied that the Library produced large numbers of books, but this testimony is rather late. Cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:327–28; 2:483 n. 161.

60. Adler, *Time Immemorial*, 28; Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 27–31. Authors who are thought to have consulted Berossus directly are Cleitarchus, Pseudo-Eupolemus, Posidonius, Alexander Polyhistor and Juba of Maurentania (Schnabel, *Berossus*, 33–171).

61. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:677; Stoneman, *The Greek Alexander Romance*, 8–9.

62. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:680.

63. Merkelbach, *Alexander-Romans*, 121–51; cf. Pearson, *Lost Histories of Alexander the Great*, 262.

Alexandria.[64] *The Alexander Romance*, too, was written at Alexandria.[65] The influence of the Nectanebos legend on the Pentateuch's portrayal of Moses thus also suggests an Alexandrian provenance.

The various Ptolemaic locales mentioned in the Exodus story and its guarded allusions to the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal project suggest an Egyptian provenance. If the Crossing of the Red Sea and the sweetening of the bitter waters of Marah display awareness of the famed water lock invented by hydrologic engineers of the Museum, this is at least consistent with an Alexandrian scholarly provenance.

All these predominantly literary indications of provenance show a connection between the authors of the Pentateuch and Egypt, more specifically Alexandria and its Museum and Library. Further, the literary sources utilized by the Pentateuch authors were all written in Greek. Yet scholarly opinion is unanimous that behind the Septuagint there existed a Hebrew prototype, as many of the Hebraisms were imperfectly translated into Greek.[66] The Pentateuch was thus a document influenced by numerous Greek sources, yet written in Hebrew, and then—with the Septuagint—translated back again into Greek.

We may draw the following reasonable inferences about the Jewish authors of Gen 1–11. These were Jews with Greek education, knowledgeable in Greek literature. In order to read Berossus, Manetho, Cleitarchus and Ariston in Greek, yet produce a version of Gen 1–11 in Hebrew, they must have been bilingual, capable of translating between the two languages. They most likely had access to Greek historical, literary and geographical scrolls housed at the Museum library in Alexandria. If so, this access indicates they were likely Jewish scholars whose work was officially recognized by the Museum hierarchy. Finally, the composition of the Pentateuch (in 273–272 BCE) took place at practically the same time as the Septuagint translation (in 273–269 BCE). The text of the Pentateuch, when complete, was immediately available to the translators of the Septuagint and was immediately accepted by them as authoritative and incorporated into the Septuagint translation, suggesting a direct connection between the composition of the Pentateuch and its immediate translation into Greek. The cumulative weight of these observations is that the same cadre of Jewish scholars at Alexandria whom *The Letter of Aristeas* and other late sources describe as engaged in producing the Greek Septuagint also took part in the composition of the Pentateuch.

### 3. *The Septuagint Tradition*

From the foregoing discussion, it appears that the activities of the Septuagint scholars of 273–272 BCE included composing the Pentateuch in Hebrew as well as translating it into Greek. It follows that ancient accounts regarding the circumstances surrounding the Septuagint translation may have historical bearing

64. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:495–96.
65. Ibid., 1:677.
66. The term σάββατα was one obvious Hebraism; cf. Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, 19.

on the composition of the Pentateuch itself. The primary account of the Septuagint translation is the so-called *The Letter of Aristeas* (or Pseudo-Aristeas), authored by Aristobulus in ca. 150 BCE (see Chapter 4, §3). Almost all later traditions about the Septuagint translation trace back to *The Letter of Aristeas*.[67] In what follows, the tradition recorded in *The Letter of Aristeas* will be analyzed for possible historical content relevant to the authoring of the Pentateuch.

*The Letter of Aristeas* described the seventy-two Jewish scholars as "elders"; later sources number them at seventy, the latter tradition also reflected in the name of the Greek Pentateuch, the Septuagint.[68] These seventy or seventy-two elders clearly alluded to the Judean *gerousia*, likewise composed of seventy members. With the presiding high priest and sagan, the *gerousia* numbered seventy-two members altogether, and traditions thus differ whether the *gerousia* (later termed the Sanhedrin) consisted of 70, 71 or 72 in all.[69] In the Ptolemaic period, the high priest served as governor of Judea, presiding over both a priestly council (over religious matters) and the lay council of seventy elders (the *gerousia*).[70] According to *The Letter of Aristeas*, the high priest and his scribes fulfilled the task of producing an authoritative copy of the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch, while the task of translating the Jewish law into Greek was assigned to the seventy-two "elders" (the Jewish *gerousia*). The creation of a definitive written Jewish legal code was thus executed with direct participation of the highest circles of Jewish government, namely, the high priest (and his associates) together with the lay council of elders.

According to *The Letter of Aristeas*, the project initiated by Ptolemy II Philadelphus took place in two distinct phases: the acquisition of a definitive Hebrew text of the Pentateuch from Jerusalem and the translation of that text into Greek at Alexandria. Pseudo-Aristeas confined the activity of the Septuagint scholars to translation, but a simple translation of the Pentateuch from Hebrew to Greek would hardly have required the efforts of seventy-two scholars. As is well known from Septuagint studies, the Septuagint Pentateuch was actually the translation

67. The major apparent exception is a seemingly novel tradition in Philo, *The Life of Moses* 2.42, which claimed that a yearly local Jewish festival on the island of Pharos celebrated the Septuagint translation. But a close reading indicates that this yearly Alexandrian festival was simply Pentecost, celebrating the giving of the law. Philo's account described the translation as a sort of inspired giving of the law; the Alexandrian celebration of Pentecost appears to have included positive references to the Septuagint.

68. The first reference to the Greek Pentateuch as the "Translation of the Seventy" (or Septuagint) was found in Justin Martyr (*Dialog with Trypho* 68, 81), but Josephus (*Ant.* 12.57, 86) referred twice to seventy translators, indicating that the tradition of the Seventy (rather than Seventy-Two) dated to his time or earlier.

69. Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 3:123, 250–51; 6:27 n. 163 (70 members); 6:344 n. 6 (71 members); 6:87 n. 477; 4:158 (72 members).

70. The Jews of the Persian period had been ruled by a civil governor, a lay council of elders, and the high priest and his colleagues (*Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.18–19). Under the Ptolemies, Judea was governed by a lay council of elders (the *gerousia*) and the priests. The main difference from the Persian period was the abolition of the office of governor. The high priest effectively filled the position of governor and also served as head of the *gerousia*. Albertz, *History of Israelite Religion*, 2:535. Albertz also noted occasional convocations of the popular assembly.

of a single individual (or a very small group), as shown by consistent style and vocabulary.[71] It follows that Pseudo-Aristeas's description of the Septuagint scholars as translators cannot be taken at face value. *The Letter of Aristeas* described the process of translation, with scholars working in pairs, comparing the finished work to insure accuracy.[72] This description was likely drawn from Aristobulus's observation of contemporary practices of copyists or translators at Alexandria in his own day. Although a team of seventy-two scholars was not historically required to translate a few books into Greek, such a massive collaborative effort among Jewish scholars may have been involved in writing the Pentateuch, the first authoritative account of Jewish origins and laws. Indeed, it seems likely that the Alexandrian Library listed the Jewish *gerousia* as the corporate authors of the Pentateuch. Catalog entries in the Great Library recorded author and provenance, as well as editors (if relevant).[73] If the name Septuagint derived from the name attached to the text in the Alexandria Library, there is a presumption that this name referred to the text's authors (or editors, which in this context amounted to practically the same thing). The title Septuagint is best understood to have originally referred to the Pentateuch's author/editors, not translators. Although the activity of the Septuagint scholars at the Alexandrian Museum was primarily compositional, and the translation into Greek an auxiliary matter of lesser importance, *The Letter of Aristeas* described the Septuagint scholars as translators only. Aristobulus, the actual author of *The Letter of Aristeas*, believed that the Law of Moses had already been written down long before the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and had indeed existed in an inferior Greek translation consulted by Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus, Linus, Plato and Hecataeus of Abdera.[74] For Aristobulus, both the Hebrew text of the Pentateuch and an earlier translation into Greek predated the time of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and the Septuagint was merely a new translation (albeit an inspired one).[75] Later authors followed Aristobulus (as well as his novelistic *The Letter of Aristeas*) in characterizing the Septuagint scholars as translators. But *The Letter of Aristeas* is best critically interpreted as preserving traditions relating primarily to the actual composition of the Pentateuch by the ruling priests and elders of Jerusalem at the direction of Ptolemy II Philadelphus, and only secondarily to its translation into Greek.

*The Letter of Aristeas* claimed that Demetrius of Phaleron called the Jewish law to the attention of Ptolemy II Philadelphus as a text that would be desirable to add to the Great Library at Alexandria, based on its description by Hecataeus of Abdera. While Demetrius of Phaleron played no role in events of 273–272 BCE, having been exiled and possibly executed by Ptolemy II Philadelphus as early as 280 BCE, it is true that the Great Library of Alexandria aggressively acquired new texts under Ptolemy II Philadelphus and that Hecataeus of Abdera

71. Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 56.
72. *The Letter of Aristeas* 301–3.
73. Blum, *Kallimachos*, 231.
74. Aristobulus, *OTP* FF 4–5 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.13–16; 13.3–4).
75. See Chapter 4, §2.

mentioned the Jewish lawgiver Moses. Ptolemy II Philadelphus was undoubtedly familiar with Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca*,[76] and it is possible that Hecataeus's largely fictional account of the Jewish legal constitution (see Chapter 3, §§4–5) inspired Ptolemy II Philadelphus to initiate a literary project to commit the Jewish legislation to writing. In doing so, Ptolemy II Philadelphus may have emulated the last of the great lawgivers of Egypt, Darius I, who gained lasting fame by ordering Egyptian laws to be researched and recorded in a definitive collection in eight volumes still available in Ptolemaic times.[77] Darius I had commanded that Egyptian legal texts be collected and written down by a team drawn from the three leading groups among the Egyptians, namely, the priests, warriors and scribes. This eight-volume collection was produced in both a native demotic edition and in translation into the language of the rulers, Aramaic.[78] Ptolemy II Philadelphus similarly worked with the best-educated and most influential circles in Judea, namely, the high priest and his associates together with the council of seventy elders. The resulting text was produced in both native Hebrew and Greek translation, on analogy with the Darius edition of Egyptian law. It is hard to resist the conclusion that Ptolemy II Philadelphus conceived and executed this literary project in conscious imitation of the great Persian ruler Darius I's initiative patronizing the creation of a definitive edition of Egyptian laws as described by Hecataeus of Abdera and early Ptolemaic papyri.[79]

76. Hecataeus of Abdera wrote his *Aegyptiaca* under the patronage of Ptolemy I Soter. The Ptolemies, beginning with Ptolemy I Soter, presented themselves as traditional Egyptian kings ruling in accordance with native customs. (See especially the *Satrap Stele* of Ptolemy I, translated at Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 28–32.) The earliest Ptolemies likely familiarized themselves with Egyptian laws and customs through Hecataeus of Abdera's useful Greek summary. Ptolemy II Philadelphus was born after Hecataeus wrote the *Aegyptiaca* and was doubtless familiar with that text as part of his education under Philetas of Cos.

77. The reverse of the Demotic Chronicle (dating to ca. 250 BCE) appears to have been taken from the introduction of the Egyptian law codes compiled by Darius. For the text and German translation, see W. Spiegelberg, *Die Sogenannte Demotische Chronik des Pap. 215 der Bibliothèque Nationale zu Paris; nebts den auf der Rückseite des Papyrus stehenden Texten* (Demotic Studies 7; Strasburg: Druck von M. Dumont Schauberg, 1914), 30–31. According to this text, Darius I ordered a team of scribes, warriors and priests to create a definitive text of Egyptian law down to the time of Amasis, the last Saite king. This massive project occupied 16 years from 518 to 503 BCE, resulting in a comprehensive collection of Egyptian law in Aramaic and demotic versions. This law collection, stored in the House of Life, persisted into Ptolemaic times on evidence of the Demotic Chronicle. For a description of the Ramesseum's House of Life (or temple library) by Hecataeus, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.49.2. It is likely that the authoritative eight-volume collection of Egyptian laws that Hecataeus consulted (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.75.5) were those compiled under Darius I; these laws (as summarized by the priests of the House of Life) appear to have formed the basis for Hecataeus's description of the Egyptian legal system in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.59–95. Hecataeus knew of Darius as the last of the great lawgivers of Egypt (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95.4–5).

78. Spiegelberg, *Die Demotische Chronik*, 30–31.

79. The Septuagint scholars may have also consulted Hecataeus of Abdera on the Egyptian legal system for an example of what constituted a formal body of law. Certainly Egyptian and Mosaic laws covered many of the same topics, including festivals, sacrifices, dietary laws, contract

The story of the Septuagint "translation" in *The Letter of Aristeas* runs as follows. On learning that the Jewish laws referred to by Hecataeus of Abdera were unavailable in an accurate Greek version, Ptolemy II Philadelphus determined to see to it a definitive edition was created under the patronage and oversight of the Great Library. In order to accomplish this ambitious literary undertaking, Ptolemy II Philadelphus sent envoys to the high priest of Jerusalem's temple to request a copy of the Jewish law in Hebrew as well as scholars to translate it into Greek. Responding to this request, the high priest directed scribes at Jerusalem to produce a copy of the Pentateuch in gold letters,[80] and appointed seventy-two elders as translators, six from each tribe.[81] The seventy-two elders conveyed the precious text containing the Law of Moses to Alexandria, where they set about the work of translation in living quarters provided by Ptolemy II Philadelphus, miraculously completing the task on the seventy-second day.

Most of this account was novelistic, but certain details appear to have some basis in historical fact. It may be accepted that Ptolemy II Philadelphus requested copies of the Pentateuch in both Hebrew and Greek, much as Darius I had requested copies of the Egyptian law in both demotic and Aramaic. The creation of official books on Jewish law for the Alexandria Library likely involved scholarly activity at both Jerusalem and Alexandria. One may thus question both whether the activities of the Seventy were restricted to translation and whether the creation of a text of the Hebrew Pentateuch took place at Jerusalem. Rather, the Septuagint scholars at Alexandria appear to have been occupied with both the composition of the Pentateuch in Hebrew and its translation into Greek with ~~drafts of the text perhaps sent to Jerusalem for review, additions and final~~ approval by the high priest and his colleagues. A significant proportion of the actual task of writing must have taken place at Alexandria, drawing on the writings of the Great Library; access to the Alexandria Library will have provided a major incentive for conducting the work of composition there rather than in Jerusalem.

Given that both priestly P and lay JE Pentateuchal sources utilized texts housed in the Library of Alexandria, one may infer that both the council of priests and council of elders at Jerusalem sent qualified scholars from among their number to Alexandria. Priests as well as elders were sent to Alexandria

law, criminal law and others. The requirement for Jewish kings to make a copy of the Mosaic law under the supervision of Jewish priests (Deut 17:14–20) appears to be modeled on Hellenistic traditions regarding Darius I, who made a copy of the laws of Egypt in close consultation with Egyptian priests according to Hecataeus of Abdera (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95.4–5). The idea of a formal law code that was binding on the entire population, including even the king, also shows Hellenistic influence. This Hellenistic ideal was seen in Hecataeus of Abdera's *Aegyptiaca* (cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.70–71). It is fair to say that the Jewish concepts of the Torah as a binding law code and Torah law as regulating even the life of the king were closer to Greek legal ideals than Egyptian or Persian.

80. *The Letter of Aristeas* 176.

81. *The Letter of Aristeas* 39, 45–51.

according to *The Letter of Aristeas* 184, 310. The Septuagint scholars were assigned quarters on the island of Pharos at which they lived and conducted their work, their meals provided through the largesse of Ptolemy II Philadelphus.[82] The description of the official patronage of the Septuagint scholars in *The Letter of Aristeas* indicates that the delegation sent from Jerusalem had the status of visiting foreign scholars subsidized by the Museum. The Museum was a university centered at a shrine of the Muses (the Mouseion) in the palace in the royal quarter of Brucheion at Alexandria.[83] The Museum often had visiting scholars from other countries.[84] The purpose of the Museum was to subsidize the meals and other living expenses of scholars at work on literary projects in Alexandria.[85] The priest of the Museum had oversight of the finances out of which visiting scholars were paid.[86] A special banquet hall for the common meals was located near the shrine and porticos of the Museum. The palace location suggests that the king sometimes sat in on the meals, and indeed such "philosophers banquets" were described in *The Letter of Aristeas*.[87] An important feature of the Museum was the attached Great Library, also in the palace.[88] (At a later time, a second library was established at the Serapeum.[89]) Timon of Philetus famously described the scholars of the Museum as follows: "In the populous land of Egypt many are they who get fed, cloistered bookworms, endlessly arguing in the bird-coop of the Muses."[90] This epigram emphasized the free meals provided for the scholars of the Museum, together with their access to the books of the Library. According to *The Letter of Aristeas*, the seventy-two visiting Jewish scholars were feted by the king at his palace in Alexandria in a series of philosophers' banquets lasting a week. These royal banquets, if historical, may reflect the status of the Septuagint scholars as members of the ruling council of Judea as well as guests of the Museum. As visiting scholars patronized by Ptolemy II Philadelphus through the Museum, the elders and priests charged with writing and translating the Jewish law had full access to the Library of Alexandria. The present book has argued that the authors of the Pentateuch were Jewish scholars knowledgeable in Greek literature such as the writings of Berossus, Manetho and Cleitarchus found at the Alexandrian library. The Septuagint scholars selected by the Jewish high priest were similarly described by Pseudo-Aristeas as Jewish scholars knowledgeable in the Greek classics: "men of the highest merit and excellent education due to the distinction of their parentage; they had

82. *The Letter of Aristeas* 301–4.

