
ARTAPANUS

INTRODUCTION

Artapanus was a historian of Alexandrian Jewish origin who is believed to have lived in Alexandria, during the 3rd or 2nd Century BCE. Although most scholars assume Artapanus lived in Alexandria, others argue he resided in the countryside – but he certainly lived in Egypt.

For the excerpts from *Praeparatio Evangelica*, the Greek is from, “Eusebius: Eusebii Caesariensis Opera,” Volume 1-2. Dindorf, Ludwig, editor. Leipzig: Teubner, 1867 and the English text is based on the translation of Edwin Hamilton Gifford (1903); for the excerpt of *Stromata*, the Greek text is from, “Clemens Alexandrinus: Stromata,” Stählin, Otto, ed. Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1906-1909 and the English text is based on the translation of William Wilson (1885).

It is important to bear in mind that we do not have actual excerpts from Artapanus but only the summaries of Alexander Polyhistor, insofar as these have been preserved by Eusebius; the parallel in Clement is limited to a single incident (the nocturnal visit of Moses to the king) and it omits some of the miraculous details of the text in Eusebius.

AUTHORSHIP AND DATES

Artapanus wrote “Concerning the Jews,” a history of the Jews, in Greek, between 250 and 100 BCE but the text has not survived. Artapanus’ vocabulary has many points of contact with classical Greek literature as well as the Koine of the Hellenistic age.

FRAGMENT 1 (ON ABRAHAM)

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA, 9.18.1

¹ Ἀρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὀνομάζεσθαι Ἑρμιούθ, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλλάδα φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμου. τοῦτον δέ φησι πανοικίᾳ ἐλθεῖν εἰς Αἴγυπτον πρὸς τὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέα Φαρεθώνην, καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν αὐτὸν διδάξαι· μέιναντα δὲ ἔτη ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι πάλιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τόπους· τῶν δὲ τούτῳ συνελθόντων πολλοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταμεῖναι διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας.

¹ Artabanus, in his Jewish History, says that the Jews were called Ermiuth, which when interpreted in the Greek language means Judaeans, and that they were called Hebrews from Abraham. And he, they say, came with all his household into Egypt, to Pharethothes the king of the Egyptians, and taught him astrology; and, after remaining there for twenty years, moved back again into the regions of Syria, but many of those who had come with him remained in Egypt because of the prosperity of the country.

FRAGMENT 2 (ON JOSEPH)

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA, 9.23.1-4

¹ Ἀρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῷ Ἀβραάμ Ἰωσήφ ἀπόγονον γενέσθαι, υἱὸν δὲ Ἰακώβου· συνέσει δὲ καὶ φρονήσει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διενεγκόντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλευθῆναι· προιδόμενον δὲ τὴν ἐπισύστασιν δεηθῆναι τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀράβων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτὸν διακομίσαι· τοὺς δὲ τὸ ἐντυχανόμενον ποιῆσαι· εἶναι γὰρ τοὺς τῶν Ἀράβων βασιλεῖς ἀπογόνους Ἰσραὴλ, υἱοὺς τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, Ἰσαὰκ δὲ ἀδελφούς. ² ἔλθόντα δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον καὶ συσταθέντα τῷ βασιλεῖ διοικητὴν τῆς ὅλης γενέσθαι χώρας, καὶ πρότερον ἀτάκτως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεωμορούντων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν κρεισσόνων ἀδικουμένων, τοῦτον πρῶτον τὴν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὅροις διασημήνασθαι, καὶ πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωργήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι, καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκληρῶσαι. ³ τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μέτρα εὐρεῖν, καὶ μεγάλως αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων διὰ ταῦτα ἀγαπηθῆναι. γῆμαι δ' αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπόλιτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς γεννησάιναι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενέσθαι πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφούς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὑπαρξιν, καὶ κατοικισθῆναι ἐν τῇ πόλει Καισάν, καὶ τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. ⁴ τούτους δὲ φησι καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἄθῳ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαι τοὺς Ἑρμιουθ ὀνομαζομένους. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα

