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LOYOLA UNIVERSITY CHICAGO

ARTAPANUS AND GREEK COLONIAL POETICS

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO
THE FACULTY OF THE GRADUATE SCHOOL
IN CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF
DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

PROGRAM IN NEW TESTAMENT AND EARLY CHRISTIANITY

BY

SCOTT HARRIS

CHICAGO, IL

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My wife, children, and my parents had to put up with a husband, father, and son who was more or less phoning it in for the past several years and the fact that they are still speaking to me is a testament to their love and support, without which I would have never finished coursework, let alone this dissertation. Thank you all for sticking it out—this victory is yours, as well.

For Lisa, Penelope, and Asa

Many of the works of the ancients have become fragments. Many modern works are fragments
as soon as they are written.

—Friedrich Schlegel, *Athenaeum Fragment 24*

PREFACE

This project is an analysis of the Fragments of Artapanus, preserved third hand by Eusebius and Clement by way of Alexander Polyhistor, through the lens of the poetics of Greek colonization narratives, Classical age reinterpretations of Archaic Greek expansion. This introductory sentence highlights several of the methodological issues which loom behind my argument. It is important to acknowledge these at the outset. These problems are, first, the nature of the fragment as a text; second, the subsequent preservation of fragments of Jewish texts by non-Jewish authors; and third, the challenge of applying Classical age representations of Archaic age events onto texts of the Hellenistic period.

The very concept of the fragment draws attention to the metaphorical empty space that surrounds it. The fragment is what remains of some lost, larger whole. The danger of reading the fragment is that of making assumptions about that larger whole in the absence of clear evidence. Throughout my reading of the Fragments of Artapanus, I will, by necessity, be forced to make some assumptions about the narrative implications of the larger text. As much as possible, I try to ground my assumptions in the fragmentary extant text and avoid arguing *ex silentio*, although this is not entirely possible. It should be noted, then, that I am reading these fragments as such and acknowledging that my argument is predicated on what remains in the fragments as we have received them, rather than making any claims as to the outlook of Artapanus's work as a whole. It is in this sense that I will use "Artapanus" as a shorthand for the extant fragments, rather than as an attempt to claim meaning from the larger work of Artapanus-as-author.

A further complication layered onto reading the Fragments of Artapanus is the method and medium of their transmission. These fragments, which I will argue are Jewish in origin, are preserved in lengthy quotations of an earlier recapitulation of Artapanus's work. Both these quotations and the earlier summary are made by non-Jews and for their own particular purposes. The summary of the Greco-Roman scholar Alexander Polyhistor, from his lost historiographical work *On the Jews* (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων), is itself quoted by Christian apologists Eusebius, in *Praeparatio evangelica*, and Clement, in *Stromata*. This chain of custody leaves much to be desired for our ability to reconstruct the actual work of the enigmatic Artapanus.

This situation is hardly unique to the Fragments of Artapanus, but nonetheless must be acknowledged. Related to the overall issue of the fragment as a text, I am presupposing a certain degree of authenticity in the Fragments of Artapanus, as they are preserved. Leaving open the possibility that Polyhistor, Eusebius and Clement may not be entirely reliable interlocutors, I will read the Fragments in this project as they are preserved. On the one hand, the agreement between the fragments preserved independently by Eusebius and Clement at least point to a shared reception of Polyhistor's work, which should be encouraging. On the other hand, the extant Fragments are themselves texts that can be analyzed in the vein of Friederich Schlegel's own aphoristic fragment, "A fragment, like a miniature work of art, has to be entirely isolated from the surrounding world and be complete in itself like a porcupine."¹ While the Fragments of Artapanus are certainly incomplete representations of the lost whole, the text as we have received it is still worth the thorough analysis on its own terms that I propose to do here.

¹ Athenaeum Fragment 206, Friedrich von Schlegel, *Friedrich Schlegel's Lucinde and the Fragments* (trans. Peter Edgerly Firchow; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1971), 189, cf. Glenn W. Most, "Fragments," in *The Classical Tradition* (ed. Anthony Grafton, Glenn W. Most, and Salvatore Settis; HUPRL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2010).

Finally, there remains the question of the anachronistic application of Classical age poetics to narratives of the Hellenistic age. The Fragments of Artapanus are generally dated to sometime after the emergence of the Septuagint to prior to the work of Alexander Polyhistor, meaning a range between the mid-3rd and mid-1st centuries BCE. I am also assuming this date range, which means that putting these fragments in conversation with much earlier Greek colonization narratives is indeed a concern worth noting. I will take care to state here that I am not arguing for a direct literary relationship between the Greek narratives remembering Archaic age colonization and the Fragments of Artapanus. Rather, I am suggesting that there are literary resonances that allow for a different set of points of reference when reading the Fragments of Artapanus. The Alexandrian poet Callimachus perhaps provides a helpful analogue. Callimachus is explicitly making use of, among others, the Classical epinician poet Pindar and his articulation of Greek colonial memory. Callimachus was a Hellenistic age poet from the Theran colony of Cyrene active in Alexandria in the Ptolemaic period.² Callimachus draws on the representations of Greek colonization in Pindar's odes, the same representations which will feature prominently in Carol Dougherty's construction of the poetics of colonization.³ My point here is not to equate Artapanus with Callimachus in literary terms, but rather to point out that the Classical memories of colonization were alive and well in Hellenistic Egypt. It is therefore plausible that the same

² For a brief overview of Callimachus's life and works, see Susan A. Stephens, *Callimachus: The Hymns* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2015), 1-46. For a sophisticated study placing Callimachus in a larger Ptolemaic ideological context, see Susan Stephens, *Seeing Double: Intercultural Poetics in Ptolemaic Alexandria* (HCS 37; Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 2003).

³ On Callimachus and Pindar, see Peter Bing, *The Well-Read Muse: Present and Past in Callimachus and the Hellenistic Poets* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1988). Thomas Phillips's analysis of Alexandrian scholia on Pindar and the intertextual relationships with Callimachus found therein is also illustrative, Thomas Phillips, "Callimachus in the Pindar Scholia," *CCJ* 59 (2013): 152-77.

resonances of Greek colonization narratives active in Hellenistic Alexandrian poetry could have an influence on other narratives in Hellenistic Egypt, as well.

All these issues are indeed worth further elaboration, but that is outside the scope of the is current project, to a certain degree. I hope that by at least acknowledging them, I can properly situate the starting point to my own reading of the Fragments of Artapanus. If we are to have any hope at all of recovering meaning from texts whose preservation falls short of contemporary methodological and scientific standards, then we of course must at least approach texts like the Fragments of Artapanus with a critical eye. I suggest it is also possible, and indeed necessary, to read these Fragments on their own terms as complicated as these may be.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AGJU	Arbeiten zur Geschichte des antiken Judentums und des Urchristentums
<i>AJP</i>	<i>American Journal of Philology</i>
AB	Anchor Bible
<i>ASAE</i>	<i>Annales du Service des antiquités de l'Égypte</i>
<i>BSEG</i>	<i>Bulletin de la Société d'égyptologie Genève</i>
<i>CCJ</i>	<i>The Cambridge Classical Journal</i>
<i>CQ</i>	<i>Classical Quarterly</i>
CEENM	Cahiers de l'Équipe Égypte Nilotique et Méditerranéenne
DCLS	Deuterocanonical and Cognate Literature Studies
EPRO	Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain
FAT	Forschungen zum Alten Testament
<i>FGrHist</i>	<i>Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker</i>
GCS	Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller
<i>GRBS</i>	<i>Greek, Roman, and Byzantine Studies</i>
SSEA	Society for the Study of Egyptian Archaeology
HCS	Hellenistic Culture and Society
<i>HTR</i>	<i>Harvard Theological Review</i>
HUPRL	Harvard University Press Reference Library
<i>JARCE</i>	<i>Journal of the American Research Center in Egypt</i>

<i>JBL</i>	<i>Journal of Biblical Literature</i>
<i>JE</i>	<i>The Jewish Encyclopedia</i> . Edited by I. Singer. 12 vols. New York, 1925
<i>JEA</i>	<i>Journal of Egyptian Archaeology</i>
<i>JJS</i>	<i>Journal of Jewish Studies</i>
<i>JNES</i>	<i>Journal of Near Eastern Studies</i>
JSHRZ	Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit
<i>JSJ</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods</i>
JSJSup	Journal for the Study of Judaism in the Persian, Hellenistic and Roman Periods Supplement Series
<i>JSP</i>	<i>Journal for the Study of the Pseudepigrapha</i>
<i>JQR</i>	<i>Jewish Quarterly Review</i>
JSOTSup	Journal for the Study of the Old Testament: Supplement Series
<i>JSQ</i>	<i>Jewish Studies Quarterly</i>
<i>JTS</i>	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
LCL	Loeb Classical Library
LMAOS	Liverpool Monographs in Archaeology and Oriental Studies
<i>OTP</i>	<i>Old Testament Pseudepigrapha</i> . Edited by J. H. Charlesworth
OTS	Old Testament Studies
<i>RB</i>	<i>Revue Biblique</i>
<i>RevQ</i>	<i>Revue de Qumran</i>
<i>SAK</i>	<i>Studien zur Altdgyptischen Kultur</i>
SBLABS	Society of Biblical Literature Archaeology and Biblical Studies
SHR	Studies in the History of Religions (Supplements to <i>Numen</i>)

TRHS Transactions of the Royal Historical Society
WGRWSup Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series
ZAW Zeitschrift für die alttestamentliche Wissenschaft

CHAPTER 1

POINTS OF REFERENCE

Artapanus has been described as “the most colorful of all the Hellenistic Jewish writers”¹ and as “one of the most fascinating figures in Egyptian Judaism.”² However, he has also been seen both as offering “a richly interpretive reading of his people’s most revered traditions,”³ and as being “guilty of...flagrant deviation from orthodoxy.”⁴ Carl Holladay put it best when he briefly summarized any research into Artapanus saying, “he has always been regarded as something of an enigma.”⁵ The text of Artapanus comes to us through Clement of Alexandria (c. 150–c. 215 C.E) and Eusebius of Caesarea (c. 260–c. 340 C.E.). Three fragments are preserved in Book 9 of Eusebius’s *Praeparation Evangelica* (*Praep. ev.*), designated⁶ Fragments 1 (*Praep. ev.* 9.18.1), 2

¹ John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem: Jewish Identity in the Hellenistic Diaspora* (2nd ed.; Biblical Resource Series; Grand Rapids, Mich.: Eerdmans, 2000), 37.

² John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996), 127.

³ Robert A. Kugler, “Hearing the Story of Moses in Ptolemaic Egypt: Artapanus Accommodates the Tradition,” in *The Wisdom of Egypt: Jewish, Early Christian, and Gnostic Essays in Honour of Gerard P. Luttikhuisen* (ed. Anthony Hilhorst and George H. van Kooten; AGJU 59; Leiden: Brill, 2005), 78.

⁴ Louis H. Feldman, “The Orthodoxy of the Jews in Hellenistic Egypt,” *Jewish Social Studies* 22.4 (1960): 220.

⁵ Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors: Volume I: Historians* (Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations 20; Pseudepigrapha Series 10; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1983), 189.

⁶ My division of the fragments follows Holladay, *Fragments*, 202–3.

(*Praep. ev.* 9.23.1–4) and 3 (*Praep. ev.* 9.27.1–37).⁷ Fragment 3b, an attestation of a portion of Fragment 3, is preserved in Clement’s *Stromata* (*Strom.*) 1.23.154.2–3 (duplicating *Praep. ev.* 9.27.23–25).⁸ Prior to their inclusion in these later Christian works, they were compiled by Alexander Polyhistor (c. 105–c. 35 B.C.E.), part of his treatise *On the Jews* (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων).⁹ These four fragments represent the extent to which we know the work of Artapanus, which was seemingly also called *On the Jews* (Περὶ Ἰουδαίων) or *Judaica* (Ἰουδαϊκοῖς).¹⁰

We know even less about the author, the putative Artapanus, than we do about his text. The fragments are only extant in Greek, and there is no evidence to suggest they were previously composed in any other language.¹¹ The narrative content of the fragments is located exclusively in Egypt and, for that reason, an Egyptian provenance has been proposed for the fragments and has not been seriously challenged. While there are some episodes that take characters out of Egypt, those events are always subsidiary to the primary narrative which is located in Egypt, e.g.

⁷ The Greek critical text for the fragments preserved by Eusebius is Karl Mras, *Die Praeparatio Evangelica*. Bd. 8 *Eusebius Werke* (2 vols.; Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 43; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1954–56). Fragment 1, Mras, *Die Praeparatio Evangelica*, 1:504; Fragment 2, 1:516–17; Fragment 3, 1:519, 524.

⁸ The Greek critical text for Clement is Otto Stählin and Ludwig Früchtel, Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata* I–VI. Bd. 2 (3rd ed.; Griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller 52; Berlin: Akademie-Verlag, 1960). Fragment 3b, Stählin and Früchtel, Clemens Alexandrinus, 96. See Holladay, *Fragments*, 202–3 for a detailed list of critical editions and translations.

⁹ Cf. *Praep. ev.* 9.17.1. Polyhistor was apparently a prolific author while only fragments of his works survive, see *FGrHist* 273. The fragments preserved by Polyhistor are also given separate entries by Jacoby, e.g. Artapanus *FGrHist* 726.

¹⁰ Holladay, *Fragments*, 189; cf. *Praep. ev.* 9.23.1; 9.27.1 and *Strom.* 1.23.154.2. Holladay notes that the Abraham fragment preserved by Eusebius has the alternate title, Ἰουδαϊκοῖς (*Praep. ev.* 9.18.1), but that “the latter [i.e. Περὶ Ἰουδαίων] is to be preferred since it is supported independently, by Clement [*Strom.* 1.23.154.2].”

¹¹ Jacob Freudenthal laid out the most thorough case for the influence of broad Greek-language literary traditions, including both the LXX and Greek historiography, Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste jüdischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke* (Hellenistische Studien 1–2; Breslau: H. Skutsch, 1875), 160, 217.

Abraham leaves Egypt to return to Syria (Fragment 1.2), Joseph's father and brothers arrive in Egypt from elsewhere (Fragment 2.3), or Moses's temporary escape to Arabia (Fragment 3.19).¹² Given the dearth of concrete information about the text, it should come as no surprise that dating the fragments has proven challenging. What we can say with some degree of certainty is that they must have preceded Polyhistor in the mid-first century B.C.E. Beyond this we have little solid information for a *terminus post quem* and hypothesized dependence of the fragments on certain traditions provides only a slightly narrower window. If Artapanus was working against a tradition of the Egyptian priest Manetho (fl. c. 280 B.C.E.) and his *Aegyptica*, this gives us a mid-third century starting point.¹³ John Collins, in his introduction to Artapanus in *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, summarizes three additional approaches taken to narrow the date further, though none are conclusive.¹⁴ It seems the best we can date the fragments is to sometime

¹² On the Egyptian provenance of the fragments, see P. M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (3 vols.; Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 1:704. Collins, following Fraser, notes that Alexandria is not necessary as the place of origin for the fragments, but should not be ruled out, either; John J. Collins, "Artapanus," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. James Charlesworth (2 vols.; Garden City, N.Y: Doubleday, 1985), 1.891.

¹³ It has been argued by Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 161-2; Martin Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford: B. Blackwell, 1938), 26-31; Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1:706; Carl Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology* (SBL Dissertation Series 40; Missoula, Mont.: Scholars Press, 1977), 212-14, among others, that the fragments were composed in response to anti-Jewish polemic stemming from Manetho. However, Manetho is another figure who is difficult to pin down, see Donald B. Redford, *Pharaonic King-Lists, Annals, and Day-Books: A Contribution to the Study of the Egyptian Sense of History*, SSEA Publication 4 (Mississauga, Ont.: Benben, 1986), 203-4. There are several testimonia of Manetho's work, the earliest extant from Plutarch (*Is. Os.* 28) and Josephus (*Ag. Ap.* 1.74, 104, 107, 228), see *FGrHist* 609. John Dillery notes the difficulty of understanding Manetho, especially based on Josephus's testimony, given that Josephus seems to have conflicting views on Manetho's reliability and that there were perhaps even multiple versions of Manetho's work available (*Ag. Ap.* 1.83), John Dillery, *Clio's Other Sons: Berossus and Manetho: With an Afterword on Demetrius* (Ann Arbor, Mich.: University of Michigan Press, 2018), xi.

¹⁴ Collins, "Artapanus," 890-91. Collins draws out three approaches. First, based on the work of Lucien Cerfaux, notes the resonances with the fragments and the promotion of the cult of Dionysus by Ptolemy VI Philopator (221-204 B.C.E.), which Collins notes "is too hypothetical to count as decisive evidence, and is no more than a possibility," see Lucien Cerfaux, *Recueil Lucien Cerfaux: Etudes d'Exégèse et d'Histoire Religieuse de Monseigneur Cerfaux.*, 3 vols., *Bibliotheca Ephemeridum Theologicarum Lovaniensium* 6 (Gembloux: Duculot, 1954), 1:81-5. The second approach is the mention of the disease elephantiasis which Chenephres is asserted to be the first in history to contract (ἐλεφαντιάσαντα) (Fragment 3:20). Plutarch tells us that this disease was only identified by Asclepiades of Prusa (fl. c. first century B.C.E.), but Collins notes that it was "the subject of a treatise

from the mid-third century to the late-second century B.C.E., firmly in the pre-Roman, Ptolemaic era.

1 Artapanus and Hellenistic Jewish Identity

What do the fragments of Artapanus tell us about Judaism in the Hellenistic period? This is the same question posed to other texts and the answer is always tied up in questions of identity. In this chapter, I will outline how the fragments have been fitted into larger models of Hellenistic Jewish identity, most typically as a syncretistic outlier. Read this way, the fragments of Artapanus merely function as examples of a particular brand of Hellenistic Jewish identity and are rarely interpreted on their own terms. To put this another way, the problem being addressed is often where to locate Artapanus on a spectrum of Hellenistic Judaism as a whole, rather than what Artapanus's construction of Jewish identity is on its own terms. Thus, we risk overlooking the unique, innovative, and often enigmatic, way the fragments present Jewish identity as a function of founders and founding. My project will articulate the construction of identity in the fragments as a function of the distinct interpretation of both founding figures, like Moses, and the founding event of the Exodus. The poetics of colonization, articulated by Carol Dougherty, provide a method to isolate and explore the role of founders and founding in the narrative of the

falsely ascribed to Democritus and believed to be the work of Bolus of Mendes, in Egypt, who was a contemporary of Callimachus, in the third century B.C.E., see Hermann Diels and Walther Kranz, *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker, griechisch und deutsch*, 6th ed., 3 vols. (Zürich: Weidmann, 1972), 2:216. Collins's assessment that this pushes the possible date earlier is not convincing, namely that Artapanus "would have had more reason to single it [i.e. elephantiasis] out for mention if it was newly identified when he wrote," Collins, "Artapanus," 891. Finally, it has been suggested that the inclusion of farmers into Moses's military force in Fragment 3.7 points to a change to army service made by Ptolemy VI Philopator before the Battle of Raphia (217 B.C.E.) to include peasants in the army, cf. W. W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation* (3d ed.; London: E. Arnold, 1959), 179.

fragments.¹⁵ By bringing the focus back to the issues at stake for Artapanus, I intend to invert the way the fragments have been traditionally read. Rather than attempting to situate them into our conception of Hellenistic Judaism (or rationalize their exclusion), I will focus on reconstructing the particular vision of Jewish identity proposed in these fragments. I intend to read the fragments with Dougherty's approach in combination with Hindy Najman's work having established a distinct Mosaic discourse.¹⁶ The particularity of colonial foundations provides an added dimension within which to read the construction of Jewish identity in the fragments of Artapanus. A brief example might illuminate the arena in which I mean to operate.

The construction of Jewish identity in the fragments of Artapanus operates on two levels, both as an object of study for us but also as an explicit concern of the text itself. The question of identity is introduced in Fragment 1.1 with a statement on translation:

Ἀρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὀνομάζεσθαι
Ἑρμιούθ, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι · καλεῖσθαι
δὲ αὐτοὺς Ἑβραίους ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμου.

Artapanus, in his work *Judaica*, says that the Jews were named Hermiouth, which means “Jews” when translated into the Greek language; and he says that they were called Hebrews from the time of Abraham.¹⁷

This excerpt points to the use of translation to understand identity. In the Hellenistic world, anything that was not Greek had to be Hellenized. In this case, the very name “Jews” (Ἰουδαῖοι)

¹⁵ Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

¹⁶ I will apply Hindy Najman's model of a “discourse tied to a founder” to explore this connection, especially as articulated in Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai: The Development of Mosaic Discourse in Second Temple Judaism*, JSJSup 77 (Leiden; Boston: Brill, 2003). This model provides a helpful starting point for my own investigation into foundation as colonial experience and will serve as a model of discourse associated with the founding figure of Moses.

¹⁷ Holladay, *Fragments*, 205. Translations of the fragments will follow Holladay's translation in *Fragments*, unless otherwise noted. In addition, all other translations will be my own unless otherwise noted.

had to be translated. By constructing this tripartite name (Ἑρμιούθ, Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἑβραῖοι), the fragments reveal that the starting point of the narrative is identity. It is also precisely the act of “translating into the Greek language” (μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνήν) that echoes the overwhelming concern of scholars when approaching these fragments. What do these fragments tell us about the nature of Hellenistic Judaism? Much work has been dedicated to answering this question by attempting to identify the author of the fragments, Artapanus, and his own ideological dispositions.

Is there an explanation for why this peculiar combination of three terms is used to identify Jews in the fragments? Each name is grounded in a specific context. The name Ἰουδαῖοι is given as the Greek version of the name of the Jews, while Ἑβραῖοι is ascribed as a name for the Jews “from the time of Abraham.” If the Jews are called Ἰουδαῖοι in Greek, who calls them Ἑβραῖοι? If Ἑβραῖοι is reserved for foreigners to use, especially Egyptians, then where does that leave Ἑρμιούθ? It does sound vaguely Egyptian; therefore, is it meant to pose as a native Egyptian term for the Jews? In this case, we are left with a Greek translation and two names used by foreigners, mainly Egyptians, to name the Jews. Noticeably we are not given a transliterated Hebrew name for the Jews.¹⁸ There is no explicit sense of what the Jews named themselves, only how they “were named” (ὀνομάζεσθαι) at some point in the past. This is an important claim to the nature of the specific Jewish identity presented by these fragments: that the translation into Greek and the resonances with Egypt take priority. Jews are here identified first through the

¹⁸ We might expect a version of “Children of Israel” (בְּנֵי יִשְׂרָאֵל) which is used in MT Exodus to self-describe the Jews while “Hebrew” (עִבְרִי) is used, as noted above, in the mouths of foreigners. It is possible that Ἰουδαῖοι is implied to refer to יהודים as used in Nehemiah, Esther or Jeremiah, but the fragments make an explicit point that Ἰουδαῖοι is the Greek name for the Jews, so any reference to יהודים seems subsidiary.

mediation of the Greek language and then made Egyptian sounding, both decisions which place Jewish identity in conversation with Greek and Egyptian culture, as well. Even the use of Ἑβραῖοι reinforces the other-centered approach to Jewish identity at the outset of these fragments. This cultural intersection is an explicit throughline of the fragments which structures how founding figures and founding events are interpreted. I am suggesting that the poetics of colonization provides a method by which we can understand how the interpretation of a founding event like the Exodus, framed by the intersection of Jewish, Greek and Egyptian culture, impacts the construction of a particular vision of Hellenistic Jewish identity.

This introductory remark in the fragments frames the overall question with which Artapanus is grappling: how can the Jews be translated and understood within Greek and Egyptian frameworks? By framing the question in this way, the fragments are already implying a meaningful, or at the very least a potential, connection between Jewish, Greek and Egyptian identities. If the fragments introduce their own fundamental conceit, that of situating Jews at a cultural intersection, then that is a meaningful starting point for the scholarly analysis of the fragments. What can these fragments tell us about the particular iteration of Hellenistic Judaism in which they are participating? If the question asked of Hellenistic Judaism generally is, “who were the Jews of the Hellenistic period?” then the question asked of these fragments is, “who were *these* Jews represented by the fragments of Artapanus?” While I will later offer a critique of the notion that there can be such a clear lineage between a narrative text and a set of historical beliefs and practices, or that the narrative is equivalent to those beliefs and practices, for now this question remains essential for understanding the history of scholarship on the fragments, a history I will attempt to briefly outline.

2 History of Scholarship

A starting point for understanding the history of scholarship on these fragments is how the fragments have been anthologized. In fact, we have only received these fragments by way of anthology. The collection of Alexander Polyhistor in his work on the Jews was itself an anthology of texts. The same can be said of how the citations of Polyhistor were preserved in Clement and Eusebius, that they were preserved as part of a group of texts compiled to support the argument of each author.¹⁹ This inheritance points to the fragments of Artapanus having been received by Polyhistor as well as Eusebius and Clement as an authority on the history of Jewish tradition. These are explicit anthologies which were constructed for literary or rhetorical purposes. The anthology is an artifice crafted to integrate the fragments into a larger narrative. In the case of Polyhistor, for instance, the fragments are used as examples of Jewish thought so that he might construct a larger history of the Jews. The fragments have thus come to us pre-anthologized by both Polyhistor as well as Clement and Eusebius.

This is only one side of the anthologizing effort, however. The other side is evident once a second level of anthologizing becomes the work of the contemporary scholar who approaches the fragments. In fact, scholars have almost exclusively addressed the fragments of Artapanus in a wider, anthologized context. This may manifest as a collection of Jewish texts,²⁰ Greek

¹⁹ Eusebius introduces *Praep. ev.* 9 by explaining his method of collecting excerpts from various Greek sources that describe the Jews and their history, independently of the biblical traditions (*Praep. ev.* 9.1). Clement spends the whole of *Strom.* 1 arguing for the primacy of Moses to show the dependence of Greek philosophical traditions on the knowledge provided by the Law and his meager excerpt from Artapanus is mentioned in his biography of Moses.

²⁰ The list here is practically endless, but includes works such as John M. G. Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora: From Alexander to Trajan (323 BCE–117 CE)* (Edinburgh: T&T Clark, 1996) or M Friedländer, *Geschichte der jüdischen apologetik als vorgeschichte des christenthums* (Zürich: C. Schmidt, 1903).

historians,²¹ or in a collection of texts addressing a particular issue, like traditions surrounding Moses.²² This is an aspect of scholarship on Artapanus we must address. How a scholar anthologizes Artapanus (and what other texts might be omitted from or included in that anthology) impacts the conclusions that will be drawn from reading the text. As Hayden White explains, historians must be aware “of the extent to which *what* they say about their subjects is inextricably bound up, if not identical, with *how* they say it.”²³ While White is addressing the necessity of figurative language to describe historical discourse, his warning applies here, as well: that by making determinations of what to include or exclude or how to anthologize Artapanus, scholars are already making implicit claims about the text. This is not inherently problematic, but it does add an element that needs to be considered. By categorizing the fragments of Artapanus among historians, for example, there is already an implicit genre claim about the fragments before we even begin to read them. Thus, how any given scholar anthologizes these fragments will impact how both they, and we, read the text.

Related to the concept of anthology, and in many ways dependent on it, we must recognize that the fragments of Artapanus are almost always studied comparatively. Comparison to contemporary texts, especially those with better determined authorship, date, provenance, and genre, provides the opportunity to say something meaningful about texts which themselves

²¹ The most famous example being Felix Jacoby, *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker*. (FGrHist) Weidmann, Berlin 1923–.

²² E.g. Geza Vermes, “La Figure de Moïse au Tournant des Deux Testaments,” in Henri Cazelles, ed., *Moïse, l'homme de l'alliance*. Desclée: Tournai, 1955. Also, Thomas Römer, “La Construction d’une ‘Vie de Moïse’ Dans La Bible Hébraïque et Chez Quelques Auteurs Hellénistiques,” *Transversalités* 85 (2003): 13–30.

²³ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 105.

provide little internal evidence. The notion of anthology is also comparative in a sense; but more precisely, the anthology is the arena in which comparative study occurs. The actual comparative study occurs most explicitly at the level of the individual texts. Comparative reading is focused on two levels: the text itself and the “world behind the text.” These levels are somewhat indistinct and essentially mutually reinforcing when it comes to comparative analysis. To analyze previous studies of the fragments of Artapanus, it is necessary to understand how a given scholar approaches comparative study of the fragments. The three elements noted above (authorship, date and provenance, and genre) are almost universally addressed in comparative studies. The study of the narrative content of the fragments is also prevalent in much of the work having been done to understand Artapanus, but this has mostly focused on comparing the narrative elements of the fragments to other texts in order to highlight the distinctiveness of Artapanus. Throughout the following survey I will attempt to note how the anthologies constructed by scholars studying the fragments have influenced how the fragments have been assessed.

2.1 Early Scholarship

The modern study of the fragments of Artapanus took shape in the early nineteenth century, with the publication of several collections of the fragmentary Jewish texts from the Hellenistic period, histories of the Jewish people, and new critical editions of *Praep. ev.*²⁴ These

²⁴ The critical editions of Eusebius are important, but secondary to my purposes here. It is still, however, important to acknowledge the growth from two primary critical editions (Robert Estienne, *Eusebii Pamphili Euangelicae praeparationis lib. XV* (Paris, 1544); Francois Viger, *Eusebii Pamphili Caesareae Palaestinae episcopi Praeparatio evangelica* (Paris, 1628) to five new editions by the turn of the twentieth century (Friedrich Adolph Heinichen, *Eusebii Pamphili praeparationis evangelicae: Libri XV* (Leipzig, 1842-1843); Thomas Gaisford, *Eusebii Pamphili, Evangelicae praeparationis, Libri XV* (Oxford, 1843); Jacques Paul Migne, *Praeparatio Evangelica* (Patrologia Graeca 21; Paris, 1857); Wilhelm Dindorf, *Eusebii Caesariensis Opera*. (Leipzig: Teubner, 1867); Edwin Hamilton

publications raised some of the questions that have dominated scholarship on Artapanus for more than 200 years: who was Artapanus? Was he a Jew? If so, what does that tell us about Judaism? After briefly sketching out the earliest work on the fragments, I will spend the majority of this section on the argument of Jacob Freudenthal in his seminal work on Alexander Polyhistor.²⁵ Freudenthal looms over subsequent scholarship as the first to study comprehensively the collections of Polyhistor, and he certainly devotes the most attention to the fragments of Artapanus themselves. It is fair to agree with John M. G. Barclay that Freudenthal authored “the standard work on Alexander [Polyhistor],” and since most scholars after him have had to engage with his work, understanding his argument is essential.²⁶

The earliest attempts to study these fragments led to the realization of the enigmatic nature of Artapanus’s fragments. As early as 1806, Lodewijk Valckenaer considered the author of the fragments to be Jewish, knowledgeable about Greek and Egyptian traditions, but someone who clearly was deliberately misleading his audience with spurious claims. He compared Artapanus with Aristobulus, whom he saw as a similarly mischievous author.²⁷ August Dähne devoted some attention to Artapanus in his two-volume work *Geschichtliche darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen religions-philosophie* from 1834.²⁸ Here, Dähne explicitly refutes

Gifford, *Eusebii Pamphili Evangelicae Praeparationes Libri XV* (Oxford, 1903). At the very least this demonstrates a rising interest in the Greek texts which contain the fragments of Artapanus.