83. Blum, *Kallimachos*, 97; Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:107; Strabo, *Geography* 17.1.8.

84. Strabo, *Geography* 14.5.13 mentioned the many foreign scholars at Alexandria.

85. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:315–16; Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:106.

86. In *The Letter of Aristeas*, Demetrius had financial and oversight duties for the visiting Jewish scholars that would normally have been assigned the high priest of the Museum.

87. *The Letter of Aristeas* 182–294; cf. the philosophers' symposia in Plato.

88. Sandys, *Classical Scholarship*, 1:107; Athenaeus, *Philosophers' Banquet* 5.203c; Suidas *s.v.* Apollonius of Rhodes (mentioning the "Library of the Museion").

89. Fraser (*Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:323) noted that archaeological soundings show the Serapeum was established under Ptolemy III Euergetes.

90. Quoted at ibid., 1: 317.

not only mastered the Jewish literature, but had also made a serious study of that of the Greeks as well."[91] The Jewish scholars chosen for this project thus had a foot in each of two worlds: they were selected by the temple leadership for their intimate knowledge of Jewish writings and traditions, yet had Greek educations and performed their tasks at the highest center of Greek learning in the world at that time, the Museum and Library of Alexandria.[92] The high level of education among the Seventy, including their knowledge of Greek literature, is not to be doubted, as such a background would have been highly advantageous for state service within the Ptolemaic realm.[93]

*The Letter of Aristeas*, interpreted to preserve memories of the composition of the Pentateuch (in Hebrew and in Greek translation), directly confirms the inferences on date and provenance of the Pentateuch. The authorship of the Pentateuch by the Septuagint scholars with access to Alexandria's Library appears fully corroborated. The Pentateuch represents, not the gradual accretion of material over time, as in the Documentary Hypothesis, but a single, unified composition written and codified in a year or two at the most. Seen in historical context, the purpose of this new Jewish literary work is easily discerned. The financing of a translation of Hebrew legislation[94] into Greek by Ptolemy II Philadelphus was seen by Jewish scholars as a golden opportunity to present a comprehensive account of Jewish origins to the Greek world. This ambitious account was intended to demonstrate that the Jews, like the Egyptians and the Babylonians, had traditions that ran back to the beginning of time. The authors of Gen 1–11 not only modeled the structure of their account on Berossus, but as we have seen also incorporated many details and stories. The newly codified account of the patriarchs and of the primordial times that preceded them in a sense competed with the *Babyloniaca* as well as borrowing from it. The story of the Exodus, with the lawgiver Moses cast as a heroic national deliverer modeled on Nectanebos, countered the slanderous version of Jewish origins found in Manetho. The Septuagint may be seen as a Jewish salvo in the "war of books" that began with the publication of Hecataeus's highly nationalistic account of the Egyptians around 320–315 BCE.[95] Besides correcting misinformation about the Jews in Manetho, the new version of the Pentateuch presented the Jews as possessing a national literature of their own on a par with the Egyptians and Babylonians. We may conclude that the Septuagint was written, not merely for

91. *The Letter of Aristeas* 121. Translation by R. Schutt, "Letter of Aristeas," in *OTP* 2:12–34 (21).

92. This same combination of Jewish and Greek learning was also seen in Aristobulus, author of *The Letter of Aristeas* in ca. 150 BCE (see Chapter 4, §§2–3 above). It is probable that Aristobulus's description of the educational background of the Septuagint scholars was semi-autobiographical; yet Aristobulus's Hellenistic-Jewish education was probably typical of Jewish scholars associated with the Alexandria Museum.

93. One need not posit that all of Judea's ruling council had a Greek education, but this would be a decided advantage for membership in a ruling local body within a Hellenistic kingdom.

94. *The Letter of Aristeas* 10, 30–31, 310 referred to the Jewish writings as legislation or law books. See also Aristobulus, *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 13.12.1).

95. Murray originated the phrase "war of books" in "Pharaonic Kingship," 166.

local use by Alexandrian Jews,[96] but with a wider Greek-speaking audience in mind. Literary stimulus from the royal patronage of Ptolemy II Philadelphus was thus decisive in creating, not only the Septuagint, but also the Hebrew Pentateuch that lay behind it.

96. Scholars have traditionally expressed skepticism towards the Ptolemaic royal commission of the Septuagint. The prevailing hypothesis that the translation into Greek was a local initiative of Alexandrian Jews should be rejected. See Hadas, *Aristeas to Philocrates*, 52–53; Meecham, *The Oldest Version of the Bible*, 159; Swete, *Old Testament in Greek*, 19–20; Jellicoe, *The Septuagint and Modern Study*, 55.

# Appendix A

## BEROSSUS AND MEGASTHENES

Megasthenes' *Indika* is usually dated to ca. 300 BCE.[1] Megathenes served as the Seleucid ambassador to the Indian ruler Sandracottus (Chandragupta Maurya) between about 302 BCE (when Seleucus concluded his Indian campaign) and 288 BCE (when Chandragupta died).[2] But the biographical data only serve to limit when Megasthenes lived in India, not when he wrote the *Indika*, which could have been composed any time during or after his diplomatic stay in the east.

A more objective basis for dating Megasthenes is his (previously unnoticed) use of Berossus, which dates Megasthenes to no earlier than 278 BCE. Josephus quoted Berossus on the Hanging Gardens of Babylon, one of the seven wonders of the ancient world, which Nebuchadnezzar constructed for his wife from Media;[3] Josephus elsewhere repeated this description, phrase for phrase, but this time attributed it to Megasthenes.[4] Clearly Megasthenes quoted from Berossus. Berossus is doubtless also quoted in the fourth book of the *Indika*, where Megasthenes asserted that "Nebocodrosor, who enjoyed greater repute among the Chaldeans than Hercules, led an army even as far as the Pillars"[5] and established

1. Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 59 n. 43; Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:45; Drews, *Greek Accounts of the East*, 180 n. 121.

2. On the historical background and chronology of Seleucid military and diplomatic activities in India, see Bevan, *The House of Seleucus*, 1:57, 59; Sherwin-White and Kuhrt, *From Samarkhand to Sardis*, 12, 91–101; Justin, *Epitome* 15.4.10–12; Strabo, *Geography* 15.2.9; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.113.4.

3. Josephus, *Apion* 1.141.

4. Josephus, *Ant.* 10.2.1.

5. Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.6; cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 10.227; *Apion* 1.144; Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F6 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.41.456D). Megasthenes' claim that Nebuchadnezzar led an army to the Pillars of Hercules (i.e. the straits of Gibraltar) is obviously incorrect and based on a misreading of Berossus. In surviving fragments of Berossus, the only reference to Hercules equated him with Sandon, the chief god of Tarsus in Cilicia (*FGrH* 680 F12 [Agathias, *Histories* 2.24]; Nonnus, *Dionysiaca* 34.183). (See J. Fraser, *The Golden Bough* [12 vols.; New York: Macmillan, 1935], 5:125–27, on the early influence of traditions regarding Sandon on the Hercules myth—especially on Hercules' death by self-immolation. On Hercules' death, see Apollodorus, *Library* 2.7.7; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 4.38.3–8; Hyginus, *Fabulae* 36. On the commemoration of Hercules-Sandon's death by fire at Tarsus, see Dio Chrysostom, *Discourses* 33.47.) The Pillars of Hercules mentioned by Berossus will likely have been bronze pillars with an accompanying commemorative inscription at the temple of Hercules-Sandon at Tarsus. Several sources referred to monuments and

a colony of captives on the right (southern) coast of the Black Sea[6] (perhaps at Colchis[7]). It is known that in his *Babyloniaca* of 278 BCE, Berossus, Megasthenes' contemporary, promoted Nebuchadnezzar's fame.[8] Indeed, all evidence indicates that the figure of Nebuchadnezzar was unknown to the larger Greek world prior to Berossus's *Babyloniaca*, which contained the first translations of native Babylonian historical materials.[9] The idea that Megasthenes anticipated Berossus in popularizing Nebuchadnezzar is untenable. Rather, Megasthenes will have written his *Indika* no earlier than 278 BCE, incorporating claims made about Nebuchadnezzar in Berossus's *Babyloniaca*.[10]

The correct chronological sequence appears to have been as follows: the return of Megasthenes from India after 288 BCE; Berossus's *Babyloniaca* authored in 278 BCE; and Megasthenes' *Indika* authored some time after 278. It is likely that Megasthenes was commissioned to write the *Indika* by Antiochus I for the same reasons that Berossus was commissioned to write the *Babyloniaca*, and not long afterwards.

inscriptions of Assyrian rulers—notably Sennacherib—at Tarsus and neighboring Cilician sites. See, for instance, *LAR*, II, §§286–87, 289; Berossus *FGrH* 680 F7; Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F5. Abydenos, drawing on Berossus, refers to Sennacherib setting up pillars and inscriptions in a temple at Tarsus; conceivably these were interpreted as Pillars of Hercules by later Greeks. Megasthenes' confused claim that Nebuchadnezzar's conquests included the vicinity of the Pillars of Hercules was likely based on a Berossan account of Nebuchadnezzar's conquest of Tarsus and Que (Hume). Surviving fragments of Berossus do not mention this campaign, but other inscriptions do (see Albright, "Cilicia and Babylonia," 22, 24–25).

6. Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F6 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.41.456D). The claim that Nebuchadnezzar used prisoners from his campaign at the Pillars (at Tarsus—see n. 5 above) to found a colony on the Black Sea should be compared to Nebuchadnezzar's relocations of other conquered populations described at Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.132, 137).

7. A Berossan claim that Nebuchadnezzar colonized the southern coast of the Black Sea may have been intended to counter the tradition that Sesostris planted a colony at Colchis in the same region (Herodotus, *Histories* 2.104; cf. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.272–78). This tradition may trace back to Hecataeus of Miletus (ca. 500 BCE), an important source for both Herodotus (Lloyd, *Herodotus Book II*, 1:127–39) and Apollonius (cf. L. Pearson, "Apollonius of Rhodes and the Old Geographers," in *Selected Papers of Lionel Pearson* [ed. D. Lateiner and S. Stephens; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983], 11–27); Hecataeus also linked Egypt and Colchis in his claim that the Argonauts escaped with the Golden Fleece by sailing up the Phasis and down the Nile into the Mediterranean (*FGrH* 1 F18a [Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.277]).

8. Berossus *FGrH* 680 F8a (Josephus, *Apion* 1.142); cf. Berossus *FGrH* 680 T10 (Tatian, *Speech to the Greeks* 36).

9. As Drews pointed out (*Greek Accounts of the East*, 80, 180 n. 121, 181 n. 123), the Greeks only knew of Babylonia as an Assyrian colony prior to the publication of the *Babyloniaca*. Neither Herodotus nor Ktesias knew of the Neo-Babylonian Empire; for Ktesias, Babylon was an Assyrian colony established by Semiramis (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 2.7.2).

10. Kuhrt, "Berossus' Babyloniaca," 56, got it exactly wrong by asserting that Berossus drew on Megathenes regarding Nebuchadnezzar's travels; similarly Drews, *Greek Accounts of the East*, 180 n. 121, which asserted that Megasthenes was the first Greek source to mention Nebuchadnezzar. These conclusions were based on Megasthenes' mistaken conventional early dating.

# Appendix B

## THEOPHANES OF MYTILENE

A frequent theme among Hellenistic historians writing on the Jews was that the Jews "never had a king" until late Hasmonean times, but were instead traditionally ruled by priests—an assertion that overlooked the entire history of the kings of Judea before Nebuchadnezzar's conquest.[1] This theme appeared in a number of different, seemingly unrelated historical and quasi-historical contexts.[2] Assertions of traditional Jewish priestly rule appear in:

- quasi-historical accounts of the origin of the Jews (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.5; Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40);
- historical accounts of the "tyrannical" rule of Alexander Jannaeus and his sons Aristobulus II and Hyrkanus II (Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40);
- the report of the first of three Jewish delegations that appeared before Pompey at Damascus in 63 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2);
- historical accounts of the disposition of Judea by Gabinius (Josephus, *War* 1.170; *Ant.* 14.91).

What has never before been noted—and what the current discussion will argue—is that in all four cases, the assertion that Jews were ruled by priests rather than kings can be traced back to the biography of Pompey by Theophanes of Mytilene. This new source-critical result is particularly important since the story of the origins of the Jews at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3 and Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–39, in which Moses was claimed to have instituted Jewish rule by priests, is universally—but mistakenly—thought to trace back to Hecataeus of Abdera in the late 300s BCE.

### 1. *Theophanes of Mytilene on the Jews*

It is widely recognized that the major literary source on Pompey's activities in the east was Theophanes of Mytilene, Pompey's historian and propagandist, who accompanied him during the war against Mithridates of Pontus that

1. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 26, 28.
2. Mendels, "Hecataeus of Abdera and a Jewish 'patrios politeia,'" 104–5.

occupied Pompey from 66 to 63 BCE.[3] Theophanes, who probably met Pompey in the course of the Roman war against the pirates in spring, 67 BCE,[4] was awarded Roman citizenship for his history of the eastern campaigns, published in 62 BCE.[5] Theophanes thereafter became Pompey's lifelong friend and advisor.[6] All accounts of Pompey's eastern campaigns are thought ultimately to derive from Theophanes' history.[7] Theophanes later updated his history to include events of the early 50s BCE, largely associated with Pompey's controversial attempt to restore Ptolemy XI Auletes to the throne of Egypt.[8] In 57 BCE, Ptolemy XI Auletes came to Rome to secure Pompey's aid (using Theophanes as an intermediary), but in 56 BCE the Senate ruled against Roman intervention in Egypt.[9] Nevertheless, the Judean governor Gabinius, a major supporter of Pompey, invaded Egypt at Pompey's behest in 55 BCE;[10] Gabinius was later tried for this and other actions in the east unauthorized by the Senate.[11]

Theophanes' history extended at least down to Gabinius's Judean governorship of 57–54 BCE and included Gabinius's war against Aristobulus II and his sons. This is especially demonstrated by Josephus, *Ant.* 14.104, which stated that "the expeditions of Pompey and Gabinius against the Jews have been written about by Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo of Cappadocia, neither of whom differ in any respect from the other." Josephus also cites Nicolaus and Strabo together at *Ant.* 14.68, describing Jerusalem's siege in 63 BCE. Josephus's sources, Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo, obviously both utilized Theophanes' history for Pompey's Judean campaigns in 63 BCE; that their accounts agreed in all details on Gabinius was due to their paraphrasing Theophanes' account there also.

Josephus drew extensively on Theophanes' history for the period 65–54 BCE. Josephus's account of the activities of Pompey's general Scaurus in Judea in 65–63 BCE, providing important background to Pompey's Judean campaign, also manifestly traced back to Theophanes' account. Josephus appears to have relied almost wholly on Theophanes (by way of Nicolaus of Damascus and Strabo) for

3. Strabo, *Geography* 11.5.1; Cicero, *Pro Archias* 24; Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 35.
4. Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 35.
5. Cicero, *Pro Archias* 24; Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 36.
6. Strabo, *Geography* 13.2.3; Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 35–39.
7. F. Rizzo, *Le Fonti per la Storia della Conquista Pompeiana della Siria* (Palermo: Banco di Sicilia, Fondazione per l'incremento economico culturale e turistico della Sicilia Ignazio Mormino, 1963), 35–38. For the use of Theophanes on Pompey's activities in Judea in 64–63 BCE, see Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:186 (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2), 267 (Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40), 329 (Livy, Josephus).
8. Plutarch, *Pompey* 49.7 and Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 29.12–17 drew on Theophanes; cf. Anderson, *Friends of Pompey*, 76 n. 66.
9. Plutarch, *Pompey* 49.5–7; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 29.12–16; Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 21.
10. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.98–99; Dio Cassius, *Roman History* 29.14.3; 55.1–3; 58.3.
11. Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 14.

his accounts of the activities of Pompey, Scaurus and Gabinius in Judea,[12] occasionally adding details Nicolaus of Damascus learned from interviewing Herod the Great and his relatives.[13] Theophanes included reports on both Scaurus's and Gabinius's terms in Judea, since both these figures were close associates of Pompey and their governorships implemented Pompey's policies in the east. Thus for instance Scaurus completed Pompey's interrupted campaign against the Nabateans,[14] while Gabinius implemented the rebuilding of war-ravaged cities and the destruction of certain fortresses decreed by Pompey in 63 BCE.[15] Gabinius also invaded Egypt in accordance with Pompey's wishes, as already mentioned. Besides these events, Josephus also related Gabinius's suppression of the revolts under Aristobulus II and his son Alexander.[16] These events were largely written as replays of Pompey's Judean campaign in 63 BCE, involving many of the same personalities and locales, and sometimes expressed in strikingly similar language. Nicolaus and Strabo evidently ceased to agree after the governorship of Gabinius, that is, starting with Crassus, showing that Theophanes did not write about the Syrian governorship of Pompey's rival.

## 2. *Theophanes as Pompey's Propagandist*

The identification of Theophanes of Mytilene as Josephus's source—via Strabo and Nicolaus of Damascus—on Roman activities in Judea in 65–54 BCE is the starting point for the analysis of Theophanes' propagandistic *tendenz* with respect to the Jews. Cicero classified Theophanes among those writers who accompanied generals on their travels and eulogized their deeds.[17] One may assume that Theophanes' history served Pompey's propaganda purposes throughout. This hypothesis is abundantly confirmed by an analysis of Josephus's coverage of events from 65–54 BCE, most notably Pompey's decision to incorporate Judea into the Roman Empire.