¹ Artapanus says, in his book 'Concerning the Jews', that Joseph was a descendant of Abraham and son of Jacob; and, because he surpassed his brothers in understanding and wisdom, they plotted against him. But he became aware of their conspiracy and besought the neighbouring Arabs to convey him across to Egypt, and they did what he requested; for, the kings of the Arabians are offshoots of Israel, being sons of Abraham and brothers of Isaac. ² And, when he had come to Egypt and been commended to the king, he was made administrator of the whole country. And whereas the Egyptians previously occupied the land in an irregular way, because the country was not divided, and the weaker were unjustly treated by the stronger, he was the first to divide the land, and mark it out with boundaries; and much that lay waste he rendered fit for tillage, and allotted certain of the arable lands to the priests. ³ He was also the inventor of measures and, for these things, he was greatly beloved by the Egyptians. He married Aseneth a daughter of the priest of Heliopolis, by whom he fathered sons. And, afterwards, his father and his brothers came to him, bringing much substance, and were set to dwell in Heliopolis and Sais, and the Syrians multiplied in Egypt. ⁴ These he says built both the temple in Athos and that in Heliopolis, and were called Ermiuth. Soon

τελευτῆσαι τόν τε Ἰωσήφ καὶ τὸν βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων.
τὸν οὖν Ἰωσήφ κρατοῦντα τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ
σῆτον, γενόμενον κατὰ τὴν φορὰν ἄπλετον, παραθέσθαι, καὶ
τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεσπότην γενέσθαι.

afterwards, Joseph died, as did also the king of Egypt. So,
Joseph, while governor of Egypt, stored up the corn of the
seven years, which had been immensely productive, and
became master of Egypt.

FRAGMENT 3 (ON MOSES)

EUSEBIUS, PRAEPARATIO EVANGELICA, 9.27.1-37

¹ Ἀρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τῇ περὶ Ἰουδαίων, Ἀβραὰμ τελευτήσαντος καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ αὐτοῦ Μεμψασθενώθ, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τοῦ βασιλέως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων, τὴν δυναστείαν παραλαβεῖν τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Παλμανώθην. ² τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φάυλως προσφέρεσθαι· καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν Κεσσάν οἰκοδομῆσαι, τό τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἱερὸν καθιδρύσασθαι, εἴτα τὸν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ναὸν κατασκευάσαι. ³ τοῦτον δὲ γεννῆσαι θυγατέρα Μέρριν, ἣν Χενεφρῇ τινι κατεγγυῆσαι, τῶν ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν τόπων βασιλεύοντι· πολλοὺς γὰρ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν· ταύτην δὲ στεῖραν ὑπάρχουσιν ὑποβλέσθαι τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παιδίον, τοῦτο δὲ Μώϋσον ὀνομάσαι· ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν Ἑλλήνων αὐτὸν ἀνδρωθέντα Μουσαῖον προσαγορευθῆναι. ⁴ γενέσθαι δὲ τὸν Μώϋσον τοῦτον Ὀρφέως διδάσκαλον· ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν πολλὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐχρηστα παραδοῦναι. καὶ γὰρ πλοῖα καὶ μηχανὰς πρὸς τὰς λιθοθεσίας, καὶ τὰ Αἰγυπτία ὄπλα, καὶ τὰ ὄργανα τὰ ὑδρευτικά καὶ πολεμικά καὶ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν ἐξευρεῖν· ἔτι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς λς' νομοὺς διελεῖν, καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν νομῶν ἀποτάξαι τὸν θεὸν σεφθήσεσθαι, τὰ τε ἱερὰ γράμματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν· εἶναι δὲ καὶ αἰλούρους καὶ κύνας καὶ ἴβεις· ἀπονεῖμαι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξάιρετον χώραν. ⁵ ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιῆσαι χάριν τοῦ τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν τῷ Χενεφρῇ διαφυλάξαι. πρότερον γὰρ ἀδιατάκτους ὄντας τοὺς

¹ And Artapanus says, in his book 'Concerning the Jews', that after the death of Abraham, and of his son Mempsasthenoth, and likewise of the king of Egypt, his son Palmanoths succeeded to the sovereignty. ² This king behaved badly to the Jews; and first he built Kessa, and founded the temple therein, and then built the temple in Heliopolis. ³ He fathered a daughter Merris, whom he betrothed to a certain Chenephres, king of the regions above Memphis (for, there were at that time many kings in Egypt); and she being barren took a supposititious child from one of the Jews and called him Moses; but by the Greeks he was called, when grown to manhood, Musaeus. ⁴ And this Moses, they said, was the teacher of Orpheus; and, when grown up, he taught mankind many useful things. For, he was the inventor of ships, and machines for laying stones, and Egyptian arms, and engines for drawing water and for war; and he invented philosophy. Further, he divided the State into thirty-six Nomes and appointed the god to be worshipped by each Nome, and the sacred writing for the priests, and their gods were cats, and dogs, and ibises; he also apportioned a special district for the priests. ⁵ All these things he did for the sake of keeping the sovereignty firm and safe for Chenephres. For, previously the multitudes, being under no order, now expelled and