²⁵ Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*.

²⁶ Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 127 n. 4.

²⁷ Lodewijk Caspar Valckenaer, *Diatrise de Aristobulo Judaeo, Alexandrino Judaeo, Scriptorum Comentariorum in Legem Moysis* (Lugduni Batavorum, 1806), 26; repr. In Thomas Gaisford, ed., *Eusebii Pamphili, Evangelicæ præparationis, libri XV* (Oxford, 1843), 4.138–338.

²⁸ August Ferdinand Dähne, *Geschichtliche darstellung der jüdisch-alexandrinischen religions-philosophie*, 2 vols. (Halle: Buchhandlung des Waisenhauses, 1834).

Valckenaer's claim that the author of the fragments was a Jew and argues that, because of the extent of the deviations from the biblical narrative,²⁹ Artapanus could not be considered Jewish.³⁰ He goes on, however, to acknowledge that because of the overwhelmingly positive treatment of the Jewish figures Abraham, Joseph and Moses there is clearly influence from Jewish traditions.³¹ Thus Dähne explicitly recognizes the tension in the fragments: that they simultaneously seem particularly Jewish, but also particularly non-Jewish. How Dähne conceives of the boundaries of Judaism, however, namely that Jewishness should be measured as a degree of difference from the "biblical narrative," is incredibly limiting. Similarly, he goes on to dismiss the possibility of Artapanus being a Jew who had assimilated non-Jewish thought because of the deviation from the expectations of a Jewish author.³² Dähne here sets up the anthologizing and

²⁹ Here the term "biblical narrative" is representative of these early scholars, that there still existed a unitary concept of the biblical narrative. When I use this term here, it is to represent their view that the "Bible" was a singularity against which deviations could be compared. The unity (and authority) of the "biblical narrative" was taken for granted by Dähne and other early scholars and that is the sense in which I am using it. This is differentiated from my own view, that it is more reasonable to refer to something akin to, for example, "Exodus traditions found in the biblical narrative," since we can appreciate the vast corpus of literary material outside of what would become the canonical biblical texts (the fragments of Artapanus included). It should be assumed that any mention of the biblical narrative as an exclusive or unitary narrative is used in this sense.

³⁰ "This arises partly from certain contradictions against sacred history, which the Jews, if they already expanded it with some additions, did not allow them to the same extent (dieß ergibt theils aus bestimmten Widerspüchen wider die heilige Geschichte, die sich die Juden, wenn sie dieselbe schon durch mancherlei Zusätze erweiterten, doch in dem Maße nicht erlaubten)," Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, II.201. Heinrich Ewald, who says little about Artapanus, echoes this claim that Artapanus was not Jewish and was simply "a heathen historian [who] desired to unite with the biblical accounts all the stories accessible to him" and who represents the type of "miserable but popular writers on antiquity," Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Moses and the Theocracy* (vol. 2 of *The History of Israel*. Translated by Russell Martineau; London: Longmans, 1876; trans. of *Geschichte des Volkes Israel*. 8 vols. 3rd ed. Göttingen: Dieterichschen Buchhandlung, 1864–1868), 89–90.

³¹ Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, II.202.

³² "...This would contradict the usual practice of the Jews, who used to choose only material for such works that was inherently amenable, but then worked it in such a way that one could hardly notice the pagan germ (...so widerspräche Dieß der gewöhnlichen Praxis der Juden, die zu solchen Kunstproducten nur ein Material zu wählen pflegten, das an sich gefügig war, dieß aber dann auch so bearbeiteten, daß man kaum noch den heidnischen Keim zu bemerken vermochte)," Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, II.202.

categorical criteria he is using to analyze these fragments: the biblical narrative, on the one hand, and “the usual practice of the Jews” (*der gewöhnlichen Praxis der Juden*), on the other.³³ These are essentially negative claims: in other words, these fragments are not like the biblical narrative or what Dähne expects from a typical Jewish text. This indicates a relatively strict comparative baseline, that unless a text conforms to what Dähne might hold up as representative Judaism, then it cannot be considered Jewish. He then posits that the fragments of Artapanus were written by a pagan who wanted to incorporate Jewish thought without wholly sacrificing previous non-Jewish traditions.³⁴ Dähne has thus created a web of comparative claims that, since these fragments do not fit within the limits of Judaism or Jewish literary practice that he understands, force him to look for other, external points of comparison. The two implicit anthologies present in Dähne’s study are that of the biblical narrative and, while not a literary anthology *per se*, that of a normative set of Jewish practices, neither of which can accommodate these fragments.

In his 1841 study, *Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten nebst einer Beilage: Manetho und die Hyksos*,³⁵ Ernst Hengstenberg returned to Valckenaer’s thesis that the author of the fragments

³³ Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, II.202.

³⁴ He supports this with a positive comparative claim, comparing this syncretism with that seen in a later supposed Neo-Platonist, who wanted to maintain both Neo-Platonism and, in this case, Jewish monotheism; that the author was someone “...who neither wanted to give up his earlier doctrine or his earlier gods, nor even simply opposed the demands of reason, which demanded something worthier; therefore sought to unite both in a similar allegorical way of explaining his earlier views, as was the case with the Jews (“...der weder seine frühere Lehre oder seine frühern Götter aufgeben, noch auch den Forderungen der Vernunft schlechthin widerstreben wollte, die Würdigeres verlangten; beide daher in ähnlicher allegorischer Erklärungsweise seiner frühern Ansichten zu vereinigen suchte, wie Dieß bei den Juden der Fall war”). Here, Dähne also positions this Neo-Platonist syncretism as the opposite of Jewish and, later, Christian construction of Jewish tradition as the source of pagan ideas; this version is simply that same process starting from a non-Jewish or non-Christian point of view, Dähne, *Geschichtliche*, II.203.

³⁵ Ernst Wilhelm Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses, or, The Books of Moses Illustrated by the Monuments of Egypt: With an Appendix* (trans. Robert Robbings, with notes by W. Cooke Taylor; Edinburgh: T. Clark, 1845); trans. of *Die Bücher Mose's und Ägypten nebst einer Beilage: Manetho und die Hyksos* (Berlin: L. Oehmigke, 1841).

was, in fact, Jewish.³⁶ Hengstenberg situated the fragments of Artapanus in a particular Hellenistic historiographical tradition. This is a tradition exemplified by non-Jewish texts which are supposed to have appropriated material from the biblical tradition, namely those of Manetho, Berossus, Lysimachus and Apion.³⁷ For example, while Manetho's account clearly has multiple resonances with the general Exodus story, Hengstenberg sees Manetho's remark that the Jews were expelled from Egypt because of leprosy as derived from a close reading of texts found in Leviticus, not just from the broader arc of the Exodus story.³⁸ Manetho is therefore not merely responding to an extant Jewish tradition, but is instead fabricating a new tradition based on a close reading and appropriation of biblical material. The fragments of Artapanus use the same tool when the narrator recounts the differing Memphite and Heliopolitan versions of the flight of the Israelites through the sea in Fragment 3.35–36:

(35) Μεμρίτας μὲν οὖν λέγειν ἔμπειρον ὄντα τὸν Μωϋσον τῆς χώρας τὴν ἄμπωτιν τηρήσαντα διὰ ξηρᾶς τῆς θαλάσσης τὸ πλῆθος περαιῶσαι. Ἡλιοπολίτας δὲ λέγειν ἐπικαταδραμεῖν τὸν Βασιλέα μετὰ πολλῆς δυνάμεως, <ἅμα> καὶ τοῖς καθιερωμένοις ζῴοις, διὰ τὸ τὴν ὑπαρξείν τοὺς Ἰουδαίους τῶν Αἰγυπτίων χρησαμένους διακομίζειν. (36) τῷ δὲ Μωϋσῶ φωνὴν θεῖαν γενέσθαι πατάξαι τὴν θάλασσαν τῇ ῥάβδῳ καὶ διαστῆσαι. τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον ἀκούσαντα ἐπιθιγεῖν τῇ ῥάβδῳ τοῦ ὕδατος, καὶ οὕτως τὸ μὲν νᾶμα διαστῆναι, τὴν δὲ δύναμιν διὰ ξηρᾶς ὁδοῦ πορεύεσθαι.

(35) Now the Memphians claim that Moses, being familiar with the countryside, watched for the ebb tide, then led the multitudes through the dry part of the sea. The Heliopolitans, on the other hand, claim that the king rushed down on them with full force, carrying with them all the sacred animals because the Jews were crossing the sea, having taken the possession of the Egyptians. (36) The divine voice came to Moses instructing him to strike the sea with his rod and divide it,

³⁶ Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 258.

³⁷ Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 255–58.

³⁸ Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 255–56. Similarly, Berossus is supposed to have coopted the Genesis flood narrative in order to create a fabricated Babylonian flood narrative; an assertion which the subsequent discovery of the cuneiform *Epic of Gilgamesh* certainly makes untenable, Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 257.

When Moses heard this, he touched the water lightly with his rod and the stream divided, and the multitude passed through the dry channel.

The clear affinity between the Heliopolitan version of the story and LXX Exod 14:15–22 prompts Hengstenberg to see this as an attempt on the part of the Jewish author of the fragments to fabricate a native Egyptian tradition sympathetic with the Exodus account that could then be juxtaposed with an actual native Egyptian tradition using natural phenomena to explain the escape through the sea.³⁹ He includes the fragments of Artapanus among the specific cases of Jewish authors “assuming the garb of Gentiles, in order in this disguise to effectually weaken the calumniations of the Gentiles, to magnify the antiquity and greatness of their nation...and to confirm the credibility of their sacred books by pretended independent heathen tradition.”⁴⁰ He also considers Artapanus within the wider tradition of fabrication among Hellenistic Egyptian historians who attempted to mask their sources.⁴¹ The fragments are understood within an anthology of historians who are creative and unscrupulous with their sources. Artapanus is not a unique figure, but simply a Jewish example of a rather common historiographical practice.

Levi Herzfeld made a similar assessment of the fragments of Artapanus in the second part of the second volume of his history of Israel in 1857.⁴² Herzfeld includes the fragments in the

³⁹ Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 258–59.

⁴⁰ Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 258.

⁴¹ Here Hengstenberg mentions Manetho, Chaeremon, Lysimachus, and Apion as Egyptians who invented native traditions to disguise their own dependence on the biblical Exodus account, in addition to the work of Berossus and Dios, Hengstenberg, *Egypt and the Books of Moses*, 255–58.

⁴² Levi Herzfeld, *Geschichte des Volkes Jisrael von Vollendung des zweiten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Mackabäers Schimon zum hohen Priester und Fürsten* (vol. 2 of *Geschichte des Volkes Jisrael von Zerstörung des ersten Tempels bis zur Einsetzung des Mackabäers Schimon zum hohen Priester und Fürsten*; Nordhausen: Verlag von Adolph Büchting, 1857).

corpus of Jewish historical texts, Aristeas, Eupolemus, Ezekiel and Demetrius, all of which use both the LXX and other sources.⁴³ Herzfeld compares how Artapanus engages with the LXX with how Demetrius and Eupolemus do so, showing that all three fill in what he describes as narrative gaps in their source material. While Demetrius and Eupolemus fill in gaps to explain specific, confusing aspects of the LXX narrative, such as explaining how the pharaoh knew Sarah was married in Demetrius's retelling of Genesis 12, Artapanus fills in narrative gaps with additional, expansive information. Herzfeld especially notes Artapanus's narrative of Moses's campaign against Ethiopia on behalf of the pharaoh, which he speculates was expanded from an earlier tradition based on both Exod 18:4 and Num 12:1.⁴⁴ The difference is that Demetrius and Eupolemus simply wanted to solve perceived problems with the text, while Artapanus sought to supplement the biblical narrative with new and innovative material.⁴⁵ This "transformation of history" (*Umbildung der Geschichte*) found in all three Jewish texts is not necessarily problematic, and Herzfeld admits it makes sense to see Greek and Egyptian ideas make their way into Hellenistic Jewish texts, since that was the *milieu* in which these texts were created.⁴⁶ What matters most for Herzfeld is that the biblical version of the narrative is the point of reference, but these Hellenistic Jewish authors were using the historiographical tools at their disposal to craft

⁴³ Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, 490.

⁴⁴ Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, 491.

⁴⁵ Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, 491. The sort of narrative editing found in Demetrius is extant within the biblical tradition itself, as Herzfeld points out how the memory of the Exodus event in the Psalms seems to focus on particular aspects of the event rather than a whole retelling. Herzfeld does not specify which Psalms he is referencing, but the examples of Psalms 105, 106, 135, and 136 come to mind, in which the complete narrative of the Exodus events is not recounted, but instead only particular aspects are mentioned, Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, 492.

⁴⁶ Which is not to say that he did it perfectly; Herzfeld points out Artapanus's confusing Musaios as the teacher of Orpheus, rather than vice versa, or Aristobulus confusing Acheron for Lethestrome as evidence for their imperfect Hellenization, Herzfeld, *Geschichte*, 493.

new historical accounts of famous biblical episodes. Herzfeld this echoes Hengstenberg's point about the role of historiographic technique for understanding Artapanus, but is still bound up within a pre-determined anthology of Hellenistic Jewish texts.

The last work to address, before turning to Freudenthal's study, is Heinrich Graetz's *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart*.⁴⁷ Graetz treats Artapanus within an anthology of Hellenistic Jewish authors, namely Eupolemus, Demetrius, Cleodemus Malchus, Aristes and Jason of Cyrene. They are characterized as historians, but not particularly skilled ones.⁴⁸ Graetz suggests these texts share a goal of explaining Jewish history in the Greek language and should be considered as a category of literature which is meant to carefully extoll the virtues of Judaism without "challenging paganism."⁴⁹ This echoes Herzfeld's claims that the texts were bound (however loosely) to the biblical narrative, yet meaningfully and deliberately engaged in the cultural *milieu* of Hellenized Egypt. Based on this anthology, then, Graetz identifies Artapanus as a Jew, but a Jew who was highly Hellenized and who translated Jewish tradition across cultural and linguistic divides. Moreover, Graetz focuses on the fragments of Artapanus as historiography. This is a genre claim that functions as the foundation for Graetz's evaluation of the motivations of these texts: the purpose of historiography here is to translate

⁴⁷ Heinrich Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden von den ältesten Zeiten bis auf die Gegenwart* (11 vols.; Leipzig: Verlag von Oskar Leiner, 1853–1875).

⁴⁸ That is, they "made the first attempt to deal with Jewish history in Greek, without, however, significantly increasing the knowledge of history, if one does not want to call the interweaving of legends in the gaps and joints an increase (haben den ersten Versuch gemacht, die jüdische Geschichte griechisch zu bearbeiten, ohne jedoch die Kenntniß der Geschichte wesentlich zu vermehren, wenn man nicht das Einflechten von Sagen in die Lücken und Fuden ein Vermehren nennen will)," Graetz, *Geschichte*, 40.

⁴⁹ Literature which "...endeavors to make Judaism and its past accessible to the Greeks and to glorify it without challenging paganism (...bestrebt sich, das Judentum und seine Vergangenheit den Griechen zugänglich zu machen und zu verherrlichen, ohne das Heidentum herauszufordern)," Graetz, *Geschichte*, 440. Graetz also includes here the translators of Esther and Sirach.

Judaism to a Greek audience—it is oriented to an external audience of non-Jews. This is a continuous tradition in Hellenistic Jewish historiography that all stems from a reaction to the treatment of the Jews in Manetho's Egyptian account of the Exodus event.⁵⁰ Artapanus is only one example of the clumsy Hellenistic historian who is more concerned with (re)arranging biblical material for ideological ends.⁵¹

These four early scholars who approached Artapanus have left an analytical legacy we will see touched upon repeatedly by subsequent scholars. Each study of the fragments is ultimately concerned with the relationship of the fragments to the canonical narrative. While only Dähne goes so far as to disavow the Jewishness of the fragments because of the deviation from biblical source material, none of the works mentioned above effectively deal with narrative distance between the biblical narrative and the fragments. Hengstenberg and Herzfeld both see a continuous tradition of gap-filling and expansion which itself stems either from Greek historiographical or biblical practices. Graetz argues the deviation results from the historiographical effort to communicate across cultural boundaries. In all four instances, the relationship between the fragments of Artapanus and the presumed biblical source material requires an explanation based on literary (specifically historiographical) technique. These claims are also bound up in how the fragments are anthologized, with fragmentary Jewish texts or with Hellenistic historiographical fragments. The anthology constructed by each scholar controls how each sees literary technique determining the relationship between the fragments and the biblical

⁵⁰ Graetz, *Geschichte*, 40–41.

⁵¹ Graetz, *Geschichte*, 440.

narrative. Jacob Freudenthal begins by both reiterating the concern with source and technique in the fragments, but also by changing the body of texts with which he anthologizes them.

2.2 Jacob Freudenthal

We now turn to Jacob Freudenthal's monumental work, completed between 1875 and 1879, *Hellenistische studien*.⁵² The first volume, *Alexander Polyhistor und die von ihm erhaltenen Reste judäischer und samaritanischer Geschichtswerke*, deals with the texts preserved by Alexander Polyhistor, including the fragments of Artapanus.⁵³ Freudenthal looms large over the study of the fragments of Artapanus because of the breadth of his study; yet he also marks a substantial development over previous readings of the fragments. Freudenthal expands the notion of anthology and how it is used to analyze the fragments by seeing anthology operating on two levels. The first level is the anthology constructed by Polyhistor, which we have inherited. The second is an anthology constructed by Freudenthal for comparative analysis, much like the earlier scholars of the fragments, but one which casts a much wider net among literary traditions. How these anthologies are used by Freudenthal marks a noticeable departure from previous scholarship, namely using the anthology by Polyhistor to make a claim about authority and authenticity and using the broader literary anthology to open the door to discursive analysis of the fragments.⁵⁴ Both of these elements deserve our attention.

⁵² Jacob Freudenthal, *Hellenistische Studien* (2 vols; Breslau: H. Skutsch, 1875–1879).

⁵³ Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*.

⁵⁴ Here I will follow the construction of “discourse tied to a founder” articulated by Hindy Najman in *Seconding Sinai*. Najman is building on Jan Assmann's use of discourse in his conception of “cultural memory,” who is in turn looking to Foucault, Jan Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, trans. David Horton (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2001). I will detail below how Freudenthal's approach to the fragments foreshadows this discursive approach and will use this as a starting point for my own reading of the fragments in subsequent chapters.

A crucial matter to acknowledge first is that Freudenthal has already determined the Jewishness of the fragments of Artapanus prior to analyzing any anthologies. This is based on the content of the fragments themselves. At the outset of his treatment of the fragments, Freudenthal states that:

The effort is unmistakably anxious to glorify the history of Israel by interpreting and expanding the biblical narratives, to close its gaps by means of novelistic poetry, to protect the heroes of ancient Judaism from possible blame and to describe them as the benefactors of humanity, an effort that is unthinkable to a pagan, only executed to mark the author as a patriotic Jew.⁵⁵

Freudenthal has established his criteria for judging the fragments to be a Jewish text. Here the “interpretation” (*Deutung*), “expansion” (*Erweiterung*), and “closing the gaps” (*ihre Lücken zu schliessen*) of the biblical narrative are methods deployed in the fragments.⁵⁶ These methods are identified relative to the biblical account; however, unlike Dähne, Freudenthal does not consider the degree of difference from the biblical narrative as a criterion for evaluating the Jewishness of Artapanus. He rather considers the engagement with the biblical narrative is designed to enhance the narrative and is, therefore, proof in and of itself of Artapanus’s Jewishness.⁵⁷ This allows Freudenthal to approach the fragments not through the lens of defending their Jewishness, but instead by grappling with issues of authenticity, authority and innovation.

⁵⁵ “Unverkennbar tritt das Bestreben hervor, die Geschichte Israel's durch Deutung und Erweiterung der biblischen Erzählungen zu verherrlichen, ihre Lücken durch romanhafte Dichtung zu schliessen, die Helden der jüdischen Vorzeit vor möglichem Tadel zu schützen und als die Wohlthäter der Menschheit hinzustellen, ein Streben, das bei einem Heiden undenkbar, allein schon hinreicht, um den Verfasser als patriotisch gesinnten Judäer zu kennzeichnen,” Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 143–44.

⁵⁶ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 143–44.

⁵⁷ This is more an argument of authorial intent than of narrative method in that Freudenthal sees the methods deployed in the fragments as illustrative of the intent of the author. This is similar to the approaches of Hengstenberg and Herzfeld, both of whom see the methods of the author of the fragments as the defining feature to understand the fragments. Freudenthal, however, disposes of the issue of Artapanus’s Jewishness at the outset of his analysis based on his appreciation of the outlook of the text.

The two concepts of authenticity and authority are closely related for Freudenthal, to the extent that they have become co-dependent. They are also both related to the concept of anthology. While the Jewish origin of the fragments is demonstrable to Freudenthal, he relies on Polyhistor's anthology to determine the authenticity of the fragments. This is a major shift in analyzing the fragments, in that Freudenthal focused on one of the inherited anthologies rather than immediately constructing his own.⁵⁸ A consequence of this approach is that Freudenthal must explicitly defend the value of this anthology. Whereas the defense of the anthologies constructed by earlier scholars were implicit in their comparative analyses, Freudenthal instead defends the value of the anthology created by Polyhistor as his starting point.⁵⁹ Because this anthology is inherited by Freudenthal, and not constructed, his defense focuses on defending the authenticity of the fragments. Alexander Polyhistor was not universally recognized as a particularly skilled or thoughtful historian.⁶⁰ Ernest Havet articulated the relationship between the authority of the compiler, the authority of the fragments compiled, and authenticity in 1873 when he asks “are the passages of Eupolemus, Demetrius, etc., cited in the *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* authentic? If we mean by ‘authentic texts’ those we can relate to writers known elsewhere and

⁵⁸ Freudenthal of course *will* construct his own anthologies for analyzing the fragments, but the overall conceit of his work is oriented towards the texts preserved by Alexander Polyhistor and this is the preliminary lens through which he begins his analysis.

⁵⁹ None of the scholars mentioned above craft a specific justification for their anthologies which they use to compare the fragments of Artapanus. Instead, the results of their comparative analyses yield claims they can make about the fragments. This is what I mean by an implicit defense of their anthologies.

⁶⁰ William Adler notes the generally mixed reviews Polyhistor received in the 19th century; see William Adler, “Alexander Polyhistor’s *Peri Ioudaiōn* and Literary Culture in Republican Rome,” in *Reconsidering Eusebius: Collected Papers on Literary, Historical, and Theological Issues* (Sabrina Inowlocki, Claudio Zamagni, eds.; Leiden: Brill, 2011), 226–27, especially n. 7.

authoritative, no, the texts of Eusebius are not authentic and have no value for us.”⁶¹ The inauthenticity of the fragments is exposed by the lack of any authoritative conduit. Polyhistor is not a reliable source of information for the same reason, because an author “whose life was spent in Rome, took it into his head to compose a book on the Jews, filled only with things which a pagan never heard of and never cared about, and made with extracts from writers without authority and without name” is clearly not a competent authority.⁶² This seems to seal Polyhistor’s fate as an unreliable source, as Polyhistor is a compiler who lacked the critical sensibility to discern authoritative sources for himself and therefore cannot be trusted.⁶³ Havet’s condemnation of sources that are “without authority and without name” is the primary objection: these elsewhere unattested authors cannot possibly be authoritative or authentic without some attribution to a known, accepted source. These problems of authority and authenticity are what Freudenthal must overcome in order to operate with Polyhistor’s anthology as his primary framework.

2.2.1 Authenticity

The question of authenticity applies both to Polyhistor’s Περὶ Ἰουδαίων as well as to the fragments he compiled. Regarding the Περὶ Ἰουδαίων, is this an authentic work of Polyhistor or

⁶¹ “Les passages d’Eupolème, de Démétrios, etc., cités dans le Περὶ Ἰουδαίων, sont-ils authentiques? Si on entend par textes authentiques ceux qu’on peut rapporter à des écrivains connus d’ailleurs et faisant autorité, non, les textes d’Eusèbe ne sont pas authentiques et n’ont pour nous aucune valeur,” Ernest Havet, *Mémoire sur la date des écrits qui portent les noms de Bérose et de Manéthon*. (Paris: Hachette, 1873), 64.

⁶² “...dont la vie s’est passée à Rome, se soit avisé de composer un livre sur les Juifs, uniquement rempli de choses dont un païen n’entendait jamais parler et ne se souciait en aucune manière, et fait avec des extraits d’écrivains sans autorité et sans nom,” Ernest Havet, *Mémoire*, 64–65.

⁶³ Cruice also argued that the fragments collected by Polyhistor cannot be considered authentic because he apparently blindly accepted all sorts of contradictory material, so we have no indication which are authentic and which are not, Cruice, *De Flavii Josephi*, 24.

a spurious attribution or forgery? There is a discussion behind Freudenthal's effort to establish that these fragments are indeed part of a collection anthologized by Polyhistor. Joseph Rauch argued in 1843 that the *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* should not be attributed to Polyhistor, but rather was a Jewish forgery.⁶⁴ If we cannot say Polyhistor actually compiled these fragments, then how can we claim these fragments were not simply fabricated as well? The question of authenticity is contagious. This casts doubt on the authenticity of the fragments themselves and concludes that because of the Jewish nature of the fragments, no Greek author would have bothered with them.⁶⁵ By being suspected of inauthenticity, the fragments preserved in this anthology would lose any value for reconstructing Hellenistic Jewish identity. The logic here perhaps defies current sensibilities as it seems to at least imply that a source that is too Jewish is not as valuable for reconstructing Jewish identity.

Freudenthal proceeds in two ways: first, to confirm that Polyhistor is the compiler of this anthology and then to argue that the fragments compiled are valuable to reconstructing Jewish identity. Thus, Freudenthal must assert the authenticity and authority of both Polyhistor as compiler as well as the fragments themselves. First, he asserts that only a non-Jew could have assembled such a coterie of diverse perspectives, ranging from Artapanus to the anti-Jewish account of Apollonius.⁶⁶ There is simply too much explicit ideological diversity for this to have

⁶⁴ Joseph Rauch, *De Alexandri Polyhistoris vita atque scriptio* (Heidelbergae, 1843).

⁶⁵ This conclusion was reached by Patrice Cruice, *De Flavii Josephi in auctoribus contra Apionem afferendis fide et auctoritate* (Parisiis: Firmin Didot Fratres, 1844).

⁶⁶ “Der Sammler dieser Excerpte hat Juden und Heiden, Palästiner und Samaritaner, Hellenisten und Hellenen zusammengeführt und so Gegensätze vereinigt, die nur für einen Heiden nicht unvereinbar waren. Denn es giebt auf dem Boden des Judenthums keinen Stand punkt, der sich zugleich mit Demetrios und Artapan, mit dem echten und falschen Eupolemos, mit den Judäern und den Samaritanern, mit den patriotisch gesinnten Juden und dem judenfeindlichen Apollonios Molon befreunden könnte. Es lässt sich kein Grund denken, warum ein Jude

come from a Jewish compiler, at least not without editorial comment.⁶⁷ For Freudenthal, the only option left is that we are dealing with a non-Jewish compiler of questionable ability.⁶⁸ This aligns with Freudenthal's view of Polyhistor, to be sure;⁶⁹ however, he also relies on the attestations of the collection to Polyhistor by Josephus, Clement, and Eusebius.⁷⁰ Combining these attestations with his general observation that this sort of arbitrary, but reliable, collecting of materials was Polyhistor's *modus operandi* when dealing with foreign materials, Freudenthal sees no reason to doubt Polyhistor's identity as the compiler nor the authenticity of his fragments.⁷¹ It is this Polyhistor who Freudenthal, alongside Havet, admits does lack critical judgement, but this is nothing more than "the hallmark of Alexandrian scholarship, [which] had devolved into the collection of useless and superficial knowledge."⁷² It is precisely this wide-ranging collecting that rescues Polyhistor's work. Freudenthal is not concerned that Polyhistor's

dergleichen zusammengetragen haben sollte, ohne Alexander selbst redend einzuführen und ohne mit irgend welchen Gegenbemerkungen die eigene Anschauung zu kennzeichnen," Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 182.

⁶⁷ I am making a special note of the "explicitness" here, since ideological diversity is also present in the fragments of Artapanus, but Freudenthal will see this diversity as deliberate and compatible.

⁶⁸ "...wir es hier mit einem Manne zu thun haben, der zwar nicht wissentlich fälscht, aber eil fertig, ohne Verständniss, ohne bestimmte Absicht, ohne Interesse für den Inhalt seiner Texte, sie auf gut Glück zusammenrafft," Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 183. He also notes that there is simply no evidence among Hellenistic Jewish texts for a compilation such as this to have existed before, "Auch giebt es unter den zahlreichen jüdisch-hellenistischen Pseudepigraphen über haupt kein einziges Sammelwerk," Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 183.

⁶⁹ In his introduction to his study on Polyhistor, Freudenthal acknowledges the breadth of his work while simultaneously lamenting his poor skills as a researcher and as a writer, "Und ebensowenig wie ein Künstler ist Alexander ein Forscher. Höchst selten hören wir ihn selbst sprechen; fast nie finden wir in den Fragmenten einen eigenen Gedanken als das Ergebniss selbständiger Forscherthätigkeit." Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 21–23.

⁷⁰ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 184.

⁷¹ Essentially because we cannot show that Polyhistor has deliberately falsified his materials, we must presume that this heterogenous collection is due to the same methods that Polyhistor was known to employ elsewhere, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 185.

⁷² Adler, "Alexander Polyhistor," 227.

judgment impacted his ability to collect information properly but is aware that he would have collected everything without giving it much thought. More pointedly, Freudenthal takes aim at Havet's criterion of reputation to judge a source to be authoritative and authentic or not.