Pompey was asked to mediate in the civil war between Aristobulus II and Hyrkanus II as early as 65 BCE,[18] but only arrived in Damascus in spring of 63

12. That Josephus went from Pompey and Scaurus directly to Gabinius, skipping over two other governors of the early 50s BCE—*War* 1.160 even claimed that Gabinius was appointed as Scaurus's successor!—was due to Theophanes' selective treatment of affairs in Judea.

13. Thus, for instance, Herod's family's personal recollections were used by Nicolaus of Damascus as a source for Antipater's actions as intermediary between Hyrkanus II and Aretas in 65 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.8–17); the account of the battle of Papyron, at which Phallion, Antipater's brother died (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.33); Antipater's obtaining 1000 Jews to support Hyrkanus II's claims before Pompey in 63 BCE (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.43); Antipater's assistance to Gabinius in Egypt and Judea (Josephus, *Ant.* 14.99, 101, 103). These materials likely came from the *Memoirs of Herod* (Josephus, *Ant.* 15.174).

14. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.80–81; cf. 14.46, 48.

15. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.87–89; cf. Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.40; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.75–76.

16. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.82–97, 100–2.

17. Anderson, *Pompey and His Friends*, 36.

18. Pompey had already gained a reputation for fair mediation in other disputes in the east in 66–65 BCE; cf. Plutarch, *Pompey* 29.3; 36.1–2.

BCE to hear arguments and render his decision. The outcome is well known: instead of awarding either brother the office of king, he reduced Jerusalem by siege, abolished the office of king and put Syria under a Roman governor. Subservient to this governor, local Jewish rule was assigned to the high priest Hyrkanus II in consultation with a Jewish *gerousia*, essentially a return to the situation before the civil war, when Salome Alexandra and Hyrkanus II had successively ruled Judea along with a *gerousia* dominated by the Pharisees. What is of special interest for our purposes is how Theophanes "sold" Pompey's decision to end Jewish autonomy. Both brothers were deemed unfit to rule, the one a weakling, the other a hothead. In Theophanes' account, one of the three Jewish delegations that appeared before Pompey in 63 BCE, representing "the nation" as a whole, actually requested the abolition of Jewish royal rule altogether, claiming that priests, not a king, traditionally ruled the Jews.[19] By demoting the ruler of the Jews from king to high priest (under a Roman governor), Pompey thus allegedly only complied with the request of the Jewish nation itself, thereby restoring the ancestral customs and social institutions of the Jews.

The same theme is seen in Theophanes' account of the suppression of the rebellion led by Alexander in 56 BCE. After Alexander's surrender, Gabinius divided Judea into five separate districts, each with its own ruling council (*sanhedrin* or *synod*) with that of Jerusalem headed by the high priest Hyrkanus II.[20] Josephus commented, following Theophanes, "And so the people were removed from monarchic rule and lived under an aristocracy"[21]—a somewhat anachronistic statement, since the monarchy had already been abolished in 63 BCE. By a ruling aristocracy, Josephus meant rule by priests, as demonstrated elsewhere in *Antiquities*.[22] Significantly, according to Josephus, *War* 1.170, the nation "welcomed" this change.[23] Jewish opposition to rule by kings in favor of priests was thus a recurring motif in Theophanes' propagandistic account, appearing in his discussion of events of both 63 and 56 BCE.

Traditional Jewish rule by priests and the illegitimacy of the Jewish monarchy also became themes of Theophanes' comments on the history of the Jews in earlier periods. Theophanes' historical source on the Jews was the delegation representing the "nation" at Damascus in 63 BCE. According to Theophanes, this delegation claimed that the Jews had been ruled by a high priest and a senate since at least the time of Jewish liberation from Demetrius I, with full Roman recognition of these institutions,[24] but Hyrkanus II and Aristobulus II had violently overthrown the Jewish ancestral rule by priests and established a

19. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2.

20. Josephus, *War* 1.170; *Ant.* 14.90–91.

21. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.91.

22. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.111; cf. R. Marcus, *Josephus* (LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1966), 7:495 n. g.

23. Josephus, *War* 1.169–70: "The civil administration he reconstituted under the form of an aristocracy. He divided the whole nation into five *synods*... The Jews welcomed their release from the rule of an individual and were from that time forward governed by an aristocracy."

24. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2.

monarchy in order to enslave the Jewish people.[25] Aristobulus II defended himself by saying that his royal title was the same as his father; one presumes that the Theophanes' first delegation, representing "the nation," likewise condemned the monarchy of Alexander Jannaeus as illegitimate. This same historical thesis was put forth at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.37, 40, also drawing on Theophanes: that the traditional priestly government of the Jews had been replaced by tyrants and brigands in the time of Alexander Jannaeus and his sons. This negative interpretation of the monarchy imposed on Judea by Jannaeus and his sons as an illegitimate tyranny was clearly intended to justify Pompey's abolition of Jewish rule by kings.

What is particularly interesting for our purposes is that the first delegation speaking at Damascus argued for the replacement of a monarchy with a priestly aristocracy by arguments of a specifically historical nature. Priestly rule was said to represent Jewish ancestral customs (πάτριον) or ancient laws (νόμιμά τίνα παρεδοσαν).[26] This phraseology suggests that the first delegation's speech included material on the *ktisis* or foundation of the Jewish nation, that is, assertions that priestly rule was a *nomima* or custom established by the earliest ancestors of the Jews. One encounters precisely this same assertion in the foundation story at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.1–8, taken from Theophanes (see Chapter 3, §§2–5), where it was claimed that the founder Moses legislated that the Jews were to be ruled in perpetuity by priests instead of kings. In the foundation story at Strabo, *Geography* 16.2.34–40, from Theophanes by way of Posidonius (see Chapter 3, §7), Moses' glorified priestly rule over the Jews was said to have degenerated into tyranny and banditry, forcing Roman conquest of Judea and annexation into the empire. In all of these accounts, the Davidic monarchy was entirely glossed over, in keeping with the basic tenet that the Jews were never ruled by kings.

The thesis that the Jews were from the beginning ruled by an aristocratic hierocracy rather than monarchy was a hallmark of Theophanes' account of the Jews, coloring his reports on the foundations of the Jewish nation, their more recent political troubles, their appeal to Pompey at Damascus, even their later reorganization by Gabinius. Careful source criticism allows us to demonstrate that the recurrence of this motif in various authors such as Strabo, Diodorus and Josephus traced back in all cases to Theophanes' propagandistic biography of Pompey.

25. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41.
26. Josephus, *Ant.* 14.41; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.2.

# Appendix C

## THE SAMARITAN PENTATEUCH

The Samaritan Pentateuch, a local redaction of the Jewish Pentateuch tailored to the cult of Yahweh at Mount Gerizim, is thought to date to the time of the so-called Samaritan schism, when the Samaritans broke off (or were excluded) from Jerusalem-centered Judaism.[1] The Samaritan schism has occasionally been enlisted as *terminus ad quem* data for the composition of the Jewish Pentateuch. A grave difficulty is the lack of solid historical data for the date of the Samaritan schism. The Elephantine Papyri show the Jews of Egypt appealing both to Jonathan the high priest of Jerusalem and Sanballat governor of Samaria to grant permission for the rebuilding of the temple of Yeb in 407 BCE.[2] This appears to demonstrate that the Samaritans and Jews had not yet parted ways as of ca. 400 BCE. The cache of Samarian economic documents found at Wadi ed-Daliyeh, dating to ca. 320 BCE, mention a Samaritan ruler named Sanballat, doubtless a descendant (likely a grandson) of the Sanballat mentioned in the Elephantine Papyri. But the Wadi ed-Daliyeh texts contain no biblical materials[3] and thus fail to bear witness to the state of the Pentateuch's development. Josephus, *Ant.* 11.302–24, described the Samaritan schism as having taken place in 332 BCE, when a disgruntled priestly scion named Manasseh became high priest of the temple at Mount Gerizim. This late account is clearly legendary and has no historical value.[4]

1. J. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch and the Origin of the Samaritan Sect* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1968), 15, 117–18.

2. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.

3. See, generally, F. M. Cross, "The Papyri and their Historical Significance," in *Discoveries in the Wâdī ed-Dâliyeh* (ed. P. Lapp and N. Lapp; AASOR 41; Cambridge, Mass.: ASOR, 1974), 17–27.

4. J. Montgomery, *The Samaritans: The Earliest Jewish Sect; Their History, Theology and Literature* (repr., New York: KTAV, 1968), 67–69; L. L. Grabbe, "Josephus and the Reconstruction of the Judean Restoration," *JBL* 106 (1987): 236–43. The end of the tale, involving an otherwise historically unattested visit by Alexander to Jerusalem and Samaria, anachronistically referred to the book of Daniel (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.337) and contained echoes of the later denial of Jewish descent by the Sidonians of Shechem (Josephus, *Ant.* 11.340–41, 344; cf. 12.257–64). Note that the fictional Manasseh in Josephus was given the name of the apostate Jewish king credited with overthrowing the reforms of Hezekiah and causing Judea to go into captivity (2 Kgs 21:1–16; 23:26; 24:1–4; Jer 15:4). *The Martyrdom of Isaiah* portrayed Manasseh as an apostate (1.8–9; 2.4–5; 3.11) and associated him with the Samaritan false prophet Belkira (2.12; 3.1–2; 5.1–15). For Manasseh as archetypal apostate in the Talmud, see *Sanh.* 90a, 99b, 102b, 103b; cf. A. Shemesh, "King Manasseh and the Halakhah of the Sadducees," *JSJ* 52 (2001): 27–39.

Second Kings 17:34, 41, which claimed that the Mesopotamian transplants to Samaria introduced foreign cults there that persisted "unto this day," documents Jewish concerns about Samarian religious practices ca. 273–272 BCE, but it is not clear whether this referred to Samaritan Jews or to non-Jewish residents of Samaria. There exists no reliable evidence of hostility between Samaritan and Judean Jews before ca. 200 BCE. Simon the Just (ca. 200–180 BCE) was said to have had difficulties with the Samaritans.[5] Sirach 50:26, written ca. 180 BCE, referred to Shechem as a city of fools, perhaps demonstrating friction between Jews and Samaritans at that date.[6] The Samaritans converted their temple on Mount Gerizim into a Greek temple of Zeus Xenios in 166 BCE,[7] some Samaritans denying all connection to the Jews according to Josephus, *Ant.* 13.257–64. The destruction of Mount Gerizim's temple in 128 BCE by John Hyrkanus marked the definitive exclusion of the Samaritans from the Jews. Purvis dated the Samaritan breach with the Jews to this occasion.[8] Conflict between Jews and Samaritans appears to have been a late rather than early development and thus has little bearing on the date of the Pentateuch.

5. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.156.

6. For a good discussion of the evidence for problems with the Samaritans under Simon the Just, see Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 119–29.

7. 2 Macc 6:2.

8. Purvis, *The Samaritan Pentateuch*, 116–18.

# Appendix D

## THE RIVERS OF EDEN

Genesis 2:10–14 shows a geographical interest that was more in keeping with Hellenistic historiography than Mesopotamian:

> (10) A river flows out of Eden to water the garden, and from there is divides and becomes four branches. (11) The name of the first is Pishon; it is the one that flows around the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold; (12) and the gold of the land is good; bdellium and the onyx stone are there. (13) The name of the second river is Gihon; it is the one that flows around the whole land of Cush. (14) The name of the third river is Tigris, which flows east of Assyria. And the fourth river is the Euphrates.

Greek traditions, mainly connected with legends of Jason and the Argonauts, claimed that various rivers were joined near their mountain sources. For instance, the Ister was thought to part into two branches, one falling into the Black Sea, the other into the Adriatic.[1] Some also thought the Po, Rhone and Rhine rivers were connected.[2] The Gerrhus and Borysthenes were also believed to have been branches of a single river.[3] The idea of Eden's river parting into four branches was thus in line with Hellenistic conceptions.

The Tigris (or Hiddekel) and Euphrates rivers originated close to each other in the heights of Armenia. This same area also gave rise to the Phasis (*Phasin*[4]) that flowed into the Black Sea near Colchis,[5] as well as the Araxes, which was sometimes identified with the Gihon.[6] The description of the Phasis as encircling "the whole land of Havilah, where there is gold" appears to have been a

1. Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.39; Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.282–90. Apollonius appears to have connected the Ister with Oceanus at 4.282–83.

2. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.627–34. These three rivers in turn connected with Oceanus.

3. Herodotus, *Histories* 4.56.

4. For the form *Phasin* (Φᾶσιν), see, for example, Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.39; Xenophon, *Anabasis* 4.6. The identification of the Pishon river with the Ganges at Josephus, *Ant.* 1.39 may ultimately reflect the identification of the Caucasus with the Hindu Kush mountains of India by Alexander's flatterers (Strabo, *Geography* 15.1.8; 5.5; Arrian, *Indika* 5.10–11).

5. See Strabo, *Geography* 11.14.7 on the proximity of the sources of the Tigris, Euphrates, Phasis, Lycus, Cyrus (Kur) and Araxes.

6. See J. Avdall, trans., *History of Armenia, by Father Michael Chamich* (2 vols.; Calcutta: Bishop's College Press, 1827), 1:13; cf. N. Ter Gregor, *History of Armenia: From the Earliest Times to the Present* (London: Heywood, 1897), 42.

reference to Colchis, the famed gold-rich kingdom bordering the Black Sea.[7] Havilah (חוילה) appears to have been an imprecise Hebrew rendering of Colchis,[8] the spelling perhaps influenced by the more familiar region Havilah in the Sinai Peninsula.[9] More problematic is the encircling of Cush (Ethiopia ) by the Gihon. In Judeo-Christian literature, the Gihon was most commonly identified with the Nile, which runs through Ethiopia.[10]

The idea that the Nile had a common source with the Tigris, Euphrates and Phasis seems fantastic, yet Greek poetic and geographical traditions held that the Nile was connected to the Phasis (and the kingdom of Colchis) by means of the river Oceanus. Homer (ca. 700 BCE) put the island of Aeaea a close sail from the river Oceanus;[11] the poet Mimnermus (ca. 600 BCE)[12] did likewise:

> Never would Jason himself have brought back the great fleece from Aea, accomplishing his mind-racking journey and fulfilling the difficult task for insolent Pelias, nor would they have come even to the fair stream of Oceanus... To the city of Aeetes, where the rays of the swift Sun lie in a chamber of gold beside the lips of Oceanus, whither glorious Jason went.[13]

Hesiod was the first to identify the river of Aea as the Phasis, which he evidently considered a branch of Oceanus. Hesiod had the Argonauts sail up the Phasis, then return via Oceanus to the Mediterranean (with a transport by land across part of Libya).[14] Hecataeus of Miletus, who believed the Nile flowed from the world-encircling river Oceanus,[15] was first to conceive of the Argonaut's entire return trip as having taken place by fully connected waterways. Hecataeus claimed that Jason and the Argonauts, after having stolen the Golden Fleece from King Aeetes of Aea (Colchis), sailed up the Phasis to the river Oceanus and then down the Nile to the Mediterranean.[16] Thus Hecataeus, like the author of Gen 2:11–13, connected the Phasis and Nile.[17]

7. Colchis was an emporium for the gold-mining Svan mountaineers of the Caucasus (Strabo, *Geography* 11.2.19) and the location of the legendary Golden Fleece.

8. Cf. W. Genesius, *Genesius' Hebrew and Chaldee Lexicon to the Old Testament Scriptures* (trans. S. Tregelles; repr., Grand Rapids: Eerdmans, 1949), col. 673b, and literature cited there.

9. Cf. Gen 10:7, 29; 25:18; 1 Sam 15:7. The biblical Havilah was likely the Arabian tribe of Avalitae mentioned at Pliny, *Natural History* 6.157 near the Nabateans by the Red Sea.

10. Josephus, *Ant.* 1.39; Philo, *Questions and Answers on Genesis* 1.12–13; Jer 2:18 (LXX); and the patristic and rabbinical literature cited at Ginzberg, *Legends of the Jews*, 5:91 n. 51.

11. Homer, *Odyssey* 12.1–4; cf. Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.38–39.

12. A. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature* (trans. J. Willis and C. de Heer; 2d ed.; New York: Crowell, 1963), 120.

13. Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.40.

14. Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.284; 5.259.

15. Cf. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.21, 23; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.37.7.

16. Hecataeus of Miletus *FGrH* 1 F18a (Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes 4.257–62b); cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 87. (Hecataeus of Miletus is not to be confused with Hecataeus of Abdera, discussed extensively in Chapter 3.) Hecataeus of Miletus likely originated the story that Sesostris planted a colony of Egyptians at Colchis (cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 89); this second tradition linking Colchis and Egypt may be somehow related to Hecataeus's theory of a connection between the Phasis and the Nile. According to two of Alexander's commanders sent to Armenia, Jason and his companions abandoned their ship and explored Iberia and Albania as far as

Such theories about a common source of the Phasis and Nile as found in Genesis and Hecataeus could only have been advanced when their true sources were poorly known. The region above the Phasis was first accurately explored and described during the course of Pompey's military travels in 66–63 BCE.[18] The sources of the Nile, the longest river in the world, were a matter of great speculation, having never been tracked to their source in antiquity.[19] As late as the first century BCE, Juba of Mauretania was able to propose—with reasonable acceptance by his peers—that the Nile arose from the Atlas Mountains in western Africa near the Straits of Gibraltar.[20] Such exotic theories as to the origin of the Nile sought to explain the curious rise and fall of the Nile, a subject of great debate and speculation in antiquity.[21] Each year the Nile began to rise around the summer solstice,[22] when most rivers feeding the Mediterranean were in ebb. A favorite theory was that high snowfields that melted in the summer sun fed the Nile.[23] Several variations of this theory appeared in the fifth century BCE, proposed by such figures as Hecataeus of Miletus, Anaxagoras,[24] Euripides[25] and Democritus of Abdera.[26] A major point of controversy was where the snowfalls that fed the Nile were located. Anaxagoras and student Euripides attributed the rise of the Nile to snow melt in Ethiopia,[27] but critics deemed snows in the hot

the Caspian, Media and Armenia, Jason and Medea founding Media, Armenus of Thessaly founding Armenia (Strabo, *Geography* 1.2.18; 3.2; 13.10; 11.4.8; 14.9, 12–13). This late tradition probably shows some acquaintance with the old Hecataean tradition that Jason sailed up the Phasis.