ὄχλους ποτὲ μὲν ἐκβάλλειν, ποτὲ δὲ καθιστάνειν βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἐνιάκις δὲ ἄλλους. ⁶ διὰ ταῦτα οὖν τὸν Μώϋσον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων ἀγαπηθῆναι, καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἰσοθέου τιμῆς καταξιωθέντα προσαγορευθῆναι Ἑρμῆν, διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν. ⁷ τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν ὁρῶντα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Μωϋσίου φθονῆσαι αὐτῷ, καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ' εὐλόγῳ αἰτία τινὶ ἀνελεῖν. καὶ δὴ ποτε τῶν Αἰθιοπίων ἐπιστρατευσαμένων τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ τὸν Χενεφρῆν ὑπολαβόντα εὐρηκέναι καιρὸν εὖθετον πέμψαι τὸν Μώϋσον ἐπ' αὐτοὺς στρατηγὸν μετὰ δυνάμεως· τὸ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν αὐτῷ συστῆσαι πλῆθος, ὑπολαβόντα ῥαδίως αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν τῶν στρατιωτῶν ἀσθένειαν ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι. ⁸ τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἐλθόντα ἐπὶ τὸν Ἑρμοπολίτην ὀνομαζόμενον νομόν, ἔχοντα περὶ δέκα μυριάδας γεωργῶν, αὐτοῦ καταστρατοπεδεῦσαι· πέμψαι δὲ στρατηγοὺς τοὺς προκαθεδουμένους τῆς χώρας, οὓς δὴ πλεοκεκτεῖν ἐπιφανῶς κατὰ τὰς μάχας· λέγειν δέ φησιν Ἑλιοπολίτας τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἔτη δέκα. ⁹ τοὺς οὖν περὶ τὸν Μώϋσον διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς στρατιᾶς πόλιν ἐν τούτῳ κτίσαι τῷ τόπῳ καὶ τὴν ἰβὶν ἐν αὐτῇ καθιερωσαι, διὰ τὸ ταύτην τὰ βλάπτοντα ζῶα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἀναιρεῖν. προσαγορεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὴν Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν. ¹⁰ οὕτω δὴ τοὺς Αἰθίοπας, καίπερ ὄντας πολεμίους, στέρξαι τὸν Μώϋσον ὥστε καὶ τὴν περιτομὴν τῶν αἰδοίων παρ' ἐκείνου μαθεῖν· οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας. ¹¹ τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν, λυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου, λόγῳ μὲν αὐτὸν ἀποδέξασθαι, ἔργῳ δὲ ἐπιβουλεύειν. Παρελόμενον γοῦν

now set up kings, often the same persons but sometimes others. ⁶ For these reasons, then, Moses was beloved by the multitudes and, being deemed by the priests worthy to be honoured like a god, was named Hermes, because of his interpretation of the Hieroglyphics. ⁷ But, when Chenephres perceived the excellence of Moses, he envied him, and sought to slay him on some plausible pretext. And so, when the Ethiopians invaded Egypt, Chenephres supposed that he had found a convenient opportunity, and sent Moses in command of a force against them, and enrolled the body of husbandmen for him, supposing that through the weakness of his troops he would easily be destroyed by the enemy. ⁸ But Moses, with about a hundred thousand of the husbandmen, came to the so-called Nome of Hermopolis, and there encamped; and he sent generals to pre-occupy the country, who gained remarkable successes in their battles. He adds that the people of Heliopolis say that this war went on for ten years. ⁹ So Moses, because of the greatness of his army, built a city in this place, and therein consecrated the ibis, because this bird kills the animals that are noxious to man. And he called it Hermes' city. ¹⁰ Thus, then the Ethiopians, though they were enemies, became so fond of Moses that they even learned from him the custom of circumcision; and not they only, but also all their priests. ¹¹ But, when the war was ended, Chenephres pretended to welcome him, while in reality continuing to plot against him. So, he took his troops from him and sent some to the

αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄχλους τοὺς μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρια τῆς Αἰθιοπίας πέμψαι προφυλακῆς χάριν, τοῖς δὲ προστάξαι τὸν ἐν Διὸς πόλει ναὸν ἐξ ὀπτῆς πλίνθου κατασκευασμένον καθαιρεῖν, ἕτερον δὲ λίθινον κατασκευάσαι τὸ πλησίον ὅρος λατομήσαντας τάξαι δὲ ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκοδομίας ἐπιστάτην Ναχέρωτα. ¹² τὸν δὲ ἐλθόντα μετὰ Μωϋσίου εἰς Μέμφιν πυθέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῦ εἴ τι ἄλλο ἐστὶν εὐχρηστον τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· τὸν δὲ φάναι γένος τῶν βοῶν, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ τούτων ἀροῦσθαι· τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν, προσαγορεύσαντα ταῦρον Ἄπιν, κελεῦσαι ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ τοὺς ὄχλους καθιδρύσασθαι, καὶ τὰ ζῶα τὰ καθιερωθέντα ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωϋσίου κελεύειν ἐκεῖ φέροντας θάπτειν, κατακρύπτειν θέλοντα τὰ τοῦ Μωϋσίου ἐπινοήματα. ¹³ ἀποξενωσάντων δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν Αἰγυπτίων ὀρκωμοτῆσαι τοὺς φίλους μὴ ἐξαγγεῖλαι τῷ Μωϋσῶ τὴν ἐπισυνισταμένην αὐτῷ ἐπιβουλήν καὶ προβαλέσθαι τοὺς ἀναιρήσοντας αὐτόν. ¹⁴ μηδενὸς δ' ὑπακούσαντος ὀνειδίσαι τὸν Χενεφρῆν Χανεθώθην, τὸν μάλιστα προσαγορευόμενον ὑπ' αὐτοῦ· τὸν δὲ ὀνειδισθέντα ὑποσχέσθαι τὴν ἐπίθεσιν, λαβόντα καιρόν. ¹⁵ ὑπὸ δὲ τούτου τὸν καιρὸν τῆς Μέρριδος τελευτησάσης ὑποσχέσθαι τὸν Χενεφρῆν τῷ τε Μωϋσῶ καὶ τῷ Χανεθώθῃ τὸ σῶμα διακομίσαντας εἰς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Αἴγυπτον τόπους θάψαι, ὑπολαβόντα τὸν Μωϋσιν ὑπὸ τοῦ Χανεθώθ ἀναιρεθήσεσθαι. ¹⁶ Πορευομένων δὲ αὐτῶν τὴν ἐπιβουλήν τῷ Μωϋσῶ τῶν συνειδόντων ἐξαγγεῖλαί τινα· τὸν δὲ φυλάσσοντα αὐτόν τὴν μὲν Μέρριν θάψαι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν καὶ τὴν ἐν ἐκείνῳ πόλιν Μερόην προσαγορεῦσαι. τιμᾶσθαι δὲ τὴν Μέρριν ταύτην ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων οὐκ ἔλαττον ἢ τὴν

frontiers of Ethiopia for an advanced guard, and ordered others to demolish the temple in Diospolis, which had been built of baked brick, and build another of stone from the quarries of the neighbouring mountain, and appointed Nacheros superintendent of the building. ¹² And, when he was come with Moses to Memphis, he asked him whether there was anything else useful for mankind, and he said the breed of oxen, because by means of them the land is ploughed; and Chenephres, having given the name Apis to a bull, commanded the troops to found a temple for him, and bade them bring and bury there the animals that had been consecrated by Moses, because he wished to bury the inventions of Moses in oblivion. ¹³ But, when the Egyptians were alienated from him, he bound his friends by an oath not to report to Moses the plot that was being contrived against him, and he appointed the men who were to kill him. ¹⁴ When, however, no one would obey him, Chenephres reproached Chanethothes, whom he had especially addressed; and he, on being thus reproached, promised to make the attempt when he found an opportunity. ¹⁵ And Merris having died about this time, Chenephres professed to give the body to Moses and Chanethothes to carry it over into regions beyond Egypt and bury it, supposing that Moses would be slain by Chanethothes. ¹⁶ But, while they were on the way, one of those who were cognisant of the plot reported it to Moses; and he, being on his guard, buried Merris himself, and called the river and the city thereby Meroe. And this Merris is honoured by