Freudenthal's response is brief and pointed: "Armed with such a definition [as Havet's], one can, of course, dispute a great deal, and say of half of the precious fragments of lost writers that have been saved from antiquity 'that they have no value for us.'" ⁷³ He also rightly dismisses Havet's critique as based on an unclear and ultimately subjective criterion of reputation rather than any evidence from the texts themselves. ⁷⁴ By keeping his focus on the anthology of Polyhistor's compilation, Freudenthal directs the questions of authenticity to this level, as well. The fragments preserved by Polyhistor can be trusted to be authentic if we can assume it was Polyhistor who preserved them.

2.2.2 Authority

Yet, this shows the connection between authenticity and authority. The fragments lose their authoritative status once they are disassociated from Polyhistor and non-Jewish assessments of Jewish identity. Assuming that Polyhistor is an authoritative source, then subsequently demonstrating that the compilation is the work of Polyhistor, makes a claim to that authority.

⁷³ "Mit einer solchen Definition bewaffnet, kann man freilich recht viel bestreiten und von der Hälfte der aus dem Alterthum geretteten, kostbaren Fragmente verschollener Schriftsteller behaupten, 'qu'ils n'ont pour nous aucune valeur,'" Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 175; cf. Havet, *Mémoire*, 64. Eva Mroczek has noted that the use of authenticity as a criterion for sorting between "biblical" and "pseudepigraphic" texts has its origin in the attempt by Fabricius to preserve non-canonical texts without compromising the authority of the canonical bible, see Eva Mroczek, *The Literary Imagination in Jewish Antiquity* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2016). Regarding this effort by Fabricius, Annette Yoshiko Reed points out that Fabricius was attempting to provide readers with the tools to avoid being duped by non-canonical texts by illustrating their inauthenticity, Annette Yoshiko Reed, "The Modern Invention of 'Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,'" *JTS* 60.2 (2009): 427.

⁷⁴ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 175.

This is the aim of questioning the authenticity of Polyhistor's authorship noted above. But even if it is attested to be the work of Polyhistor, there is still a question of whether that alone is authoritative. Freudenthal must establish that Polyhistor is an authoritative source, a criterion which is separated from his critical abilities as a historian and grounded instead in his thoroughness. This, in turn, resolves the question of the authenticity of the fragments, since they have been in the custody of an authority. Polyhistor's anthology is authentic and thus authoritative—and this is Freudenthal's major innovation in the use of the anthology. Now Freudenthal has created separate realms for analyzing these fragments: internally and externally. He has already established the Jewishness of the fragments based on internal criteria and will continue to read the fragments in this vein; but now he has articulated his framework for external criteria, authenticity and authority, and satisfied the need to control for Polyhistor's handiwork.

Freudenthal's defense of the authority of the fragments is essential to my conception of how he prefigures reading the fragments of Artapanus as a discursive process, and this deserves further explanation. While it would be anachronistic to suggest that Freudenthal was using the framework of discourse analysis in his study of the fragments, I am suggesting Freudenthal's effort maps onto a treatment of the fragments as a discursive project. What I mean by understanding Freudenthal as initiating a discursive project is that his analysis, while still grounded in the dominant source-critical methodology of his time, provides a discursive solution to the outstanding question of the fragments of Artapanus which had preoccupied earlier scholars: what sort of author could have united the disparate Jewish, Greek and Egyptian traditions in these fragments? Here Hindy Najman's formulation of a "discourse tied to a founder" is particularly useful. Najman's concept is useful because it is structured enough to define a Mosaic discourse as having certain qualities but at the same time is flexible enough to

accommodate variation and development. Discourse, for Najman, constitutes a relationship between authenticity, authority and innovation. That is, “to rework an earlier text is to update, interpret and develop the content of that text in a way that one claims to be an authentic expression of the law already accepted as authoritatively Mosaic.”⁷⁵ The interconnection of authenticity, authority and innovation is a main point of contact between this conception of Mosaic discourse and Freudenthal’s work. Najman is building on Jan Assmann’s use of discourse in his conception of “cultural memory” which, influenced by Foucault, relies on a concept of discourse as “a form of speaking in which statements refer to a common object as well as to one another, and thus a form of ‘intertextuality.’”⁷⁶ Assmann also differentiates discourse from intertextuality, emphasizing that “a discourse is defined by the double relationship of a text to the chain of its predecessors (textual dimension) and to the common theme (material dimension).”⁷⁷ Discourse, according to Assmann, is a process akin to dialogue and thus “has a history” which can be studied.⁷⁸ For Najman to define Mosaic discourse as simultaneously innovative and grounded in a shared past, both reworked and making claims to authority from a historic founder, is precisely this dialogue.

Thus, when I suggest that Freudenthal prefigures discursive analysis, what I mean is that he begins to ask the same questions of authenticity, authority and innovation without a unifying theory of discourse. Thus, Freudenthal is not doing discursive analysis, but I suggest that reading

⁷⁵ Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 13.

⁷⁶ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 163.

⁷⁷ Jan Assmann, *Moses the Egyptian: The Memory of Egypt in Western Monotheism* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1997), 16.

⁷⁸ Assmann, *The Search for God in Ancient Egypt*, 163.

Freudenthal alongside later discursive analysis shows that he opened many of the doors which are integral to discourse as a tool to read these fragments. After an overview of how Freudenthal evaluates these traditions in the fragments, we will see that his solution of pseudonymous authorship not only builds on his focus on authority, but also resonates with a later concept of authorized discourse. I am thinking here of Hindy Najman's study of Mosaic discourse as authorized discourse. In her analysis of the origin of Mosaic discourse in Deuteronomy, Najman explains a model of authoritative discourse, one which "...may—indeed must—be repeated by others upon those earlier traditions and upon Deuteronomistic traditions themselves."⁷⁹

Najman's project is predicated on establishing the figure of Moses as a founder whose participation in discourse authorizes new interpretations of tradition.⁸⁰ If we think back to Assmann's conception of discourse as a dialogue, one with a "double relationship of a text to the chain of its predecessors (textual dimension) and to the common theme (material dimension)" then the presence of Moses in a discourse unifies a new text to previous texts as well as to

⁷⁹ Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 40.

⁸⁰ In her 2013 chapter "Traditionary Processes and Textual Unity in 4 Ezra," Najman goes into greater detail on her dependence on Nietzsche's formulation of the "Homeric Question," Hindy Najman, "Traditionary Processes and Textual Unity in 4 Ezra," in *Fourth Ezra and Second Baruch: Reconstruction after the Fall* (Matthias Henze and Gabriele Boccaccini, eds.; JSJSup 1; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 99–117. In this chapter, Najman not only cautions that "discourse tied to a founder" is not the exclusive method of authorizing texts in ancient Judaism but also that authorizing figures are not the only unifying features of ancient texts, Najman, "Traditionary Processes," 101. Nietzsche, in his Inaugural Lecture at the University of Basel, outlines three stages of development of the concept of Homer-as-author, which Najman describes as "the way [Nietzsche] links textual formation and the gradual formation of the concept of the author," Najman, "Traditionary Processes," 103. This formation of the concept of author associated with particular textual unities (indeed as an operative unifying principle) is what prompts Najman to formulate her investigation as a "prospective examination of traditionary processes in which both textual units and concepts of personalities are produced, redacted, and revised," Najman, "Traditionary Processes," 107.

common themes.⁸¹ Moses as founder becomes a way to imbue authority into a new participant in an ongoing discourse.

It is clear from his defense of Polyhistor's work that Freudenthal does not shy away from using anthology as an analytical tool. On the contrary, he relies on it as his starting point for reading the fragments of Artapanus. He avoids, however, the methodological pitfalls of, for example, Dähne and Hengstenberg who interpret the fragments by their conformity to constructed anthologies of texts or traditions. Theirs is an unselfconscious anthologizing, one which is superimposed onto the fragments in question. This superstructural veneer overshadows the narrative of the fragments by shifting primary analysis to a comparative level. When Dähne puts the fragments of Artapanus in conversation with his own understanding of contemporary Judaism he is predisposed to dismiss the fragments of Artapanus for not conforming to this ideal. By implication, the fragments become "deviant" texts and are no longer valuable for examining the history of Hellenistic Judaism. In Dähne's case, this approach precludes identifying the fragments of Artapanus as Jewish at all. By confining his evaluation by analogy to the compilation of Polyhistor, Freudenthal acknowledges how anthologizing the fragments is a persistent factor and thus he can determine what additional anthologies emerge from reading the fragments. To put this another way: by defending the fact that we have received these fragments within an anthology, and that they have been pre-anthologized, Freudenthal identifies the anthology as an analytical tool. Freudenthal's innovation is that while we have received the fragments pre-anthologized, this means there is the possibility of other valid anthologies which can provide a basis for comparison. Freudenthal's task is to see what additional anthologies

⁸¹ Assman, *op. cit.*

emerge from reading the fragments themselves and then naming them as useful analytical perspectives. Now that I have shown how Freudenthal engages with authenticity and authority, the final piece of the discursive puzzle is his appreciation for the innovation in the narrative of the fragments of Artapanus. It is to this innovation, and to the innovative reading of the fragments by Freudenthal himself, that I now turn.

2.2.3 Innovative Traditions

The innovation that Freudenthal presents in his reading of the fragments of Artapanus is found in the new interpretive doors he opens in his reading. We have seen already how Freudenthal asserted the Jewishness of the fragments because they interpret, expand upon, and close the gaps in the biblical narrative.⁸² While this presupposes a literary relationship between the fragments of Artapanus and the Septuagint version of the biblical narratives, this is not on its

⁸² In this way, Freudenthal (along with several of the scholars also noted here) is reminiscent of what will later be termed “Rewritten Bible,” first used by Géza Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition in Judaism: Haggadic Studies* (Studia post-Biblica 4; Leiden: Brill, 1961). For a brief history of the term, see Moshe Bernstein, “‘Rewritten Bible’: A Generic Category Which Has Outlived Its Usefulness?” *Textus* 22 (2005): 169–96. It would be fair to presume that Freudenthal, along with most of his contemporaries, would align with the precepts of “Rewritten Bible” given that there is a strong sense of canonical priority when discussing these fragments. While Freudenthal, as we have seen, does not assess this priority in the same way Dähne does, for example, he still looks to the canonical biblical texts as the foundation for his assertion of Jewishness. His three criteria of interpretation, expansion and gap-filling based on the biblical narrative are operative in a subsequent narrative, one dependent on and sequential to the biblical narrative, in the same way that Vermès envisioned rewriting, Vermès, *Scripture and Tradition*, 95. George Brooke defines “Rewritten Bible” broadly as “any representation of an authoritative scriptural text that implicitly incorporates interpretative elements, large or small, in the retelling itself,” in “Rewritten Bible,” *Encyclopedia of the Dead Sea Scrolls*. This definition would similarly be compatible with Freudenthal’s understanding of the relationship between the biblical narrative and the fragments. Molly Zahn has recapitulated the problem of canonical priority in discussing “Rewritten Bible” and instead shifts to discussing rewriting in its two forms: revision and reuse, Molly Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting in Second Temple Judaism: Scribal Composition and Transmission* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2020), 38–47. Zahn aims “to move beyond artificial limitations imposed by canonically inflected labels and to see more clearly how biblical examples might fit into the larger landscape of rewriting in the Second Temple period,” Zahn, *Genres of Rewriting*, 94. For this reason I am avoiding using the terminology of “Rewritten Bible,” strictly speaking, in my own reading of the fragments, but Zahn’s particular approach to rewriting as a primarily contextualized phenomenon as well her nuanced approach to the activity of (re)writing in the ancient world will provide a useful toolkit for addressing the relationship of the fragments to source material later on in my own study.

own a major innovation.⁸³ His first innovation is the move from this literary relationship to explore the relationship of the fragments to texts outside the Septuagint, namely Greek and Egyptian traditions. His second innovation is his attempt to understand these three disparate literary traditions in the narrative of the fragments of Artapanus with a unifying theoretical framework of pseudepigraphic authorship. I will outline here Freudenthal's evaluation of these three literary traditions and how he understands the narrative unity of the fragments.

First, merely utilizing the biblical narrative as a source is not sufficient to describe the Jewishness of fragments; it must rather be described in terms of its orientation. If simply being aware of and using information from the biblical narrative was enough to describe the particular Jewishness of a given text, then the fragments we have of Manetho's account of the Exodus, which display some familiarity with the narrative preserved in the biblical accounts if not a text of the LXX itself, could be described in terms of its Jewishness.⁸⁴ Artapanus is using Jewish literary traditions, but for what purpose? In this way, the salient terminology for Freudenthal is meaningless without some sense of how it is used—or perhaps, to put it another way, these terms are essentially rhetorical. Interpretation, expansion and gap-closing are all tools deployed towards a particular narrative end, not arbitrarily. Because Freudenthal has the biblical narrative

⁸³ We have already noted several scholars who have asserted that the author of the fragments was Jewish. Similarly, some of the objections raised against the authenticity of Polyhistor's *Περὶ Ἰουδαίων* were centered on the work being a Jewish text. Freudenthal makes a more explicit case for the Jewishness of the fragments based on literary criteria. The concepts of interpretation, expansion, and gap filling are, for Freudenthal, a response to the written text of the Septuagint, based especially on various verbal agreements between LXX Exodus and Fragment 3, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 215.

⁸⁴ This also leads to another claim about the “biblical narrative” writ large; was Manetho reading “the Bible?” Again, it should be noted that this is presumed based on a older perception of the primacy of the “biblical” over “non-biblical” texts. If Manetho shows an awareness of the Exodus tradition it is because he extracted them from a Jewish “biblical” text. This is why Freudenthal must pivot from simply *using* the biblical narrative to *how* it is used.

as a point of reference, he can theorize the difference between that and the fragments not in terms of “deviance” but in rhetorical terms. Such is the case when we return to Freudenthal’s statement positing the Jewish identity of Artapanus: What is it that the interpretation, expansion, and gap-filling is meant to do? It is meant “to glorify the history of Israel” and “to protect the heroes of ancient Judaism from possible blame and to describe them as the benefactors of humanity.”⁸⁵ Freudenthal has made a rhetorical claim which grows out of a source-critical analysis, a claim central to his determination that Artapanus was a Jew. The Jewish identity of Artapanus is the primary facet of Freudenthal’s analysis, but what marks his innovation is how he sees that Jewish identity interacting with Egyptian and Greek traditions, as well.

Second, the fragments display a knowledge of Egyptian material to varying degrees. On the one hand, there are obvious references to “important institutions, religious customs, social conditions of the Egyptians, even natural events, such as the rising of the Nile.”⁸⁶ As we will see, this in and of itself does not require native Egyptian material, since the fragments also indicate a reliance on Greek traditions of Egypt. Freudenthal, though, looks to these references as evidence “that Artapanus tried to give his depiction an Egyptian color.”⁸⁷ But Freudenthal also sees particular Egyptian literary traditions in the fragments, namely traditions related to an Egyptian

⁸⁵ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 143–4; cf. above, 2.

⁸⁶ “Wichtige Einrichtungen , religiöse Bräuche, so ciale Verhältnisse der Aegypter, ja selbst Naturereignisse, wie das Steigen des Nil...”, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 150.

⁸⁷ “...dass Artapanos seiner Darstellung ein ägyptisches Colorit zu geben ... be müht war,” Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 150.

expedition against Ethiopia⁸⁸ and to the Hyksos occupation.⁸⁹ Freudenthal also notes that the fragments appear to be resisting an Egyptian literary tradition of anti-Judaism stemming from the work of the Egyptian priest Manetho.⁹⁰ This is a different interaction with a literary tradition, to be sure, since the suggestion here is that the fragments are deliberately refuting elements of it, but it is a deliberate interaction nonetheless. The combination of general knowledge of Egypt and Egyptian practices and specific Egyptian literary traditions forms the core of the Egyptian material Freudenthal sees preserved in the fragments. Freudenthal also sees a process at work in the fragments, a process of Egyptianization. Freudenthal explicitly compares this process to the process of Hellenization by which Egyptian material was unified with Greek thought: “in a

⁸⁸ Following Heinrich Brugsch, Freudenthal sees inscriptional evidence of a certain ‘Messu/Mesu as the Egyptian governor of Ethiopia during the reigns of Rameses II and Merneptah as suggesting the connection between Moses and Ethiopia. Brugsch reads an inscription from a stele at Aswan indicating that viceroy of Ethiopia at the end of the reign of Rameses II and beginning of the reign of Merneptah was one “Kous Mes,” who he notes would have been contemporaneous with the biblical Moses. Earlier Brugsch points out that the name “Moses” is of course Egyptian and indicates “son of” and was used especially “by one of the seven viceroys of Ethiopia under Rameses II contemporary of the Jewish lawgiver” (et qui fut porté, entre autres, par un des sept princes d’Éthiopie sous Ramsès II contemporain du législateur juif); in this case, “son of Kous,” (Heinrich Brugsch, *Histoire d’Égypte dès les premiers temps de son existence jusqu’à nos jours* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1859), 173; 157; cf. Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 155. It is worth noting that there is later speculation that ‘Messu/Messuwuy was elevated as a rival pharaoh to Merneptah, Amenmesse; while this theory was advanced much later than Freudenthal’s writing, it is easy to speculate how this would have been incorporated into his evidence; the theory was first advanced by Rolf Krauss, “Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse,” 1. teil, *SAK* 4 (1976), 161–99; Rolf Krauss, “Untersuchungen zu König Amenmesse,” 2. teil, *SAK* 5 (1977), 131–74. See also Frank J. Yurco, “Was Amenmesse the Viceroy of Kush, Messuwuy?,” *JARCE* 34 (1997): 49–56. Likewise, Freudenthal cites Brugsch on inscriptional evidence of a campaign against Ethiopia by a certain Aah’mes, Brugsch, *Histoire*, 86; cf. Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 155.

⁸⁹ Freudenthal also reads the fragments of Artapanus as evidence for intermittent Semitic incursions into Egypt, similar to Ewald, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 156; Heinrich Ewald, *The History of Israel* (London: Longmans, Green, 1876), Ia.588. What is important for Freudenthal is that he sees in the fragments a tradition of the Hyksos occupation preserved independently from Manetho, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 156. Freudenthal sees the chaotic rulership situation in Egypt after the death of Joseph in Frag.3.3 (πολλοὺς γὰρ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν) to refer to the contested rule by the Hyksos. Similarly, the plundering of Egypt by Moses’s father-in-law Raguel (Frag. 3.19) and Moses’s own attempted invasion (Frag. 3.22) suggest a knowledge of continuous Levantine or Canaanite incursions, reminiscent of the Hyksos period, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 157.

⁹⁰ Freudenthal uses the iteration of Manetho received in Josephus *Contra Apionem* (*C. Ap.*) and points out parallels such that in Manetho’s account Moses is an Egyptian priest (*C. Ap.* II 12) and had been driven out of Egypt with a crown of lepers (*C. Ap.* II 26, 28, 34); Artapanus’s narrative presents Moses as a Jew adopted by an Egyptian (Frag. 3.2) and it was the pharaoh Chenephres who died of leprosy (Frag. 3.20), Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 161.

similar way now that Egyptian things were Hellenized, Israelite history was Egyptianized.”⁹¹

Here, the biblical narrative is made to be more Egyptian, perhaps by adjusting toponyms to be more Egyptian.⁹² More generally, though, this Egyptianizing can be seen in the portrayal of the biblical narratives of Abraham, Joseph and Moses. Each narrative is significantly recast with Egyptian terminology and concepts, especially tracing back the foundations of major Egyptian cultural phenomena to Jewish heroes.⁹³ This is distinct from source analysis in that the effort to identify particular textual sources is subsidiary to the appreciation of how the material is integrated into the larger narrative.

Third, Freudenthal also sees a dependence on Greek literature, especially Greek traditions about Egypt.⁹⁴ There are several parallels to Greek historiographical and ethnographical tradition

⁹¹ “In ähnlicher Weise nun wie ägyptische Dinge hellenisirt wurden, ägyptisirt man israelitische Geschichte,” Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 148.

⁹² Freudenthal presumes a change in Frag. 3.2 from Γεσεμ (LXX Gen 47:27) to Κέσσαν, aligning with the hieroglyphic Kesem, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 158. Holladay notes that three manuscripts (Codex Marcianus graecus 341, Codex Bononiensis Univ. 3643, and Neapolitanus graecus II AA 16) of *Praep. ev.* read Τέσσαν, which Stephanus (whose notes Freudenthal follows) corrects to Κέσσαν. However, he notes that Mras emends the text to τε Σάιν based on a conjectured corrupted form, τε Σάιν, Holladay, *Fragments*, 231 n. 35. This would align with the account in the Joseph fragment (Frag. 2.3), in which Joseph and his family settle in Heliopolis and Sais (ἐν...Σάει); however, Holladay also notes that Codex Marcianus graecus 341 omits Heliopolis, which Holladay suspects prompted Stephanus to emend the passages to ἐν τῇ πόλει Καισάν, which Freudenthal reads changes to ἐν τῇ Ἡλίου καὶ Σάιν, referring thus to San/Tanis with Sais being a misreading, Holladay, *Fragments*, 229 n. 24; Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 217. While Freudenthal’s textual reconstructions may be tenuous, they still point to his vision of what Egyptianizing the biblical narrative means in practice.

⁹³ Freudenthal mentions, among other examples, that Moses was portrayed as the founder of Egyptian culture, animal worship, and cult practice, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 150–51. The fragments are rife with more examples to the extent that Freudenthal does not need to strain to make his case that each narrative presented here has been given a decidedly Egyptian flavor. He also points out that this is perhaps one example in a long tradition of texts which Egyptianize material in order “to give the shining look of ancient Egyptian revelation by tracing their views and teachings back to Egyptian priests and gods,” (...durch Zurückführung ihrer Ansichten und Lehren auf ägyptische Priester und Götter denselben den glänzenden Anstrich uralter ägyptischer Offenbarung zu geben versuchten.), Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 151.

⁹⁴ Freudenthal characterizes these accounts as “full of errors and misunderstandings but [which] are not really fairy tales...but that there are views and opinions that, at their core, are based on genuine, although exotic, explanations by experts...to which a mixture of history, legend, and fiction has been added, which we find in Herodotus, Diodorus, Plutarch and others” (...dass die von Irrthümern und Missverständnissen strotzenden Berichte griechischer

which mediate the process of “Egyptianization.” For example, the fragments indicate of Moses that “he also divided the nation [Egypt] into thirty-six nomes, and to each of the nomes he assigned the god to be worshipped; in addition, he assigned the sacred writings to the priests” (ἔτι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς λς’ νομοὺς διελεῖν καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν νομῶν ἀποτάκκει τὸν θεὸν σεφθήσεσθαι τὰ τε ἱερὰ γράμματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν) (Fragment 3.4) and that he did these things “for the sake of maintaining the monarchy for Chenephres” (ποιῆσαι χάριν τοῦ τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν τῷ Χενεφρῆ διαφυλάξαι) (Fragment 3.5). That Egypt was divided into thirty-six nomes is attested by Diodorus *Bib.* I.54 and Strabo *Geogr.* XVII.1.3. Similarly, Diodorus indicates that Sesostris “built in each city of Egypt a temple to the god who was held in special reverence by its inhabitants” (...ἀπὸ θεῶν ἀρξάμενος ὠκοδόμησεν ἐν πάσαις ταῖς κατ’ Αἴγυπτον πόλεσιν ἱερὸν θεοῦ τοῦ μάλιστα παρ’ ἐκάστοις τιμωμένου) (*Bib.* I.56 [Oldfather, LCL]). But for Freudenthal, the *coup de grâce* is the explanation Diodorus gives for this, namely that:

...τῶν βασιλέων τινὰ συνέσει διαφέροντα διελέσθαι μὲν τὴν χώραν εἰς πλείω μέρη, καθ’ ἕκαστον δ’ αὐτῶν καταδειῖξαι τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις σέβεσθαι τι ζῷον ἢ τροφῆς τινος μὴ γεύεσθαι, ὅπως ἐκάστων τὸ μὲν παρ’ αὐτοῖς τιμώμενον σεβομένων, τῶν δὲ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις ἀφιερωμένων καταφρονούντων, μηδέποτε ὁμονοῆσαι δύνωνται πάντες οἱ κατ’ Αἴγυπτον.

. . . one of the kings who was especially wise divided the land into a number of parts and commanded the inhabitants of each to revere a certain animal or else not to eat a certain food, his thought being that, with each group of people revering what was honoured among themselves but despising what was sacred to all the rest, all the inhabitants of Egypt would never be able to be of one mind. (*Bib.* I.89 [Oldfather, LCL])

Schriftsteller über Altägypten nicht etwa Märchen sind ... sondern dass hier Ansichten und Auffassungen vorliegen, die ihrem Kerne nach auf echter nur exoterischer Erklärung sachverständiger Männer beruhen ... zu dem Gemisch von Geschichte, Sage und Erdichtung geworden sind, das wir bei Herodot, Diodor, Plutarch und Anderen finden), Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 148.

Here Freudenthal sees this tradition preserved in Greek historiography as essential for understanding the fragments, otherwise the idea that dividing the kingdom to maintain the monarchy makes no sense.⁹⁵

Freudenthal sees how both Egyptian and Greek material are integral to understanding aspects of the fragments. But more than this, he points out how Greek and Egyptian material intersect in the fragments in a mutually reinforcing way. For example, when Moses is identified with Hermes (Fragment 3.6) this is not only an identification with the Greek god of magic, but an identification freighted with Egyptian connotations. Moses is named Hermes because of his ability to read the sacred writing (διὰ τὴν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν), and Freudenthal notes the connection to Thoth as book writer.⁹⁶ But in the treatment of Moses's stepmother Merris, Freudenthal sees something more complex in the relationship between Moses-Hermes-Thoth when:

Artapanus also states that “Merris is venerated no less than Isis by the natives” (Fragment 3.16) ... Artapanus put his Moses in contact with Isis, because Thoth was connected with her, sometimes as a husband (Brugsch G. I. I.220), sometimes

⁹⁵ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 161. Another literary interaction which parallels the implicit refutations of the anti-Jewish attacks in Manetho's account is Moses originating circumcision and teaching it to the Ethiopians and Egyptians (Frag. 3.10). This contradicts the accounts of Herodotus (*Hist.* II.104) and Diodorus (*Bib.* I.55; III.32) that circumcision could not be a divine command for the Jews because it originated from Egypt and they thus learned it from Egyptians (“Nach Herodot (II 104) und Diodor (I 55. III 32) kann es kein göttliches Gebot sein, wenn die Juden die Beschneidung üben, da sie wie andere Völker diese Sitte erst von den Aegyptern ge lernt haben sollten”), Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 161. The text of the fragments is murky as to whether Moses teaches circumcision to the Egyptians, it only mentions Ethiopians (after Moses's successful campaign against them, they are so in awe of him that they adopt circumcision) “not only them, but all the priests as well” (οὐ μόνον δὲ τούτους, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς ἅπαντας). Freudenthal clearly assumes this applies to Egyptian priests, since he previously asserted that Artapanus is correct in applying circumcision only to them, rather than wrongly applying it as a general custom of the whole population as Herodotus does, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 159.

⁹⁶ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 154; cf. Heinrich Brugsch and Johannes Duemichen, *Recueil de monuments égyptiens dessinés sur lieux et publ. sous les auspices de Mohammed-Said-Pascha: Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler; Abth. 1:* (Leipzig: Hinrichs, 1866), I.220. Freudenthal also notes the ancient traditions of Thoth as the inventor of writing (Diodorus *Bib.* I.16; Cicero *Nat. d.* III.22), of art and science (Diodorus *Bib.* I.16; 43; Plutarch *Is. Os.* 3), cult and priestly texts (Diodorus *Bib.* I.20), thus seeing a connection to Moses being described in such similar terms (Frag. 3.4).

as father (Plutarch *Is. Os.* 12), sometimes as counselor and teacher (Diodorus *Bibl.* I.17; 27). That is why Moses brought the body of Merris-Isis to Meroë, built the city in her honor and named it; for the names were correct, and Isis was venerated in Meroë (Strabo *Geogr.* XVII 1.82).⁹⁷

Freudenthal is arguing that the complex relationship between Moses and Thoth in these fragments is triangulated by Egyptian and Greek traditions about Isis and also by association with Greek Hermes.⁹⁸ The interplay here is sophisticated in that these traditions are interacting in multiple directions, and not everything is “becoming Greek”; rather, the narrative elements can be simultaneously Jewish, Egyptian and Greek.

Moses Hadas, in his ultimate judgement of the fragments of Artapanus, qualifies them as “a strange gallimaufry [which] is an unskillful interweaving of disparate strands, each so curtailed as to be almost meaningless.”⁹⁹ Freudenthal instead sees a deliberate unification of distinct material in which disparate traditions interact with each other. He understands the purpose of this literary unification as Greek and Egyptian material being mapped onto Jewish traditions. Again, this is established at the outset of his study when he affirms that all of this additional material (being additional to the biblical narrative, that is) is used to fill gaps, expand content, and interpret what is originally biblical narrative. This keeps the Jewish tradition at the

⁹⁷ “Auch Artapan giebt an, ‘Merris werde von den Eingeborenen nicht weniger als die Isis verehrt’ ... In die Verbindung mit Isis aber setzte Artapanos seinen Moses, weil Tôt mit ihr verbunden wird, bald als Gemahl (Brugsch G. J. I 220), bald als Vater (Plut. de Is. 12), bald als Rathgeber und Erzieher (Diod. I 17. 27). Darum hat Moses auch den Leichnam der Merris-Isis nach Meroë gebracht, die Stadt ihr zu Ehren erbaut und benannt; denn die Namen stimmten, und in Meroë ward die Isis verehrt (Strabon XVII 822),” Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 154–55.

⁹⁸ Another occasion of this intersection is the naming of Moses as Mousaios (Μουσαῖος) who is then presented as the teacher of Orpheus (Frag. 3.3), rather than the inverse that we would expect (e.g., Diodorus *Bib.* IV.25). While Freudenthal does not note particularly the inverted roles of the characters, he does make clear that the association of Orpheus and Mousaios with Egypt is plainly from Greek literary sources (Diodorus *Bib.* I.23, 92, 96). While this association is initially based on a verbal similarity to Moses, it is easy to also observe an absorption of a Greek tradition about Egypt and a tradition of Greeks appropriating (Hellenizing) Egyptian culture.