17. Justin, *Epitome* 2.1.19 asserted that rivers arising from the heights of Scythia flowed both into the Pontus (via Lake Maeotis) and into the Egyptian Sea. Here Scythia was defined as extending to "Asia and the river Phasis" (Justin, *Epitome* 2.2.1). Justin thus perhaps also testified to a tradition in which the Phasis and the Nile were joined.

18. Strabo, *Geography* 11.1.6; 4.5; 5.1 (citing Theophanes, Pompey's historian, for this region).

19. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.28; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.32.1; 35.5–6; Pliny, *Natural History* 5.51. The great nineteenth-century explorers Sir Richard Burton and John Speke were first to demonstrate that the Nile arose in Lake Victoria.

20. Pliny, *Natural History* 5.51–52; cf. 6.175, 187, 195. In the late first century BCE, Juba, king of Mauretania, noted that the Nile rose or fell in proportion to snow and rainfall in Mauretania and therefore suggested that the Nile originated near Mount Atlas, flowing underground across most of Africa to Ethiopia. Juba's theory on Egypt's Nile arising in Mauretania highlighted his marriage to Cleopatra Selene, the daughter of Anthony and Cleopatra, the last queen of Egypt.

21. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.36.7–41.9.

22. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.19; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.19.1; 36.7.

23. Democritus of Abdera proposed a more complicated theory whereby melting northern snows created clouds which were driven south by the etesian winds to high mountains of Ethiopia, creating floods which swelled the Nile (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.39.1–3). This explanation was problematic since etesian winds did not blow at the summer solstice and there was no evidence the Ethiopian mountains were as high as proposed, the highest known peaks in the world having been in the Caucasus (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.203; Aeschylus, *Prometheus Bound* 721–22; Aristotle, *Meteorology* 1.13.350A; Procopius, *War Against the Vandals* 8.3.1).

24. Born 500/497, died 428/427 BCE (Apollodorus of Athens *FGrH* 224 F331); cf. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, 332.

25. Born 485/484, died ca. 406 BCE; cf. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, 360–62.

26. Born 460 BCE; reportedly lived over 100 years; cf. Lesky, *A History of Greek Literature*, 335.

27. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.38.4.

equatorial clime of Ethiopia unlikely.[28] Hecataeus's theory—the earliest—appears to have been that the Nile was swelled at flood stage by melt-off from the Caucasus mountains above Colchis.[29] Hecataeus of Miletus reportedly resorted to "myth" in order to explain the sources of the Nile, its course and its annual swelling, and his theory was considered unconvincing for this reason,[30] but continued to be cited as one possibility by later authors. Genesis 2:10–14, if it indeed linked the Phasis and the Nile, likely displayed awareness of the geographical theories of Hecataeus.

Hecataeus's theory on the Nile arising from the river Oceanus may have originated from his talks with Egyptian priests on his visit to Egypt.[31] It is also possible that the construction of the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal by Darius I may have influenced Hecataeus's geographical ideas. Hecataeus of Miletus was said to have flourished in the sixty-eighth Olympiad (520–517 BCE) in the time of Darius.[32] Darius conquered Asia Minor at the time of Hecataeus, who played a minor role in that conflict.[33] Hecataeus evidently drew on sources dealing with Persia, since his *Perigeisis* enumerated the tribes of Persia.[34] After the completion of the Nile-to-Red-Sea canal in 518–513 BCE, stelae erected along the canal proclaimed Darius's ability to sail his ships direct from the Nile to "the sea which flows from Persia."[35] Hecataeus may have known about this canal, as he

28. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.22.

29. See Procopius, *War Against the Vandals* 8.3.1; Strabo, *Geography* 11.5.6 for the Caucasus as perpetually snowy. Note that the Caucasus mountain system included the Taurus mountains and the mountains of Armenia by some ancient conceptions (Strabo, *Geography* 11.2.15).

30. Herodotus 2.21; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.37.2–3; cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 87. The dismissal of Hecataeus's theory as based on myth and wonders by Herodotus and others was perhaps due to his bringing in the Argonaut story as somehow supporting his theories on the Nile. Another story made Hercules and Prometheus Egyptian governors, claiming that Prometheus's "eagle" was simply another name for the Nile, describing its strong current at flood stage (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.19.1–3); the Greek word for eagle may also be rendered vulture, a symbol of Egypt, which may have played into Hecataeus's argument. In this story, Hercules was said to have slain the eagle by building dams to regulate the Nile. This story connects the Nile with Mount Caucasus (the site of Prometheus's imprisonment, where his liver was eaten out daily by an eagle or vulture) and sounds like a Hecataean rationalization of myth (cf. Hecataeus of Miletus *FGrH* 1 F27, where Hecataeus claimed that Cerberus the hell-hound was actually the name of a poisonous snake captured by Hercules; cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 104). The condemnation of the poets who invented Greek myths at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.19.4 was also a hallmark of authorship by Hecataeus of Miletus (cf. Strabo, *Geography* 3.2.13), suggesting Diodorus's acquaintance with Hecataeus of Miletus's writings.

31. On Hecataeus of Miletus's visit to Egyptian Thebes, see Herodotus, *Histories* 2.143. On the Nile arising from Oceanus as a purportedly Egyptian priestly tradition, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.12.6; 19.4; 37.7.

32. Suidas *s.v.* Hecataeus; cf. Drews, *Greek Accounts of the East*, 21. Hecataeus of Miletus survived to ca. 480 BCE.

33. Herodotus, *Histories* 5.36, 124–26; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 10.25.4.

34. Herodotus, *Histories* 5.36; cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 25. A number of tribes of the Persian Empire listed by Hecataeus reappear in Herodotus's list of satrapies organized by Darius I.

35. One of Darius I's canal stelae read: "I am a Persian. From Persia I captured Egypt. I commanded this canal to be built from the Nile, which flows in Egypt, to the Sea which comes from

mentioned Phacussa, its starting point on the Nile.[36] In Hecataeus's day, there was thus for the first time a direct water connection between the Nile and the eastern ocean which Hecataeus equated with the river Oceanus of Greek tradition. Hecataeus likely knew that the Tigris and Euphrates rivers flowed into the Persian Gulf, that is, Oceanus.[37] For Hecataeus, the world-encircling Oceanus may thus have linked the Nile, the Tigris, the Euphrates and the Phasis (much as others—perhaps including Hecataeus of Miletus—believed such major rivers as the Tanais, Po, Rhine and Rhone somehow connected with Oceanus[38]). Hecataeus may have believed these rivers to have been four of the famed seven branches of Oceanus. The function of the Pison and Gihon, encircling Havilah and Ethiopia, was very similar to the world-encircling Oceanus.

Persia. So was this canal built, as I had commanded, and ships passed from Egypt through this canal to Persia, as was my purpose" (Burns, *Persia and the Greeks*, 115). The sailing voyage of Scylax from Persia to Egypt (see following note) corroborates the existence of a new nautical trade route connecting Persia and Egypt under Darius I

36. Hecataeus of Miletus *FGrH* 1 F303; cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 89. About this same time, Darius I sent Scylax on his mission of exploration from the Indus River around the Arabian peninsula to the recesses of the Arabian gulf where the Darius canal entered the Red Sea (Herodotus, *Histories* 4.44; cf. 2.159; 4.42). Hecataeus of Miletus is thought to have drawn on Scylax (cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 80) and may have gained further information on the connection of the canal with the eastern Oceanus (and its rivers) from that author.

37. Hecataeus of Miletus *FGrH* 1 F281 mentioned the "Persian Sea"; F271 mentioned Kamoranoi, an island of Arabia (in the Persian gulf); cf. Pearson, *Early Ionian Historians*, 76–77. Pindar, writing ca. 460 BCE, had the Argonauts sail home from Aeetes' kingdom on the Phasis by way of Oceanus and the Red Sea (i.e. the Persian Gulf) at *Pythian Odes* 4.251. This version may have been somewhat indebted to Hecataeus's geography.

38. Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.627–34.

# Appendix E

## TARSUS AND THE NORA INSCRIPTION

The text and translation of the Nora Inscription (adapted from the translations by B. Peckham and W. Shea[1]) are as follows:

| | |
|---|---|
| btršš . wqrš h' | From Tarshish he was driven![2] |
| bšrdn š.lm h' | In Sardinia he found refuge. |
| šl.m sb' | His forces found refuge. |
| m.lktn bn . šbn | Milkûtôn, son of Šûbôn, |
| ngd . lpny[3] | the previous commander.[4] |

1. B. Peckham, "The Nora Inscription," *Or* NS 41 (1972): 457–68 (459); W. Shea, "The Dedication of the Nora Stone," *VT* 41 (1991): 241–45 (243). In the present rendition of the eight-line inscription, physical line breaks are indicated by periods. For a photograph of the Nora Inscription, see G. Garbini, "The Question of the Alphabet," in Andreose et al., eds., *The Phoenicians*, 86–103 (92).

2. As Peckham comments, the *waw* of *wqrš* in line 2 is "rather without precedent (in) use and position" ("The Nora Inscription," 481). Interpreted as a simple conjunction, it requires an earlier finite verb. Several translations have therefore hypothesized extra lines before line 1 (Albright, "Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 18–19; F. M. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," *BASOR* 208 [1972]: 13–19 [14]; Shea, "The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 16). Peckham considered the inscription complete and viewed the problematic *waw* as related to Hebrew pleonastic or emphatic forms, but most closely corresponding with the *waw apodosis* ("The Nora Inscription," 481–82). A. Frendo pointed out that the *waw apodosis* resumed an interrupted train of thought, and has alternately been termed a "*waw* of resumption" or "*waw* of linkage." Frendo therefore interpreted the *waw* as a straightforward emphatic *waw* ("The Particles *Beth* and *Waw* and the Periodic Status of the Nora Stone," *PEQ* 128 [1996]: 8–11 [9–10]); the present translation renders this by an exclamation point.

3. Early scholars read the last line as *lpmy*. The upper two strokes of the restored *mem* are missing due to a chip in the rock. Shea demonstrated that this letter is in actuality a *nun* ("The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 241–42).

4. Peckham translated the last line as "To [the god] Pmy," but acknowledged that the position and syntactic isolation of the hypothesized dedication form was unique ("The Nora Inscription," 465–66). Subsequent translators have linked the last word with the preceding word *ngd*. Cross interpreted Pmy as a hyporisticon from *pmy(y)tn* or Pygmalion, translating the last three lines as "Milkatōn son of Šūbnā (Shebna), general of (king) Pummay" ("An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 15–18). Cross proposed that this ruler was the famous Pygmalion of Tyre, in whose reign Carthage was founded in 813 or 825 BCE according to various ancient calculations. Both these interpretations are excluded by Shea's reading of the last line as *lpny* (see n. 3 above). Shea interpreted *lpny* to mean "earlier" or "previous." He translated the last lines to refer to Milkuton, son of Shubon, "the previous commander" ("The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 242–43; also adopted by Frendo, "The Particles *Beth* and *Waw*," 9). This seems the best solution.

All previous interpretations of the Nora Inscription have favored locating Tarshish in the western Mediterranean. This westerly locale has been more a matter of assumption than argumentation. Historical interpretations of the Nora Inscription may be summarized as follows:

(1) It is generally accepted that the Nora Inscription memorialized an expedition that set out from some unnamed starting point in the east. The home port of the naval expedition was thought to have been either omitted from the Nora Inscription or referred to in starting lines now missing. Cross suggested Tyre based on his interpretation of the last line as referring to Pygmalion.[5]

(2) Arriving in the west, the current consensus has the expeditionary forces first attempting to conquer a location called Tarshish. This referred to either Tartessos in Spain,[6] Tharros in Sardinia,[7] some unknown "Tarshish" or ore refining town[8] (on Albright's hypothesis that the Phoenicians attached the name Tarshish to smelteries[9]), or the find-spot Nora itself.[10]

(3) Whether the naval forces that landed at Tarshish were successful is a matter of dispute. Those who translated the first two lines as "From Tarshish he was driven" proposed that the Phoenicians were defeated at Tarshish (or perhaps blown off course in a storm[11]) and sought refuge in Nora on Sardinia. Cross proposed that at least two earlier lines once existed, and translated the start of the Nora Inscription as: "[He fought (?) with the Sardinians (?)] at Taršīš, and he drove them out." Cross believed that the Phoenicians were the victors of the "Battle of Tarshish" fought at Nora. In his opinion the Nora Inscription commemorated the treaty established with the remaining Sardinian tribes.[12]

(4) In any case, it is agreed that the Phoenician naval forces finally settled at Nora in Sardinia.

5. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 18.
6. Peckham, "The Nora Inscription," 467–68; Shea, "The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 244.
7. Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 219 n. 30.
8. Peckham, "The Nora Inscription," 466–67; Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 16.
9. Albright's proposal ("Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 21–22) relied heavily on Glueck's "brilliant discovery" of an alleged tenth- to ninth-century BCE copper refinery at Ezion-geber, which Albright believed was used to process ore imported from the Red Sea coasts on Solomonic ships of Tarshish. Glueck withdrew his interpretation of the site as a smeltery and acknowledged that the small amount of copper slag found at Ezion-geber was likely reworked ore mined and pre-processed in the Arabah (N. Glueck, "Ezion-geber," *BA* 28 [1965]: 70–87 [73–75]). Ezion-geber was later down-dated to the eighth century BCE (G. Pratico, "Nelson Glueck's 1938–1940 Excavations at Tell el-Kheleifeh: A Reappraisal," *BASOR* 259 [1985]: 1–32 [13–15]). Albright quietly withdrew his interpretation of Tarshish as a western Mediterranean Phoenician place name (*Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 219 n. 30), but this theory persisted in the later interpretation of the Nora Inscription by Cross ("An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 16).
10. Albright, "Early History of Phoenician Colonization," 21; Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 16.
11. Shea, "The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 243–44.
12. Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 16–18.

A common assumption of previous interpretations of the Nora Inscription is that the early Phoenicians routinely sent out armed expeditions to the west to—in the words of Cross—"pacify the native tribes and to protect mining interests."[13] This seems inconsistent with what is known about early Phoenician presence from either archaeological or literary evidence for the period prior to ca. 600 BCE. One may briefly outline Phoenician presence in the west as follows. Isolated finds of Phoenician bronzes in the western Mediterranean dating as early as the fourteenth century BCE suggest sporadic trade contact with the Phoenicians may have preceded Phoenician colonization by some centuries.[14] Late classical references to the founding of Lixus, Gadeira and Utica shortly after the Trojan War may be discounted.[15] Archaeological evidence indicates the shift from simple trade to Phoenician colonization in the west began around 850–800 BCE.[16] Phoenician colonies were often established on unoccupied peninsulas or offshore islands,[17] and literary traditions say the sites were purchased from the natives rather than seized by conquest.[18] Early Phoenician trade was conducted peacefully.[19]

13. Ibid., 18.

14. Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History*, 42; S. Moscati, "The Colonization of the Mediterranean," in Andreose et al., eds., *The Phoenicians*, 46–53 (48).

15. The foundation of Lixus was dated a few decades after the Trojan War (Pliny, *Natural History* 19.63); Gades (also known as Gadeira and Cadiz) shortly after in 1110 BCE (Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 1.2.3; Pseudo-Aristotle, *On Marvels Seen* 134; Strabo, *Geography* 1.3.2) and Utica in 1101 BCE (Pliny, *Natural History* 16.216; Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 1.2.3). Such archaizing traditions linking foundations of cities near the straits by Hercules' companions, or by Phoenician sailors shortly after the Trojan War, are more than adequately explained as flattery of local rulers. The antiquity of Utica is belied by the beams of Numidean cedar in the temple of Apollo there, which allegedly lasted 1178 years from the foundation of the city to Pliny's time (Pliny, *Natural History* 16.79). Silius Italicus (*Punica* 3.17–20) similarly referred to the original timber of the temple of Hercules-Melkart at Gades (Cadiz), which likewise never aged. Strabo, *Geography* 3.5.6, drawing on Posidonius, referred to bronze pillars of the temple of Melkart, on which the names of the Phoenicians who financed the building of the temple were inscribed. This structure is best assigned to the Phoenician Orientalizing Period after ca. 770–760 BCE.