ἴσιν. ¹⁷ Ἀάρωνα δὲ τὸν τοῦ Μωϋσοῦ ἀδελφὸν τὰ περὶ τὴν ἐπιβουλήν ἐπιγνόντα συμβουλευῆσαι τῷ ἀδελφῷ φυγεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν· τὸν δὲ πεισθέντα, ἀπὸ Μέμφεως τὸν Νεῖλον διαπλεύσαντα, ἀπαλλάσσεσθαι εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν. ¹⁸ τὸν δὲ Χανεθώθην πυθόμενον τοῦ Μωϋσοῦ τὴν φυγὴν ἐνεδρεῦειν ὡς ἀναιρήσοντα· ἰδόντα δὲ ἐρχόμενον σπάσασθαι τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον προκαταταχίσαντα τὴν τε χεῖρα κατασχεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ σπασάμενον τὸ ξίφος φονεῦσαι τὸν Χανεθώθην. ¹⁹ διεκδρᾶναι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν, καὶ Ῥαγουήλῳ τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι συμβιοῦν, λαβόντα τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα· τὸν δὲ Ῥαγουήλον βούλεσθαι στρατεύειν ἐπὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, κατάγειν βουλόμενον τὸν Μωϋσον, καὶ τὴν δυναστείαν τῇ τε θυγατρὶ καὶ τῷ γαμβρῷ κατασκευάσαι· τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον ἀποκωλύσαι, στοχαζόμενον τῶν ὁμοφύλων τὸν δὲ Ῥαγουήλον διακωλύοντα στρατεύειν τοῖς Ἀραψι προστάξαι ληστεύειν τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ²⁰ ὑπὸ δὲ τὸν αὐτὸν χρόνον καὶ τὸν Χενεφρὴν πρῶτον ἀπάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐλεφαντιάσαντα μεταλλάξαι· τούτῳ δὲ τῷ πάθει περιπεσεῖν διὰ τὸ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους προστάξαι σινδόνας ἀμφιέννυσθαι, ἐρεᾶν δ' ἐσθῆτα μὴ ἀμπέχεσθαι, ὅπως ὄντες ἐπίσημοι κολάζωνται ὑπ' αὐτοῦ. ²¹ τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον εὐχεσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ἥδη ποτὲ τοὺς λαοὺς παῦσαι τῶν κακοπαθειῶν. ἰλασκομένου δ' αὐτοῦ αἰφνιδίως φησὶν ἐκ τῆς γῆς πῦρ ἀναφθῆναι, καὶ τοῦτο κάεσθαι, μήτε ὕλης μήτε ἄλλης τινὸς ξυλείας οὐσης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ. τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον δείσαντα τὸ γεγονὸς φεύγειν· φωνὴν δ' αὐτῷ θείαν εἶπεῖν στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον, καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διασώσαντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγαγεῖν

the people of the country no less highly than Isis. ¹⁷ Then Aaron, the brother of Moses, having learned about the plot, advised his brother to flee into Arabia; and he took the advice, and sailed across the Nile from Memphis, intending to escape into Arabia. ¹⁸ But, when Chanethothes was informed of the flight of Moses, he lay in ambush intending to kill him; and, when he saw him coming, he drew his sword against him, but Moses was too quick for him, and seized his hand, and drew his sword and slew Chanethothes. ¹⁹ So he made his escape into Arabia, and lived with Raguel the ruler of the district, having married his daughter. And Raguel wished to make an expedition against the Egyptians in order to restore Moses and procure the government for his daughter and son-in-law; but Moses prevented it, out of regard for his own nation; and Raguel, forbidding him to march against the Arabs, ordered him to plunder Egypt. ²⁰ About the same time, Chenephres died, having been the very first person attacked by elephantiasis; and he is said to have incurred this misfortune because he ordered the Jews to wear linen garments and not to wear woollen clothing, in order that they might be conspicuous, and be punished by him. ²¹ But Moses prayed to God now at last to put an end to the sufferings of the tribes. And God being propitiated, fire, it is said, suddenly blazed up out of the earth, and went on burning though there was no wood nor any other fuel in the place. And Moses was frightened at the occurrence and took to flight; but a divine voice spoke to him, to march against Egypt, and rescue the