⁹⁹ Moses Hadas, *Hellenistic Culture: Fusion and Diffusion* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1959), 98.

center of the fragments throughout his study and grounds his claim that these traditions were meaningfully joined for a particular rhetorical purpose. Freudenthal has eschewed previous attempts to analyze the fragments by first bringing a constructed anthology to the text and subsequently reading the fragments for deviations from the anthology. Instead, he has accepted Polyhistor's anthology as a framework and then extracted additional bases for anthological construction from the narrative of the fragments themselves, namely Jewish, Egyptian and Greek literary traditions. What remains to be seen is how he proposes to make sense of the unification of these three traditions in the fragments and how they can be understood to make sense of Hellenistic Jewish identity.

2.2.4 Pseudepigraphic Solutions

We have seen how Freudenthal interacts with issues of authority in his reading of the fragments, especially dealing with the authority of Polyhistor as a compiler. In his explanation of the diversity of traditions in what he still holds to be a Jewish text, we see him asking another question related to authority: what authorizes the fragments both to be Jewish and to absorb such diverse narrative material? Freudenthal looks for a solution by asking how the narrative meant to accommodate to a particular social setting, in the case of these fragments to the particular experiences and knowledge of Jews in Hellenistic Egypt.¹⁰⁰ This is a question of origins. Freudenthal is interested in sources, yes; but more than that he wants to understand the circumstances of a Jewish text that seems so different than what we would otherwise expect. Freudenthal's solution is to treat the fragments as having been authored pseudonymously. I

¹⁰⁰ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 149.

suggest that it is this treatment of pseudonymous authorship, which exists on multiple levels, which supports my reading of Freudenthal as prefiguring discursive analysis.

Freudenthal's solution is to put the fragments in the voice of a pseudonymous Egyptian priest. In this way, the pseudonymity authorizes the use of Egyptian and Greek material layered onto and integrated with Jewish material. This creates a perfect context "in which a very patriotic Jew shared stories about the history of his people as he wanted to receive them from Egyptian priests."¹⁰¹ It is too much of a leap for Freudenthal to be comfortable with the idea that a Jewish narrative could integrate Greek and Egyptian material so intentionally:

...a Jew who spoke in his own name did not pass off the founder of his religion as the author of Egyptian idolatry. But a Jew, who let Egyptian priests speak, could put this in his mouth, which he himself rejected as untrue, but nevertheless communicated in order to show how important the Jewish lawgiver appeared even to foreigners.¹⁰²

Freudenthal is suggesting that a Jew could indeed craft such an integrated narrative, but that narrative would certainly not be authoritative for a non-Jewish audience. The narrative only becomes authoritative when it appears, at least superficially, Egyptian. For example, Freudenthal points out that "Artapanus was daring enough to pass real biblical reports as Egyptian is shown by the alleged story of the Heliopolites about the passage of the Israelites through the sea, which does not come from Egyptian priests, but is completely based on the Bible."¹⁰³ I am suggesting

¹⁰¹ "...in welchem ein sehr patriotisch gesinnter Jude Erzählungen über die Geschichte seines Volkes mittheilte, wie er sie von ägyptischen Priestern empfangen haben wollte," Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 150.

¹⁰² "Ein Jude, der in eigenem Namen redete, den Gründer seiner Religion nicht für den Urheber ägyptischer Abgötterei ausgegeben. Wohl aber konnte ein Jude, der ägyptische Priester reden liess, diesen in den Mund legen, was er selbst zwar als unwahr zurückwies, aber doch mittheilte, um zu zeigen, wie gewaltig die Bedeutung des jüdischen Gesetzgebers selbst den Fremden erschien," Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 151.

¹⁰³ "...denn dass Artapanos verwegen genug war, echt biblische Berichte für ägyptisch auszugeben, zeigt die eben erwähnte angebliche Erzählung der Heliopoliten über den Durchgang der Israeliten durch das Meer, die nicht von ägyptischen Priestern herkommt, sondern vollständig der Bibel nachgeschrieben ist," Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 152.

that Freudenthal is prefiguring the role of authority in discourse; while he is not making an explicit claim,¹⁰⁴ his proposal of a pseudonymous Egyptian priest is designed to authorize the discursive project undertaken in the fragments of Artapanus.

It is also worth noting that Freudenthal does not presume these processes are unique to Artapanus. He sees numerous parallels to the Letter of Aristeas. The fragments of Artapanus and Aristeas are “both of the same tendency, both of the same extremely strange content, both attached to the same people for the sake of appearance, both written by men of the same origin, the same language and the same disposition, [and] would be considered identical by anyone impartial.”¹⁰⁵ Freudenthal points out that both Aristeas and the fragments of Artapanus are dealing with history of the Jews in Egypt and are both relying on Greek traditions for much of their information.¹⁰⁶ They are both defending Judaism against anti-Jewish attacks, but more importantly they both make a point of having Greeks and Egyptians praise the Jews or Jewish heroes.¹⁰⁷ Freudenthal sees Aristeas as validation for the practices he observes in the fragments,

That is, when he notes the two different Egyptian traditions of the crossing of the Israelites through the Red Sea, one from the Memphites and one from the Heliopolitans. The Memphite account is essentially Euhemeristic, that Moses simply knew the area well and when to cross; the Heliopolitan account, however, mirrors the Exodus version (Exod 14:10–25) in significant detail.

¹⁰⁴ For example, something along the lines of Hindy Najman, “the only passable roads to textual authority led through the past,” Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, 15.

¹⁰⁵ “Diese zwei Werke, beide von gleicher Tendenz, beide desselben höchst seltsamen Inhalts, beide denselben Personen zum Scheine beigelegt, beide von Männern gleicher Herkunft, gleicher Sprache und gleicher Gesinnung verfasst, wird jeder Unbefangene für identisch halten,” Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 162. Freudenthal asserts that the fragments of Artapanus and the Letter of Aristeas are products of the same author and that the fragments are the same document claimed in Aristeas as having come from Egyptian priests, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 164–65. While this argument seems wholly circumstantial, his observed parallels between the two texts are still valuable.

¹⁰⁶ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 163.

¹⁰⁷ Aristeas is especially inclusive of this praise, making sure it comes from the Ptolemies and their court, Egyptian priests, and the historian Demetrius of Phalerum (not to mention the High Priest in Jerusalem), all of which Freudenthal reads as fabricated, Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 165.

that the fragments are participating in a larger practice of Jewish narrative construction.

Freudenthal sees Aristeas as a predecessor of and exemplar for the technique used by Artapanus.

2.2.5 Freudenthal's Legacy

Having seen how Freudenthal's work centers on authenticity, authority and reading the fragments as an innovative interpretation of multiple traditions, it remains to be seen how these factors contribute to a prefigured discursive reading. If discourse tied to founder is fundamentally a dialogical relationship, one that is simultaneously innovative and grounded in a shared past, both reworked and making claims to authority from a historic founder, then we can investigate what doors to understanding the fragments as a discursive project are opened by Freudenthal.¹⁰⁸

Freudenthal's reading of authority in the fragments stresses the authority of Alexander Polyhistor to transmit authentic fragments, addressing a question of who is reliable as a compiler. Yet

Freudenthal's pseudonymous author is also an authorizing move as he is attempting to answer (the implicit) question of "who is authorized to speak about Jewish identity to non-Jews?"

Freudenthal does not wade into the questions of why this authority was needed or for whom this authority mattered. As I have already mentioned, this sort of discursive project was not on his mind. However, his focus on authority in the transmission of the fragments shows that authority is not a strange concept. Freudenthal constructed his pseudonymous Egyptian priest as a way to explain what seems like an unlikely literary move by a Jewish author but let us examine the implications. Freudenthal posits a Jewish author who assumed the guise of an Egyptian priest to make claims that he, as a Jew, "rejected as untrue, but nevertheless communicated in order to

¹⁰⁸ Again I am relying on a version of Hindy Najman's formulation of discourse tied to a founder, *op. cit.*

show how important the Jewish lawgiver appeared even to foreigners.”¹⁰⁹ This is a remarkably sophisticated view of authority in the text. A Jewish text assumes the authority of an Egyptian priest, whose praise of Jewish heroes would therefore be received by either a Jewish or non-Jewish audience (Freudenthal does not specify).

This praise would have been received as *untrue* by a Jew, so what sort of authority is projected? The Egyptian priest authorizes the text to make what a Jew would consider to be untrue claims, claims which would be rejected. The pseudonymity is necessary, on one level, to authorize the joining of disparate non-Jewish material to important biblical narratives; but on the other level, it also authorizes the actual author of the text, a Jew, to make what would be understood as false claims by other Jews. Freudenthal presents a solution to one problem, but in so doing raises many other questions. By focusing on how authority functions related to the joining of disparate material in the narrative, Freudenthal leaves out the subsequent questions of what is being authorized and to whom. It is in this sense that Freudenthal can be said to prefigure a discursive analysis; his attempt at understanding the fragments prompts further questions that can be addressed by proposing a discursive relationship between the fragments of Artapanus and colonization narratives.

Freudenthal’s innovative reading of the traditions in the fragments, the object of his pseudonymous author solution, is another arena in which he prefigures discursive analysis. While prior investigations of the fragments were content to evaluate the seemingly incongruous narrative for its difference from or similarity to accepted (and authoritative) Jewish material, Freudenthal interrogates the narrative itself to discern the different traditions that he considers to

¹⁰⁹ Freudenthal, *op. cit.*

be meaningfully unified in the text. I have suggested that by establishing the Jewishness of the text from the outset, Freudenthal is able to read the fragments with a mind to understanding what traditions are present in addition to those biblical narratives he has identified. In this way, he begins his reading with the assumption that this is a Jewish text which joins itself with expansive non-Jewish material. His solution of a pseudonymous author is meant to understand this situation, that a Jew, who was significantly influenced by Greek historiographical traditions, took on the guise of Egyptian traditions, as well. His need to “solve” this situation notwithstanding, Freudenthal’s tacit acknowledgement of a Jewish text that simultaneously participates in Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian narrative traditions *by design* is a turning point in understanding Hellenistic Jewish identity. Here again we can see how a model of discourse, a text in dialogue with these disparate Greek and Egyptian narrative traditions while also in dialogue with Jewish identity, Jewish founders, and Jewish biblical texts, would be useful. While Freudenthal does not have these tools at his disposal, his approach certainly foreshadows an important way to read the fragments.

This, in the end, is both Freudenthal’s innovation and limitation. He reads the fragments as a complex of traditions, mutually reinforcing and rhetorically deployed toward claims about Jewish heroes. At the same time, he is not willing to reimagine the boundaries of Hellenistic Judaism; rather than assume these texts are constructing a different Judaism than what is elsewhere attested, he finds a different solution which the Jewishness of the texts and how the texts could be considered authoritative. Nevertheless, this reading of the fragments as a complex interaction of multiple traditions toward a singular rhetorical purpose of defining Jewish identity through its heroes, especially Moses, will be influential on almost all later scholars approaching the fragments. We will see how later scholars have approached some of the doors that

Freudenthal opened, but there still remain areas to develop around models of discourse. If Freudenthal opened the door to seeing the fragments as a discursive process, then I am positioning my own project to enter that door. I contend, following Freudenthal's impulse to search for additional anthologies that might explain Artapanus, there is a discursive relationship between Artapanus's conception of Moses as a founder and colonial founders from Greek literary traditions. As I will show in the remainder of this chapter, however, the study of the fragments is still in many ways tethered to Freudenthal's initial analysis as well as to his limitations and we must account for this before turning to my own model of understanding the fragments.

2.3 Later Scholarship

I will now turn to a brief overview of scholarship after Freudenthal's major work. Rather than attempt to be exhaustive, I will instead focus on grouping major subsequent works into categories based on how they approach or evaluate the fragments of Artapanus. This effort should serve to reinforce my earlier point that anthologizing is not an inherently problematic enterprise; but I intend, by explicitly acknowledging how I am proceeding, to keep at the forefront of this section a methodological self-awareness. This is a construct meant to frame an overview of scholarship based on how it has developed from, or been restrained by, Freudenthal's original reading of the fragments. I am suggesting later scholarship has taken Freudenthal's work as a starting point but has not yet fully exploited a discursive approach to understanding the fragments.

2.3.1 "*Normative Judaism*"

The comparison of the Jewishness interpreted from the fragments of Artapanus and a "normative" Judaism continued on after Freudenthal's analysis. An example is the 1906 *Jewish*

Encyclopedia, which is itself an anthologized collection of discrete entries. That being said, it is clear what motivates the inclusion of an entry on Artapanus: the connection to Judaism broadly construed. Within this anthology of the encyclopedia is another, implied, anthology. Louis Ginzberg, the author of the entry, describes the work of Artapanus thus:

The fragments that have survived enable one to form an opinion—not a very flattering one—as to the merits of their author. Artapanus evidently belonged to that narrowminded circle of Hellenizing Jews that were unable to grasp what was truly great in Judaism, and, therefore, in their mistaken apologetic zeal—for even in those early days Judaism had its opponents among the Hellenes—set about glorifying Judaism to the outer world by inventing all manner of fables concerning the Jews.¹¹⁰

The implicit anthologies are indicated in different places. On the one hand, the “narrowminded circle of Hellenizing Jews” is an anthologized grouping of texts that exists outside the scope of this entry. This is an affirmatively formulated anthology: that the circle of likeminded authors can be grouped by a shared Hellenizing tendency. On the other hand, there is a negatively formulated anthology: that these Hellenizing Jews “were unable to grasp what was truly great in Judaism” implies that there is an alternative anthology of texts which does not fail to grasp this greatness. The important point here is that both anthologies point to a qualitative judgement of the Jewishness of the fragments. For Ginzberg this judgement is evident in an almost dismissive approach to the fragments whereby Artapanus can be relegated to a compilation of flawed (or perhaps even deviant) texts.¹¹¹ This perspective on the fragments, and especially on their

¹¹⁰ Louis Ginzberg, “Artapanus,” *JE* 2.145.

¹¹¹ Similarly, we can look to the 1998 disagreement between Louis Feldman and Erich Gruen to see another example of this implicit comparison. Gruen suggested that Diaspora Jews, especially those in Egypt, constructed variations on the LXX Exodus narrative for particular purposes, Erich S. Gruen, “The Use and Abuse of the Exodus Story,” *Jewish History* 12.1 (1998): 93–122. He particularly noted the relationship between the anti-Jewish sentiment of Manetho’s account of the Jews in Egypt and the fragments of Artapanus, Gruen, “The Use and Abuse of the Exodus Story,” 109. Feldman’s response to the use of Artapanus is that Artapanus is not a reliable Jewish source since “it seems hard to believe that a Jew would have stated—and with pride—that Moses assigned cats, dogs and ibises as

Jewishness, attempt to solve the same problem of why a Jew would use such disparate material by asserting he was simply not a very good Jew at all.

2.3.2 Artapanus and Models of Hellenistic Judaism

Related to the concept of “normative” Judaism is the influence of Hellenization.¹¹² The impact of Hellenization on Jewish communities, and on Jewish self-identification, is complicated by the difficulty of understanding the process of Hellenization itself. While the influence of Greek culture and the Greek language on the wider Mediterranean world is relatively straightforward to demonstrate, the process by which it occurs, as well as the implication of this influence on non-Greek culture, is not.¹¹³ The fragments of Artapanus figure in the efforts to

gods,” Louis H. Feldman, “Responses: Did Jews Reshape the Tale of the Exodus?,” *Jewish History* 12.1 (1998): 126. Later Feldman goes on to criticize Gruen’s lack of reliance on Philo as a reference point for Alexandrian Judaism, tipping his hand that there are right and wrong ways to be a Jew in Hellenistic Egypt, Feldman, “Responses,” 126. We could also point back to an earlier framework of “orthodoxy” in evaluating the propriety of Alexandrian Judaism articulated by Feldman, Louis H. Feldman, “The Orthodoxy of the Jews in Hellenistic Egypt,” *Jewish Social Studies* 22.4 (1960): 215–37.

¹¹² Hellenization as a process and Hellenism more generally are terms so large so as to be difficult to grasp adequately. After Droysen’s coining of the term as a chronological delimiter for the period between Alexander and Augustus, it developed into the process by which Greek culture spread across the Mediterranean following Alexander’s conquests, Johann Gustav Droysen, *Geschichte des Hellenismus*. (Hamburg: Friedrich Perthes, 1836). Standard works overviewing the Hellenistic period include William W. Tarn, *Hellenistic Civilisation*, (3d ed., rev. and ed. William W. Tarn and G. T. Griffith; London: E Arnold, 1952); Michael Rostovzeff, *The Social & Economic History of the Hellenistic World* (3 vols.; Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1941); Claire Préaux, *Le Monde Hellénistique: la Grèce et l’Orient de la Mort d’Alexandre à la Conquête Romaine de la Grèce, 323-146 av. J.-C.*, (Nouvelle Clío 6; 2 vols.; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1978); Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990).

¹¹³ The actual process of Hellenization is crucial to understanding how the fragments of Artapanus fit a larger conversation on the nature of Hellenization. In chapter 5 I will suggest how the fragments can be understood as an example of John Ma’s proposed use of paradoxes as a starting point for an investigation into Hellenization, looking especially to artefacts which “stubbornly refuse to conform to the dogmas of the colonial paradigm, within which they should not be possible: for instance, sympotic vases with Greek and pharaonic motifs, John Ma, “Paradigms and Paradoxes in the Hellenistic World,” *Studi ellenistici* 20 (2008): 371–86. Ma’s three most significant paradoxes of the Hellenistic world as “the paradoxes of rupture and continuity; the paradoxes of identity, between Greek and non-Greek; the paradoxes of the relation between the supra-local empire and local powers, and the impact on the Greek city,” and this aptly names the complexity of defining Hellenization in simple terms, Ma, “Paradigms,” 384. In the next chapter I will describe Dougherty’s “poetics of colonization” and how it is an appropriate model with which to read Artapanus. I will later explore what difficulties remain to be accounted for by reading Artapanus as a colonial discourse, using Ma’s paradoxes as a starting point.

understand the dynamics between the process of Hellenization and the Jewish communities of the Hellenistic world, dynamics which have featured prominently since Droysen's original formulation.¹¹⁴ Before turning to how the fragments of Artapanus factor into some of the implications of Hellenism (assimilation, syncretism, and ethno-cultural competition), it is worth seeing how they fit into conceptions of the larger interplay between Judaism and Hellenism. For example, Victor Tcherikover does not touch on the fragments of Artapanus directly in his 1954 *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, but does situate the Hellenistic kingdoms as caught in a dualism between "the tendency to Hellenism on the one hand and the influence of the Orient on the other" and he positions the Jewish communities, especially in the diaspora, as caught between an analogous dualism between Palestinian Judaism and Hellenistic influences.¹¹⁵ On the contrary, Martin Hengel devotes his *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* to breaking down the distinction between Hellenistic Judaism and Palestinian Judaism.¹¹⁶ When John Collins published the first edition of

¹¹⁴ As Momigliano points out, the term "Hellenism" came to Droysen from Acts 6, "where Ἑλληνισταί are opposed to Ἐβραῖοι," Arnaldo Momigliano, "J. G. Droysen between Greeks and Jews," *History and Theory* 9.2 (1970): 142. Droysen extrapolated from the debate around Ἑλληνισταί referenced Acts 6, and the nature of Jewish thought under Greek influence, a notion of how *all* the populations in territories conquered by Alexander functioned. Droysen was attempting to explain the origin of Christianity in terms of Hellenization, particularly by creating a lineage from classical Greece to Christianity by means of Hellenistic contact with the religions of the Near East and at the expense of Judaism (this seems to have changed slightly in Droysen's later publications, according to Momigliano). While Droysen's model has been set aside, the intersection of Hellenism and Judaism has been a part of the larger conversation nearly since the beginning.

¹¹⁵ Victor Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization and the Jews*, (trans. S. Applebaum; Philadelphia: Jewish Publication Society of America, 1959), 16. There are echoes here of a "normative" Judaism, one in which Tcherikover construes as deliberately propagated by the Hasmoneans. A good example is his characterization of Esther and Judith being distributed to diaspora communities from a Palestinian "center" and being a counterbalance to the Hellenizing influences of Aristaeas or Philo, Tcherikover, *Hellenistic Civilization*, 355.

¹¹⁶ Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period*, (1st American ed.; trans. John Bowden; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974). As he summarizes, "Jewish Palestine was no hermetically sealed island in the sea of Hellenistic oriental syncretism," Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism*, 312. While accepting Hengel's overall premise, John Collins nuanced this approach by emphasizing the multifaceted nature of both Judaism and Hellenism and that in the interchange between the two, neither need be

Between Athens and Jerusalem in 1986, he acknowledged that “our objective is not to impose any simple divisions on Diaspora Judaism, but rather to appreciate the variety and complexity of the factors which molded Jewish identity even in a single situation or in a single document.”¹¹⁷ The diversity of Jewish identity in the Hellenistic world has not been seriously questioned since. By keeping in mind this larger conversation about the relationship between Judaism and Hellenism, we can effectively examine how the study of the fragments has figured into defining Jewish identity.

The push and pull of assimilation and syncretism was foregrounded both in a hypothetical “normative” Judaism and in the awareness of the influence of Hellenization. If “normative” Judaism represents an ideal construction of Jewish practice, then Hellenization is an example of a powerful force exerting pressure on it. Both Tcherikover and Hengel, while reaching different conclusions about the impact in Palestine compared to the diaspora, operated under the same basic presumption that the pressure of Hellenization markedly affected Judaism. This pressure has been characterized by several different terms which attempt to explain the result of this encounter. These terms should be explored in terms of how they have impacted the study of the fragments of Artapanus. In this way we can see the practical effect of the role of

accepted or rejected wholesale. For Collins, cult practice, most notably in Jerusalem, is one area where the limits of Hellenism are evidenced by Jewish resistance to Greek influence, John J. Collins, “Cult and Culture: The Limits of Hellenization in Judaea,” in *Hellenism in the Land of Israel* (ed. John J. Collins and Gregory E. Sterling; Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press, 2001), 38–61. See also Lee Levine’s negative definition of Hellenization something “that cannot be measured only by the extent to which the peoples and cultures of this region were drawn to the one regnant culture. What took place was as much a process of selection, adoption, and adaptation as it was of conquest and subjugation,” Lee Levine, *Judaism and Hellenism in Antiquity: Conflict or Confluence?* (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1998), 18–19.

¹¹⁷ John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 26. Collins does not argue for wholesale adoption of Hellenistic aspects into Jewish practice nor does he maintain a rigid boundary between them. Instead, the reaction of Jewish communities to Hellenistic influence varied across (and within) communities.

Hellenization on how these fragments are understood. For our purposes, some examples will suffice to illustrate different uses of the fragments of Artapanus for modeling the impact of Hellenization on Judaism. First, John M. G. Barclay's work presents a model of Hellenistic Jewish identity in the Diaspora which focuses on the Jewish response to the force of Hellenization. A second model is one of cultural and ethnic competition, formulated by Sylvie Honigman. While it is not a model of Hellenistic Judaism *per se*, the use of the fragments in constructing a model of a Jewish *theios aner* is also significant and the work of David Lenz Tiede and Carl Holladay loom large.

The work of John M. G. Barclay is a helpful introduction to the effort to define how Hellenization impacts Jewish identity. In *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, Barclay deploys three terms to understand this impact: assimilation, acculturation and accommodation. In Barclay's schema, assimilation and acculturation are two distinct processes. Assimilation is "social integration (becoming 'similar' to one's neighbors)" while acculturation refers to "the linguistic, educational, and ideological aspects of a given cultural matrix."¹¹⁸ Accommodation, on the other hand, is "the use to which acculturation is put, in particular the degree to which Jewish and Hellenistic cultural traditions are merged, or alternatively, polarized."¹¹⁹ Thus, assimilation measures the level of connectedness to the Jewish community while acculturation measures familiarity with Hellenistic cultural elements.¹²⁰ Barclay's reading of the fragments of

¹¹⁸ Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 92.

¹¹⁹ Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 96.

¹²⁰ So, a person could be highly acculturated but much less assimilated, as is the case with Philo of Alexandria who had an advanced knowledge of the Greek language and literature, but who was still very connected to the Jewish community of Alexandria. Barclay notes an inverse example of a Jewish slave in a Greek household who would be

Artapanus is obviously bound by the constraints of this schema and is one piece of Barclay's larger goal of understanding the diversity of "how Jews reacted to their political, social and cultural environments in the Diaspora."¹²¹ As such, the fragments represent "the more complex phenomenon of a Jew who reads his Jewish story from the standpoint of a Hellenized Egyptian."¹²²

Barclay is not alone when he describes this sort of phenomenon as "syncretistic," but also is comfortable reading Artapanus as an accommodating Jew. Both John J. Collins and Gregory Sterling fit Artapanus into models of the interaction of Judaism and Hellenism but with differing emphases on the apologetic character of the literature.¹²³ In Collins's *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, first published in 1983 prior to Barclay's work, he presumes a primarily Jewish audience for Hellenistic Jewish literature. This literature had a social function since the stakes were simply that Jews in the Hellenized world needed to reconcile the "the Hellenistic view of Judaism [which] was, thus, often dissonant with the Jewish tradition."¹²⁴ In this sense most Hellenistic Jewish literature, for Collins, is apologetic, whether it is primarily directed toward internal or external audiences. Sterling takes the notion of "apologetics" one step further, while maintaining the focus on the internal audience of Hellenistic Jewish texts, by reconstructing a

significantly assimilated but who would have had little access to the methods of acculturation, Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 92.

¹²¹ Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 9.

¹²² Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 127.

¹²³ John J. Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*; Gregory E. Sterling, *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts, and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden; New York: Brill, 1992).

¹²⁴ Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 14.

genre of “apologetic historiography.” Sterling argues that Hellenistic Jewish texts like the fragments of Artapanus or Demetrius are participating in this genre when they reframe Jewish historical material within Hellenistic literary categories, and they use this reframing as a form of Jewish self-definition. Both Collins and Sterling, thus, see the fragments of Artapanus as one example among many of Jewish literary functioning apologetically in the Hellenistic period.

Barclay, Collins and Sterling follow the same basic premise that Judaism encountered Hellenism as an opposing force which exerted influence on it and had the potential to compromise Jewish identity. All three are examples of modeling the Jewish encounter with Hellenism and its impact on Jewish identity. Barclay, Collings and Sterling all situate Artapanus as an example of how Jewish literature responds to Hellenistic influence in order to preserve a distinct Jewishness, but which would be comprehensible in the Hellenistic literary world. Since we know so little about the putative Artapanus, we can only say that the author must have been acculturated to a significant degree since the fragments display a familiarity with multiple Greek literary traditions. Measuring accommodation is also challenging since it presupposes that we can analyze the ideological motives of the author of a given text. Yet, it seems that on the scale of integrative to oppositional accommodation, which are Barclay’s poles, Artapanus is “reinterpreting Judaism, preserving some uniqueness;” which is to say, Artapanus is in the middle of the spectrum.¹²⁵ While Barclay’s model differentiates between texts which are hostile to non-Jewish groups and those that are more amenable or “syncretistic,” it does not help us to explain the degree of syncretism or opposition without presupposing motivations for the authors

¹²⁵ Barclay, *Jews in the Mediterranean Diaspora*, 97.

of the texts. For the fragments of Artapanus, we simply do not have enough information to provide this necessary background to position them meaningfully in this schema.

2.3.3 Artapanus and Cultural and Ethnic Competition

While Barclay is attempting to model the interaction of Judaism and Hellenism in the Diaspora broadly construed, a different approach is organized around a model of cultural and ethnic competition within the Hellenistic world. This model is not unique to Jews, but rather is theorized as a phenomenon of the wider Hellenistic world. Sylvie Honigman has provided the clearest summary of how this manifests in Jewish literature in her 2013 chapter “Jews as the Best of All Greeks: Cultural Competition in the Literary Works of Alexandrian Judaeans of the Hellenistic Period.”¹²⁶ Honigman takes as her starting point Erich Gruen’s view that Jewish identity was not at odds with the Hellenistic world *per se*, but only in particular, specific circumstances.¹²⁷ More specifically, Honigman draws out from Gruen’s approach that there is room to assert a genuine self-confidence among Hellenistic Jews.¹²⁸ Honigman argues that Hellenistic Egypt was an arena of competitive cultural identity and that texts like The Letter of

¹²⁶ Sylvie Honigman, “‘Jews as the Best of All Greeks’: Cultural Competition in the Literary Works of Alexandrian Judaeans of the Hellenistic Period,” in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices and Images* (ed. Eftycia Stavrianopoulou; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 207–32. Honigman uses the Letter of Aristeeas as her primary text in this chapter, but her argument is related to the social position of Jews in Hellenistic Egypt broadly, so the same approach would apply to a text like the fragments of Artapanus.

¹²⁷ See especially Erich S. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition* (Berkeley, Ca.: University of California Press, 2002). Gruen argues that the dichotomy of antagonism versus assimilation is not only unhelpful, but also unrealistic. In his analysis of I Maccabees and II Maccabees, for example, he articulates his challenge to this polarity with the notion that “the confrontation of Jew and Greek, even at its most antagonistic and even in the homeland of the faith, promoted adjustment, adaptation, indeed even creative appropriation on the part of the Jews,” Erich Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism*, 2.

¹²⁸ Honigman elucidates this in her lengthy review of Gruen’s *Heritage and Hellenism*, Sylvie Honigman, review of E. Gruen, *Heritage and Hellenism: The Reinvention of Jewish Tradition*, *Scripta Classica Israelica* 20 (2001): 209–24.

Aristeas indicate an effort to identify Jews as Greeks, which is to say as non-Egyptians.¹²⁹ In this model, texts like The Letter of Aristeas outline claims which position the Jewish community in Egypt as Greek. In Ptolemaic Egypt, according to Honigman's reading, ethnic distinction was collapsed into two tiers and "...the basic common denominator shared by the numerous local ethnic identities subsumed under the overarching definition of 'Greekness' appears to have been their foreignness. In other words, virtually anyone claiming a non-Egyptian descent—and not only those from Greek poleis—qualified as a Greek in Egypt."¹³⁰ Honigman sees these claims fitting into models of "cultural competition," appropriation, and imitation.¹³¹ These three models provide a mode by which Jewish texts can operate within a Greek cultural environment but outside of the dichotomy of assimilation/resistance by using the very Greek literary world to make an argument for their own Greekness. It is easy to see how a text like the fragments of Artapanus would fit into this competitive model as, for example, Moses is ascribed many of the founding feats of Greek heroes, feats which defined Greek ethnic identity. While this approach does avoid the pitfalls of determining the quality of assimilation in a given text, there is still the problem of a text like these fragments: namely, that the fragments not only absorb Greek cultural

¹²⁹ Here Honigman treats Ἰουδαῖοι as the ethno-cultural term "Judaean" in order to preserve the unity of cultural and religious identification still present in Ptolemaic Alexandria. Honigman is operating in an ethno-cultural framework, one which emphasizes the malleability of ἔθνος as an identifier in the Hellenistic period, "by translating *Ioudaioi* as 'Judaean' and not 'Jews', I imply that this term, like the others of the same category (*Athenaioi*, *Thraikes*), retained its political/ethnic value both in the real society and in the literary works produced by Alexandrian Judaean," Honigman, "Jews as the Best of All Greeks," 209.