16. The Nora Inscription, documenting the foundation of a Phoenician colony in Sardinia, may be dated to the ninth century BCE on paleographical grounds (see n. 29 below). Phoenician trade in southwest Spain, preceding the colonial process, began around 850–800 BCE (Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History*, 34–35, 42–43). Carthage was said to have been founded in 814–813 BCE (Velleius Paterculus, *Roman History* 1.12.5; Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Roman Antiquities* 1.74; Josephus, *Apion* 1.125–26). One may date the start of Phoenician colonization in the west to about 850–800 BCE. The first Phoenician settlements discovered by archaeologists date to the eighth century BCE in Tunisia (M. Fantar, "North Africa," in Andreose et al., eds., *The Phoenicians*, 166–85) and Spain (Eugenia and Semmler, "Spain," 228), the seventh century BCE in Morocco and Algeria (Fantar, "North Africa," 181, 184; but Moscati ["Colonization of the Mediterranean," 50] would date some remains in Morocco to the eighth century BCE). The first historical reference to the silver-rich kingdom of Tartessos in Spain (of which Gades was the Phoenician port) was the voyage of Colaeus of Samos, ca. 630 BCE (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.163).

17. Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History*, 43–50. Quintus Curtius, *History of Alexander* 4.20 said the Tyrians "landed on places unknown to others...which could best welcome their numerous children."

18. The exiled Phocaeans offered to purchase the island of Œnussæ from the Chians (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.164). Similarly, Carthage was built on land Phoenicians obtained from the Libyans for an

With the fall of Nineveh in 614 BCE, the dynamics of international trade changed dramatically. The Carthaginians began a new policy of territorial domination in ca. 600 BCE, attempting to close off the western Mediterranean to other traders.[20] It was about this same time that the Phocaeans were forced to conduct trade in fifty-oared warships rather than the usual round-bottomed merchant vessels.[21] The earliest archaeological evidence of Phoenician military forces in the west also dates to ca. 600 BCE.[22]

The idea that the Nora Inscription describes an unsuccessful Phoenician attempt to establish a new colony at Tarshish by force of arms in 850–800 BCE does not particularly fit what is known historically or archaeologically of early Phoenician colonization patterns in the west. The archaeological data are best accommodated by associating only the arrival of Milkuton and his forces at Sardinia with Phoenician colonization in the west. The wording of the Nora Inscription indicates that this arrival was peaceful: "In Sardinia he found refuge (*šlm*). His forces found refuge (*šlm*)." The expulsion of Milkuton and his troops from Tarshish ("From Tarshish he was driven!") is another matter. One may plausibly associate this event with a military encounter in which the Phoenicians were worsted, but there is nothing in the Nora Inscription to indicate this event was associated with Phoenician colonization activities or that it took place in the west. A simpler interpretation is that Tarshish was the starting point of the Phoenician expedition, their home port in the east.

Wide agreement currently exists that the eviction from Tarshish resulted from a military defeat. The emigration of a prominent military commander (*ngd*) and forces under his command suggests a catastrophic military setback. Such an interpretation still holds if Tarshish was the fleet's original point of departure. Under this interpretation, the Nora Inscription tells the entire tale of the Phoenician odyssey: Milkuton and his troops were expelled from their native city of Tarshish, and—homeless![23]—sailed to the distant west, where they found safe

annual fee according to the foundation story at Justin, *Epitome* 18.5; Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.336–37; Servius on Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.367. The story as told in Justin provides evidence that Phoenicians on occasion entered into trading partnerships with locals whereby Phoenicians were permitted to establish a trading colony in exchange for a share of the profits.

19. P. Bartoloni, "Commerce and Industry," in Andreose et al., eds., *The Phoenicians*, 78–85 (80). Herodotus, *Histories* 4.196 documented the mutual trust in trade negotiations between Carthaginian merchants and African natives. As Moscati commented at *The World of the Phoenicians*, 108, one may assume earlier Phoenician merchants had similar trade practices. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.163 shows that the inhabitants of Tartessos welcomed trade from the east.

20. S. Moscati, "The Carthaginian Empire," in Andreose et al., eds., *The Phoenicians*, 54–61 (54). Carthaginians prevented the establishment of a Greek colony at Marseilles in ca. 600 BCE according to Thucydides, *History of the Peloponnesian War* 1.13.6. Harrison (*Spain at the Dawn of History*, 43) attributed the rise of Carthage about this time to the fall of Nineveh in 614 BCE.

21. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.163.

22. P. Bartoloni, "Army, Navy and Warfare," in Andreose et al., eds., *The Phoenicians*, 132–38 (132).

23. Hence the emphatic *waw* (see n. 2 above) attached to the word *grš*, describing their having been cast forth from Tarshish. The word *grš* is better suited to describe the expulsion or exile of residents from their native city than the repulsion of attacking forces. In the frequent biblical usage,

refuge in Sardinia. Similar forced emigrations from east to west are well known from classical antiquity: when Phocaea of Ionia was about to fall to the Persian army around 520 BCE, the Phocaeans opted for self-exile from their home city of Phocaea and sailed *en masse* to resettle in the western Mediterranean;[24] drought similarly caused the Tyrrhenians to set sail for the west;[25] Carthage was reportedly founded in 825 or 813 BCE by political exiles from Tyre and Cyprus.[26] In 701 BCE, Lulî, king of Tyre and Sidon, fled to Cyprus to escape Sennacherib's invasion forces.[27] The Nora Inscription appears to have described a similar emigration of political refugees.[28]

The Nora Inscription dates to the ninth century BCE on paleographical evidence.[29] This same period saw significant disruption of Phoenician sites in the east from Assyrian aggressions.[30] By 879 BCE, Assurbanipal had seized the Levantine coast and reduced its major ports to tribute.[31] Tyre, Sidon and Byblos all submitted to the Assyrians and avoided punishment during this period,[32] but both the Northern and Southern anti-Assyrian leagues were attacked and eventually reduced by Shalmaneser III. In a series of campaigns in 858–855 BCE, the North Syrian league was defeated.[33] In 853 BCE, the South Syrian coalition, which included Que, was defeated by Shalmaneser III at Qarqar. Shalmaneser III subsequently led four separate campaigns against Que, in 839, 837, 834 and 833 BCE, this last one resulting in the conquest of Tarsus and the submission of

גרש consistently referred to the uprooting and expulsion of people from their homeland, native city, household or office, not the defeat or repulse of attacking invaders.

24. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.162, 164–66. Phocaean exiles initially sought refuge at Alalia at Cyprus where the Phocaeans had established a colony 20 years earlier (Herodotus, *Histories* 1.165–66). Something similar likely happened at Nora, as an eleventh-century BCE inscription shows the Phoenicians had an earlier a presence there (although it cannot be demonstrated that Phoenician residence of Nora between the eleventh and ninth centuries was continuous). Compare Procopius, *War Against the Vandals* 2.10, which said that nearby Phoenician Utica assisted the first Phoenician colonists at Carthage.

25. Herodotus, *Histories* 1.94.

26. Justin, *Epitome* 18.4–5; cf. Vergil, *Aeneid* 1.338–68.

27. *LAR*, II, §§239, 309, 326, 347.

28. Classical traditions claimed that Sardinia was settled by Greeks uprooted by Cretan military victories, or by the Trojans who sailed west after the fall of Troy (Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 10.17.3, 8). While neither tradition can be credited, they attest to the common perception of western colonization as prompted by military upheavals in the east. Harrison (*Spain at the Dawn of History*, 10) stated the opinion that Phoenician colonization in the west resulted from Assyrian conquests of the ninth century BCE.

29. Garbini, "The Question of the Alphabet," 94; Albright, *Yahweh and the Gods of Canaan*, 275; Cross, "An Interpretation of the Nora Stone," 14; Shea, "The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 244.

30. Harrison, *Spain at the Dawn of History*, 10: "Phoenician expansion into Sicily, Sardinia and Spain in the eighth century coincides with the loss of their residual independence; the conquest of their mother cities probably forced many Phoenicians to become emigrants and seek a new life in colonies and trading stations in the west." The examples of Carthage and Nora suggest analogous forces were already at work in the ninth century BCE.

31. Katzenstein, *History of Tyre*, 140–41.

32. *LAR*, I, §§479, 518, 578, 614, 672, 739.

33. *LAR*, I, §§599–609. Que was listed as one member of the Northern League at *LAR*, I, §600.

Kati of Que.[34] The Nora Inscription is best interpreted in light of the fall of Tarsus of Cilicia (Que) in 833 BCE, the first mention of that city in Assyrian records.[35] Given the history of brutal Assyrian reprisals against defeated foes,[36] the fall of Tarsus would be a suitable occasion for the emigration of the commander Milkuton son of Subon and his troops.[37] Milkuton, the front line commander, will have been one of the defenders of Tarsus who decided to escape Assyrian reprisals, along with the troops serving under him, at the fall of the city. (And indeed, the phrasing "Milkuton son of Subon, the previous commander" suggests that the father, Subon, may have perished fighting the Assyrians.[38]) The Nora inscription itself probably dates to 833 BCE or soon thereafter. The date 833 BCE falls squarely within standard paleographical dates.

This clarification of the historical context behind the Nora Inscription supports the identification of Tarshish with Tarsus in the Table of Nations (see Chapter 6, §4), rather than Tartessos, as often suggested.

34. *LAR*, I, §583.

35. In the period 841–833 BCE, Que was attacked by Shalmaneser III's forces in four separate campaigns; Tarsus in Rough Cilicia bore the brunt of the last campaign in 833 BCE, and fell, no doubt, with typical scenes of Assyrian brutality against stubborn foes.

36. *LAR*, I, §§577, 582, 583 referred to destroyed and burned cities of Que.

37. In the conquest of Tarsus by Sennacherib in 696 BCE (*LAR*, II, §§286–88), defeated Ionian mercenaries similarly escaped by ship (Berossus *FGrH* 680 F7; Abydenos *FGrH* 685 F5).

38. One would normally have expected Milkuton, not his father, to have been identified as commander (cf. Shea, "The Dedication on the Nora Stone," 243). The awkward phrasing ("Milkuton, son of Subon, the previous commander") suggests a certain insecurity in Milkuton's inherited command, which is bolstered (somewhat poignantly) by reference to his respected father.

# Appendix F

## SETH-TYPHON AND THE JEWS

By the early second century BCE, persistent rumors said the Jewish temple contained an image of an ass, an animal especially sacred to the Egyptian deity Seth. This appendix examines how the Jews came to be associated with the Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon and traces how this led to growing anti-Semitic propaganda and persecutions in later times not only in Egypt, but in also Judea and the Diaspora.

### 1. *The Egyptian Seth Cult*

In Egypt, foreign gods such as Baal and Teshub had been routinely worshipped as Seth since Old Kingdom times.[1] Conceivably Yahweh was also equated with Seth in the Late Kingdom with no particular negative connotations.[2]

### 2. *The Saite Period*

It was only in Saite and Persian periods that Seth was demonized[3] and identified with the Greek giant Typhon, enemy of Zeus;[4] the rebellion of the Titans against Zeus formed an obvious Greek analogy to the rebellion of Seth and his confederates against Osiris.[5] Seth-Typhon was the god of foreigners, and the demonizing of the Seth cult occurred parallel with an increasing Egyptian hatred of foreigners.[6] Egyptian hatred of foreigners is well documented in classical sources of this same period.[7] Invasions of Egypt by Assyria, Babylonia and Persia, often

1. See, generally, te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 109–38.

2. A Jewish temple existed at Elephantine before Cambyses' conquest (*Elephantine Papyri* nos. 30.13; 32.4), and Egyptians may have already equated the Jewish god Yahweh worshipped there with Seth, god of foreigners.

3. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 138–51.

4. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.144, 156; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 41.367D; 49.371B; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.26.6–8; Seth was identified with Typhon by Pherekydes according to Origen, *Against Celsus* 6.42. (The fragmenta of Pherekydes were collected and translated at H. Schibli, *Pherekydes of Syros* [Oxford: Clarendon, 1990], 140–75.)

5. Typhon was one of the Titans. See Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.26.6–8 on the Titans as the enemies of Zeus-Osiris and Horus; in Egyptian sources it was Seth and his confederates who were enemies of Osiris and Horus.

6. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 138–51.

7. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.67.9–11; Herodotus, *Histories* 2.45. See further n. 100 below.

using Greek, Jewish and other foreign mercenaries, led to a new Egyptian xenophobia that started in the Saite period and grew progressively worse throughout the Persian period.[8]

### 3. *The Persian Occupation*

Seth-Typhon came to be closely associated with the oppressive Persian rule. A number of Egyptian temples suffered during Cambyses II's conquest of Egypt in 525 BCE.[9] Foreigners set up campsites within some of them and later had to be evicted by Cambyses' decree.[10] The temple subsidies were markedly decreased, with a couple exceptions.[11] The "House of Life"—the temple annex where sacred legal and ritual texts were housed and copied[12]—also suffered under Cambyses, who acquired a reputation for lawlessness.[13] As a result of Cambyses' excesses, Egypt revolted at the death of Cambyses.[14] Darius I recovered Egypt by 518 BCE. Darius I attempted to redress the insults to Egyptian religion under Cambyses by restoring the House of Life at Sais and producing a new edition of Egyptian religious and legal texts in the years 518–503 BCE.[15] Darius I's conciliatory measures worked, at least temporarily: he gained a reputation as one of Egypt's great lawgivers and was even reputed to have undergone studies of Egyptian law with the priests![16] Nevertheless, Egypt sporadically regained its independence, with growing animus between Persians and Egyptians.

Egyptian hatred of the Persians increased many-fold after the reprisals against Egyptian cities and temples when Artaxerxes III Ochus reconquered Egypt in 343 BCE. Artaxerxes III was especially vilified by the Egyptians for having slain the Apis bull of Osiris in Memphis.[17] The Egyptians called Artaxerxes Ochus (ὄχον) "the Ass" (ὄνον),[18] and it was allegedly in response to this insult that Artaxerxes Ochus "deified the ass"[19] and sacrificed the Apis bull to the ass-god.[20] The ass was closely associated with Seth-Typhon. Typhon was said to have been

8. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 139–45.

9. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.14; Strabo, Geography 10.3.21; 17.1.27; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.46.4; cf. 1.49.5.

10. *Udjahorresnet Statue Inscription* lines 18–21. For the text of this inscription see Lichtheim, *Ancient Egyptian Literature*, 3:36–41.

11. See Spiegelberg, *Die Demotische Chronik*, 32–33 for translation of a decree by Cambyses selectively restoring revenues to temples at Memphis, Hermopolis and Babylon; cf. Olmstead, *History of The Persian Empire*, 89–90.

12. R. Williams, "The Sage in Egyptian Literature," in *The Sage in Israel and the Ancient Near East* (ed. J. Gammie and L. Perdue; Winona Lake, Ind.: Eisenbrauns, 1990), 19–30 (26–27).

13. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95.4.

14. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.44.3.

15. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95.4–5; *Udjahorresnet Statue Inscription* lines 43–45; *Demotic Chronicle* column c lines 1–16.

16. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.95.5: "Indeed he associated with the priests of Egypt themselves, and took part with them in the study of theology and...learned from these books..."

17. Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28; *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; 6.8.

18. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.8; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363C.

19. Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28.

20. Aelian, *Historical Miscellany* 4.8.

worshipped in the form of an ass;[21] he was also sometimes portrayed as an ass-headed god.[22] The sacrifice of the Apis bull to the ass-god reflected the perceived ascendancy of Seth-Typhon over Osiris (who was slain and dismembered by Seth in Egyptian legend[23]). In *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* written in 361 BCE (between periods of Persian domination), the followers of Seth were said to have slain the Apis bull and Mendes ram, along with many other animals sacred to the Egyptians.[24] Seth-Typhon was closely associated with oppressive Persian rule in the minds of contemporary Egyptians.[25]

The Egyptians equated various national groups with the Typhonians. The Persian conquerors of Egypt were considered worshippers of the Egyptian anti-god Seth-Typhon according to the testimony of Dinon.[26] The Greeks were demonized as Typhonians in *The Oracle of the Potter*, which may date back to the Assyrian period.[27] The Persian-era *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* equated the followers of Seth with Asiatics in general[28] (though it likely had special reference to the Persians[29]). Egyptian identification of Jews as Typhonians must therefore be understood within a wider context of Egyptian xenophobia.

The Egyptians had special reasons to associate the Jews with Seth-Typhon. Jewish mercenaries served in Egypt as occupation forces for the Persians.[30] Jewish military service to the Persians went back at least to Cambyses.[31] Under the Persians, Egypt was at times under the authority of Persian officials residing in Jerusalem.[32] The Egyptians in the Persian period viewed Jewish soldiers in Egypt as having stronger ties to outsiders than to the land in which they currently resided. The Jews remained loyal to the Persians even during later Egyptian uprisings[33] despite reprisals by the Egyptians[34] and were resented for that staunch loyalty.[35] Jewish mercenaries were closely associated with the

21. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 30.362F–363A; 50.371C; Aelian, *On Animals* 10.28.

22. W. Budge, *Osiris* (2 vols.; repr., New Hyde Park, N.Y.: University Books, 1961), 1:46, 48; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 409–10.

23. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 18.358A–B; 54.373A.

24. Urk. VI.18–24 §E.3, conveniently translated at Lindsay, *Roman Nile*, 179–81.

25. Yoyotte, "Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," 139–42.

26. Dinon was quoted at Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363C.

27. *The Oracle of the Potter*, like *The Oracle of the Lamb*, may have arisen in the Assyrian period, but was reworked in the Ptolemaic period. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 145 and n. 3; cf. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:509; Yoyotte, "Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," 138; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 284–87, 289; van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 273.

28. Urk. VI.12 §C.9.

29. Cf. Drioton, *Pages d'Egyptologie*, 320–21; Yoyotte, "Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," 141–42; Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 279.

30. *The Letter of Aristeas* 13; the Elephantine Papyri, passim; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 19–61.

31. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.13–14.

32. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.1, 18–29. Judean administration of Egypt in the Persian period could have been a factor in equating the Hyksos with the residents of Jerusalem and Judea.

33. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 27.1–2.

34. *Elephantine Papyri* nos. 27, 30–34 document an Egyptian pogrom in 411 BCE.

35. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 27.

Persians who occupied Egypt, not only by the Egyptians, but also by Jewish troops themselves, who as late as the mid-third century BCE still referred to themselves as Persians.[36] All these factors combined to associate the Jews closely with the Persians occupying Egypt, and this in turn will have contributed to a negative perception of Jews as Typhonians.

A major factor in identifying Jews as Typhonians was undoubtedly the Jewish sacrifice of animals sacred to the Egyptians such as the ram, sacred to Ammon, and the bull, sacred to Osiris. According to the Persian-era *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*, the followers of Seth deliberately slaughtered all the animals sacred to the Egyptians.[37] Tacitus attributed the same motives to the sacrifice of rams and bulls by the Jews.[38] Egyptian animosity against the Jewish mercenaries at Elephantine, documented in the Elephantine Papyri,[39] was grounded in differing religious practices. While many Egyptian temples were destroyed under Cambyses, the Jewish temple at Elephantine was spared.[40] This temple offered animal sacrifices, likely including sheep sacred to the nearby Egyptian temple of Khnum.[41] Jewish sacrifice of the Passover lamb appears to have been considered sacrilegious. One Persian letter appears to have instructed Egyptian authorities to refrain from interfering with Passover observations.[42] The Egyptians evidently found the Jewish temple at Elephantine objectionable, for in 411 BCE, when the Persians were temporarily out of power, the local Egyptian government had the temple destroyed.[43] In a later effort to gain approval to have the temple rebuilt, the Jews of Elephantine expressed

36. In the Zenon Papyri (ca. 250 BCE) some Jewish soldiers called themselves "Macedonians" and other Jews referred to themselves as "Persians" (e.g. in *P Cairo Zenon* 1, 59003 = V. Tcherikover, *Corpus Papyrorum Judaicarum* [3 vols.; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957], no. 1 line 6: "son of Ananias, Persian, of the troop of Toubias"; cf. Tcherikover's nos. 142 and 143; one passage contained reference to "Jews, Persians of the Epigone"). Thus as late as ca. 250 BCE, some Jewish soldiers still served in "Persian" military units. Artapanus, writing ca. 200 BCE, had a Persian name (Collins, "Artapanus," 2:891; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:706).

37. See n. 24 above.

38. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4: "They [the Jews] slay the ram, seemingly in derision of Hammon, and they sacrifice the ox, because the Egyptians worship it as Apis." This explanation appeared amidst other accusations of Typhonianism against the Jews such as worship of an ass and avoidance of swine out of fear of leprosy, and clearly drew on an Egyptian anti-Semitic source that was couched in language of anti-Typhonianism. On the Apis and Mnevis bulls as sacred to Osiris, see Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.21.10; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 20.359B; 29.362C; 33.364C; 43.368B–C; 73.380E.

39. *Elephantine Papyri* nos. 27, 30–34.

40. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.13–14.

41. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 127–28; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 280.

42. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 21. This was undoubtedly due to the sacrifice of a lamb. Suggestions (such as that found at Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 281) that Egyptians of ca. 400 BCE found Passover objectionable due to its symbolizing the Exodus are manifestly anachronistic, as there is no contemporary evidence linking the Passover with an Exodus tradition, and Chapters 7 and 8 above show the Pentateuchal Exodus story was a later development. As noted by Wellhausen (*Prolegomena*, 87–88), Passover was originally an agricultural festival of firstlings with no association with the Exodus.

43. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.4–13; Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 123; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 284–89.

willingness to forego animal sacrifices in a restored sanctuary[44]—from which some scholars infer that these Jews recognized that their Egyptian neighbors found such sacrifices highly objectionable.[45] The differing sacrificial practices of Jews living in Egypt may have contributed to the growing association of the Jewish god with Seth-Typhon that likely began about this time.[46] The related allegation that the Jews worshipped an ass likely also originated in the Persian period.[47]

### 4. *Manetho*

The association of the Jewish god with Seth-Typhon becomes explicit in Manetho in comments attached to his reports on the rise and fall of the Hyksos Dynasty and on the revival of the cult of Seth-Typhon in Ramesside times. The Hyksos were closely associated historically with "Seth, lord of Avaris."[48] Manetho acknowledged this in his first story when he stated that Avaris, the capital city founded by the Hyksos, was "from the earliest times dedicated to Typhon."[49] Manetho reported that after having been driven from Egypt, the Hyksos settled in Judea and founded Jerusalem and its temple.[50] This amounted to a charge that the Jews (like the Hyksos) worshipped the ass-god Seth-Typhon. In Manetho's second story he reported that Osarseph, the Egyptian priest of Seth-Typhon, settled at Avaris with his polluted followers, where they invited the Hyksos back into Egypt.[51] Manetho added as a postscript to this second story that some in his day identified Osarseph with Moses.[52] Some of Manetho's contemporaries thus slanderously equated the religion of the Jews with that of Seth-Typhon.[53]

Another tradition linking the Jews to Seth-Typhon may perhaps trace back to Manetho. According to this story, found in Plutarch—and echoed in Tacitus—the migration of Jews to Judea and Jerusalem was associated with Typhon's expulsion from Egypt by Horus during the reign of Isis.[54] Typhon was said to

44. *Elephantine Papyri* no. 30.25; cf. 33.9–11; 37.8–10, in which sacrifices of oxen, sheep and goats were phased out of the rebuilt temple of 405 BCE.

45. Cf. Cowley, *Aramaic Papyri*, 124, 126; Porten, *Archives from Elephantine*, 289–93; Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 129, 131–32.

46. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 133–35, 166, 168–69.

47. Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Jewish Temple," 325; van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 287 n. 61; Yoyette, "Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," 141–42; cf. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 55–62.

48. Van Seters, *The Hyksos*, 102.

49. Josephus, *Apion* 1.237.

50. Josephus, *Apion* 1.90, 228.

51. Josephus, *Apion* 1.237–41.

52. Josephus, *Apion* 1.250.

53. See the discussion in Chapter 8.

54. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363D: "Typhon's flight from the battle was made on the back of an ass and lasted seven days, and after he had made his escape, he became the father of sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus"; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.2: "Others assert that in the reign of Isis the overflowing population of Egypt, led by Hierosolymus and Judas, discharged itself into the

have fled Egypt on the back of an ass, one of his sacred animals.[55] Arriving in neighboring Asia, he fathered two sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus.[56] The reasons for associating this tradition with Manetho are threefold. First, Plutarch cites Manetho by name at *On Isis and Osiris* 9.354C–D; 28.362A; 49.371C; 62.376B; 73.380D. Second, Manetho doubtless wrote about the Egyptian legend of Isis and Osiris, in which Horus drove Seth-Typhon from Egypt.[57] Third, Plutarch includes an interesting disclaimer on the story: "Those who relate that Typhon became the father of sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus, are manifestly, as the very names show, attempting to drag Jewish traditions into the legend." Manetho also expressed skepticism towards the equation of Moses with Osarseph, describing this contemporary view as "current talk about the Jews."[58] Plutarch also attached a disclaimer to a story from Manetho regarding the annual sacrifice of a swine when the moon was full, which some said commemorated Typhon's discovery of the body of Osiris while boar-hunting: "Not everyone accepts this tale, believing it to be, like many other things, a recent misunderstanding."[59] Manetho's writings thus display a pattern of assigning credibility to older written traditions found in the House of Life but also reporting more recent oral traditions, with comments expressing Manetho's critical reservations regarding the latter. This same pattern of attaching a disclaimer to oral traditions occurs in the story of Seth-Typhon as ancestor of the Jews. It would appear that while Manetho repeated certain recent anti-Semitic variations of Egyptian legends, he himself properly rejected these late stories.

The equation of Judaism and Typhonianism appears to have been a well-known thesis in Egyptian priestly circles as early as the time of Manetho. Although Manetho reported these stories, he apparently did not consider such anti-Semitic slanders credible, attributing them to his contemporaries, who injected the Jews into authentic older traditions.

### 5. *Hebrew Bible*

The Septuagint translation avoided using the word ass (ὄνον), substituting the word ὑποζύγια ("beasts of burden") at Exod 4:20 and ἐπιθύμημα ("desirable object") at Num 16:5 as noted by the rabbis (*b. Meg.* 9b).[60] These conscious mistranslations are best explained as a response to Egyptian slanders of Jews as

neighboring countries." Both stories said the flight from Egypt took seven days; the origin of the Jewish Sabbath was seen in this event. (Deut 5:15; Exod 16:23–30 also said the sabbath was first revealed to the Jews during the Exodus; cf. Gager, *Moses*, 53.)

55. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363D.

56. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363D.

57. Manetho LCL (Waddell) FF 1–4 list Osiris and Typhon as the last of the ruling gods, and Horus as the first demigod to rule Egypt. Several fragments of Manetho in Plutarch mention Typhon in other contexts.

58. Josephus, *Apion* 1.229, 250, discussed in Chapter 8.

59. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 8.354A. The identical tradition was found at Aelian, *On Animals* 10.16, and there credited to Manetho, rendering Plutarch's source certain.

60. Cf. Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Temple," 316–17.

ass-worshippers. Yet it is interesting that Exodus portrays Yahweh with features of Seth-Typhon. Yahweh, like Seth-Typhon, was the god of the foreigners,[61] the god of the desert.[62] And, like Seth-Typhon, he was responsible for drought,[63] plagues and disasters befalling Egypt.[64] Some of the ten plagues had specifically Sethian overtones: Seth was associated with darkness,[65] eclipses,[66] storms[67] and pestilence.[68] One plague turned the Nile to blood;[69] red was Seth's color.[70] The blood on the doorposts relates to the use of red in Egypt to ward off evil magically.[71] Mount Sinai, Yahweh's mountain, was described as enveloped in thunder and lightning,[72] fire[73] and earthquake,[74] all associated with Seth. The Exodus account appears to have adopted many negative powers of Seth-Typhon as positive powers of Yahweh that demonstrated his superiority over the gods of Egypt.

### 6. *Mnaseas of Patara*

In approximately 200 BCE, another allegation of Jewish Typhonianism appeared in the form of a story reported by Mnaseas of Patara, a Greek writer who spent some time in Egypt as a student of Eratosthenes.[75] According to this story, a golden ass's head was worshipped in Jerusalem's temple.[76] An individual identified

61. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 109–51; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 388.

62. Exod 5:3; 7:16; 19:1–2; cf. te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 115–18; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 388.

63. Cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 33.364B; 39.366C–D; 44.368F; 55.373D; 73.380C; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 59, 465, 487.

64. Exod 5–12; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 43.368D; 45.369A; 50.371D; 51.371E; 59.375B; 73.380C ("fatal diseases or other unwanted and extraordinary calamities"); Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Temple," 319–20. Bar-Kochva noted that Typhon was associated with "darkness, mass deaths, diseases and storms." Bar-Kochva argued that Egyptian association of Yahweh with Seth-Typhon was an Egyptian response to the story of the ten plagues in Exodus. The reverse appears more likely.

65. Exod 10:21–23; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 45.369A; 55.373D.

66. Exod 10:21–23; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 55.373D–E; 42.368A; 44.368F; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 508–9. Eclipses were described as Seth eating the Eye of Horus.

67. Exod 9:18–35; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 45.369A; 55.373D; te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 118, 128; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 304, 388.

68. Exod 9:15; 11:4–6; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 55.373D; 73.380C.

69. Exod 7:17–25; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 55.373D, where Seth was associated with poisoned water.

70. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 22.359E; 30.362E; 31.363B; 32.364B; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.88.4; Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 375, 408–9, 413–14, 493; Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Temple," 321. Bar-Kochva noted that Moses was described as "fiery red" in *Artapanus*, *OTP* F3 (Eusebius, *Preparation for the Gospel* 9.37), and that this same color was associated with Seth-Typhon at Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris*, 33.364B; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.88.4–5.

71. Exod 12:7, 13, 22–23; cf. Redford, *Egypt, Canaan and Israel*, 411.

72. Exod 19:16; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 55.373D.

73. Exod 19:18; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 33.364A; 39.366D; 64.376F.

74. Exod 19:18; cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 55.373D.

75. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:97; Suidas *s.v.* Eratosthenes.

76. According to Bar-Kochva ("An Ass in the Temple," 315 n. 14), Mnaseas described a wooden statue with a golden mask such as found in Egyptian temples (cf. Plutarch, *On Isis and*

as the Idumean Zabidus of "Dor" (obviously Adora[77]) was said to have used a ruse to enter the Jewish temple and steal the golden ass's head worshipped there. The ass being a symbol of Seth-Typhon, this story had obvious Typhonian overtones. Although the provenance of the story was seemingly Idumea, the content was clearly Egyptian. Significantly, Mnaseas wrote this story while studying under Eratosthenes in Egypt.[78] The story should thus be construed as anti-Jewish Egyptian propaganda, despite its putative setting in Judea and Idumean Adora.[79]

The *Rosetta Stone*, commemorating the crowning of the boy-king Ptolemy V Epiphanes in a traditional Egyptian ceremony conducted by the priests of Memphis in 196 BCE, also contained material with anti-Typhonian overtones. Among the other deeds of Ptolemy V celebrated in the *Rosetta Stone*, the suppression of a revolt at Lycopolis in the nome of Busiris appeared prominently.[80] As Polybius recorded, the native uprising was extinguished with exceptional brutality.[81] Ptolemy was described as putting down this rebellion in the same manner as Horus anciently defeated his profane enemies (i.e. Seth and his confederates) in the very same locale.[82] In Ptolemaic propaganda associated with Memphite Egyptian mythological traditions, rebels were thus associated with Seth-Typhon at the start of the second century BCE, when Mnaseas wrote.[83] It was also about this very same time—in 198 BCE—that Judea changed over from Ptolemaic to Seleucid rule. The Jews welcomed Antiochus III into Jerusalem and gave the Seleucid army every cooperation in evicting the Egyptian garrison from the citadel.[84] It seems likely that the allegations of Jewish ass-worship in Mnaseas of Patara reflected official Egyptian slanders against the Jews as Typhonian rebels in light of the defection of Jerusalem's high priest in the Fifth Syrian War. If so, the Mnaseas story may be more precisely dated to 198 BCE or later.

*Osiris* 72.380A, which said Egyptian animal-headed gods originated with kings wearing masks). Traditions of a golden ass's head in the Jewish temple probably alluded to Typhon in the form of a man with an asinine head (such as portrayed in an illustration at Budge, *Osiris*, 1:48) rather than a disembodied head.

77. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:101.

78. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:97. On Mnaseas as a student of Eratosthenes, see Suidas *s.v.* Mnaseas; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:524–25.

79. Zabidus of "Dor" was said to have been a worshipper of Apollo. Idumean soldiers resident in Egypt under the Ptolemies ca. 217–216 BCE (?) had a cult dedicated to Apollo (Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 108, 163 n. 4). This suggests that the story repeated by Mnaseas originated among Ptolemaic Idumean troops; cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:98, 101.

80. *Rosetta Stone* 22–28 (Greek), 12–16 (demotic), 19–23 (hieroglyphic).

81. Polybius, *Histories* 22.7.1.

82. The nome of Busiris was a prominent site for the Typhonia, yearly celebrations in which redheads were insulted and abused or even allegedly sacrificed as stand-ins for Seth-Typhon (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.88; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 30.362E; cf. 73.380D). Lycopolis in the Busiris nome had a special anti-Typhonian tradition: the use of trumpets was forbidden there, as they sounded similar to the braying of an ass, Typhon's animal (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 30.362F).

83. Mnaseas dated the fictional episode "in the course of a long war between the Jews and Idumeans" (Josephus, *Apion* 2.112), suggesting the story may have been associated with Jewish rebelliousness.

84. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.133, 138–39.

### 7. *Antiochus IV*

Further allegations of Jewish Typhonianism occurred at the time of the persecution of the Jews under Antiochus IV. The anti-Semitism of Antiochus IV was a direct transfer of Egyptian anti-Typhonian traditions to the Jews. This novel assertion may at first glance appear startling, given that Antiochus IV was a Seleucid and a Greek: why would his persecutions be based on an Egyptian mythical–ideological model? Yet Seleucid accusations of Jewish Typhonianism are clear-cut in the slanderous description of the Jewish religion and nation at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.

Antiochus IV Epiphanes reportedly entered the Jewish temple and discovered there either a golden ass's head (perhaps signifying a wooden statue with a golden mask in the form of an ass's head[85]) or "a stone statue of a heavily bearded man seated on an ass, with a Book in his hands, [which] he supposed it to be an image of Moses, the founder of Jerusalem and organizer of the nation."[86] The ass was a symbol of Seth-Typhon, who in Egyptian reliefs of the Ptolemaic period was sometimes pictured as a man with the head of an ass.[87] According to one Egyptian tradition, after Seth-Typhon's defeat by Horus, he fled Egypt on the back of an ass and then fathered two sons, Hierosolymus and Judaeus.[88] The alleged discovery of a statue of Moses astride an ass was doubtless intended to equate Moses, the founder of the Jewish nation, with Typhon.