πατρίδα. ²² τὸν δὲ θαρρήσαντα δύναμιν πολεμίαν ἐπάγειν διαγνῶναι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις. πρῶτον δὲ πρὸς Ἀάρωνα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἐλθεῖν· τὸν δὲ βασιλέα τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πυθόμενον τὴν τοῦ Μωϋσοῦ παρουσίαν καλέσαι πρὸς αὐτόν, καὶ πυνθάνεσθαι ἐφ' ὃ τι ἤκοι· τὸν δὲ φάναι, διότι προστάσσειν αὐτῷ τὸν τῆς οἰκουμένης δεσπότην ἀπολῦσαι τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. ²³ τὸν δὲ πυθόμενον εἰς φυλακὴν αὐτὸν καθεῖρξαι. νυκτὸς δὲ ἐπιγενομένης τὰς τε θύρας πάσας αὐτομάτως ἀνοιχθῆναι τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου καὶ τῶν φυλάκων οὓς μὲν τελευτῆσαι, τινὰς δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ ὕπνου παρεθῆναι, τὰ τε ὅπλα κατεαγῆαι. ²⁴ ἐξελθόντα δὲ τὸν Μωϋσον ἐπὶ τὰ βασιλεια ἐλθεῖν· εὐρόντα δὲ ἀνεωγμένας τὰς θύρας εἰσελθεῖν, καὶ ἐνθάδε τῶν φυλάκων παρειμένων τὸν βασιλέα ἐξεγεῖραι. τὸν δὲ ἐκπλαγέντα ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι κελεῦσαι τῷ Μωϋσῳ τὸ τοῦ πέμψαντος αὐτὸν θεοῦ εἰπεῖν ὄνομα, διαχλευάσαντα αὐτόν· ²⁵ τὸν δὲ προσκύψαντα πρὸς τὸ οὓς εἰπεῖν, ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν βασιλέα πεσεῖν ἄφωνον, διακρατηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Μωϋσοῦ πάλιν ἀναβιῶσαι· ²⁶ γράψαντα δὲ τοῦνομα εἰς δέλτον κατασφραγίσασθαι· τῶν δὲ ἱερέων τὸν ἐκφauλίσαντα ἐν τῇ πινακίδι τὰ γεγραμμένα μετὰ σπασμοῦ τὸν βίον ἐκλιμπάνειν· ²⁷ εἰπεῖν τε τὸν βασιλέα σημειόν τι αὐτῷ ποιῆσαι· τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον ἦν εἶχε ράβδον ἐκβαλόντα ὄφιν ποιῆσαι· πτοηθέντων δὲ πάντων, ἐπιλαβόμενον τῆς οὐράς ἀνελέσθαι, καὶ πάλιν ράβδον ποιῆσαι· ²⁸ προελθόντα δὲ μικρὸν τὸν Νεῖλον τῇ ράβδῳ πατάξαι τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν πολύχουν γενόμενον κατακλύζειν ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον· ἀπὸ τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι· συναγαγὼν δὲ τὸ

Jews and lead them into their old country. ²² So, he took courage and determined to lead a hostile force against the Egyptians; but first he came to his brother Aaron. And, when the king of Egypt heard of the arrival of Moses, he called him before him and asked what he had come for; and he said, "Because the Lord of the world commanded me to deliver the Jews." ²³ And, when the king heard this, he shut him up in prison. But, when it was night, all the doors of the prison-house opened of their own accord, and of the guards some died, and some were sunk in sleep, and their weapons broken in pieces. ²⁴ So, Moses passed out and came to the palace; and, finding the doors opened, he went in, and the guards here also being sunk in sleep he woke up the king. And he, being dismayed at what had happened, bade Moses tell him the name of the God who sent him, scoffing at him; ²⁵ but Moses bent down and whispered in his ear and, when the king heard, it he fell speechless but was held fast by Moses and came to life again. ²⁶ And he wrote the name in a tablet and sealed it up; and one of the priests who made light of what was written in the tablet was seized with a convulsion and died. ²⁷ Also, the king told him to work some sign for him, and Moses threw down the rod that he held and turned it into a serpent; and, when they were all frightened, he seized it by the tail and took it up, and made it a rod again. ²⁸ Then he went forth a little and smote the Nile with the rod, and the river became flooded and deluged the whole of Egypt, and it was from that time its inundation began; and the water became stagnant, and stank,