¹³⁰ Honigman, "Jews as the Best of All Greeks," 211.

¹³¹ Honigman, "Jews as the Best of All Greeks," 213. Honigman is applying the term "cultural competition" from a proposal by Karl Galinsky on the way New Testament texts appropriated, rather than exclusively opposed, Roman imperial ideology within the realm of competitive literature, a standard Greco-Roman feature, Karl Galinsky, "The Cult of the Roman Emperor: Uniter or Divider?" in *Rome and Religion: a Cross-Disciplinary Dialogue on the Imperial Cult* (Writings from the Greco-Roman World Supplement Series 5; eds. J. Brod and J.L. Reed; Atlanta: Society of Biblical Literature, 2011), 1–21.

features, but Egyptian ones as well. If being identified with Greekness is paramount, then why tie Moses to questionable Egyptian cultural traits like animal worship (Fragment 3.4, 9)?¹³² Honigman's cultural competition approach makes sense for Aristeas, but when applied to Artapanus, the fragments resist the neat fit into Greek ethnic superiority. Yet her model still has some value to theorizing the syncretic nature of the fragments and can broadly apply to Hellenistic Jewish literature which casts Jewish figures and traditions as prototypically Greek, like Artapanus.¹³³

2.3.4 Artapanus and *Theios Aner*

A final use to which the fragments of Artapanus have been put is to the critique of the *theios aner* (θεῖος ἀνὴρ) concept. The concern behind the *theios aner* is a Christological one: stemming from the History of Religions School (*Religionsgeschichtliche Schule*), the basic precept is that there existed a stable concept of “the divine man” (*theios aner*) in the Hellenistic world which intersected with Diaspora Jewish thought to create an environment receptive to the Christological speculation of the early Jesus movement.¹³⁴ Two dissertations from David Lenz

¹³² On the (practical) benefits of being identified as Greek in Ptolemaic Egypt, see , Willy Clarysse, “Greeks and Persians in a Bilingual Census List,” *Egitto E Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 69–77; Dorothy J Thompson, “Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World* (eds. A. Bowman and G. Woolf; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 67–83. On the Greek and Roman negative opinion of Egyptian animal worship, see Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.2.35; Plutarch, *Is. Os.* 71; Cicero, *Nat. d.* 1.36.101; Juvenal, *Sat.* 15.1–13 e.g. For Jewish negative opinions, see Philo, *Virt.* 8–9, *Decal.* 76–80; Josephus, *C. Ap.* 1.224–225, 254, 2.66; *Wisdom of Solomon* 12:24, 15:18, e.g. For additional examples, see Holladay, *Fragments*, 234 n. 51.

¹³³ Aside from the connection between Honigman's model and Erich Gruen's notion of Jewish self-confidence, Gruen also reads Artapanus as evidence of Hellenistic Jewish humor. By intertwining Jewish, Greek, and Egyptian material so deliberately, Artapanus confidently inverts normative Greek and Egyptian traditions, Erich Gruen, “The Twisted Tales of Artapanus: Biblical Rewritings as Novelistic Narrative,” in *The Construct of Identity in Hellenistic Judaism: Essays on Early Jewish Literature and History* (DCLS 29; Berlin: de Gruyter, 2016), 437–50. While not strictly named a “cultural competition,” Gruen's conception of Artapanus's humor is developed out of the confident appropriation of Greek and Egyptian cultural identifiers in order to make his humor land.

¹³⁴ See, for instance, the summary treatment in Ludwig Bieler, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ: Das Bild des "göttlichen Menschen" in Spätantike und Frühchristentum* (2 vols.; Wien: O. Höfels, 1935).

Tiede and Carl Holladay situate the *theios aner* in distinct Greek and Jewish Hellenistic contexts to problematize its utility for the development of Christology—and both rely on the fragments of Artapanus for their argument which critiques the notion of a uniform concept of *theios aner* in the Hellenistic world. Tiede’s 1972 *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* demonstrates that a unified concept of the *theios aner* does not reflect the reality of the Hellenistic world.¹³⁵ Tiede argues that the Greek literary world was divided in its conceptions of the *theios aner* between the wise sage and the miracle worker—and that Hellenistic Judaism maintained the same distinction.¹³⁶ By comparing the portrayals of Moses in Philo, Josephus, and Artapanus, Tiede shows that this distinction manifests as Moses as virtuous sage in Philo and Josephus, but as a genuine miracle worker in Artapanus.¹³⁷ Here Artapanus is the counterpoint to Philo and Josephus, crafting Moses as a wonder worker rather than a sage or lawgiver and anchoring a point on the spectrum of Hellenistic Jewish iterations of the *theios aner*. Holladay, by focusing on the Hellenistic Jewish portion of the *theios aner* debate, is even more explicit that we must challenge the assumption inherent in *theios aner* being deployed as evidence for “establishing a Hellenistic provenance for certain features of the Gospel tradition.”¹³⁸ Holladay also examines

¹³⁵ David Lenz Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBL Dissertation Series 1; Missoula, Mont.: Society of Biblical Literature, 1972).

¹³⁶ “The cultural complexity of this period obviously demands that no single factor be isolated and treated as the key to understanding the whole process ... [and] the texts which have been discussed demonstrate that the basis upon which a figure was authenticated as divine was not an indifferent matter to Hellenistic literary authors,” Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 99–100.

¹³⁷ Here following the same distinction of other non-Jewish authors, e.g. Plutarch’s portrayal of Socrates versus Philostratus’s treatment of Apollonius of Tyana. Tiede points out that Philostratus represents the tension between the two poles of virtuous sage and miracle worker as his version of Apollonius is “an uneven mixture of miraculous and philosophical traditions rather than a unified blend of homogenous elements,” Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 61.

¹³⁸ Carl Holladay, *Theios Aner in Hellenistic-Judaism: A Critique of the Use of This Category in New Testament Christology* (Missoula, Mont: Scholars Press, 1977), 11. Holladay here is explicitly addressing the legacy of the History of Religions School, drawing especially from Richard Reitzenstein, *Die hellenistischen*

material from Philo, Josephus, and Artapanus to reach his conclusion that the Hellenistic Jewish texts he studies in fact reinforce the distinction between the human and the divine, rather than create an intersection, for apologetic reasons.¹³⁹ Holladay diverges from Tiede in how he portrays the Moses of Artapanus: as one who works miracles, but who “turns out to be vastly dissimilar to the commonly adduced miracle-worker type, such as Apollonius of Tyana.”¹⁴⁰ Here Artapanus becomes evidence, alongside Philo and Josephus, that the “Hellenistic” aspect of Hellenistic Judaism did not include the centrality of miracles denoting a divine figure. Both Tiede and Holladay critique the notion that the influence of Hellenism produced the essential environment for the development of the Christology of the Gospels, as opposed to a strictly Jewish environment, and the fragments of Artapanus are deployed by both to make this larger point.¹⁴¹

2.4 Summary of Artapanus in Scholarship

While I do not suggest this section is an exhaustive survey of how the fragments of Artapanus have been treated in academic scholarship, it is sufficient to say that we can see some broad trends in how the fragments have been studied, as well as how they have been used to

Mysterienreligionen: ihre Grundgedanken und Wirkungen (Leipzig; Berlin: B.G. Teubner, 1910); Hans Windisch, *Paulus und Christus; ein biblisch-religionsgeschichtlicher vergleich* (Leipzig: J.C. Hinrichs, 1934); Ludwig Bieler, *ΘΕΙΟΣ ΑΝΗΡ*; Dieter Georgi, *Die Gegner des Paulus im 2. Korintherbrief: Studien zur religiösen Propaganda in der Spätantike* (Neukirchen-Vluyn: Neukirchener Verlag, 1964); Paul J. Achtemeier, “Gospel Miracle Tradition and the Divine Man,” *Interpretation* 26.2 (1972): 174–97; and Ferdinand Hahn, *Christologische Hoheitstitel: ihre geschichte im frühen Christentum* (Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1974).

¹³⁹ Holladay, *Theios Aner*, 233–35.

¹⁴⁰ Holladay, *Theios Aner*, 239.

¹⁴¹ “Not only has our study pointed up the difficulties of analyzing Christology with such air-tight categories as ‘Hellenistic’ and ‘Jewish,’ but it has suggested that the time now seems ripe to seek for answers to the two-pronged question of Jesus’ divine sonship and his miracles along lines other than *Hellenistic, Sitze im Leben* or in terms of a process of Hellenization,” Holladay, *Theios Aner*, 238.

reconstruct Hellenistic Jewish identity. Early scholarship was limited by being beholden to a preconceived notion of Jewish identity based on contemporary conceptions of Jewishness, especially fidelity to the canonized biblical narratives. It was Jacob Freudenthal who slightly sidestepped this issue by focusing his attention on how multiple, divergent traditions were deliberately unified in the fragments. While his pseudonymous solution to the relationship of the fragments to “normative” Judaism avoids a confrontation, Freudenthal’s attention to the construction of identity through the characterization of Jewish heroes still has the potential to help us examine the fragments. Finally, we have seen how multiple scholars have used the fragments of Artapanus for crafting larger models of Hellenistic Jewish identity. Within these models, the fragments are understood in their larger Hellenistic Jewish context; or rather, they are understood in terms of how they participate in the construction of Hellenistic Judaism. In Barclay’s model, for instance, the fragments are included as a piece of a much larger puzzle and provide an example of a particular iteration of cultural accommodation; similarly, the fragments of Artapanus function to display both the internal diversity and unity of the Hellenistic Jewish conception of the divine figure in both Tiede’s and Holladay’s work.

While the bias toward a supposed “normative” Judaism of early scholarship may hinder how useful that work is, later scholarship is still valuable. Yet, it is not satisfying when it comes to understanding the narrative of the fragments themselves. The fragments are inserted into a larger anthology of texts and treated comparatively. While the issue of authority has been diffused among many texts (that the fragments are treated in the same conversation as Philo and Josephus by Tiede and Holladay is a good example), we are still not much closer to understanding the particularity of the fragments of Artapanus. How does the intersection of Jewish, Greek and Egyptian thought in the narrative function to authorize the text as uniquely

Jewish, Greek or Egyptian? When the focus of scholarship is on the much larger issue of Hellenistic Jewish identity, it is easy to lose sight of the trees for the forest. Freudenthal provided the starting point for a meaningful analysis of the fragments as they are when he began to parse how the different and disparate material was woven together into a deliberate narrative. While Freudenthal opened the door to reading the fragments as a discursive project, the study of the fragments has been restricted by an attempt to glean from them some concrete sense of the historical context which led to their production. It is precisely this attempt that limits our ability to read the fragments discursively.

3 Methodological Limits

The approaches outlined above are oriented toward a historical reconstruction of a particular ideology out of the narrative of the fragments—that we can determine the Jewishness of the community or author by what is implied in the text. This perspective depends on a privileging of the texts in question, that we can extract from a narrative some definitive historical truth *prima facie*. But I use the term “narrative” deliberately to echo Hayden White’s insights, which are particularly useful in tempering our expectations for the historical correlation of any narrative to its circumstances of production. White has called into question the privilege accorded to certain texts, or perhaps more specifically the privileging of the activity of the historian; the historian can no longer approach a text as if it were serving up facts to be simply extracted. Rather, the historian must recognize that any historical fact has been emplotted and relies on the use of tropes to make a coherent narrative. White states, “as thus envisaged, the ‘story’ which the historian purports to ‘find’ in the historical record is proleptic to the ‘plot’ by which the events are finally revealed to figure in a recognizable structure of relationships of a

specifically mythic sort.”¹⁴² The temptation can be to circumvent historical narratives and attempt to reconstruct the larger historical context for any given work as a means to parse historical facts presumed to be embedded in the narrative. White would caution us, though, that it is problematic:

...when speaking about the “context” of a literary work, to suppose that this context—the “historical milieu”—has a concreteness and an accessibility that the work itself can never have, as if it were easier to perceive the reality of a past world put together from a thousand historical documents than it is to probe the depths of a single literary work that is present to the critic studying it. But the presumed concreteness and accessibility of historical milieux, these contexts of the texts that literary scholars study, are themselves products of the fictive capacity of the historians who have studied those contexts.¹⁴³

In short, we should not overstate our capacity to reconstruct the historical context of a given narrative—and be aware that any evidence we are using to contextualize a given work is itself interpreted by a narrativizing process.

This is not an impediment to reconstructing a particular historical context *per se*, but it is a guideline for what we can access about that context. We must recognize the circularity of such an effort and account for the tropological discourse of any material presented as evidence. It is precisely this discourse, however, that provides the path forward for analysis of a historical work. Historical discourse, for White:

...can be broken down into two levels of meaning. The facts and their formal explanation or interpretation appear as the manifest or literal "surface" of the discourse, while the figurative language used to characterize the facts points to a deep-structural meaning. This latent meaning of an historical discourse consists of

¹⁴² Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 58.

¹⁴³ White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 89.

the generic story-type of which the facts themselves, arranged in a specific order and endowed with different weights, are the manifest form.¹⁴⁴

Therefore, discourse is more than just the facts in question as it joins those facts to a larger narrative form. It is this narrative form that allows for the facts to be interrogated by the historian, provided the historian is aware of this “latent meaning” in discourse and can use that to construct a model for analyzing the work. Models like Hindy Najman’s “discourse tied to a founder,”¹⁴⁵ the deep-structural analysis of Claude Calame’s reading of foundation narratives,¹⁴⁶ and Carol Dougherty’s “poetics of colonization”¹⁴⁷ apply this sort of discursive approach and will allow us to dwell in the discourse(s) in the fragments of Artapanus rather than attempting to use the fragments as a means to reconstruct an ideology lingering behind them.

White develops this notion of historical discourse and the related concept of the emplotment of historical narratives. Continuing his description of historical discourse, White states:

This conception of the historical discourse permits us to consider the specific story as an image of the events about which the story is told, while the generic

¹⁴⁴ Hayden V. White, “Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination,” *History and Theory* 14.4 (1975): 58. White elsewhere describes discourse as existing on three levels, rather than two, for analytical purposes: “discourse must be analyzed on three levels: that of the description (*mimesis*) of the ‘data’ found in the field of inquiry being invested or marked out for analysis; that of the argument or narrative (*diegesis*), running alongside of or interspersed with the descriptive materials; and that on which the combination of these previous two levels is effected (*diataxis*),” White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 4. These are not fundamentally different approaches, but this former iteration leaves the diatactical level unarticulated, though implied. In both conceptions of the analytical understanding of discourse is a differentiation of description and narrative, which is what I am focusing on here. Diataxis is certainly crucial to our actual reading and analysis of a work and I will return to this concept further on when I begin reading the fragments themselves.

¹⁴⁵ Hindy Najman, *Seconding Sinai*, *op. cit.*

¹⁴⁶ Claude Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece: The Symbolic Creation of a Colony*, (trans. Daniel Berman; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003).

¹⁴⁷ Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993).

story-type serves as a conceptual model to which the events are to be likened in order to permit their encodation as elements of a recognizable structure.¹⁴⁸

It is this emplotment, made possible by literary tropes, which in turn limits the possibility of discourse and simultaneously allows us to see the relationships between description and meaning in that discourse. To put it another way, emplotment provides a limit for discourse in itself, but by acknowledging that emplotment and analyzing the tropes deployed to construct it, we as historians can apprehend both “levels of meaning” inherent in discourse.¹⁴⁹ White’s key insight here is that “what counts as historical reality is a product of the historian’s language.”¹⁵⁰ Rather than reading any historical work as a perfect representation of some inaccessible historical reality, we must limit ourselves to analyzing what sort of representation is constructed in (and by) that work as well as how that representation, made knowable through multifaceted discourse, gives access to one particular discursive construct. It is in this sense that I am following Carol Dougherty’s advice to be “concerned with the representations—not the realia” of a given historical phenomenon.¹⁵¹ Thus, instead of reading the fragments as *exemplars* of some “type” of Hellenistic Judaism, I will approach them as a particular *representation* of Hellenistic Judaism

¹⁴⁸ White, “Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination,” 59.

¹⁴⁹ On White’s notion of tropological analysis of historical works, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). While it is true that White here does not delve into a full-fledged theory of historical narrative discourse, he does lay out his theory of tropological prefiguring which serves as the foundation for his later narrativist work.

¹⁵⁰ Herman Paul, *Hayden White* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), 95. As opposed to a direct correlation between the activity of the historian and historical reality, this reflects White’s perspective “that knowledge *makes* reality,” Paul, *Hayden White*, 94.

¹⁵¹ Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 4.

which can be analyzed in itself. Perhaps it is fair to say that I am living in the text rather than hypothesizing about the community in which it originated.

At this point it is valuable to provide a brief working definition of “poetics” to understand the implications of what “living in the text” means. We might begin with the premise that “poetics is often implicitly opposed to hermeneutics, i.e., the practice of interpretation. In other words, one explains how something works, not what it means.”¹⁵² This mirrors Dougherty’s distinction between realia and representation and focuses our attention on how the text constructs a representation of a given reality.¹⁵³ Michal Beth Dinkler notes the profound implications of what she categorizes as a poststructuralist approach to literature, which resonates with this representational approach:

Poststructuralism can illuminate a text’s own ideological underpinnings; it can also illuminate the ideological underpinnings of scholarly claims about the text. Even as poststructuralists emphasize alterity between past and present, they assume continuity insofar as they consider all texts—including scholarly interpretations of literature—to be perspectively shaped. The poststructuralist literary paradigm therefore stands as a crucial corrective to modern biblical scholarship’s entrenched penchant for replicating the ethnocentrism, xenophobia, imperialism, androcentrism, and kyriarchy that we often find in the ancient literature we read.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵² Brian Reed, “Poetics, Western,” *Princeton Encyclopedia of Poetry and Poetics* (4th ed., eds. Roland Greene et al.; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012), 1058–64.

¹⁵³ Here Roger Chartier’s goal “to analyze how a text creates its apparent unity and what historical tensions, rifts and aporias are elided in the process of this particular construction” sums up a similar project, Roger Chartier, *Cultural History: Between Practices and Representations* (trans. Lydia G. Cochrane; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1988), 13–14. By interrogating how a text constructs meaning by means of constructing its own unity, we can analyze the ideological implications of its representation of reality, see also Michal Beth Dinkler’s treatment of poststructuralist interpretation of the New Testament in Michal Beth Dinkler, *Literary Theory and the New Testament* (The Anchor Yale Bible Reference Library; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2019), 103–36. This is related to the centrality of the author figure as a unifying function (and the implications of that textual unity for discursive approaches to texts) in “Traditionary Processes,” *op. cit.*

¹⁵⁴ Dinkler, *Literary Theory and the New Testament*, 125.

Texts, like contemporary scholars, have agendas—poetics, then, is the attempt to understand the implications of that agenda as well as its “ideological underpinnings.” Poetics, in the broadest sense that I intend it, is an acknowledgement that ancient texts are deliberately constructed from certain perspectives and this does not correlate to an account of some objective historical reality.¹⁵⁵

This does not mean I am attempting an analysis of the fragments apart from a historical consciousness. We must still presuppose that we can understand the symbolic world of the representations as they are constructed in the text.¹⁵⁶ Yet, we cannot presume a simple correlation between the symbolic world of Hellenistic Egypt and that of our own. Returning to White’s multilayered conception of discourse, the layer of figurative language which emanates from the deep-structural level is the same “complex of symbols which gives us directions for finding an icon of the structure of those events in our literary tradition.”¹⁵⁷ We must, then, understand the symbolic world of the text on its own terms. The deep-structural level that White identifies becomes the location for historical analysis. Here, the perspective of Claude Calame is helpful:

¹⁵⁵ That is, this is opposed to what Dinker describes as, “In the modern era prior to poststructuralism, most literary critics agreed that the purpose of their discipline was to make objective, scientific value judgments about literature that would stand up to universal scrutiny,” but that “Today’s historical-critical scholars make more nuanced claims than prior generations, yet many continue to hold tightly to the critical goal of objective interpretation even as they recognize its practical impossibility,” Dinkler, *Literary Theory and the New Testament*, 127–28.

¹⁵⁶ It is this symbolic world from which the historian draws the raw material with which they emplot the historical discourse of their work. As White states, “another way we make sense of a set of events which appear strange, enigmatic, or mysterious in its immediate manifestations is to encode the set in terms of culturally provided categories, such as metaphysical concepts, religious beliefs, or story forms. The effect of such encodings is to familiarize the unfamiliar,” White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 86.

¹⁵⁷ White, *Tropics of Discourse*, 88. In this iteration, White contrasts this complex of symbols with the “reproduction of the events described” in a historical work, paralleling his above pairing of levels of meaning in discourse.

...in order to avoid the dogmatic ponderousness of strict structural semiotics, we should abandon the principle of immanence which closes the text on itself independently of the situation of its production; we should recover, in the manifestations of the symbolic process, the practical categories that are particular to them. We shall thus be interested in the dynamism of discourse production, with its capacity to construct a fictional world based on a reference to an ecological and cultural given, and with its power to act, in return, upon this reality, in a precise historical context.¹⁵⁸

Daniel Berman, in his introduction to his translation of Calame's *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, describes this balance as a "theoretical model [which] offers a common ground from which to begin an examination of the narratives in question, and a common point of reference from which to observe the different ways narratives affect and are affected by their cultural and physical environments."¹⁵⁹

Therefore, I will not attempt to first construct a conceptual model of Hellenistic Egypt and of the Jewish communities residing there and subsequently insert the fragments of Artapanus into this model to assess how they converge or diverge from it. Instead, I will read the fragments with a goal to articulate the deep-structural level of their discursive elements and only then situate those elements into the larger symbolic worlds in which they participate and from which they draw meaning. In this way, my intent is to avoid the methodological pitfalls of early scholarship on the fragments, which was beholden to preestablished models of "normative" Judaism. Similarly, I hope to move beyond the later modeling of Hellenistic Judaism not by ignoring historical context, but by starting with the discourse of the fragments and how that

¹⁵⁸ Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, vii–viii.

¹⁵⁹ Daniel Berman, introduction to Claude Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, xiii.

discourse understands its own “ecological and cultural given.”¹⁶⁰ Finally, I am suggesting that this approach is taking advantage of the work done by Freudenthal to understand the complexity of the narrative in these fragments and to build on that notion.

4 Alternative Points of Reference

The plan for the remainder of this project will be to situate the fragments at the intersection of a discourse of colonial foundations and to suggest that this intersection allows us to understand the particular construction of identities at work in the fragments. To do this, I will read the fragments with an alternative point of reference in order to draw out some discursive elements from the narrative. Carol Dougherty’s “poetics of colonization” will be a template for this alternative. By reading the fragments alongside Greek colonization narratives I will suggest this colonial discourse could be operative in the narrative of the fragments, as well. Just as Freudenthal argued there were multiple traditions at work in the fragments, it can also be shown that the fragments could participate in multiple discourses. This will be an exercise in *possibility*, not in certainty. As noted above, I will not attempt to reconstruct an ideology underlying the text. Yet if we read the fragments as colonization narratives, and if there is significant resonance between the fragments and that larger discourse, then what insight could that provide into the representation of Hellenistic Jewish identity? By reading the fragments as containing additional discursive possibilities, I contend that we can more fully appreciate the varying ways Jewish texts constructed identity in the Hellenistic world. In Chapter 2, I will outline Dougherty’s poetics of colonization and investigate how the fragments both align with and deviate from her model. After providing this theoretical backdrop, I will use the subsequent chapters to determine

¹⁶⁰ Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, viii.

what reading the fragments of Artapanus as colonial foundation narratives can tell us about the construction of Hellenistic Jewish identity. I will read Artapanus through a set of colonial relationships endemic to Greek colonization narratives: the relationship between the metropolis and the colony Chapter 3 and, in Chapter 4, the relationship between the colony and the indigenous land and people. Alongside these relationships, I will explore the accompanying metaphors with which the narrative of Artapanus is freighted. Both chapters will also demonstrate the failure of Joseph and Moses to secure a new foundation for the Jews in Egypt. Thus, in Chapter 5, I will suggest that these failed foundations are a necessary setup to the ultimately successful foundation of the Exodus event.

CHAPTER 2

PLACES OF ORIGIN AND ORIGIN OF PLACES

Fragment 1

(1) Ἀρτάπανος δέ φησιν ἐν τοῖς Ἰουδαϊκοῖς τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὀνομάζεσθαι Ἑρμιούθ, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι · καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτούς Ἑβραίους ἀπὸ Ἀβραάμου.

(1) Artapanus, in his work *Judaica*, says that the Jews were named Hermiouth, which means “Jews” when translated into the Greek language; and he says that they were called Hebrews from the time of Abraham.

Fragment 2

(3) ... γῆναι δ’ αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπόλιτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς γεννησάσθαι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενέσθαι | πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ κατοικισθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἡλίου καὶ Σάει καὶ τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. (4) τούτους δὲ φησὶ καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀθῶς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαι τοὺς Ἑρμιούθ ὀνομαζομένους.

(3) ... He [Joseph] married Aseneth, the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, by whom he fathered children. Later, both his father and his brothers came to him, bringing with them many possessions. They settled in Heliopolis and Sais, and the Syrians multiplied in Egypt. (4) He [Artapanus] says that these people named Hermiouth built both the temple in Athos and the one in Heliopolis.

Fragment 3

(2) τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φαύλως προσφέρεσθαι · καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε Σάιν οἰκοδομῆσαι τό τε ἐπ’ αὐτῇ ἱερὸν καθιδρύσασθαι, εἶτα τὸν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει | ναὸν κατασκευάσαι.

(2) Now this one [Palmanothēs]¹ dealt meanly with the Jews. First he built Sais, then he set up the temple there. Later he built the sanctuary in Heliopolis.

¹ As Holladay notes, “no such name appears in the Egyptian king lists from the 18th of 19th Dynasties” and while it is possible that this is “a corruption of known Egyptian names [like] Pamenothēs or Pamonthēs” (Holladay, *Fragments*, 230, n. 33), a historical identification does not radically shift the narrative. It seems clear this is meant to represent a native Egyptian pharaoh at the very least. If the construction of Saïs is attributed to him, it is possible that this represents Psammetichus I (Psamtik I) who founded the Saïte Dynasty, more on which below.

The passages above, taken from each of the three fragments of Artapanus, introduce a point of intersection between Jewish, Egyptian, and Greek identities. This is the same intersection of identities that Jacob Freudenthal first identified which, I have argued, prefigures a discursive analysis of the fragments. These identities intersect at what I will characterize as a discourse of origins, which underlines the concern in the fragments with the origin of the Jews outside of Egypt and their origin within Egypt, as well. In addition to a focus on geographic “place,” this notion of “origins” is functioning within the ethnic and cultural competition prevalent in the Hellenistic world. The provenance of a people, or their “place of origin,” plays a major role in how the position of that people is contested in the Hellenistic world. The multiple names for the Jews in the fragments of Artapanus make claims to the origin of the Jews as a people outside of Egypt. The environment of competition in the Hellenistic world had real implications not just for the social mobility of Jews in Hellenistic Egypt, but also for the politics of how Jews fit into the cultural hierarchy. Namely, by reading this conception of Jewish origins as an apologetic responding to anti-Jewish polemic, we can see the implications.

The concept of “place of origin” is the explicit claim to origins in the fragments, but the fragments are also implicitly participating in claims about the “origin of places.” Hellenistic Egypt was itself existing at the intersection of several different origin stories. Egypt, of course, existed prior to the Hellenistic era, and the native Egyptians maintained their own language, religion and socio-cultural norms. Yet Egypt was also a colonial place, having been not only occupied by foreign powers, namely Assyria and Persia, but also subject to Greek hegemony and the accompanying construction of Greek *poleis*.² The same intersection of Egyptian, Greek and

² The first instance of foreign control of parts of Egypt is generally held to be the Hyksos Period, the 15th Dynasty (c. 1650–1550 BCE), which was coterminous with the 16th and 17th Dynasties centered on Thebes. The emergence of the Saïte (26th) Dynasty (664–525 BCE) was a result of the chaotic changes of the Third Intermediate Period.

Jewish identities that we find in the fragments of Artapanus we find in Hellenistic Egypt itself. Since the fragments are making claims to the places of origin of Jews in Egypt by their association with specific places in Egypt, then they are participating in the wider conversation around the origin of places in Egypt itself. I suggest another way to describe the distinction between these two types of origins is that, on the one hand, “places of origin” interrogates the ethnic identity of a particular group based on its origin story. On the other hand, the “origin of places” uses origin stories to establish the identity of a particular location and its relationship with a particular people. These two concepts are two sides of the same coin, both using place to construct identity. “Place of origin” takes as its starting point the origins of a people from a certain place; the group identity is intimately bound up with the locatedness of its beginnings. “Origin of places” uses the construction of place, especially the foundation of places, as the starting point for group identity; the group is defined by its association with foundations.