Allegations of Jewish misanthropy and atheism figure prominently in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3. Misanthropy and atheism were also characteristic charges against the cult of Seth-Typhon, which was said to have been opposed to the Egyptians and all their gods.[89] *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates* described at great length the sacrilegious, atheistic actions Seth and his followers took against various cult sites in Egypt.[90] Seth-Typhon was also portrayed as an enemy of the gods in a legend in which the Egyptian gods all turned themselves into animals and fled out of fear of Seth-Typhon.[91] Jewish alleged misanthropy and hostility towards strangers was consciously reversed under Antiochus IV by rededicating the Jewish temple to Zeus Olympus and the Samaritan temple to Zeus Xenios[92] (or Zeus Hellenios[93]), the latter adjectives indicating that the new cult was dedicated to hospitality towards Greeks and strangers.[94]

85. Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Temple," 320.
86. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.
87. See n. 22 above.
88. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 31.363D, discussed earlier.
89. Cf. Josephus, *Apion* 1.239–40.
90. See n. 24 above. Seth's actions included entering temples, cutting down sacred groves, hunting and slaying sacred animals, fishes and birds, lassoing the Apis bull, eating the ram of Mendes, stealing treasures and sacred offerings, interrupting divine services and fomenting rebellion.
91. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.86.3; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 72.579E–F; Josephus, *Apion* 2.128; Griffiths, "The Flight of the Gods Before Typhon," 374–76.
92. 2 Macc 6:3.
93. Josephus, *Ant.* 12.263.
94. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 1:257–58.

The most slanderous accusation made by the associates of Antiochus IV against the Jews was that every year they sacrificed a foreigner, preferably a Greek.[95] This was nothing but a confused report of the Typhonia, a yearly Egyptian festival at which a foreigner was allegedly slain.[96] Ironically, the Typhonia may not have been a festival of the adherents of Seth-Typhon, but of Osiris, directed *against* Seth-Typhon.[97] Egyptians of the Saite period were infamous for their inhospitality to foreigners, largely on evidence of the Typhonia, at which foreigners were occasionally said to have been sacrificed.[98] Egyptian human sacrifice of strangers by the legendary King Busiris—an obvious allusion to the Typhonia[99]—was allegedly ended by Hercules.[100] Antiochus IV was portrayed in a similar role, ending the yearly sacrifice of foreigners by the Jews.[101]

The aberrant character of Antiochus IV's persecution of the Jews has often been noted.[102] Virtually all agree that the suppression of Judaism by Antiochus was inconsistent with the essential character of Hellenism.[103] Bickerman and

95. Josephus, *Apion* 2.89–96; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.

96. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 73.380D; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.88.5. Yoyotte ("Origins de l'Antijudaïsme," 141–42) wrote that alleged Jewish sacrifice of foreigners (in Suidas *s.v.* Damocritus) was based on Seth's dismemberment of Osiris.

97. Te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion*, 140 n. 1.

98. Sacrificial victims were usually described as redheads; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.67.10–11; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 22.359E; 30.362E–F; 31:363B; 33.364B; 73.380D; cf. Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 47, 551; A. Burton, *Diodorus Siculus Book I: A Commentary* (Leiden: Brill, 1972), 204–5. According to Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2.55, the humans selected as sacrificial victims were inspected for flaws like sacred calves. Porphyry, citing Manetho, said that Amosis (Verbrugghe and Wickersham, *Berossos and Manetho*, 165) had these human victims replaced with life-sized wax figures that were ritually "sacrificed" three times a day. This closely corresponds with the *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*, performed daily in the temple of Abydos, in which Seth was stabbed, mutilated and burned in the form of either a wooden dummy, a drawing on papyrus, or a figure in red wax (Urk. VI.36 §G.1; cf. van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 292–93).

99. The legend of King Busiris sacrificing strangers was clearly based on the Typhonia, which took place at Busiris (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.67.10–11; Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 30.362F), a name meaning "House of Osiris" (Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 369). Urk. VI.22 §E.3 appears to have spoken of Seth sacrificing humans (one among many of his outrages against the Egyptian cults): "He has made a slaughter of people at Busiris in the presence of Onnuphis the Justified [Osiris]."

100. Herodotus, *Histories* 2.45; cf. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.67.11. A depiction of Hercules slaying Busiris on an Etrurian vase dating ca. 525 BCE was discussed at J. Boardman, *The Greeks Overseas: Their Early Colonies and Trade* (2d ed.; London: Thames & Hudson, 1980), 150. A fragment of Pherekydes of Syros, the sixth-century BCE mythographer, also had Hercules slaying Busiris (Scholiast on Apollonius of Rhodes, *Argonautica* 4.1386). Other traditions said Egyptian hostility towards strangers came to an end under Amosis (Porphyry, *On Abstinence* 2.55, citing Manetho) or Psammetichus (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 1.67.9–10).

101. Josephus, *Apion* 2.92–93.

102. According to Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 1:284, "The religious suppression was unique in antiquity"; cf. Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:287.

103. Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 1:284; E. Bickerman, *God of the Maccabees: Studies in the Meaning and Origin of the Maccabean Revolt* (trans. H. Moehring; Leiden: Brill, 1979), 76–78; V. Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews* (New York: Atheneum, 1974), 179–80; Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 1:287.

others since have argued for this reason that the persecution of the Jews by Antiochus was actually instigated by the Jews associated with Menelaus rather than Antiochus.[104] Such earlier studies have failed to appreciate that this persecution took the specific form of the suppression of Typhonianism. Not only did Antiochus IV and his governors portray the Jewish religion as Typhonian, but the measures they took were likely also the same used against the cult of Seth-Typhon in Egypt. In *Ritual for the Expulsion of Seth and his Confederates*, the basic principle was enunciated that whatever evil deeds the followers of Seth had done, the same was to be done to them.[105] Thus, for instance, Seth-Typhon was said to have illegally entered all the Egyptian temples, where only the priests were allowed;[106] to have destroyed the sacred writings of the Egyptians;[107] and to have forced Egyptian temple priests to sacrifice and consume their own sacred animals.[108] Similarly, Antiochus IV entered the Jewish temple,[109] destroyed Jewish sacred writings[110] and forced Jews to consume swine's flesh,[111] the pig having been not only one of Seth-Typhon's special animals,[112] but also one forbidden to the Jews.[113] These may be recognized as the same sort of anti-religious measures used in Egypt against the cult of Seth-Typhon, transferred to the Jews. The historical persecution of the Egyptian cult of Seth-Typhon provided a ready-made model for the suppression of Judaism by Antiochus IV in 167 BCE.

104. Bickerman, *God of the Maccabees*, 76–78. See Grabbe, *Judaism from Cyrus to Hadrian*, 1:248–56, for a survey of theories about the Hellenization of Judea under Antiochus IV Epiphanes.

105. Urk. VI.12 §C.9: "They will repeat the evil you have committed."

106. Urk. VI.18–22 §E.3.

107. Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 2.351F. *Udjahorresnet Statue Inscription* lines 43–45 indicated that the "House of Life," the repository for Egyptian texts, had suffered under Cambyses; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 16.51.1–2 recorded that the Persians looted temple libraries in 343 BCE and later sold the sacred texts back to the Egyptians. According to the *Satrap Stele*, Ptolemy I restored books looted by the Egyptians (Murray, "Pharaonic Kingship," 142 n. 1).

108. Josephus, *Apion* 1.249. Sethian consumption of sacred animals was recorded at Urk. VI.18–24 §E.3.

109. 1 Macc 1:21–23; 2 Macc 5:15–16.

110. 1 Macc 1:56; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.

111. 1 Macc 1:47, 62–63; 2 Macc 6:5, 18; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.

112. The harassment and even sacrifice of animals sacred to Seth-Typhon was a known anti-Typhonian measure. According to Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 73.380B–D, in times of drought or plague—catastrophes attributed to the workings of Seth-Typhon—Egyptians would insult or threaten animals sacred to Seth and in severe circumstances even secretly sacrifice them. (The insult and sacrifice of red-complexioned men was said to have been an extreme such example.) Swine, though normally venerated as sacred to Typhon, were sacrificed at a yearly event with anti-Typhonian overtones, in retaliation for Seth's slaying and dismembering Osiris (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 8.354A).

113. A religious aversion to pork was shared by Jews and Egyptian priests, the latter due to the association of the boar with Seth-Typhon (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 8.354A); Egyptian ideas attributing leprosy to contact with swine (Plutarch, *On Isis and Osiris* 8.353F; Aelian, *On Animals* 10.16 [citing Manetho]; Tacitus, *Histories* 5.4; cf. Shäfer, *Judeophobia*, 66–81, especially p. 74) may also have played into slanders that the Jews originated among lepers. The near-obsessive preoccupation in Greco-Roman writing with Jewish avoidance of pork (as opposed to other Jewish categories of unclean animals) may stem from Egyptian accusations of Jewish Typhonianism.

Under Antiochus IV, the negative Egyptian traditions regarding the cult of Seth-Typhon were thus transferred *in toto* to the Jews. Worship of Typhon as an ass, Typhonian atheism, and human sacrifice at the Typhonia were all attributed to the Jews by Antiochus IV and formed the ideological basis for his suppression of Jewish religion in the same manner as Typhonianism was suppressed in Egypt.

Seleucid accusations of Jewish Typhonianism are comprehensible only in light of Antiochus IV's campaigns in Egypt in 170–168 BCE.[114] Under the misguided policy of the royal eunuchs Eulaeus and Lenaeus, the Egyptian army attempted an invasion of Syria in late 170 BCE and was defeated near Mount Casius. Ptolemy VI Philometer was captured and the Egyptian countryside came under Seleucid control, while Ptolemy "the Brother" held out in Alexandria. Antiochus remained in Egypt through much of 169 BCE, allegedly in order to restore Philometer to the Egyptian throne. After Antiochus withdrew to Syria the two brothers reconciled and announced their resumption of joint rule. Antiochus reinvaded Egypt in spring, 168 BCE, this time foregoing any claims of acting as Philometer's protector. At Memphis, Antiochus was crowned king "according to ancient Egyptian rites";[115] that is, the priests of Memphis proclaimed him pharaoh according to traditional practices. The Ptolemies similarly ruled as Pharaohs according to late Egyptian inscriptions.[116] The coronation of Alexander and later the Ptolemies took place at Memphis.[117] In conservative Memphite propaganda, tailored to well-understood native religious motifs, Ptolemaic pharaohs had assumed the mythological role of Horus while political rebels were characterized as Typhonians:[118] suppression of political revolt was described as a reenactment of Horus's victory over Typhon and his confederates.[119] This is brought out very clearly in the *Rosetta Stone*, written on the occasion of the inauguration of Ptolemy V as pharaoh by the priests of Memphis. This trilingual inscription described the brutal suppression of a rebellion in the

114. For the sequence of events, see T. Skeat, "Notes on Ptolemaic Chronology: II. 'The Twelfth Year Which is also the First': The Invasion of Egypt by Antiochus Epiphanes," *JEA* 47 (1961): 107–12; J. Ray, *The Archive of Hor* (London: Egypt Exploration Society, 1976), 14–20, 124–30. My thanks to Dierk Van den Berg for helpful comments on events and personalities of the Sixth Syrian War, including bibliography.

115. Porphyry *FGrH* 260 F49a; Jerome, *On Daniel* 11.24; Ray, *Archive of Hor*, 126–27.

116. Pharaonic language was used of the Ptolemies in the *Satrap Stele*, *Pithom Stele*, *Raphia Decree*, *Rosetta Stone* (see n. 120 below) and others. See Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 204, 224 n. 79, on the early Ptolemaic policy of cultural fusion with the Egyptians.

117. On Alexander's coronation, see *The Alexander Romance* 1.34.2; Arrian, *History of Alexander* 3.1.4; cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 300. On Ptolemy V Epiphanes, see the *Rosetta Stone*. The early Ptolemies recognized the importance of Memphis as the traditional capital of Egypt; cf. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists*, 204, 301.

118. J.-W. van Henten, "Typhon," *DDD*, cols. 1657–62 (1659); van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 290–91. As noted at Griffiths, *Plutarch's De Iside et Osiride*, 349, the legendary war of Horus and Seth-Typhon was a struggle over the sovereignty of Egypt in which Horus was the prototype of the Pharaoh and Seth a symbol of chaos and foreign oppression.

119. Van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 272, 290–91; van Henten, "Typhon," col. 1659.

Delta as a reenactment of Horus defeating Seth.[120] The same propaganda motifs would have applied to Antiochus as newly enthroned pharaoh in 168 BCE. It is thought that the crowning ceremony at Memphis involved a recitation or reenactment of the myth of Horus defeating Seth,[121] reinforcing the idea that Antiochus was exposed to this Egyptian political motif at his coronation. It was in the midst of Antiochus IV's second campaign of 168 BCE that Judea rebelled, an event that led directly to the persecution of the Jews. It can scarcely be coincidental that the Jews came to be perceived in Typhonian terms by the Seleucids at the precise historical juncture when Antiochus IV Epiphanes assumed the role of pharaoh-king of Egypt. Antiochus IV may have already applied Typhonian motifs to Ptolemy the Brother in 169 BCE, putatively on behalf of Ptolemy VI Philometer; such Typhonian imagery may also have been usefully applied—this time against both brothers—in 168 BCE. It appears that Antiochus IV adopted an identical anti-Typhonian ideology to justify the suppression of the Jewish rebellion in 168 BCE, quite likely in consultation with the Memphite priests who had enthroned him as pharaoh.

Significantly, the year 168 BCE also saw the defection of Ptolemy Macron and a number of his Cypriot troops to Antiochus IV Epiphanes. Ptolemy had been governor of Cyprus under Ptolemy VI Philometer and was held in high personal esteem by many of his troops on Cyprus, as inscriptions show.[122] In spring, 168 BCE, at the outset of Antiochus IV's second campaign, Ptolemy Macron surrendered Cyprus to the Seleucids. With no threat of a rear action from Cyprus, and indeed likely with the participation of Cypriot vessels and troops, Antiochus IV's second invasion of Egypt proceeded, this time by sea. When the Romans evicted Antiochus IV from Egypt on July 30, 168 BCE, Antiochus and his forces also withdrew by sea.[123] The Romans evicted the Seleucids from Cyprus about this time.[124] It was on his coasting return voyage from Egypt that Antiochus IV stopped to deal with the Judean rebellion. Antiochus IV assigned Ptolemy Macron and his Cypriot troops, *persona non grata* in Cyprus, to South Syria about this time. Ptolemy served as governor of Coele-Syria[125] during the years 168–164 BCE, that is, throughout the period of the persecution of the Jews.[126] As governor of Cyprus, Ptolemy Macron also held the title of high priest.[127] The

120. *Rosetta Stone* 10, 26 (Greek), 15 (demotic), 22 (hieroglyphic).

121. Van Henten, *DDD*, col. 1659. The *Rosetta Stone* 28 (Greek), 16 (demotic), 22–23 (hieroglyphic) said a number of rebels were impaled as part of the coronation ceremony of Ptolemy V Epiphanes in 196 BCE (cf. Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 261).

122. 2 Macc 10:12–13; T. Mitford, "Ptolemy Macron," in *Studi in Onore di Aristide Calderini e Roberto Paribeni* (2 vols.; Milan: Casa Editrice Ceschna, 1957), 1:180–82.

123. Ray, *Archive of Hor*, 18, 127.

124. Polybius, *Histories* 29.27.10; Livy, *Histories* 14.12.7–8; cf. Ray, *Archive of Hor*, 127.

125. 2 Macc 8:8.

126. 2 Macc 10:12–13 shows Ptolemy Macron went over to Antiochus IV in 168 BCE. On the initiation of the persecutions in 168 BCE, see 1 Macc 1:29–64; 2 Macc 6:1–11. Ptolemy Macron died by poison in 164 BCE, when Lysias succeeded him as governor of Coele-Syria. On the 164 BCE rescinding of the orders suppressing the Jewish religion, see 2 Macc 11:22–26.

127. Mitford, "Ptolemy Macron," 1:174.

imagery of Horus and Seth-Typhon will have been familiar to both Ptolemy Macron and the troops under his command, who may have played a key role in the Typhonian persecutions of 168 BCE and thereafter. When Ptolemy Macron defected to Antiochus, he is known to have brought with him a number of very loyal Cypriot mercenaries. Prominent among these was Nicanor the Cypriarch, or commander of the Cypriot troops.[128] Cypriot troops were stationed in Jerusalem's citadel[129] and perhaps elsewhere in Judea or Samaria.[130] Ptolemy Macron's description as lenient and moderate in his policies towards the Jews at 2 Macc 10:12 is highly doubtful:[131] 2 Macc 6:8 indicates the decree forcibly to Hellenize the Jews came personally from Ptolemy,[132] and Nicanor the Cypriarch, his lieutenant, figured very prominently in the persecution of the Jews.[133] Second Maccabees 8:9 indicted Nicanor for executing the genocidal policies of Ptolemy Macron. The suppression of Jewish "Typhonianism" thus took place in the direct aftermath of Antiochus IV's brief tenure as Egyptian pharaoh and at a time when Cypriot mercenaries, formerly serving the Ptolemies, were charged with maintaining order in Jerusalem and Judea. Given these historical circumstances, the characterization of the rebellious Jews as adherents of Seth-Typhon must be interpreted as a Seleucid adoption of Ptolemaic propaganda motifs in order to justify the repressive measures taken against the Jewish people. Through these unique historical circumstances, what was originally a local Egyptian motif of anti-Semitism came to be transferred to the wider Hellenistic world with tragic and deplorable results.

### 8. *Apollonius Molon*

The virulent accusation of Jewish Typhonianism and the suppression of Jewish religion in the 160s BCE were likely first recorded by a court historian of

128. 2 Macc 12:2.

129. 2 Macc 4:28–29 indicated that a unit of Cypriot troops was stationed in the citadel, their duties including tax collection. The mention of this Cypriot unit at 4.28–29 is anachronistic in the context of events of 173 BCE; the Cypriots did not arrive in Judea until Ptolemy Macron's defection in 168 BCE.