ὕδωρ ἀποζέσαι καὶ τὰ ποτάμια διαφθεῖραι ζῶα, τοὺς τε λαοὺς διὰ τὴν δίψαν φθείρεσθαι. ²⁹ τὸν δὲ βασιλέα, τούτων γενομένων τῶν τεράτων, φάναι μετὰ μῆνα τοὺς λαοὺς ἀπολύσειν, ἐὰν ἀποκαταστήσῃ τὸν ποταμόν· τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον πάλιν τῇ ῥάβδῳ πατάξαντα τὸ ὕδωρ συστεῖλαι τὸ ρεῦμα. ³⁰ τούτου δὲ γενομένου τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς ἱερεῖς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Μέμφιν καλέσαι, καὶ φάναι αὐτοὺς ἀναιρήσειν, καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ κατασκάψειν, ἐὰν μὴ καὶ αὐτοὶ τερατουργήσωσί τι. τοὺς δὲ τότε διὰ τινων μαγγάνων καὶ ἐπαοιδῶν δράκοντα ποιῆσαι καὶ τὸν ποταμόν μεταχρῶσαι. ³¹ τὸν δὲ βασιλέα φρονηματισθέντα ἐπὶ τῷ γεγονότι, πάσῃ τιμωρίᾳ καὶ κολάσει κατακίζειν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ταῦτα ὁρῶντα ἄλλα τε σημεῖα ποιῆσαι καὶ πατάξαντα τὴν γῆν τῇ ῥάβδῳ ζῶόν τι πτηνὸν ἀνεῖναι λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους, πάντα τε ἐξελκωθῆναι τὰ σώματα. τῶν δὲ ἱατρῶν μὴ δυναμένων ἰᾶσθαι τοὺς κάμνοντας, οὕτω πάλιν ἀνέσεως τυχεῖν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους. ³² πάλιν τε τὸν Μώϋσον βάραχον διὰ τῆς ῥάβδου ἀνεῖναι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀκρίδας καὶ σκνίφας. διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν ῥάβδον ἀνατιθέναι εἰς πᾶν ἱερόν, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῇ Ἰσιδι, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν εἶναι Ἰσιν, παιομένην δὲ τῇ ῥάβδῳ τὰ τέρατα ἀνεῖναι. ³³ τοῦ δὲ βασιλέως ἔτι ἀφρονουμένου τὸν Μώϋσον χάλαζαν τε καὶ σεισμοὺς διὰ νυκτὸς ἀποτελέσαι, ὥστε τοὺς τὸν σεισμόν φεύγοντας ἀπὸ τῆς χαλάζης ἀναιρεῖσθαι, τοὺς τε τὴν χάλαζαν ἐκκλίνοντας ὑπὸ τῶν σεισμῶν διαφθείρεσθαι. συμπεσεῖν δὲ τότε τὰς μὲν οἰκίας πάσας τῶν τε ναῶν τοὺς πλείστους. ³⁴ τελευταῖον τοιαύταις συμφοραῖς περιπεσόντα τὸν βασιλέα τοὺς

and killed all living things in the river, and the people were perishing of thirst. ²⁹ But, when these wonders had been wrought, the king said that after a month he would let the people go, if Moses would restore the river to its proper state; and he smote the water again with his rod, and checked the stream. ³⁰ When this was done, the king summoned the priests from above Memphis and said that he would kill them all, and demolish the temples, unless they also would work some wonder. And then they, by some witchcraft and incantations, made a serpent, and changed the colour of the river. ³¹ And the king, being puffed up with pride at what was done, began to maltreat the Jews with every kind of vengeance and punishment. Then Moses, seeing this, both wrought other signs and also smote the earth with his rod, and brought up a kind of winged animal to harass the Egyptians, and all their bodies broke out in boils. And, as the physicians were unable to heal the sufferers, the Jews thus again gained relief. ³² Again, Moses by his rod brought up frogs, and besides them locusts and lice. And, for this reason, the Egyptians dedicate the rod in every temple, and to Isis likewise, because the earth is Isis, and sent up these wonders when smitten by the rod. ³³ But, as the king still persisted in his folly, Moses caused hail and earthquakes by night, so that those who fled from the earthquake were killed by the hail, and those who sought shelter from the hail were destroyed by the earthquakes. And, at that time, all the houses fell in, and most of the temples. ³⁴ At last, after having incurred such calamities, the king let the Jews