These two approaches to origin stories are not strictly reducible to the apologetic claims used to bolster the identity of particular groups or to refute competing claims but are part of a

Several Assyrian invasions (677–663 BCE) initially undermined the ruling Kushite (25th) Dynasty (747–656 BCE), which had conquered Egypt after defeating a coalition led by Saïs, under Tefnakhte (r. 724–717 BCE) who claimed a pharaonic title. Thus, the beginnings of the Saïte Period came after first Nubian rulers claimed the throne of all Egypt from the short-lived and contemporaneous Saïte 24th Dynasty (724–711 BCE) and then Assyrian forces exerted varying degrees of control over Upper and Lower Egypt, destroying the 25th Dynasty and paving the way for a return to native Egyptian rule in 664 BCE when the Assyrians appointed Psamtik I of Saïs regent of Egypt, who would go on to found the independent Saïte Dynasty. The Saïte Dynasty was ultimately destroyed by the Persian invasion of Cambyses II and established Achaemenid Egypt from 525–332 BCE, with the exception of a period of Egyptian rule between 402–343 BCE. Alexander’s conquest of Egypt in 332 BCE ended Persian rule and ultimately led to the establishment of an independent Hellenistic kingdom by Ptolemy I in 305/4 BCE. For an overview of the Third Intermediate Period, see Kenneth Kitchen, *The Third Intermediate Period in Egypt (1100–650 B.C.)* (Warminster: Aris & Phillips, 1995); for a discussion of Achaemenid Egypt, see Edda Bresciani, “Persian Occupation of Egypt” in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), pp. 502–528. See also the broad overview in P. G. Elgood, *The Later Dynasties of Egypt* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1951). Much of the historiographical framework for Dynastic Egypt stems from the work of Manetho (fl. 290–260 BCE), reconstructed in Manetho, *History of Egypt and Other Works* (trans. W. G. Waddell; LCL; Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1940) as well as Herodotus, primarily *Histories* 2.

larger discursive project. “Place” and “origin” are narrative elements in the fragments and used to construct a particular conception of Jewish identity, which certainly does have apologetic implications. The fragments are also participating in a broader discourse of origins, a discourse that not only focuses on particular places, but also one that resonates across the wider Hellenistic world. Freudenthal opened the door to understanding the fragments in this way, as a deliberate unity of disparate traditions, and this intersection at the point of “origins” and “place” provides the opportunity to go through that door. Making the shift from reading the fragments apologetically, as “places of origin,” to reading them discursively and exploring the “origin of places” situates the fragments in this discourse of origins in the broadest sense.³ This invites us to ask what other narratives also participate in this discourse of origins. What other texts can help us understand these fragments as origin stories? In this chapter, I will argue that the poetics of colonization articulated by Carol Dougherty are a helpful model for reading the fragments as an origin story, especially one which has parallel features with origin stories deployed in the wider Hellenistic world to represent colonial foundations.

In her book *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece*, Dougherty shows how the foundation narratives of Greek colonization from the eighth to sixth centuries BCE participate in a larger “composite typology of the colonization narrative” which, in turn, reflects the larger cultural-symbolic Greek world from which these narratives emerged.⁴ Before turning to Dougherty’s model in greater detail, it is important to explain why these

³ Here I am thinking of “apologetic” and “discursive” readings as categorical distinctions and certainly not mutually exclusive readings. This is a matter of emphasis, my point being that focusing our attention on the discursiveness of the fragments provides a platform from which to expand our understanding of the narrative.

⁴ Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization: From City to Text in Archaic Greece* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993), 8.

fragments can be read alongside Greek colonization narratives as part of a discourse of origins. Narratives representing colonial foundations, and the act of founding generally, ultimately attempt to describe the origins of a particular people or place. Greek colonial narratives establish the origins of particular cities and their founding figures, especially in relation to the mother city of the colonists. For example, the colonial foundation of Cyrene in modern Libya is intimately tied up with its mother city of Thera in Greece. When approaching the fragments of Artapanus, the move from the “place of origin” of the Jews to the narrative of the “origin of places” in Egypt provides the rationale for understanding the fragments through the lens of the poetics of colonization.

In this chapter, I will begin by describing how “places of origin” in the passages above have been understood primarily as apologetic in nature. Subsequently, in the first two sections of this chapter, I will argue that situating “places of origin” and “the origin of places” in a wider Hellenistic context can open the door to reading the fragments as origin stories. For the origin of places, the parameters of cultural competition in Hellenistic Egypt reinforce the understanding of the fragments as an apologetic response to anti-Jewish polemic and are simultaneously the criteria for reading the fragments within a discourse of origins. Additionally, an understanding of colonization in Hellenistic Egypt is necessary in order to situate my analysis of “the origin of places” historically. In section three, having established that the fragments of Artapanus can indeed be read as origin stories, I will outline Carol Dougherty’s poetics of colonization as a potential model to interpret the fragments. Finally, in section four, I will return to the passages from the outset of this chapter to apply this model as an alternative reading of Artapanus, arguing that the fragments represent Jewish communities in Hellenistic Egypt as colonial foundations,

which has broader implications for Hellenistic Jewish identity in Egypt, positioning the Jews in Egypt as colonial founders.

1 Places of Origin

As I showed in the previous chapter, the issue of Hellenistic Jewish identity emerges in the introduction of Fragment 1 in which the Jews are ascribed several different names: Jews (Ἰουδαῖοι), *Hermiouth* (Ἑρμιούθ) and Hebrews (Ἑβραῖοι). It may not seem obvious to use these names as a way to identify how Artapanus understands origins. The term *Hermiouth*, in fact, only occurs in the fragments of Artapanus. The subsequent etymological speculation on the unique term *Hermiouth* (Ἑρμιούθ) is important for understanding the nature of Hellenistic Jewish identity construction in the fragments, and scholars can hardly resist puzzling terminology.⁵ This terminology is about more than identifying the Jews as a people *per se*: it also has an interest in the representation of origins in the fragments. If we read Fragment 1.1 as merely a list of names that locate Jews as a distinct group, then we are leaving some avenues unexplored. In this case, what do these names express about the origins of the Jews in Egypt? More than just identifiers, the names used for the Jews in the opening of Fragment 1 point to the purported origins of the Jews as a people—at least a representation of origins that seemed to have resonated with Artapanus’s narrative objectives. To isolate any possible narrative purposes for this naming, we must investigate what these names have to say about origins on their own terms. Then we can proceed to propose how these origin stories, which are self-contained in the names themselves, function in the narrative of the fragments.

⁵ We can be reminded perhaps of Foucault’s assessment of scholarly preoccupation with “solving” the anonymous authorship of a text, Michel Foucault, “What Is an Author?,” in *Authorship: From Plato to the Postmodern: A Reader* (ed. Sean Burke; Edinburgh: University Press, 1995), 233–46.

While all three of the names given for the Jews in Artapanus are interrelated, for example Ἰουδαῖοι is apparently Ἑρμιούθ rendered into Greek (τοὺς μὲν Ἰουδαίους ὀνομάζεσθαι Ἑρμιούθ, ὃ εἶναι μεθερμηνευθὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἑλληνίδα φωνὴν Ἰουδαῖοι), the nomenclature deserves a degree of analysis. We should begin with Ἑρμιούθ. What explanations have been offered for this puzzling term? Beginning with Migne's volume of Eusebius, there has been speculation that Ἑρμιούθ could be a version of Ἑρμιούδ, itself "a compound form derived from מרס + דיה = Ερμ + ιουδ, i.e. Syrian Jews."⁶ This resonated with the use of Syria later in Fragment 1, when Abraham returns to Syria (πάλιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τόπους) after his time in Egypt.⁷ Abraham may return to Syria, "but many of those who had accompanied him remained behind in Egypt, attracted by the prosperity of the country" (τῶν δὲ τούτῳ συνελθόντων πολλοὺς ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταμεῖναι διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας). Thus, we see in this fragment Artapanus making a claim to the origins not just of the Jews as a people (that is, from Syria), but also the origins of the Jews derived from a founder (Abraham from Syria) and the origins of the Jewish communities in Egypt (those who remained behind after Abraham returned to Syria).

⁶ Holladay, *Fragments*, 226, n. 4, cf. Eusebius, *Praep. Ev.* 9.10 (PG 21:709b; 21:1567). Here Migne reprints Viguier's Latin translation of 1628 and follows the same determination that Ἑρμιούθ ultimately derives from מרס דיה. Walter notes the "Egyptian" ending -outh as a creative flourish, Nikolaus Walter, "Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker" in *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Bd. 1; ed. Werner Georg Kümmel; Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1973), 127. Thus, we are left with an Egyptianized Aram (Aramea), encompassing the broader region of Syria. For a study of the region of Aram, see K. Lawson Younger, *A Political History of the Arameans: From Their Origins to the End of Their Politics* (Atlanta: SBL Press, 2016). Holladay also notes Freudenthal's suggestion that Ἑρμ- stems from Ἑρμῆς, continuing the later association of Moses with Hermes (Fragment 3.6) while also recognizing that "Ἀραμαῖοι could easily become Ἑρεμβοῖ" following Strabo 1.2.34, e.g. "Much has been said about the Erembians; but those men are most likely to be correct who believe that Homer meant the Arabians" (Περὶ δὲ τῶν Ἑρεμβῶν πολλὰ μὲν εἴρηται, πιθανώτατοι δ' εἰσὶν οἱ νομίζοντες τοὺς Ἀραβας λέγεσθαι), Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 153, cf. Holladay, *Fragments*, 226, n. 4.

⁷ The journey of Abraham to Egypt and then his subsequent return to Syria presumably reflects the tradition also preserved in Genesis 12:10–13:1.

This is not the extent of the Syrian origins of the Jews in Egypt we find in Artapanus. We find another reference to the Jews as Syrians in Fragment 2.3, when the Syrians refer to Joseph's father and brothers who follow him into Egypt from their home:

(3) ... γῆναι δ' αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπολίτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς γεννησάι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενέσθαι | πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὕπαρξιν καὶ κατοικισθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἡλίου καὶ Σάει καὶ τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. (4) τούτους δὲ φησι καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀθῶς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερὸν κατασκευάσει τοὺς Ἑρμιούθ ὀνομαζομένους.
 (3) ... He [Joseph] married Aseneth,⁸ the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, by whom he fathered children. Later, both his father and his brothers came to him, bringing with them many possessions. They settled in Heliopolis and Sais, and the Syrians multiplied in Egypt. (4) He [Artapanus] says that these people named Hermiouth built both the temple in Athos and the one in Heliopolis.

Now we see the connection between Syrians, Ἑρμιούθ, and a Jewish founder play out in the Joseph story, as well. It seems that there is some relationship between the name Ἑρμιούθ and “the Syrians” (τοὺς Σύρους) which points to a claim to a geographic origin of the Jews.

What are the implications of the idea of the Jews as Syrians? This notion is inserted into the narrative both implicitly (Abraham returning to Syria and the possible etymology of Ἑρμιούθ) and explicitly (naming the family of Joseph as τοὺς Σύρους). Syria as a region was a bit ambiguous in the ancient world and even more so during the Hellenistic period. Locating Abraham's origin in Syria, as well as the home of Jacob and his sons, is more vague than “the land of Canaan” which Holladay suggests is influenced by Gen. 13:12 and tracks onto Coele-Syria.⁹ There is no reason to suspect that Artapanus chose to locate Abraham and Jacob's home

⁸ Joseph's marriage to the daughter of an Egyptian priest will feature in the discussion of the relationship between the colony and the indigenous population below and further in Chapter 4.

⁹ Holladay refers to Arnold Jones, *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1971), 226–94 for his correction of Syria to “more correctly ‘Coele-Syria’ in the Hellenistic period,” *Fragments*, 227 n. 9. However, Jones notes that Syria as a region was not a unified political entity, but rather a contested one almost from the beginning of Greek rule after the death of Alexander. Rather than being analogous, Coele-Syria seems to represent a region within the larger area of Syria (Jones, *Cities*, 246). Bickerman notes the use of multiple terms for various regions within Syria during the Hellenistic period, Coele-Syria being one of them, though its precise

in Canaan but decided to use a much less precise term when other, more specific toponymic terminology was available and attested.¹⁰ In effect the notion of Abraham originating from Syria is placing Jewish origins in a broader Near Eastern geography than Canaan. This assertion, however, does not explain the use of the term Ἐρμούθ: it instead articulates a parallel origin for the Jewish community in Egypt by naming Syria, but an etymological connection is not obvious.¹¹

definition is elusive (Elias Bickerman, “La Coelé-Syrie: Notes de Géographie Historique,” *RB* 54:2 [1947]: 256–68). From the various Hellenistic period attestations collected by Bickerman, it seems that Coele-Syria was a portion of southern Syria, at first under Ptolemaic control, and which later shifted to describe interior Syria under Hasmonean rule, *ibid.*, 258–61. Yet Coele-Syria also described various regions of greater Syria, for example Eratosthenes places the boundary of Coele-Syria at the Arabian desert (ap. Strabo, *Geogr.* 1:134), Poseidonius places Coele-Syria as the region of the sources of the Orontes and Jordan Rivers (ap. Strabo, *Geogr.* 16.750) and Strabo himself compares Syria to Libya and uses Coele-Syria to differentiate the Phoenecian littoral from the rest of Syria, (16.154), while Hecataeus of Abdera locates Lake Sirbonis in the Sinai as the boundary between Egypt and Coele-Syria (ap. Diodorus, 1.30.4), cf. Bickerman, “La Coelé-Syrie,” 257–58. It seems that Hellenistic Coele-Syria is roughly analogous with modern southern Syria and Lebanon, probably centered around Damascus. The terms Syria and Coele-Syria are ambiguous, yes, but do not appear to be directly correlative. It seems that the Canaan would have been included in the broader definition of the “region of Syria,” but so would a varying wide expanse of territory. The adjustment of Syria to Coele-Syria as historically appropriate does not hold up to scrutiny.

¹⁰ Hecataeus of Abdera explicitly links Coele-Syria with Judea (ap. Diodorus, 40.3) and if the fragments are using traditions “also found in Herodotus, Hecataeus, Pseudo-Hecataeus, Diodorus Siculus, and Plutarch,” as Holladay summarizes, then this association tracks nicely with the presumed influence of Gen 13:12 (Holladay, *Fragments*, 192). But given the lack of equivalence between the term Syria and Coele-Syria, this is unsubstantiated. In fact, Herodotus seems to imply the synonymity of Syria and Assyria, “The Assyrians of the army wore on their heads helmets of twisted bronze made in an outlandish fashion not easy to describe. They bore shields and spears and daggers of Egyptian fashion, and wooden clubs withal studded with iron, and they wore linen breastplates. These are called by Greeks Syrians (Σύριοι), but the foreigners called them Assyrians (Ἀσσύριοι). With them were the Chaldeans. Their commander was Otaspes son of Artachaeus,” (*Histories*, 7.63). The fact that Herodotus distinguishes Syrians/Assyrians from Chaldeans seems at odds with the purported LXX origin of Abraham’s family in “the land of the Chaldeans” (ἡ χώρα τῶν Χαλδαίων) (Gen 11.31, e.g.).

¹¹ Another possibility for understanding the name Ἐρμούθ is related to the Egyptian goddess Renenutet/Renenwetet, Hellenized as Thermuthis or Hermouthis. Josephus names the daughter of Pharaoh, who adopts Moses, Thermuthis (Θέρμουθις) in *Antiquities* 2.224, 232, 236, 243. This association prompts David Flusser and Shua Amorai-Stark to suggest that Josephus’s sources were connecting Moses’s adopted mother with an Egyptian goddess associated with nursing and motherhood (David Flusser, Shua Amorai-Stark, “The Goddess Thermuthis, Moses and Artapanus,” *JSQ* 1.3 [1993]: 217–233). While Flusser and Stark do not make a connection between *Hermiouth* and Thermouthis, they suggest that Artapanus is engaged in the same sort of effort, using these associations to make the claim “that Egyptian paganism was basically the consequence of a foolish misinterpretation of biblical stories and legend” (Flusser and Stark, *idem.*, 231. In the case of Artapanus, Moses is so renowned that his adopted mother is later divinized as Renenutet. The etymological connection between Thermuthis/Hermouthis and *Hermiouth* is certainly tempting, and at the very least Artapanus may be using the Hellenized Egyptian name as a baseline to create an Egyptian-sounding term, but it is difficult to say more with any certainty. That the cult of Renenutet was attested in the Ptolemaic period is well established, see especially Ian Rutherford “Isodorus at the

Artapanus defines the term, though, by providing a series of equivalences. Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἑρμούθ and Ἑβραῖοι all refer to the Jews, so what implications can we gather from the other names ascribed to the Jews in the Fragments? In many ways, the terms Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἑβραῖοι are much clearer—or at least are much better attested. Steve Mason’s evaluation of the meaning of the term Ἰουδαῖοι in the ancient world isolates the term from a modern conception of “Judaism.”¹² While Holladay’s translation of the fragments, which I have used so far, renders Ἰουδαῖοι as “Jews,” Mason’s point remains that this could have been considered a broadly ethnic category, rather than, anachronistically, an exclusively religious category.

I have chosen not to render Ἰουδαῖοι as Judaeans simply because we have yet to interrogate the ideological viewpoint of these fragments: are they representing Ἰουδαῖοι as an ethnic group tied to a Judean identity? Do we find constructing Ἰουδαῖοι in Egypt is something different than, say, the Ἰουδαῖοι in Judea proper? Mason’s overall conclusion is valuable, that Ἰουδαῖοι can (and often should) be considered as an *ethnos* in the same vein as any other ancient ethnic group; but as we shall see, the fragments seem to identify the Jews in Egypt with Syria broadly, rather than Judea proper.¹³ The use of the term Hebrews (Ἑβραῖοι), as well, does not

Gates of the Temple,” in *Greco-Egyptian Interactions: Literature, Translation, and Culture, 500 BCE–300 CE* (ed. Ian Rutherford; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 209–44. My thanks to Prof. Edmondo Lupieri for initially pointing out this possible connection.

¹² Steve Mason, “Jews, Judaeans, Judaism: Problems of Categorization in Ancient History,” *JSJ* 38 4-5 (2007): 457–512.

¹³ As Adele Reinhartz noted in response to the consolidation of Ἰουδαῖοι into Judaeans, “Let us not make the mistake of defining Jews only in religious terms. Let us rather understand the term Jew as a complex identity marker that encompasses ethnic, political, cultural, genealogical, religious and other elements in proportions that vary among eras, regions of the world, and individuals. Let us not rupture the vital connection — the persistence of identity — between ancient and modern Jews.” Given the lack of reference to Judea as a specific place of origin for the Jews in Egypt, Reinhartz’s observation that “the term Jew is more precise because it signals the complex type of identity that the ancient sources associate with the Greek term *ioudaios* and also because it allows Judean to retain its primary meaning as a geographical designation, so useful when discussing, say, the inhabitants or topography of Judea” is

seem to connote a particularly “Judean” provenance for the origin of the Jews in the fragments. It appears that Artapanus does not assume Judea is an essential place of origin for Jews in Egypt; therefore the strictly geographic distinction of “Judean” has limited utility for our reading of the fragments.

But the implications of these terms for claims to the origin of a Jewish community seem to exist in a certain degree of tension with each other.¹⁴ The name Ἑβραῖοι is used most often in the LXX to describe the Israelites either by non-Israelites or to non-Israelites.¹⁵ Interestingly, however, the term is also often related to the Exodus event specifically or Egypt more generally.¹⁶ Abraham is not referred to as Ἑβραῖος in the LXX and is the only one of the three

doubly appropriate here (Adele Reinhartz, “The Vanishing Jews of Antiquity,” *Marginalia* [June 24, 2014] n.p. Online: <https://themarginaliareview.com/vanishing-jews-antiquity-adele-reinhartz/>).

¹⁴ It is true that Stewart Moore has effectively pointed out that the tension of assimilation has most likely been overstated by modern scholars and was a not a concern for ancient people; this much we can accept. The tension here is less a concern about diluting ethnic identity and more a tension of unexplained connections. It is not immediately evident what we are to make of the connection between these terms which all point to origins and yet are seemingly emanating from different traditions simultaneously. It is also worth noting that Moore is reacting to the preoccupation among some scholars of Hellenistic Judaism to conceive Hellenistic Jewish identity as a reaction to (or accommodation with) a broader Hellenistic culture. Moore’s approach rightly calls into question how useful this conception is when it seems to put Jewish identity at the mercy of how obviously “Hellenistic” it was, see Stewart Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt: With Walls of Iron?* (JSJSupp 171; Leiden: Brill, 2015). Yet, the point remains that the relationship between Jewish communities and their neighbors certainly influenced the boundaries which delineated Jewish identity in the Hellenistic world. How this relationship informs the construction of Hellenistic Jewish identity in the fragments of Artapanus will be a significant focus of my own application of Carol Dougherty’s poetics of colonization below.

¹⁵ Holladay notes the examples of LXX Gen 39:14 and Exod 1:16, in which foreigners identify the Israelites as Hebrews, and Gen 40:15, 43:32 and Exod 1:19 as Israelites identifying themselves as such to foreigners, *Fragments*, 226, n. 5.

¹⁶ The use of the term in Genesis is found in the Joseph narrative and is either in mouths of Egyptian characters or referring to Egyptian relations with Israelites. The term is continually deployed in Exodus as we would expect, related to the position of the Israelites in Egypt. Moses is commanded by God to announce to Pharaoh that he comes on behalf of “the God of the Hebrews” (ὁ θεὸς τῶν Ἑβραίων) (Exod 3:18). The use of the term in Exod 21:2 and then in Deuteronomy 15:12 is a command for any Israelite to release a Hebrew slave (παῖδα Ἑβραῖον in Exodus and ὁ Ἑβραῖος ἢ ἡ Ἑβραία in Deuteronomy) after six years, which is later picked up in Jeremiah 41 as a reckoning for Judah’s failure to obey this command (Jer 41:9). Other uses of the term do not relate to Egypt or the Exodus, but the iterations in Judith, 2 Maccabees and 4 Maccabees are all in relation to foreign rulers.

heroes preserved in the fragments of Artapanus not connected with the term in the LXX.¹⁷ Even a term generally associated with Jews in the LXX, albeit in particular situations related to foreigners most often, is deployed by Artapanus to the one character we would not expect.

Where does this examination of a mysterious term leave us? Perhaps Ἑρμούθ does imply “Jews of Syria.” If that is the case, it does not substantively change our reading of the passage. We already see Abraham associated with Syria in Fragment 1.2, since he leaves (ἀπαλλαγῆναι) Egypt for Syria (εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν τόπους). Similarly, the Ἑρμούθ in Fragment 2.3-4 are equated with the Syrians who are Joseph’s family joining him in Egypt. The other names given for the Jews in Egypt are glossed over because they are not controversial—after all, we should expect the Jewish community to identify as Ἰουδαῖοι and Ἑβραῖοι since these are well-attested terms. What we are left with in this passage is a seemingly “normal” self-description of a Jewish community with some added color provided by an Egyptian-sounding modification, reinforcing the Syrian origins of Abraham, Jacob and Joseph. However, this Syrian origin itself is itself significant and should be interrogated.

I am not arguing that a Syrian origin for the Jews in Egypt is a new interpretation in itself, but rather that previous interpretation of this origin has been limited to understanding it as *apologia*. After an overview of this apologetic interpretation, I will suggest that reading this Syrian origin as part of a larger discourse of origins will allow us to read the fragments within a wider literary context of colonial foundation narratives. According to Freudenthal, the emphasis on the Syrian origins of the Jews is meant to respond to contemporary pagan claims that considered the Jews to be offshoots of the Egyptians themselves (Josephus *Ag. Ap.* 1.228–92; 2.

¹⁷ Joseph identified himself as having been captured “from the land of the Hebrews” (ἐκ γῆς Ἑβραίων) to Pharaoh (Gen 40:15) and Moses is associated with Hebrews throughout the Exodus narrative, e.g. Exod 2:11–13.

28–32; *Ant.* 2.176–77; Diodorus 1.28.2).¹⁸ This particular claim that Jews were, in fact,

Egyptians seems to have particularly problematic for Josephus, who takes pains to refute it.

While Manetho appears to concede that the Jews did not originate in Egypt, Josephus identifies him as the source of the idea that the Jews were combined with Egyptian lepers who were to be exiled and were led by Moses, who was an Egyptian outcast:

δέδωκε γὰρ οὗτος ἡμῖν καὶ ὠμολόγηκεν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τὸ μὴ εἶναι τὸ γένος
Λιγυπτίους, ἀλλ' αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν ἐπελθόντας κρατῆσαι τῆς Αἰγύπτου καὶ πάλιν ἐξ
αὐτῆς ἀπελθεῖν. ὅτι δ' οὐκ ἀνεμίχθησαν ἡμῖν ὕστερον τῶν Αἰγυπτίων οἱ τὰ
σώματα λελωβημένοι, καὶ ὅτι ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἦν Μωυσεῖς ὁ τὸν λαὸν ἀγαγών,
ἀλλὰ πολλαῖς ἐγεγόνει γενεαῖς πρότερον, ταῦτα πειράσομαι διὰ τῶν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ
λεγομένων ἐλέγχειν.

Manetho has granted us one fact. He has admitted that our race was not of Egyptian origin, but came into Egypt from elsewhere, conquered it, and afterwards left it. The further facts that we were not, in the sequel, mixed up with Egyptians [whose bodies were maimed], and that Moses, the leader of our people, so far from being one of them, lived many generations earlier, I shall now endeavour to prove from Manetho's own statements. (*Ag. Ap.* 1.253 [Thackery, LCL])

Josephus also explores the claims of Chaeremon and Lysimachus who identify the Jews exclusively with lepers expelled from Egypt (*Ag. Ap.* 1.288–320). We see here that not only are origins being contested, but that they also have real consequences for how Jews conceive of themselves (and are conceived of by others).

¹⁸ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 161. Freudenthal also sees the tradition of Abraham returning to Syria from Egypt as an echo of an ancient tradition of the Hyksos incursion into Egypt, *idem.*, 156–57. Freudenthal sees traces of the Hyksos tradition in Abraham's migration to and exit from Egypt in Fragment 1 noted above, Joseph's willing migration to Egypt with the assistance of "the neighboring Arabs" (τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀράβων) in Fragment 2.1 (also noted in Ewald, 1^a 588), and Moses's restraint of his Arab father-in-law Raguel who wished to invade Egypt on behalf of Moses in Fragment 3.19. Holladay notes that Freudenthal changes the punctuation of Fragment 3.19 to read, "And Moses, having prevented Raguel from launching an attack, ordered the Arabs to plunder Egypt" (versus Jacoby's edition rendering διακωλύοντα as the passive διακωλυθέντα in *FGrH* 3.682–86 which implicates Raguel as the primary instigator of an Arab invasion of Egypt), Holladay, *Fragments*, 238 n. 77, cf. Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 217; Gifford, 3.462–67. Similarly, the mention in Fragment 3.3 of the divided rule of Egypt indicates to Freudenthal that Artapanus is making an oblique reference to the Hyksos period and that Artapanus is motivated by a desire to dissociate Jewish founders from the upheaval of that era, *ibid.*

What does this contested space provide for our interpretation of the fragments? The reciprocating argument about the origins of the Jews leaves something to be desired in terms of its explanatory power. Certainly, we can appreciate the sense of belonging that is at stake, whether the origins of the Jews as a people can be used to legitimate their claim to belong in Egypt: perhaps a foreign origin would be preferable to an origin as Egyptians who were expelled from the country. But do foreigners have any greater sense of belonging? We certainly see there was a need to respond to anti-Jewish polemic, to defend Jewish origins as positive. However, when the origin of the Jews as a people is read apologetically, we do not get insight into the nature of the Jewish community in Egypt, only into a response to anti-Jewish rhetoric.

This apologetic interpretation is intimately bound up in the construction of ethnic and cultural identity. The Hellenistic world was predicated on the idea that cultural and ethnic identities were, to some degree, malleable. This malleability allows for the repositioning of a given ethnic or cultural group as superior to another. Sylvie Honigman's analysis of the *Letter of Aristeas* makes this point related to Jews in Hellenistic Egypt:

The notion of appropriating social, cultural and religious values for the sake of competition is ideally suited to describing how the Alexandrian Judaeans authors engaged with their Alexandrian environment. Adopting a competitive stance must have been a natural attitude for all those trained in the Greek *paideia*. At the same time competition implies a common ground: for Judaeans authors, articulating their criticism of Greek values in the competitive mode was an ideal literary device, since it allowed them to engage in polemics from the standpoint of insiders.¹⁹

¹⁹ Sylvie Honigman, "'Jews as the Best of All Greeks': Cultural Competition in the Literary Works of Alexandrian Judaeans of the Hellenistic Period," in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices and Images* (Leiden: Brill, 2013), 214.

This competition has different implications, both practical and ideological. The degree of interaction between ethnic groups in Egypt would have played out in everyday exchanges between Greeks, Egyptians and Jews. Stewart Moore documents significant papyrological evidence for this sort of interaction which occurred on a quotidian level.²⁰ Moreover, we know from the papyri that “Greekness” had tangible, practical benefits including more lenient taxation.²¹ We also see this competition playing out at an ideological level, especially in narratives related to national heroes. Martin Braun was the first to thoroughly document the similarities among these narratives, including narratives related to Moses, Cambyses, and Semiramis.²² Braun’s larger contribution, though, is what David Lenz Tiede called “his demonstration of the way in which features ascribed to one hero in romantic legend can be attributed to a series of national figures as their exploits are recited.”²³ Tiede himself takes Braun as his starting point for evaluating the fragments of Artapanus, when he links the use of tropes from Greek and Egyptian narrative traditions with the refutation of anti-Jewish polemic as evidenced by Josephus in *Against Apion*.²⁴

Is the use of the term Ἑρμιοῦθ deployed in the fragments for the same purpose, to defend against the purported Egyptian origins of the Jews? If the sequence of names given in Fragment

²⁰ Moore does have to rely to some degree on inference, noting that his study identifies interactions between Jews and Greeks and Egyptians and Greeks, but his evidence for Jewish-Egyptian interaction is left to be hypothesized. Still, even assuming based on his evidence that “Greekness” is a sort of common denominator for ethnic competition gives us the arena in which this competition occurred: namely competition to identify with the Greeks. See especially Stewart A. Moore, *Jewish Ethnic Identity and Relations in Hellenistic Egypt*, 45–96.

²¹ See, for example, Dorothy Thompson on Greek literacy and tax incentives as motivations for Hellenization in Ptolemaic Egypt, “Literacy and Power in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Literacy and Power in the Ancient World*. (1994). In her study on race and ethnicity in Ptolemaic Egypt, Denise McCoskey points out that facility with the Greek language and control of Greek culture were key for individuals to gain access to the ruling elite, Denise Eileen McCoskey, “Race Before ‘Whiteness’: Studying Identity in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *Critical Sociology* 28.1–2 (2002): 18–20. See also Willy Clarysse on the dynamics of ethnic identity and “Greekness” as an administrative rather than strictly ethnic category, “Greeks and Persians in a Bilingual Census List,” *Egitto E Vicino Oriente* 17 (1994): 69–77. This administrative sense of “Greekness” is further evidence for the malleability of ethnic identity, given that it would be much easier to change an administrative category rather than something seen as immutable. For a helpful overview

1 has an apologetic character related to the geographic origins of the Jewish community in Egypt, we are left with a set of competing claims. On the one hand, anti-Jewish narratives disparage the Jews as castoff Egyptians; on the other hand, a Jewish narrative responds with an alternative origin in Syria. Interpreting the origins of the Jews as a people as apologetic claims makes reasonable sense. Since the fragments are received vis à vis anti-Jewish polemic, rather than on their own terms, we are reading the fragments primarily as refutations.