130. 2 Macc 12:21; B. Bar-Kochva, *Judas Maccabaeus: The Jewish Struggle Against the Seleucids* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 116.

131. Nicanor was similarly portrayed as the dear friend of Judas Maccabaeus at 2 Macc 14:23–25, not long before the battle of Nicanor. Such melodramatic coloring is of doubtful historical value. That 2 Macc 8:9 had Ptolemy instructing Nicanor to wipe out the Jewish race contradicts the alleged peaceful intentions of Ptolemy asserted at 2 Macc 10:12.

132. 2 Macc 6:8: "At the suggestion of the Ptolemies [or, *of Ptolemy*] a decree was issued to the neighboring Greek cities that they should adopt the same policy toward the Jews and make them partake of the sacrifices, and should kill those who did not choose to change over to Greek customs." *Ptolemy* is usually emended to read *Ptolemais*, but is best taken to refer to Ptolemy Macron, the governor of Coele-Syria, who had the authority to implement regional measures against the Jews. The forcible compulsion of the Jews to participate in a festival of Dionysius (2 Macc 6:7; cf. Nicanor's plans to replace the temple cult with one to Dionysius in 162 BCE at 2 Macc 14:33) is reminiscent of the Egyptian cult of Dionysius under Ptolemy IV Philopater (Bevan, *The House of Ptolemy*, 233–34).

133. 2 Macc 8:9; 14:33.

Antiochus IV, who was in turn used by Timochares (late second century BCE) in his biography of Antiochus VII Sidetes.[134] His account in turn was utilized in the slanderous book by Apollonius Molon which gave credit to the old Egyptian allegation that the Jewish temple held a statue of Seth-Typhon in the form of an ass, and that at a special yearly festival the Jews sacrificed a foreigner in their temple in a rite accompanied by an oath of hostility to all non-Jews, especially Greeks.[135] Apollonius Molon's book, the first Hellenistic book in Greek entirely devoted to the Jews, gave total credibility to the anti-Typhonian propaganda circulated under Antiochus IV. Apollonius systematically attacked the Jews as atheists and misanthropes.[136] The Jews were said to have "avoided dealings with any other people" and to have "looked upon all men as their enemies."[137] Apollonius claimed that as a result of their expulsion from Egypt, they "made their hatred of mankind into a tradition" and introduced various antisocial laws.[138] Apollonius was a very important figure in first-century BCE Rhodes; both Caesar and Cicero were his students.[139] His influential work signaled a new phase of anti-Semitic rhetoric in Rhodes and Asia Minor.

The specific reasons for Apollonius Molon's anti-Semitic tract were not stated in surviving fragments, but can be tentatively reconstructed as follows. Apollonius Molon appears to have written in ca. 88 BCE, when Asia Minor was in the throes of the First Mithridatic War. Mithridates captured the Roman general who had instigated the war, Manius Aquilius, and humiliated him by leading him around bound on the back of an ass, before executing him by pouring molten gold down his throat.[140] Mithridates the Great seized the Roman province of Asia, secretly conspiring with the Asiatics to slay all Romans in a single day,[141] and confiscating various treasures stored in Asia. Mithridates was welcomed on the island of Cos,[142] where he seized funds deposited in the temple of Asklepias by Cleopatra in 102 BCE along with 800 talents of the Jews.[143] These latter funds likely represented the wealth of Alexandrian Jews,[144] deposited at Cos by the Jewish generals Chelkias and Ananias who were prominent in Cleopatra's army of 102 BCE.[145] These treasures were sent back to Pontus, where

134. Bar-Kochva, "An Ass in the Jewish Temple," 313; cf. Stern, *GLAJJ* §41.

135. Josephus, *Apion* 2.89–96 (quoting Apion); cf. 2.79, where Posidonius and Apollonius Molon were cited as Apion's sources.

136. Josephus, *Apion* 2.89–96; Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.

137. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3, drawing on Posidonius, who in turn drew on Apollonius Molon (see §9 below).

138. Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.2; cf. Josephus, *Apion* 2.148.

139. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:148; Cicero, *Brutus* 316; Plutarch, *Cicero* 4; *Caesar* 3.

140. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 3.21.

141. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.22–23.

142. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.23.

143. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.23; Josephus, *Ant.* 14.112 (citing Strabo).

144. Cf. discussion at Marcus, *Josephus*, 7:506 n. a. Josephus denied that the 800 talents came from Alexandria and conjectured that it represented funds stored by Jews of Asia Minor "out of fear of Mithridates" (*Ant.* 14.113), but Josephus's comments appear intended to defend the Jews from charges of being allied with Mithridates.

145. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.348–51.

additional warships were under construction.[146] Mithridates' fleet of 300 decked war vessels was used to attack and besiege Rhodes.[147] Apollonius Molon's book on the Jews likely reflected concerns that further Jewish funds would fall into the hands of Rhodes' enemies; indeed, that the Jews had joined the growing ranks of "barbaric" native eastern nations aligned against Greeks and Romans.[148] Apollonius Molon emphasized this issue by claiming that the Jews sacrificed, not foreigners generally (as in the Egyptian version of Jewish Typhonianism), but Greeks; and that Jews swore an oath of hostility to Greeks everywhere.[149] It may be suggested that these slanders reflected current Rhodian Greek paranoia towards local Jewish communities in Asia Minor in the crisis of the First Mithridatic War. This interpretation of Apollonius Molon's essay on the Jews is supported by two arguments. First, at *Apion* 2.228, Josephus referred to "the countless calamities which changes of rulers in Asia have involved us."[150] This may refer to the changing fortunes of Asia Minor in the Mithridatic Wars. Josephus, *Apion* Book 2 extensively countered Apollonius Molon. That the First Mithridatic War formed the backdrop of Apollonius Molon's book on the Jews helps explain Josephus's enigmatic references to the "countless calamities" the Jews of Asia endured. Secondly, Apollonius Molon's resurrection (and possible amplification) of the old theme of Jewish (Typhonian) atheism and misanthropy[151] from the days of Antiochus IV Epiphanes is hardly explicable except in the face of the crisis of the First Mithridatic War. Apollonius Molon's slanderous accusation that Jews entered into a secret oath to slay Greeks appears grotesque: yet such a paranoid theory becomes comprehensible in light of the infamous oath that supporters of Mithridates in Asia entered into and indeed executed against the Romans. Apollonius Molon (and his fellow Rhodians)

146. On Mithridates' construction of a fleet of 300 decked ships in 89–88 BCE, see Appian, *Mithridatic War* 2.13; 3.15, 17.

147. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.24–27. Interestingly, it was said that during the siege of Rhodes in 88 BCE an apparition of Isis was seen hurling fire on the Mithridatic ships that were assaulting the part of the city wall where a Rhodian temple of Isis stood (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 4.26). Rhodes had long been on friendly terms with Egypt, and indeed had created the cult of Ptolemy I Soter in 304 BCE out of gratitude for Egyptian assistance in supplying the island with grain during the siege by Demetrius (Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 20.96.1–3; 98.1; 100.3–4; Pausanias, *Guide to Greece* 1.8.6). It may be assumed that the Rhodians were familiar with the basic themes of the conflict of Isis and Horus against Seth and his confederates. In the siege of Rhodes, the barbarian hordes were cast in the role of Sethian rebels. This category may have extended to the Jews and traitorous Egyptians at Cos who were viewed as collaborators with Mithridates.

148. Compare the later (unfounded) accusation that the Jews were aligned with the pirates against Rome at Josephus, *Ant.* 14.43. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 2.13; 3.16 claimed Mithridates was allied with the Parthians as well as "kings of Egypt and Syria" in 88 BCE; the kings of Syria may have included Alexander Jannaeus. Demetrius III attempted to overthrow Alexander Jannaeus in 88 BCE (cf. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.376–86). The Parthian capture of Demetrius III in 88 BCE, which removed a significant threat to the reign of Alexander Jannaeus, would have been interpreted as corroborating an alliance of Jews and Parthians with Mithridates against the Greeks.

149. Josephus, *Apion* 2.89–96, drawing on Apollonius Molon as source (cf. 2.79).

150. "Asia" of course referred to the Roman province of Asia in western Asia Minor.

151. Josephus, *Apion* 2.148.

feared that eastern animosity was directed to all humankind (meaning Greco-Romans) and that the Jews fully participated in this barbaric misanthropy. It is difficult to make sense of Apollonius Molon's virulent anti-Semitism otherwise.

### 9. *Posidonius*

The philosopher Posidonius, an important contemporary of Apollonius Molon at Rhodes, repeated the Typhonian propaganda associated with Antiochus IV's persecution of the Jews.[152] It is probable that his history was the immediate source for the account of Antiochus IV's discovery of a golden ass's head in the temple and other slanderous tales recorded in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3. According to this quasi-historical account, advisers of Antiochus VII Sidetes present at the siege of Jerusalem in ca. 134 BCE sought to persuade Sidetes to destroy the Jewish temple and people, pointing out the manifold evidence of Jewish misanthropy and Typhonianism allegedly uncovered by Antiochus IV. Antiochus VII Sidetes rejected his counselors' advice and instead negotiated a cordial peace with the Jews. The virulent anti-Semitic slanders associated with the Jewish persecution of Antiochus IV were thus repeated within the context of the favorable treatment of the Jews by Antiochus VII.[153]

Discussion of Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35 has generally centered on whether Posidonius or Apollonius Molon was the immediate source, with the weight of opinion favoring Posidonius; and secondarily, whether Posidonius was himself an anti-Semite.[154] Deciding these issues involves evaluating the function of the mini-story of Antiochus VII's anti-Semitic advisors within the larger framework of the account of the siege of Jerusalem. The story of Antiochus's advisors does not read credibly as history. Rather, their attempts to persuade Antiochus VII to destroy the Jews reads like a Thucydidean speech where the historian invented dialogue imagined appropriate to a historical episode. The author—Posidonius—imagined that Antiochus's advisors presented him with a series of rhetorical arguments for the harsh treatment of the Jews. These slanderous allegations against the Jews appear to have drawn on Apollonius Molon. In Posidonius's dramatization of events, Antiochus properly chose to reject the anti-Semites' virulent urgings of his counselors. Indeed, he sent sacrificial animals into the Jews during the midst of the siege, winning praise from the Jews. As a result of his commendable politics of moderation, the Jews were won over as loyal allies.

152. Josephus, *Apion* 2.7.

153. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.245 reported Antiochus VII Sidetes' rejection of the advice of his anti-Semitic counselors at the siege of Jerusalem, citing Posidonius as source. Josephus, *Apion* 2.7 claimed Posidonius wrote that Antiochus IV discovered an ass's head in Jerusalem's temple. Both elements were found in the extended account of Antiochus VII at Jerusalem in Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3, and Diodorus is thought to have relied primarily on Posidonius throughout books 32–37 (cf. Bar-Kochva, *Pseudo-Hecataeus*, 290; Edelstein and Kidd, *Posidonius*, 1:xviii n. 1). One may therefore accept Posidonius as the source for Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 34/35.1.3.

154. Cf. Stern, *GLAJJ*, 1:184.

The semi-fictional debate between Antiochus VII and his anti-Semitic advisors thinly disguised the debate between Posidonius and Apollonius Molon at Rhodes. Apollonius Molon was a prominent voice favoring harsh measures against the Jews. Posidonius was the opposing voice of reason and moderation. Posidonius's account of the siege of Jerusalem by Antiochus VII Sidetes in ca. 134 BCE may have in part been intended to counteract Apollonius Molon's virulently anti-Semitic views. Posidonius's history concluded with events of ca. 85 BCE, when the Mithridatic Wars were still being fought, and when Apollonius Molon's fears of Jewish alignment with Mithridates was still highly relevant, especially in light of Tigranes' recent conquest of Syria. It is thus significant that Posidonius not only emphasized the friendship of Antiochus VII Sidetes and the Jews, but also saw fit to record the participation of John Hyrkanus I in Antiochus VII's campaign against Phraates II of Parthia in 133 BCE.[155] This detail may have been intended to show that the Jews were more closely aligned with the Greeks than with the powers of the east, countering Apollonius Molon's basic thesis of Jewish hatred of Greeks.

### 10. *Pompey and Theophanes*

Interestingly, Posidonius was a friend of Pompey, and is thought to have exerted considerable influence on Pompey's policies in the east. Pompey's policy of leniency towards the pirates is thought to show influence of Posidonius's philosophy of political moderation.[156] Pompey visited Posidonius at Rhodes before embarking on his campaign against Mithridates,[157] and again in 62 BCE after the successful conclusion of the war.[158] During the campaign itself, it is likely that Pompey and his historian and political advisor Theophanes consulted Posidonius's history for background on affairs in the east. Pompey's lenient treatment of the Jews after the siege of Jerusalem in 63 BCE is highly reminiscent of Antiochus VII's earlier treatment of the Jews as presented in Posidonius, perhaps suggesting that Pompey took Posidonius's history into account. Even more intriguing is Pompey's entry into the temple to see for himself what was hidden inside, something that had not been done since Antiochus IV violated the temple and reportedly discovered there a golden image of an ass as well as a Greek hostage being fattened up for sacrifice. It may well be that Pompey's inspection of the temple was not prompted by mere curiosity, but was intended to dispel these slanderous rumors of ass-worship and human sacrifice. Pompey's viewing of the inner temple and his discovery of Jewish aniconography may be seen as dispelling the anti-Semitic lies of Apollonius Molon and his ilk (which

155. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.251. Mithridates the Great was allied with Tigranes of Armenia (by marriage) and Arsaces of Parthia (Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 2.13; 3.15).

156. Strassburger, "Posidonius on Problems of the Roman Empire," 42–43. At p. 43 n. 37, Strassburger compared the explanations of the rise of piracy from conditions of social distress in Plutarch and Appian with Posidonius's account of the origins of the first Sicilian slave revolt.

157. Strabo, *Geography* 11.1.6.

158. Pliny, *Natural History* 7.112; Plutarch, *Pompey* 42.5.

Pompey and Theophanes could have been familiar with by their reading of Posidonius).

Posidonius, though favorably inclined towards the Jews, still acknowledged Jewish ethnic self-isolation.[159] Posidonius similarly considered the Spartan legislator Lycurgus on a par with the greatest Greek lawgivers,[160] despite Spartan laws forbidding foreigners from residing among them. It would thus appear that Posidonius acknowledged but excused Jewish ethnic exclusiveness, much as he excused the antisocial behavior of the pirates as stemming from their economic distress after the Mithridatic War, which Posidonius considered an ameliorating factor that should be taken into account in their treatment at the hand of Rome.[161] Theophanes of Mytilene may have drawn directly on Posidonius for a sentence found at Diodorus Siculus, *Library* 40.3.4: "For as a result of their own expulsion from Egypt he [Moses] introduced a life which is somewhat unsocial and hostile to strangers."[162] This shows a certain awareness of Apollonius Molon's claim that the Jews instituted antisocial and misanthropic laws as a result of their expulsion from Egypt; yet Apollonius Molon's harsh accusation of Jewish *misanthropy* had been softened into *apanthropy*, and their "hatred of mankind" was now described as a way of life that was "somewhat anti-social." Their expulsion from Egypt was now cited as an ameliorating factor in their unfriendly behavior. All this sounds very much like the moderate politics of Posidonius.[163] The writings of Posidonius and Theophanes and the actions of Pompey thus all appear to show both an awareness of and opposition to Apollonius Molon's slanders.

## 11. *Conclusions*

To summarize, the evolution of anti-Semitism appears to have been governed by local political developments. Its origin is to be sought in the unpopular position of Jewish soldiers in Egypt as occupation forces in Persian employ, which led to the first characterization of the Jews as devotees of Seth-Typhon. Hellenic anti-Semitism in the 160s BCE was by no means a new or unique phenomenon, but a transfer of Egyptian anti-Typhonianism to the Jews as a result of the unfortunate juxtaposition of Antiochus IV's brief aspirations as Egyptian pharaoh and the abbreviated rebellion of Jerusalem in 168 BCE. Anti-Semitism found a new home in Asia Minor at the turn of the first century BCE, perhaps through fear of

159. Josephus, *Ant.* 13.247 claimed that Jewish *amixia* prompted them to refuse to allow Antiochus VII Sidetes to place garrisons of foreign troops in Judea, though they accepted all the other terms of the negotiated peace. Josephus cited Nicolaus of Damascus on Antiochus VII Sidetes (*Ant.* 13.251); Nicolaus of Damascus in turn likely drew on Posidonius (Marcus, *Josephus*, 7: 350 n. c).

160. Seneca, *Letters* 90.6.

161. Cf. Appian, *Mithridatic Wars* 14.92, 96; Plutarch, *Pompey* 28.3–4. See Strassburger, "Posidonius on Problems of the Roman Empire," 42–43, on the possible use of Posidonius by Plutarch and Appian.

162. See Chapter 3, §§2–5 on Theophanes as Diodorus Siculus's source for *Library* 40.1–4.

163. Cf. Strassburger, "Posidonius on Problems of the Roman Empire," 40–53.

Jewish alignment with Mithridates the Great. Pompey and his literary circles sought to moderate the anti-Semitism of Apollonius Molon, with limited success. Further developments are relatively well known and need not be discussed here.[164]

164. See, for example, van Henten and Abusch, "The Jews as Typhonians," 280–84, where the authors discuss the theme of Jewish Typhonianism that resurfaced in the writings of Chaeremon. Tacitus, *Histories* 5.3–4 also contained a cluster of Typhonian themes lifted from an earlier author, perhaps Lysimachus.

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