Ἰουδαίους ἀπολῦσαι· τοὺς δὲ χρησαμένους παρὰ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων πολλὰ μὲν ἐκπώματα, οὐκ ὀλίγον δὲ ἱματισμὸν ἄλλην τε παμπληθῇ γάζαν, διαβάντας τοὺς κατὰ τὴν Ἀραβίαν ποταμούς, καὶ διαβάντας ἱκανὸν τόπον ἐπὶ τὴν ἔρυθρὰν τριταίους ἐλθεῖν θάλασσαν. ³⁵ Μεμφίτας μὲν οὖν λέγειν ἔμπειρον ὄντα τὸν Μώϋσον τῆς χώρας τὴν ἄμπωτιν τηρήσαντα διὰ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλῆθος περαιῶσαι. Ἡλιουπολίτας δὲ λέγειν ἐπικαταδραμεῖν τὸν βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, [ἄμα] καὶ τοῖς καθιερωμένοις ζώοις, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπαρξιν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χρησαμένους διακομίζειν. ³⁶ τῷ δὲ Μωϋσῶι θεῖαν φωνὴν γενέσθαι πατάξαι τὴν θάλασσαν τῇ ῥάβδῳ καὶ διαστῆναι. τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἀκούσαντα ἐπιθιγεῖν τῇ ῥάβδῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ οὕτω τὸ μὲν νᾶμα διαστῆναι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διὰ ξηρᾶς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι. ³⁷ συνεμβάντων δὲ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων καὶ διωκόντων φησὶ πῦρ αὐτοῖς ἐκ τῶν ἔμπροσθεν ἐκλάμψαι, τὴν δὲ θάλασσαν πάλιν τὴν ὁδὸν ἐπικλύσαι· τοὺς δὲ Αἰγυπτίους ὑπὸ τε τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τῆς πλημμυρίδος πάντας διαφθαρῆναι· τοὺς δὲ Ἰουδαίους διαφυγόντας τὸν κίνδυνον τεσσαράκοντα ἔτη ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ διατρίψαι, βρέχοντος αὐτοῖς τοῦ θεοῦ κρίμνον ὅμοιον ἐλύμῳ, χιόνι παραπλήσιον τὴν χροάν. γεγονέναι δέ φησι τὸν Μώϋσον μακρόν, πυρρακῆ, πολιόν, κομήτην, ἀξιωματικόν. ταῦτα δὲ πρᾶξαι περὶ ἑτῆ ὄντα ὀγδοήκοντα ἐννέα.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, STROMATA 1.23.154.2-3

² Ἀρτάπανος γοῦν ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἰουδαίων συγγράμματι ἱστορεῖ κατακλεισθέντα εἰς φυλακὴν Μωυσέα ὑπὸ Χενεφρέους τοῦ Αἰγυπτίων βασιλέως ἐπὶ τῷ παραιτεῖσθαι τὸν λαὸν ἐξ

go; and they, after borrowing from the Egyptians many drinking-vessels, and no little raiment, and very much other treasure, crossed the rivers on the Arabian side and, after traversing a wide space, came on the third day to the Red Sea. ³⁵ Now the people of Memphis say that Moses, being acquainted with the country, waited for the ebb and took the people across the sea when dry. But the people of Heliopolis say that the king hastened after them with a great force, having also with him the consecrated animals, because the Jews were carrying off the property that they had borrowed from the Egyptians. ³⁶ There came, however, to Moses a divine voice bidding him to smite the sea with the rod [and that it should divide]; and, when Moses heard it, he touched the water with the rod, and so the stream divided, and the force passed over by a dry path. ³⁷ But, when the Egyptians went in with them and were pursuing them, a fire, it is said, shone out upon them from the front, and the sea overflowed the path again, and the Egyptians were all destroyed by the fire and the flood; but the Jews, having escaped this danger, spent forty years in the wilderness, God raining down meal for them like millet, similar in colour to snow. And Moses, they say, was tall and ruddy, with long white hair, and dignified; and he performed these deeds when he was about eighty-nine years old.

² And so Artapanus, in his work 'On the Jews', relates that Moses, being shut up in custody by Chenephres, king of the Egyptians, on account of the people demanding to be let go

Αἰγύπτου ἀπολυθῆναι, νύκτωρ ἀνοιχθέντος τοῦ
δεσμωτηρίου κατὰ βούλησιν τοῦ θεοῦ ἐξελθόντα καὶ εἰς τὰ
βασίλεια παρελθόντα ἐπιστῆναι κοιμωμένῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ καὶ
ἐξεγεῖραι αὐτόν, ³ τὸν δὲ καταπλαγέντα τῷ γεγονότι
κελεῦσαι τῷ Μωυσεῖ τὸ τοῦ πέμψαντος εἰπεῖν ὄνομα θεοῦ καὶ
τὸν μὲν προσκύψαντα πρὸς τὸ οὖς εἰπεῖν, ἀκούσαντα δὲ τὸν
βασιλέα ἄφωνον πεσεῖν, διακρατηθέντα δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ
Μωυσέως πάλιν ἀναβιῶναι.

from Egypt, the prison being opened by night, by the
interposition of God, went forth, and reaching the palace,
stood before the king as he slept, and aroused him; ³ and that
the latter, struck with what had taken place, bade Moses tell
him the name of the God who had sent him; and that he,
bending forward, told him in his ear; and that the king on
hearing it fell speechless, but being supported by Moses,
revived again.