This approach yields some insight, namely of the contested nature of origins in Hellenistic Egypt among Jewish communities. I suggest, however, that there is another dimension in which the fragments are operating. The concept of places of origin, steeped in the cultural competition of the Hellenistic world, is a relatively explicit aspect of origins in the fragments. The choice of Syria as a place of origin, as well, taps into resonances of the invasions of Egypt by Assyria in the 7th century BCE, which may have added to the competitive claim by associating the Jews in Egypt with historic conquerors.²⁵ By claiming a non-Egyptian origin for

of Ptolemaic census and taxation practices, see Dorothy Thompson, “The Infrastructure of Splendour: Census and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History and Historiography* (ed. Paul Cartledge, Peter Garnsey, and Erich Gruen; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 242–57.

²² Martin Braun, *History and Romance in Graeco-Oriental Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1938).

²³ David Lenz Tiede, *The Charismatic Figure as Miracle Worker* (SBL Dissertation Series 1; Missoula, Mont.: SBL Press, 1978), 150.

²⁴ Tiede, *Charismatic Figure*, 138–77, especially 172–77. A related approach to the fragments as competitive in nature is that of Gregory Sterling, who includes the fragments in his proposed genre of “apologetic historiography,” see *Historiography and Self-Definition: Josephos, Luke-Acts and Apologetic Historiography* (Leiden: Brill, 1992). Collins notes that we cannot be certain if this anti-Jewish polemic was itself “no more than the disparagement typically directed against other ethnic groups” in the Hellenistic period, Collins, *Between Athens and Jerusalem*, 45–46. Collins simultaneously outlines the parallels between the fragments of Artapanus and the version of Jewish history in Egypt dependent on Manetho preserved by Josephus, *idem.*, 40.

²⁵ This is following Herodotus’s association of Syrians (Σύριοι), with Assyrians (Ἀσσύριοι) (*Histories*, 7.63), noted above, n. 11. Herodotus also represents, in a way, the gap in Greek historiography of Assyria more broadly. Assyria is mentioned, in terms of largescale Greek historiography, in Herodotus and the 4th century BCE fragments of Ctesias and both of these accounts are sketchy rather than comprehensive, see Robert Rollinger, “Assyria in Classical Sources” in *A Companion to Assyria* (ed. Eckhardt Frahm; Blackwell Companions to the Ancient World 113;

the Egyptian Jewish communities, Artapanus is resisting the anti-Jewish polemic traced back to Manetho. Yet, we see in the fragments that Jewish heroes are depicted as consistent benefactors to non-Jewish Egyptians. The characterization of Moses in Fragment 3 as a cultural benefactor is the most obvious example. Moses is portrayed as the consummate culture-bringer, who provides “many useful things to humanity” (πολλὰ τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εὐχρηστα παραδοῦναι) ranging from agricultural tools to philosophy (τὴν φιλοσοφίαν) and organizes the political and religious landscape of Egypt (Fragment 3.4). The portrayal of Joseph as an ideal administrator over Egypt in Fragment 2 (consistent with the narrative of Genesis) and even of Abraham as having taught the Pharaoh astrology (... καὶ τὴν ἀστρολογίαν αὐτὸν διδάξει) (Fragment 1.1) participate in this magnification of Jewish heroes as cultural benefactors. What we end up with, then, is an apparent paradox: the Jews in Egypt are definitively foreigners but also explicitly named as causes of Egyptian prosperity. Shifting our reading of the fragments to a more broadly conceived discourse of origins will address this paradox by interrogating the relationship of the Jews to Egypt itself. Rather than places of origin, we will investigate the other side of this discourse, the origin of places.

2 Origins of Places

The shift to the concept of origin of places focuses our attention onto Egypt as “place.” More specifically, we are dealing with the place of Egypt in a particular historical situation: the period of Ptolemaic rule. What I am exploring with this concept is the notion that the fragments position origins not just in the sense of the primordial provenance of the Jews as a people, but

Malden, Mass.; Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2017), 570–82. It is possible that the space created by the lack of Greek historiography also created potential narrative space for creativity on the part of Artapanus. The lack of authoritative counter-narratives makes the choice of Syria all the easier, in terms of a competitive approach.

also in the sense of the origin of the Jews in Egypt as a particular place. My contention is that by situating the origin of Hellenistic Egypt specifically as a colonial place, not only does that unlock the wider language (and metaphor) of colonial discourse as represented by Carol Dougherty's work, but it also makes clear the radical move by Artapanus to position Jews in Egypt as colonial founders.²⁶ To work through the concept of the origin of places, then, I will start with how to understand Egypt as colony in the Hellenistic world. It is also important to highlight the historical instances of Jewish colonies in Egypt as a baseline experience with which to compare the representation of colonial discourse in the fragments, as well. Establishing Egypt-as-colony as a model for understanding the origin of the Jews in Hellenistic Egypt in the fragments will set the stage for exploring what sort of metaphors Dougherty identifies in Archaic Age Greek colonization. This, in turn, provides the underpinning for my reading of the passages from the fragments related to origins as participating in a colonial discourse.

The use of colonial concepts to describe Hellenistic Egypt is certainly not a novel approach, but it does require some specification. Namely, we must be conscious of the distinction between colonization in the ancient world and colonization informed by the experience of 19th and 20th century European imperialism. In his essay "Decolonizing

²⁶ I am using the term "colonial discourse" in the same sense as Margaret Foster, who defines "Greek colonial discourse to be a discourse comprising the totality of literary texts and other cultural artifacts relating to foundations (of cities, regions, groups or people) as well as the rules and practices that underlie the production of these artifacts. That is, I take discourse in this sense to be systematic in character, with rules and practices that provide the metaphors, paradigms, analogies, and concepts for how it expresses its subject matter, for how it 'delimits the sayable'" (Margaret Foster, *The Seer and the City* [Oakland; University of California Press, 2017], 6; cf. Julian Henriques, *Changing the Subject: Psychology, Social Regulation and Subjectivity* [London: Routledge, 1998], 105–6). Foster focuses on the role of the seer (*mantis*), and its obfuscation, in colonial narratives by explicitly building on Dougherty's work on identifying ideological concerns in colonial discourse and on "considering the discursive motivations that generate the phenomena" of colonial narratives (Foster, *The Seer and the City*, 11).

Ptolemaic Egypt,” Roger Bagnall makes precisely this point.²⁷ Bagnall’s conclusion is that the experience of modern colonialism can indeed inform our perspective on colonization in the ancient world, though we should avoid a myopia which limits examination of Ptolemaic Egypt to exclusively modern colonial analogy.²⁸ This is the key distinction between attempting to recover a lived reality of an ancient colony and attempting to reconstruct how that reality was understood and represented in later memory, an approach which I will follow here.

²⁷ Roger Bagnall, “Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt,” in *Hellenistic Constructs: Essays in Culture, History, and Historiography* (ed. Paul Cartledge, Peter Garnsey, and Erich Gruen; HCS 26, ed. Anthony Bulloch, Erich Gruen, A. A. Long, and Andrew Stewart; Berkeley: University of California Press, 1997), 225–41.

²⁸ Bagnall is keen to preserve the utility of using later examples of social and political power dynamics for the study of Ptolemaic Egypt, but without restricting the available tools to solely colonial experiences. Hence, he means to “avoid the sterile confrontation between the merits of drawing models from the colonial experience and those of looking to other types of power relationships and social structures,” “Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt,” 240. This contrasts with the approach of Sara Owen, who takes a much firmer stance against the influence of modern colonial perspectives on the study of colonization in the ancient world, Sara Owen “Analogy, Archaeology, and Archaic Greek Colonization,” in *Ancient Colonizations: Analogy, Similarity and Difference* (ed. Henry Hurst and Sara Owen; London: Duckworth, 2005), 5–22. Owen argues that the language of colonization is simply too compromised by terminological and typological analogy to European imperialism and has “restricted our range of explanations of the material record, and restricted what has been studied under the umbrella of ‘Greek colonization studies’,” 21. Owen’s concern is for the integrity of archaeology as the only field “positioned to explore ... the long-term processes” of Greek colonial settlement without recourse to later Eurocentric models, *ibid.* Bagnall and Owen start from the same premise, that the study of ancient colonization should neither be limited by exclusively appealing to analogy to 19th and 20th century European imperialism, nor to the privileged position of the colonizer versus the colonized. Bagnall links this effort to Édouard Will in his “Pour une ‘anthropologie coloniale’ du monde hellénistique,” in *The Craft of the Ancient Historian: Essays in Honor of Chester G. Starr* (ed. John Eadie and Josiah Ober; Lanham, Md.: University Press of America, 1985), 273–301. More fundamentally, though, this effort should be traced back to the emergence of postcolonial studies, with the work of Frantz Fanon and Edward Said for example, and the deliberate focus on the perspective of the colonized subject rather than exclusively the colonizer. Bagnall and Owen diverge, however, when it comes to solutions to this error on the part of previous scholarship. Owen, I think, falls into the trap of dismissing colonial analogy to European imperialism in terms of European imperialism itself. Hence, following Moses Finley, she asserts that the term ‘colony’ “should be recognized as a misnomer” because Archaic Greek colonies “were from the start independent *poleis*” and that “only rarely could an Ancient Greek mother-city lay claim to possession of a colony,” Owen, 17; cf. Moses Finley, “Colonies: An Attempt at Typology,” *TRHS* 26 (1976), 167–88. Here, however, the term ‘colony’ is dismissed because it does not conform to a European imperialist typology. Bagnall’s approach is somewhat more accommodationist in that he sees the model of imperial-colonial power dynamics as one of many tools for exploring the ancient world, but one which should not be privileged. Owen, I think, overstates her case for retreating from a particular analogical model and that archaeology and material evidence is our best tool for doing so. But in the end, the distinction between the reality of Greek colonization and its representation in later literature, the perspective I have adopted following Dougherty, avoids this confrontation between an attempt to reconstruct the dynamics of Greek colonies and the effort to comprehend how the Greeks themselves understood this past and why.

To explore the representation of Hellenistic Egypt as a colony, in terms of my own project, is to understand how representations of Greek colonial experience can be mapped onto representations of Hellenistic Egypt. The first part of this effort is to articulate the role of the ‘colony’ in Egypt as a historical phenomenon. This will entail understanding the origins of Greek settlement in Egypt, Ptolemaic rule in terms of colonial dynamics, and the presence of non-Greek, specifically Jewish, communities in Egypt which have been understood as colonies. All three of these issues form the framework for the ‘origin of place’ which situates Hellenistic Egypt as a colonial place.

There was at least one permanent Greek settlement in Egypt prior to the conquest of Egypt by Alexander and that Naukratis, on the Nile Delta. Strabo recounts the founding of Naukratis by Milesians under the reign of pharaoh Psammetichus I (Psamtik I, 664–610 BCE) probably in the mid-7th century BCE (17.801–2).²⁹ This settlement appears to have developed as a broadly Greek center of trade, rather than a colony with a relationship to a particular metropolis.³⁰ Alain Bresson describes the transition of Naukratis from a settlement to a city

²⁹ Herodotus, on the other hand, reports that Naukratis was founded upon the invitation of the pharaoh Amasis II (Ahmose II, 570–526 BCE) (Herodotus 2.178), but the archaeological evidence seems to support a 7th century foundation, namely based on the sudden appearance of Corinthian pottery at the site, see T. F. R. G. Braun, “The Greeks in Egypt” in *The Cambridge Ancient History* (ed. J. Boardman and N. Hammond; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), 32-56. Peter James argues, on the other hand, that Herodotus’s account can be harmonized with the ceramic evidence and that Naukratis was originally a Phoenician settlement which was granted to the Greeks by Amasis II, Peter James, “Naukratis Revisited,” *Hyperboreus: Studia Classica* 9:2 (2003), 235-264. Braun also notes “there is a suggestion of Egyptian resistance, if not of fighting, in a further fragment from Aristagoras of Miletus (*FGrH* 608 F 8): one of three possible explanations of the name Gynaikopolis, 'Woman's city', given by the Greeks to the Egyptian town opposite Naucratis on the west side of the river, was that this was the only town so womanly as not to prevent the first Greek settlers landing when they sailed upstream,” Braun, 37. Alain Bresson details a different reconciliation of Strabo and Herodotus, in line with Braun, which is more compelling and will be discussed below. Herodotus’s account also notes that “Amasis...gave (ἔδωκε) those [Greeks] who came to Egypt the city of Naukratis to dwell in” which may imply that Naukratis was an existing city (2.178). Nevertheless, the establishment of the city as a particularly Greek city marks a foundation akin to a new city and would at least have necessitated the subordination, if not removal, of the existing population as a consequence of the transfer.

³⁰ For example, Herodotus’s account of the Hellenion, a pan-Greek temple complex in Naukratis that was jointly administered by multiple Aeolian and Dorian Greek cities (Herodotus 4.178). Yet a Milesian inscription from 195 CE (*CIG* 2878) indicates that there was a representation of Miletus as the mother city of Naukratis: Τῆς πρ]ώτης

(πόλις) during the reign of Amasis (Ahmose II), crucially, as a retroactive colonial endeavor, “devenue polis, Naucratis devait elle aussi se doter d'un passé respectable, avoir un oïciste, comme toute cité coloniale, avec en outre un prestige que le mythique héros iono-milésien Neileus pouvait fournir à bon compte.”³¹ In addition, Herodotus mentions Egyptian garrisons at Daphnae, Marea, and Elephantine, at which it seems Greek soldiers were stationed based on archaeological evidence (2.30).³² The role of Greek and Carian mercenaries in the establishment of the Saïte Dynasty by Psammetichus I illustrates the political location of the Greek soldiers in Egypt as undergirding the new pharaonic administration.³³ Therefore, by the time Alexandria was founded in 331 BCE, Greek settlement was well-established in Egypt, although the colonial nature of these settlements is far from clear. The Macedonian conquest, and the foundation of

[τῆς Ἴων[ίας ὀ]κισμένης καὶ μητροπόλεως πολλῶν καὶ μεγάλω[ν] πόλεων ἔν τε τῷ Πόντῳ καὶ τ[ῆ] Αἰγύπτῳ καὶ πολλαχοῦ τῆς ο[ἰ]κουμένης Μιλησίων πόλεως ἢ βουλή καὶ ὁ δῆμος... . This is consistent with Strabo's account of the origins of Naukratis and would make sense to be the Egyptian reference here.

³¹ “...having become a *polis*, Naukratis also needed to have a respectable past, having an *oikist* [οἰκιστής, colonial founder] like every other colony, also with the prestige that the Iono-Milesian mythic hero Neileus could provide easily,” Alain Bresson, “Naukratis: de l'emporion à la cité.” *Topoi* 12-13/1 (2005): 155. It is this transition from settlement to *polis* that is recorded by Herodotus when he relates that Amasis gave Naukratis to the Greeks as a city (ἔδωκε Ναύκρατιν πόλιν ἐνοικήσαι) (2.178). Bresson thus reconciles the discrepancy between Herodotus and Strabo noted above. Bresson traces the insertion of Neileus as the colonial founder of Naukratis back to scholia on Theocritus *Idyll* 7 published by Scholl: Sch. *Idyll* 7.98: Νεῖλον ἐπεμβάς· περὶ τῆς τοῦ Νείλου κλήσεως ἐν ἐνὶ πού τῶν ὑπομνημάτων φασὶν εἰρημέναι τινάς, Μιλησίους κτίσαντας τὴν Ναύκρατιν προσαγορεῦσαι τὸν κατ’ Αἴγυπτον ποταμὸν Νεῖλον ἀπὸ τοῦ κτιστοῦ Νεῖλω θεμένουσ τὴν προσσηγορίαν. Sch. *Idyll* 7.114: Νεῖλος ἀπὸ Νεῖλω, ὃς ἔκτισε (...) Ναύκρατιν μετὰ μάχην (Reinhard Scholl, “Phylen und Buleuten in Naukratis. Ein neues Fragment zur Inschrift SB VIII 9747,” *Tyche* 12 [1997]: 213–28. Here the mention of the Nile river in *Idyll* 7 is expanded to include an explanation of Neileus's role as a founder of the Naukratis by the Milesians. This same Neileus is associated with the foundation of Miletus itself (Herodotus 1.97; Strabo 14.1.3; Pausanias 7.2.1–7). Miletus as the site of the oracle of Apollo Didymus (Herodotus 1.92, 2.159; Strabo 14.1.5; Pausanias 7.2.6) completes the resonances of the Greek colonial tale outlined by Dougherty. In terms of the semionarrative terminology, we are presented at Naukratis with a *manipulation* (undisclosed but practically related to the need to establish Naukratis as comparable to other colonial foundations), *competence* (the fact the Neileus is already known as a founder of cities implies his competence is clear), *performance* (Neileus's retroactive founding of Naukratis creates the *polis*) and *sanction* (while undisclosed, the affiliation of Miletus with the oracle of Apollo Didymus is very tantalizing).

³² This includes only Greek pottery fragments, but, more importantly, fragments of scale armor and spear points indicating Greek military presence, Braun, “The Greeks in Egypt,” 44.

³³ Herodotus 2.152; Diodorus 1.66–67.

Alexandria as a consequence, was a distinct phenomenon that departed from previous Greek settlement. Alexandria was not founded as a colony *per se*, but certainly fits the model of treating Egypt as a colonial place much better. Perhaps a better way to frame this is that treating Ptolemaic Egypt as a colonial place provides a helpful way to understand the operative political, social, and cultural dynamics.

While I will explore the relationship between colony and indigenous populations in greater detail in a subsequent chapter, a few preliminary remarks will serve to introduce the particular perspective on ancient colonies that I am suggesting. Bagnall argues, in his assessment of colonial theory, that “the straightforward description of Ptolemaic Egypt as a colony thus encounters some significant structural difficulties. But this does not justify our discarding colonialism altogether as an approach to the Hellenistic world or to antiquity in general.”³⁴ I suggest, however, that it is more useful to reverse Bagnall’s terminology and maintain the notion of “colony” without the implication of a concerted, state-sponsored movement of “colonialism.” The relevance of the contributions of post-colonial theory, especially the decentering of the colonizer, will be discussed in subsequent chapters. For now, that difference notwithstanding, the point I am making is that Ptolemaic rule in Egypt can be understood colonially, and this can be done in two ways.

³⁴ Bagnall, “Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt,” 232. Bagnall here is responding to Moses Finley’s definition of a colony which emphasizes emigration, a dependent relationship between colony and mother city, and land expropriation, which Finley argues do not apply to the Hellenistic kingdoms in general, Finley, “Colonies: An Attempt at a Typology.”

First, the concept of Alexandria as a designed city, one marked out by a founder and then settled according to the design, is significant.³⁵ Examining the literary sources for the foundation of Alexandria we see a consistent agreement to this effect (Arrian *Anabasis* 3.1.4–2.2; Plutarch *Vita Alexandri* 26.3–10; Diodorus 17.52; Strabo 17.1.6–7; Ps.-Callisthenes *Hist. Alex. Mag.* 1.31–32; Quintus Curtius 4.8.1–2). The foundation of Alexandria shows Alexander as founder supervising the layout of the city (e.g. Strabo 17.6) and in particular the important components, like temples and the agora (e.g. Arrian 3.1.5; Diodorus 17.52.3). Compare this to Pindar’s description of the colonial foundation of Cyrene by Battus in *Pythian* 5, “He [Battus] founded larger sanctuaries for the gods, and laid down a paved road, straight and level, to echo with horses’ hoofs in processions that honor Apollo and bring succor to mortals” (κτίσεν δ’ ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν, εὐθύτομόν τε κατέθηκεν Ἀπολλωνίαις ἀλεξιμβρότοις πεδιάδα πομπαῖς ἔμμεν ἰπλόκροτον σκυρωτὰν ὁδόν) (89-93 [Race, LCL]).³⁶ By approaching the foundation of Alexandria as a colonial foundation in line with Cyrene, we open the possibility of situating the representation of Alexander as founder within the larger discourse of colonial founders and the

³⁵ Here it is worth noting that Alexandria cannot be a stand-in for Egypt writ large. In thinking of Egypt as a colonial place in general, Alexandria stands out as a well-attested, but particular, example, whose foundation story aligns with Greek colonial foundation narratives.

³⁶ We also find a resonance between Apollo as founder and Ptolemaic Egyptian rhetoric. Apollo is noted as a founder in the Homeric *Hymn to Apollo* (254–295) and later by Callimachus’s *Hymn to Apollo* (55–59) as he lays out the foundations of what will be sites of Apollo’s temples. This same measuring out of temple precincts is an explicit function of the Egyptian pharaoh, which gets absorbed by the Ptolemies in their patronage of native Egyptian temples. For details of the temple foundation ritual, including its delegation from the pharaoh to the local priesthood, see Byron Shafer, “Temples, Priests and Rituals: An Overview,” in *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Byron E. Shafer; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 1–30; Ragnhild Finnestad, “Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: Ancient Traditions in New Contexts,” in *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Byron E. Shafer; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), 185–237; Carina van den Hoven, “Le couronnement du faucon sacré à Edfou: les rituels de confirmation du pouvoir royal,” in *Offrandes, rites et rituels dans les temples d’époques ptolémaïque et romaine: Actes de la journée d’études de l’équipe EPHE (EA 4519) Égypte ancienne : Archéologie, Langue, Religion Paris, 27 juin 2013* (ed. Christiane Zivie-Coche; CEENM 10; Montpellier, 2015), 185–98.

comparison of Alexandria itself with how other colonial foundations are represented in narrative.³⁷

The second concept is that of Ptolemaic rule over Egypt as a whole as a colonial enterprise. Our resistance to the wholesale appropriation of colonial metaphor is warranted (after all, this was not a distant, overseas possession of Greek overlords), but as Bagnall notes “the Ptolemies controlled Egypt in the first place by their military presence, consisting of military settlers on the land, garrisons in key places, and requisitioning of housing from the indigenous population for the troops. Greeks took over much of the better land.”³⁸ In addition, Greeks in Ptolemaic Egypt had facility in the new language of administration and were also subject to a lower tax liability.³⁹ While the Ptolemies erected a hierarchical polity in Egypt, they

³⁷ The foundation narratives of Cyrene feature prominently in Pindaric Odes from the Archaic period, as well as Herodotus, but are still being recreated in the Hellenistic era, notably by Callimachus of Cyrene. The notion that this foundation narrative is still productive in its ability to be redeployed creates a continuity between the colonial discourse of Archaic Greece and Hellenistic Alexandria, where Callimachus was active. Cyrene also seems to be the locus for much Greco-Egyptian interaction, as the entry point for the cult of Zeus-Ammon (Amun) from the oracle and temple at Siwah, which was, according to Herodotus, established as an offshoot of the temple of Amun-Re at Thebes (2.54–57); see Barclay V. Head, *Historia Numorum: A Manual of Greek Numismatics* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1911) for examples of coinage from Cyrene portraying Zeus-Ammon. The temple at Siwah was established by Amasis, the same pharaoh who provided for Greek settlement at Naukratis. Arrian (3.3–4), Plutarch (*Alexander* 27.4), Strabo (17.1.43) and Diodorus (17.49.2–51.4) all preserve accounts of Alexander visiting the oracle at Siwah as part of his conquest of Persian Egypt. Much scholarship argues that this was a concerted effort to establish Alexander’s claim to the pharaonic title, where he was acclaimed son of Zeus-Ammon, Andrew Collins raises a cogent objection that there would have been much more compelling oracular sites in Egypt proper that would have better suited this need; noting, rather, that “the oracle of Ammon at Siwah was more highly regarded in Greece than in Egypt, since the city-states of Athens and Sparta had consulted the oracle on political matters (Plutarch *Alcibiades* 2.148.d-e)” (Andrew Collins, “Alexander’s Visit to Siwah: A New Analysis,” *Phoenix* 68 no. 1–2 [2014]: 62–77). That Siwah was a perhaps Greco-Egyptian place makes Alexander’s visit much more resonant of Greek foundation narratives: the oracular endorsement, in this case identifying Alexander as son of Zeus-Ammon occurs at a Greco-Egyptian site. The temple was founded by Amasis, who already inaugurated the Greco-Egyptian of the Delta by granting Naukratis to the Greeks. Alexander may not be represented in this episode as attempting to establish Egyptian royal credentials, as Collins argues, but may be read within Greek colonial discourse as fulfilling an important obligation for an *oikist*.

³⁸ Bagnall, “Decolonizing Ptolemaic Egypt,” 235–6.

³⁹ Dorothy Thompson, “The Infrastructure of Splendour: Census and Taxes in Ptolemaic Egypt,” *op. cit.*

simultaneously engaged in deliberate syncretism between Greek and Egyptian royal ideologies.⁴⁰

This combination of stratification along ethnic lines as well as syncretistic appropriation of indigenous identities and the incorporation of native elites lends itself to interpretation through colonial experience.

What I have attempted to show here is that the origin of Egypt as a colonial place is a viable approach to analyzing the particular dynamics at work in Hellenistic Egypt. This is not meant to be an exhaustive model of Hellenistic Egypt as colonial, but rather as an explication of the concept of the origin of places. In this case, the origin of place is the re-foundation of Egypt as a colonial place by Alexander as founder and by the Ptolemies as overlords. If it is indeed possible to evaluate Hellenistic Egypt by means of colonial metaphor, then it is necessary to establish what metaphors were operative in colonial discourse in the Greek-speaking world.

3 The Poetics of Colonization

There are thus two entry points to the poetics of colonization, as proposed by Carol Dougherty. First, the concern of the Fragments of Artapanus for the origins of the Jews as a

⁴⁰ The Ptolemies, and the ruling class, were Macedonian (Greek) in origin but very quickly affected native Egyptian styles and cultural cues. Fischer-Bovet makes a convincing case that Hellenism was a secondary element in the Ptolemaic ruling strategy and that the hybrid Greco-Egyptian royal ideology of the Ptolemies was the more dominant aspect at work. The interaction of the monarchy with the local, native Egyptian elites was thus a key consequence of the overall strategy of the Ptolemaic imperial mission. See Christelle Fischer-Bovet, "Toward a Translocal Elite Culture in the Ptolemaic Empire," in *Cosmopolitanism and Empire: Universal Rulers, Local Elites and Cultural Integration in the Ancient Near East and Mediterranean*, Oxford Studies in Early Empires (ed. Myles Lavan; Oxford; New York: Oxford University Press, 2016), 103–28. Even among local elites, especially native Egyptian priests, there was a gradual blending of native Egyptian and Greek bureaucratic and administrative systems, bound together by the person of the king. Gorre traces this development over the course of the entire Ptolemaic period and convincingly demonstrates that this was not just deliberate but was designed to bolster the Ptolemaic monarchy. Gilles Gorre, "A Religious Continuity between the Dynastic and Ptolemaic Periods? Self-Representation and Identity of Egyptian Priests in the Ptolemaic Period (332–30BCE)," in *Shifting Social Imaginaries in the Hellenistic Period: Narrations, Practices, and Images* (ed. Eftychia Stavrianopoulou; Leiden: Brill, 2013), 100–14.

people, what I described as places of origin. Because the fragments emphasize the origins of the Jews outside of Egypt and their resettlement in Egypt later, the prospect of a colonial perspective does not seem far-fetched. The second entry point is that of construing Hellenistic Egypt as a re-founded colonial place, or the origin of places. If Hellenistic Egypt can be represented as a colonial place in the same terms as other ancient colonial foundations, then understanding this representation is important.

To that end, we need a model to understand the representation of the Greek colonial experience as a reference point for how to test whether or not the fragments fit into a narrative schema of how Greek colonial experience was represented. Dougherty's poetics of colonization is this type of model as it is concerned primarily with "how the ancient Greeks constructed their memory of founding new cities on foreign shores."⁴¹ Her model is the fruits of her analysis of this representation of a historical experience, which is built on several salient metaphors that are used in Greek colonization narratives. This representation, then, is presented as a narrative typology which emplots salient metaphors used to represent the memory of colonization. These metaphors are embedded into the narrative and must be excavated and analyzed. These metaphors will guide the next sections of this chapter, which will detail the application of the poetics of colonization to the particular case of the Fragments of Artapanus.

As a consequence of Dougherty's approach to investigate "how the Greeks, as a community with shared beliefs, reconstructed colonization," she focuses on "the narrative pattern, metaphors, and language of colonial discourse [which] are informed by cultural phenomena such as purification practices, the Delphic oracle, marriage ideology, and Panhellenic

⁴¹ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 4.

competition.”⁴² These metaphors allow us to comprehend how the ancient Greeks represented their past and how their history was shaped by their present. It is this same endeavor which I will apply to the fragments of Artapanus: inquiring how the stories of Abraham, Joseph, and, primarily, Moses are used to represent a conception of the Jewish community in Hellenistic Egypt. Just as Dougherty extrapolates a narrative typology from texts remembering Greek colonization, I will identify salient metaphors from the narrative texts of the Fragments of Artapanus. What these metaphors stand for, however, is also useful. The concepts of displacement, translation, and integration which underlie the metaphors in Greek colonization narratives are much more readily applied to Artapanus’s texts. These concepts will be a useful point of departure for an analysis of Artapanus’s narrative in which Egypt is constructed deliberately for colonization.

The plot of many of the Greek narratives that Dougherty uses to establish these poetics is relatively consistent or, as she puts it:

The narrative pattern or ‘plot’ of archaic colonization is a familiar one: (a) A civic crisis (b) prompts the consultation of Apollo’s oracle at Delphi. Apollo delivers an oracle that (c) authorizes the foundation of a colony overseas. The successful colonial foundation then provides (d) the resolution of the original crisis, which will be forever marked and memorialized through the cult of the founder.⁴³

This approach is based on Hayden White’s tropological model of historiography: that historiography is emplotted into a narrative according to culturally salient tropes, by which the historiographical text itself becomes a literary artifact.⁴⁴ Historical discourse, for White:

⁴² Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 5.

⁴³ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 15.

⁴⁴ Hayden White, *Tropics of Discourse: Essays in Cultural Criticism* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978), 81–100, esp. 85. White has called into question the privilege accorded to certain texts, or perhaps more specifically the privileging of the activity of the historian; the historian can no longer approach a text as if it were serving up facts to be simply extracted. Rather, the historian must recognize that any historical fact has been

...can be broken down into two levels of meaning. The facts and their formal explanation or interpretation appear as the manifest or literal “surface” of the discourse, while the figurative language used to characterize the facts points to a deep-structural meaning. This latent meaning of an historical discourse consists of the generic story-type of which the facts themselves, arranged in a specific order and endowed with different weights, are the manifest form.⁴⁵

Historical discourse is thus more than just the facts in question as it joins those facts to a larger narrative form. It is this narrative form that allows for the facts to be interrogated by the historian, provided the historian is aware of this “latent meaning” in discourse and can use that to construct a model for analyzing the work. Continuing his description of historical discourse,

White states:

This conception of the historical discourse permits us to consider the specific story as an image of the events about which the story is told, while the generic story-type serves as a conceptual model to which the events are to be likened in order to permit their encodation as elements of a recognizable structure.⁴⁶

It is this emplotment, made possible by literary tropes, which, in turn, limits the possibility of discourse and simultaneously allows us to see the relationships between description and meaning in that discourse. Put another way, emplotment provides a limit for discourse in itself, but by acknowledging that emplotment and analyzing the tropes deployed to construct it, we as

emplotted and relies on the use of tropes to make a coherent narrative. White states, “as thus envisaged, the ‘story’ which the historian purports to ‘find’ in the historical record is proleptic to the ‘plot’ by which the events are finally revealed to figure in a recognizable structure of relationships of a specifically mythic sort,” *idem.*, 58.

⁴⁵ Hayden White, “Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination,” *History and Theory* 14.4 (1975): 58. White elsewhere describes discourse as existing on three levels, rather than two, for analytical purposes: “discourse must be analyzed on three levels: that of the description (*mimesis*) of the ‘data’ found in the field of inquiry being invested or marked out for analysis; that of the argument or narrative (*diegesis*), running alongside of or interspersed with the descriptive materials; and that on which the combination of these previous two levels is effected (*diataxis*,” *Idem, Tropics of Discourse*, 4. These are not fundamentally different approaches, but this former iteration leaves the diatactical level unarticulated, though implied. In both conceptions of the analytical understanding of discourse is a differentiation of description and narrative, which is what I am focusing on here. Diataxis is certainly crucial to our actual reading and analysis of a work.

⁴⁶ Hayden White, “Historicism, History, and the Figurative Imagination,” 59.

historians can apprehend both “levels of meaning” inherent in discourse.⁴⁷ White’s key insight here is that “what counts as historical reality is a product of the historian’s language.”⁴⁸ Rather than reading any historical work as a perfect representation of some inaccessible historical reality, we must limit ourselves to analyzing what sort of representation is constructed in (and by) that work as well as how that representation, made knowable through multifaceted discourse, gives access to one particular discursive construct. It is in this sense that I am following Dougherty’s guidance to be “concerned with the representations—not the realia” of a given historical phenomenon.⁴⁹

Another influence on Dougherty here is Claude Calame, whose own reading of foundation narratives will be influential on my work, as well. As Calame states in the preface to his *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*:

We should not, however, impose schemas constructed in a structuralist mode on a culture that appears to us in texts that are often of a poetic nature. That is to say that we must take into account the production and the function of these symbolic manifestations within their historical, social, and ideological contexts. It is also to say that, in order to avoid the dogmatic ponderousness of strict structural semiotics, we should abandon the principle of immanence which closes the text on itself independently of the situation of its production; we should recover, in the manifestations of the symbolic process, the practical categories that are particular to them.”⁵⁰

⁴⁷ On White’s notion of tropological analysis of historical works, see Hayden White, *Metahistory: The Historical Imagination in Nineteenth-Century Europe* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1973). While it is true that White here does not delve into a full-fledged theory of historical narrative discourse, he does lay out his theory of tropological prefiguring which serves as the foundation for his later narrativist work.

⁴⁸ Herman Paul, *Hayden White* (Cambridge: Polity, 2011), 95. As opposed to a direct correlation between the activity of the historian and historical reality, this reflects White’s perspective “that knowledge *makes* reality,” 94.

⁴⁹ Carol Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 4.

⁵⁰ Claude Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece: The Symbolic Creation of a Colony* (trans. Daniel Berman; Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), vii. Daniel Berman also comments in his introduction that “Calame’s semionarrative theory, based on the fundamental work of Greimas, . . . is formulated as a means of bringing what scientific or empirical objectivism might be possible to bear on a subject that by its nature eschews such objectivism” (Berman, “Introduction,” xii–xiii).

It is to these categories, and to the symbolic world in which they participate, as Dougherty has identified in her analysis of Greek colonial narratives, that we should now turn.

Picking up from Dougherty's specific typology of Greek colonization narrative outlined above, the plot consists of four primary phases which she identifies as civic crisis, Delphic consultation, colonial foundation, and resolution through founder cult.⁵¹ Each of these components of the narrative draws from a symbolic world articulated by Claude Calame, and their emplotment is culturally conditioned along a familiar cultural context, following Hayden White. What is left to Dougherty is to probe each narrative element and determine what salient metaphors are supporting these elements. These metaphors are the means by which we can gain "deeper insight into the ways the Greeks thought about and remembered colonization."⁵²

Confronting the typical instigation for colonial expeditions, that of a civic crisis, Dougherty observes that this can take two forms. First, a civic crisis can be large-scale such as "drought, plague, or civil unrest [that] threatens the security and stability of the city. Alternatively, personal trauma—childlessness or fraternal conflict—substitutes for civic crisis within the narrative."⁵³ Two iterations of the foundation of Syracuse illustrate the personal responsibility of the founder to address the crisis obscures the violence of the colonial act itself. Dougherty cites Plutarch's version of the foundation of Syracuse (*Mor.* 772e–773b) in which the founder, Archias, is a descendent of the Heracleidae in Corinth, who killed a boy Actaeon in a fit of mob-driven lust and, after consulting the oracle, determined to self-impose exile and sailed to

⁵¹ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 15.

⁵² Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 26.

⁵³ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 31.

Sicily to found a colony.⁵⁴ Thucydides, on the other hand, recounts a version in which Archias, from the Heracleidae from Corinth, founded a colony at Syracuse after expelling the indigenous population (6.3.2).⁵⁵ By ascribing murder to the founder of the colony, “the murderous founder is made to shoulder the burden of the historical violence of settling foreign territory.”⁵⁶

Simultaneously, the murder requires expiation—and this entails the function of Greek purification ritual. As outlined by Mary Douglas, this is fundamentally a question of categories, divisions and ordering: what is or is not polluted is established within a *system*.⁵⁷ The solution of properly ordering and organizing is taken on by the founder of a colony in order to resolve the disorder of the crime.⁵⁸ Purification thus becomes a salient cultural metaphor for understanding the instigation of a colonial expedition. This is reinforced when Dougherty notes Callimachus’s recollection of the foundation of Cyrene in his *Hymn to Apollo*:

Φοῖβω δ’ ἐσπόμενοι πόλιας διεμετρήσαντο
 ἄνθρωποι · Φοῖβος γὰρ ἀεὶ πολίεσσι γιληδεῖ
 κτιζομένησ’· αὐτὸς δὲ θεμεΐλια Φοῖβος ὑφαίνει.
 Following Phoebus men measured out their cities, for Phoebus always takes
 pleasure in the establishment of cities; Phoebus himself weaves their foundations.
 (55-57, trans. Dougherty)

The role of Apollo as purifier (Phoebus) indicates the point of intersection between the oracular direction to found a colony and the need for purification to atone for the actions of a city or

⁵⁴ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 31–32.

⁵⁵ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 32.

⁵⁶ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 41.

⁵⁷ Mary Douglas, *Purity and Danger: An Analysis of the Concepts of Pollution and Taboo* (London: Ark, 1984). Cf. Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 35–37.

⁵⁸ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 36.

founder.⁵⁹ As Dougherty summarizes “rituals of purification, then, provide the Greeks with a conceptual model with which to describe colonization in terms of the expulsion of part of its population, its galvanization of individuals into a unified group, and its creative role in founding a new city.”⁶⁰

The metaphor of purification is the total intersection of defilement, purification, as well as civic and personal violence. As such, Phoebus Apollo also provides the point of intersection between purification as a sacred act and the reality of the murderer as defiled. While it seems incongruous for narratives of colonial foundations to construe the founder as ritually defiled (a criminal, no less), it is precisely their defilement that allows for cathartic sacralizing of the colonial endeavor (through the person of the founder) after its instigation by Apollo.⁶¹ In this way the metaphor of purification is seen to be salient as a possible way to describe colonization in later representation.

The function of the Delphic oracle, and how it was represented in colonial narratives, is enacted by the metaphor of riddle-solving often through etymological speculation, which Dougherty characterizes as “impossible sites.”⁶² In this schema, solving riddles—namely those embedded in Delphic oracles—becomes a metaphor for comprehending (or translating) a foreign

⁵⁹ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 32–33. Here Dougherty is following the etymology of Phoebus as “a *nomen agentis* derived from φοιβός, purifier, which comes from a root meaning to illuminate or shine bright,” 32, cf. Martín Ruipérez, “Etymologica: Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων,” *Emerita* 21 (1953), 14–17. She also notes Plutarch *Mor.* 393c “...and Phoebus, as is well known, is a name that the men of old used to give to everything pure and undefiled” (Φοῖβον δὲ δήπου τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἄγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον) [Babbitt, LCL], e.g.

⁶⁰ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 37. See also Plato *Laws* 735e–736a in which “colonization is the polite name for political exile,” *ibid.*

⁶¹ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 38–40.

⁶² Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 45.

land into Greek. For Dougherty, “the ambiguous, punning element of colonial riddles does indeed provide a transition between cultural classificatory systems; it describes the colonization of a foreign territory in terms of finding a Greek name for a local phenomenon.”⁶³ It is this sense that we should understand the example of the foundation of Tarentum whose founder Phalanthus receives this oracular guidance:

Σατύριον φράζου σὺ Τάραντός τ' ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ
καὶ λιμένα σκαιὸν καὶ ὅπου τράγος ἀλμυρὸν οἶδμα
ἀμφαγαπᾷ τέγγων ἄκρον πολιοῖο γενείου ·
ἔνθα Τάραντα ποιοῦ ἔπι Σατυρίου βεβαῶτα.

Look to Satyrion and the gleaming waters of Taras, a harbor on the left, and the place where a goat loves salt water, wetting the tip of his grey beard. There build Tarentum, mounted upon the Satyrion. (Diodorus 8.21.3, trans. Dougherty)

The riddle is solved when the goat (τράγος) is interpreted as “a wild fig tree whose silvery branches dip into the stream.”⁶⁴

It is the confusion of the natural order of the world in the riddle (such as a goat drinking salt water) that must be brought back to proper order by its solution. The metaphorical reality, Dougherty suggests, parallels the translation of the foreign into Greek as “thus enigmatic colonial oracles mimic on a linguistic level the act of foundation itself.”⁶⁵ She further explains:

Once the colonists arrive at their site, each member of the expedition receives a portion of land, and the leader is the one to distribute those lots. He is also in charge of building the city walls that delineate its territory and of measuring and marking out the precincts of the gods. This civic ordering process, then, is represented in the colonial tale as the act of solving the colonial riddle. ...solving

⁶³ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 46. Here Dougherty is following Pierre Guiraud’s concept of “ethymologia” in which the point is “to establish a connection between two names and then to invent, *to discover*, a situation which justifies it,” Pierre Guiraud, “Etymologie et ethymologia (motivation et retro-motivation),” *Poétique* 11 (1972): 406.

⁶⁴ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 50.

⁶⁵ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 56.

the riddle, like marking out territorial divisions, reestablishes the proper distribution of linguistic and natural relationships.⁶⁶

With the metaphor of the riddle, enacting the translation of a foreign location into Greek, the colonizing act is exerting colonial mastery over the new territory.

The final element in Greek colonization narratives is the establishment of the colony itself. Sexual and marriage imagery is deployed to construct a metaphorical representation of this actual foundation. Here Dougherty posits that “the legitimation of violence is part of what lies behind the use of marriage imagery in colonial discourse; equally important are the ideology of acculturation and a belief in marriage as a model for the integration of Greek and native elements.”⁶⁷ There was already a move to translate the foreign into Greek, but now the relationship between the Greek and the indigenous, characterized as acculturation and integration, is represented through cultural metaphors of sexual relations.

These sexual relations are represented metaphorically by both marriage and rape. Agricultural imagery is used to describe “marriage as a form of ploughing, with the woman as the furrow and the husband as the laborer” in a move that represented a movement from nature to civilization, untamed land to productive field.⁶⁸ The abduction of Persephone is a quintessential example of the intersection of marriage and rape as part of the Greek metaphorical world.⁶⁹ We

⁶⁶ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 56.

⁶⁷ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 76.

⁶⁸ Jean-Paul Vernant, introduction to *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology* by Marcel Detienne (trans. Janet Lloyd; 2nd ed.; Ewing, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1994), ix; cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 61–64.

⁶⁹ Dougherty notes, as well, the tripartite intersection of marriage, rape, and agricultural imagery in this myth when the imagery of picking flowers is used to describe the abduction of Persephone by Hades. Similar imagery is used by Sappho to describe a woman before her marriage:

οἶον τὸ γλυκύμαλον ἐρεύθεται ἄκρωι ἔπ’ ὕσδωι,
ἄκρον ἐπ’ ἀκροτάτῳ, λελάθοντο δὲ μαλοδρόπῃες ·
οὐ μὰν ἐκλελάθοντ’, ἀλλ’ οὐκ ἐδύναντ’ ἐπίκεσθαι.

also find this same metaphor deployed in non-colonial foundation narratives in the rape of a local nymph by an Olympian.⁷⁰ These metaphors of sexual relations find their way into Greek colonial narratives as expressions of the integration required between the new colony and the new location and, by extension, its indigenous population. Returning to the earlier example of the foundation of Syracuse, Dougherty elaborates on the imagery of sexual union found in Pausanias's version of the Delphic description of the location for the new colony.⁷¹ The mingling waters at the site recalls the translocation of characters from Arcadia to Sicily and their transformation into a river and a spring, mirroring the movement of the colonial expedition from Corinth to Syracuse and joining the new location in "an act of reintegration and synthesis" described by the metaphors of sexual imagery.⁷² The integrative move closes the narrative of the foundation and complete the colonial act.

The key observation that Dougherty makes in evaluating all of these metaphorical expressions of a narrative typology of colonization is that they are culturally specific. Namely, the metaphors are expressing the aspects of this typology that were informed by and made sense

"Like the sweet-apple that reddens on the bough top, on the top of the topmost bough, the apple pickers forgot it; no they did not quite forget, but were not able to reach it" (Fr. 105a, Lobel and Page; trans. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 65).

⁷⁰ For example, in *Isthmian 8*, Pindar describes the origins of Thebes and Aegina as the result of Zeus's sexual interest in the eponymous nymphs of those places, cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 66. Also a version of the foundation Cyrene in *Pythian 9* relates Cyrene's abduction by Apollo and her installation as queen in Libya, cf. Claude Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, 67–74.

⁷¹ Pausanias's description is:

Ὀρτυγίη τις κεῖται ἐν ἠεροεδέι πόντῳ
 Θρινακίης καθύπερθεν. ἴν' Ἀλφειοῦ στόμα βλύζει
 μισγόμενον πηγαῖσιν εὐρρείτης Ἄρεθούσης.

A certain Ortygia lies in the misty sea, above Thrinacia, where the mouth of the Alpheus gushes forth, having been mingled with the streams of fair-flowing Arethusa. (Paus. 5.7.3; trans. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 68)

⁷² "Arethusa was unwilling to marry and crossed to an island opposite Syracuse called Ortygia, and there turned from a woman into a spring. Alpheus, too, was changed by his love into a river," Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 69.

to a Greek cultural mindset. In the case of the metaphors of sexual relations, Greek literary conceptions of marriage as agricultural cultivation and the violence often wrapped up in marriage are useful in describing the same cultivation and violence which the Greeks remembered in their representations of colonization. Dougherty's poetics of colonization then provides a model for first identifying a narrative typology that Greeks used to represent the act of founding a colony. The second stage is the excavation of the metaphors used in texts to emplot this typology, metaphors which are derived from wider cultural discourse. In the next section I will test passages from the Fragments of Artapanus against this narrative typology. My contention is that the structural parallel between the typology identified by Dougherty and the fragments opens the possibility of naming certain metaphors in the fragments as participating in a larger discourse of colonization, which I will explore in subsequent chapters.⁷³

Before returning to the Fragments of Artapanus, there is the matter of terminology. Dougherty's model outlines four narrative phases, 1) a civic crisis in the metropolis, 2) consultation with the Delphic oracle, 3) the oracular instigation of the colonial endeavor, and 4) the foundation of the colony itself. The problem with which we are confronted, then, is how to apply a culturally situated typology (Greek literary memories of Archaic Age colonization) to a different socio-historical context (Hellenistic Jewish memories of origin stories situated in Egypt). Here I suggest Claude Calame's semionarrative terminology proves useful as a way to decouple the typology identified by Dougherty from the specificity of the Greek cultural mindset. Calame's outline of "semionarrative surface structures" abstracts a narrative to four

⁷³ The episode of Alexander journeying to receive oracular insight before "founding" his conquered version of Egypt, noted above, is also likely resonant of colonial foundation narratives. The consultation of the oracle as a key ideological justification for Alexander's rule in Egypt is similarly uniting a divine mandate to a need to re-found Egypt as a Hellenistic place.

phases: manipulation, competence, performance, and sanction.⁷⁴ This is certainly a typical structuralist move but it is important to note that this is the second layer of Calame's approach, the first being the "discursive structures" of the narrative, including the "actorialization, spatialization, and temporalization [which] are essentially figurative" and thus "through them, elements and figures drawn from the natural and social world are invested in the discourse."⁷⁵ This culturally defined discursive layer is essential to acknowledge before proceeding to the layer of semionarrative surface structures. As Berman explains in his introduction, these four structures can be defined as follows: a phase of manipulation (that is, an initial action, often of a Sender, that sets the narrative in motion, often creating or created by a situation of lack), a phase of competence (valorization of the actantial Subject that leads to his/her/their ability to perform the necessary task presented by the phase of manipulation), performance (the action itself, performed by an actantial Subject with the necessary competence), and sanction (the result of the performance, often a return to a narrative equilibrium parallel to that previous to the Sender's manipulation).⁷⁶

Using this terminology, Dougherty's typology could be described in this way: the civic crisis functions as the manipulation (a lack of order in the metropolis caused by drought, famine, land shortage metaphorically figured by the murderous founder's need for purification); the consultation of the oracle and the oracular pronouncement function as the competence (the translation of the foreign into Greek through the metaphor of the riddle); and the colonial act as

⁷⁴ Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, 31–2.

⁷⁵ Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, 31.

⁷⁶ Berman, "Introduction," xv.

the performance (which Dougherty's typology figures metaphorically as integration through sexual relations) but which also sanctions (the result of the move from disorder of the manipulation to the order of the established colony restoring narrative equilibrium). The narrative could also emplot the oracular intervention as sanction, given that Apollo, through his Delphic mediation, implicitly sanctions the colonial mission by instigating it. The cult of the founder, as well, functions as a sanctioning element as it "represents and protects the [new] city's emerging self-identity."⁷⁷ This illustrates that not only does "every narrative ... not exhibit these phases in the same way," thus producing variations within the discourse,⁷⁸ but also "in the course of the production of a plot, these syntactic positions are occupied by different actors and corresponding (semantic) qualities and values."⁷⁹

How these semionarrative surface structures interact with Dougherty's typological model will change with a given text and how it is emplotted. My point here is not so much to demonstrate the coincidence of Dougherty's model and Calame's method, but to provide a vocabulary for applying Dougherty's typology across texts and socio-historical contexts. I am not replacing the typology Dougherty outlines, but attempting to provide a common vocabulary for analyzing these texts as part of a common discourse.

4 Fragments of Artapanus and Colonial Narrative

Returning to the passages from the fragments identified at the outset of this chapter, I suggest that these instances of the representation of the origins of the Jews in Egypt align with

⁷⁷ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 25.

⁷⁸ Berman, "Introduction," xv.

⁷⁹ Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, 32.

the narrative typology found in Greek colonial discourse. As shown above, even read apologetically, the fragments still make a claim to who the Jews are; but what remains to be determined is where they belong. The inclusion of specific locations in the Fragments 2 and 3 as associated with the Jews in Egypt suggests that the Fragments of Artapanus represent the Jewish communities in Egypt as a colonial endeavor when read alongside the typology of a colonial narrative. I contend that this reading provides more interpretive options than the explanations offered by etymological speculation, to which I will turn first.

The specific locations associated with the Jews in Egypt noted in the fragments are Heliopolis, Sais and Athos. The passage comes from Fragment 2.3–4, the conclusion of the Joseph narrative:

(3) ... γῆναι δ' αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπολίτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς γεννηῆσαι παῖδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα παραγενέσθαι | πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ κατοικισθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἡλίου καὶ Σάει καὶ τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ. (4) τούτους δὲ φησι καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἀθῶς καὶ τὸ ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει ἱερὸν κατασκευάσει τοὺς Ἑρμιούθ ὀνομαζομένους.

(3) ... He married Aseneth, the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, by whom he fathered children. Later, both his father and his brothers came to him, bringing with them many possessions. They settled in Heliopolis and Sais, and the Syrians multiplied in Egypt. (4) He [Artapanus] says that these people named Hermiouth built both the temple in Athos and the one in Heliopolis.

In addition, Fragment 3.2, part of the introduction to the narrative about Moses, also mentions two of these locations:

(2) τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φαύλως προσφέρεσθαι · καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε Σάιν οἰκοδομηῆσαι τό τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἱερὸν καθιδρύσασθαι, εἶτα τὸν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει | ναὸν κατασκευάσαι.

(2) Now this one [Palmanothes] dealt meanly with the Jews. First he built Sais, then he set up the temple there. Later he built the sanctuary in Heliopolis.

Heliopolis and Sais are doubly attested, with Athos only occurring in Fragment 2. Parallel to my approach above, I will examine how the apologetic interpretation already outlined would highlight the associations of the Jews with certain places.

Beginning with the best-attested and most recognizable Egyptian place, Heliopolis, we see several resonances with existing Jewish traditions. In LXX Exodus 1, the Jews in Egypt were coerced into building the city, in addition to Pithom and Pi-Ramesses: “...and they built strong cities for Pharaoh, that of Pithom and Ramesses and On, which is Heliopolis” (...και ὠκοδόμησαν πόλεις ὀχθρὰς τῷ Φαραῶ, τὴν τε Πιθῶμ και Ραμεσση και Ὠν, ἣ ἐστὶν Ἡλίου πόλις) (Exod 1:11). Exodus 1:11 MT, however, only mentions Pithom and Ramesses, “and they [the Israelites] built for Pharaoh the store cities of Pithom and Ramesses” (וַיִּבְנוּ עָרֵי מִסְכָּנֹתַי לְפָרְעֹה אֶת-פִּי־תַחַם וְאֶת-רַעַמְסֵס).⁸⁰ It is perhaps in this sense that the second mention of Heliopolis is meant, having been expanded by Palmanothes perhaps with the help of Jewish labor.⁸¹ While we should be cautious of ascribing too much dependence of the fragments on a written text of LXX Exodus, the fact that both include Heliopolis in the list of sites indicates a shared tradition not found in the MT.

⁸⁰ The same distinction is found between MT Jer 43:13 “house/temple of the Sun which is in Egypt” (בֵּית שֶׁמֶשׁ הַיָּם) and LXX Jer 50:13 “the pillars of Heliopolis, those in On” (τοὺς στύλους Ἡλίου πόλεως τοὺς ἐν Ὠν). Holladay notes the Hebrew rendering of the Egyptian name *iwnw* as On (Ἰῶν) (Gen 41:45, 50; 46:20), Holladay, *Fragments*, 184, n. 25. Philo’s interprets On allegorically in *On the Posterity of Cain*, “The lawgiver is evidence of this by calling On ‘Heliopolis’ or ‘Sun-city.’ For as the sun, when it has risen, shows clearly the objects which night hides, so the mind sending forth its proper light causes all forms and conditions to be clearly apprehended” (μάρτυς δὲ καὶ ὁ νομοθέτης τὴν Ὠν Ἡλίου πόλιν προσαγορεύσας ὡς περὶ γὰρ ἀνατείλας ἥλιος τὰ κρυπτόμενα νυκτὶ ἐμφανῶς ἐπιδείκνυται, οὕτως ὁ νοῦς τὸ οἰκεῖον φῶς ἀποστέλλων πάντα καὶ τὰ σώματα καὶ τὰ πράγματα τηλαυγῶς παρασκευάζει καταλαμβάνεσθαι) (Philo, *Posterity* 55 [F. H. Colson, G. H. Whitaker, LCL]). Strabo describes Heliopolis in the Heliopolite nome, as well (Strabo, *Geography*, 17.1.27–29).

⁸¹ While the expression φάυλως προσφέρεισθαι “to behave badly towards someone” does not explicitly mention enslavement or forced labor, it certainly does not stretch the imagination to receive it in terms of Exod 1:9–14, within which the cities are mentioned, cf. Holladay, *Fragments*, 230 n. 34.

Josephus also mentions Heliopolis in his refutation of the accounts of Manetho and Apion. According to Josephus, both Manetho and Apion relate a tradition of Moses having been a former priest of Heliopolis who became the leader of the Jews and instigated anti-Egyptian persecution (*Ag. Ap.* 1.237–287, 2.8–14).⁸² In addition, Josephus’s Manetho relates a tradition of Moses inviting an invasion of “Jerusalemites” (τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων) to pillage Egypt. The Jews assembled at Avaris, which was given to them by the Pharaoh:

(261) ...εἰς ἣν ἀθροισθέντας αὐτοὺς ἡγεμόνα φησὶν ἐξελέσθαι τῶν ἐξ Ἡλιουπόλεως πάλαι γεγονόντων ἱερέων, καὶ τοῦτον αὐτοῖς εἰσηγήσασθαι μήτε θεοὺς προσκυνεῖν μήτε τῶν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ θρησκευομένων ζώων ἀπέχεσθαι, πάντα δὲ θύειν καὶ κατεσθίειν, συνάπτεσθαι δὲ μηδενὶ πλὴν τῶν συνωμοσμένων ... (262) καὶ προστίθησιν ὅτι ἔπεμψεν εἰς Ἱεροσόλυμα παρακαλῶν ἐκείνους αὐτοῖς συμμαχεῖν καὶ δώσειν αὐτοῖς τὴν Αὔαριν ὑπισχνούμενος, εἶναι γὰρ αὐτὴν τοῖς ἐκ τῶν Ἱεροσολύμων ἀφιζομένοις προγονικὴν, ἀφ’ ἧς ὀρμωμένους αὐτοὺς πᾶσαν τὴν Αἴγυπτον καθέξειν.

(261) “Here, he continues, they assembled and chose for their leader one who had formerly been a priest of Heliopolis; and by him were instructed not to worship the gods nor to abstain from the flesh of the animals revered in Egypt, but to kill and devour them all, and to have no connection with any save members of their own confederacy. ... (262) He also, adds Manetho, sent an invitation to the inhabitants of Jerusalem to make an alliance with him, promising them the city of Avaris, as the ancestral home of any recruits from Jerusalem, and as a base from which to become masters of Egypt.” (*Ag. Ap.* 1.261-62 [Thackeray, LCL])

The connection of Moses to Heliopolis in the anti-Jewish traditions recounted by Josephus opens the door to an apologetic understanding of the city in the Fragments of Artapanus. The association of Heliopolis with Joseph is well established in both the biblical narrative and in other narrative witnesses, so the settlement of Joseph’s family there by Artapanus makes logical sense.⁸³ The association of the settled Jews with Heliopolis in Fragment 2.3–4 resonates with the

⁸² Josephus repeats the specific charge, according to Manetho and Apion, that Moses was originally a Heliopolitan in several places: *Ag. Ap.* 1.238, 250, 261, 265, 279, and 2.10.

⁸³ Genesis 41:45, 50; 46:20; Jubilees 40:10, 44:24; Testament of Joseph 18:3 mention Joseph’s marriage to the daughter of Potiphar, a priest of Heliopolis. Josephus also placed Jacob’s settlement in Heliopolis, *Ant.* 2.91. The

mention in Fragment 3.2. Heliopolis is the site of both Jewish and Egyptian temples and is a location of a Jewish community and of servitude. It is possible that this treatment of Heliopolis could be received as a rehabilitation of the city in larger Egyptian-Jewish narrative: rather than the origin of the traitorous Heliopolitan priest, it was the site of early Jewish settlement in Egypt and a locus of Egyptian and Jewish cults. Artapanus also makes two appeals to the authority of the Heliopolitans in Fragment 3.8 and 3.35, which add further evidence to a very positive outlook on the relationship between Egyptians and Jews in Heliopolis, contrary to Manetho's tradition.⁸⁴

While this apologetic reading of the passages provides a point of intersection between Jewish and non-Jewish traditions in the city of Heliopolis, what are we to make of Saïs? Stephanus, in his edition, reads καὶ Σάϊς as an Καισάν having dropped the reference to Heliopolis.⁸⁵ This turn “is slightly, though remotely, reminiscent of Γεσεμ (Goshen)” which ties the location to Gen. 45:10; 47:1–4, 27).⁸⁶ Freudenthal reads καὶ Σάϊς as καὶ Σάν which is the city of Tanis, Avaris, Pi-Ramses, and Zoan (ⲛⲏⲥ) the same reading in Herodotus 2.17 and Strabo 17.1.20.⁸⁷ This reading could explain the association of Saïs with Heliopolis, given the

fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemus locate Abraham there, especially related to his astronomical activity, Pseudo-Eupolemus, 1.8. For an exposition of the fragments of Pseudo-Eupolemus, see Holladay, *Fragments*, 157–87.

⁸⁴ This follows an established tradition of appealing to the priests of Heliopolis as authorities in Herodotus 2.3.1, 77.1, 160.2, 54–60, noted by Martin Hengel. As Hengel notes regarding Pseudo-Eupolemus, “Presumably the anonymous Samaritan knew the report of Herodotus which mentioned the priests of Heliopolis as the wisest in Egypt and the Egyptians as the wisest men in the world,” Martin Hengel, *Judaism and Hellenism: Studies in Their Encounter in Palestine during the Early Hellenistic Period* (1st American ed.; Philadelphia: Fortress, 1974), 1.90.

⁸⁵ Ἡλίου is omitted from one manuscript of Eusebius, *Codex Marcianus graecus*, prompting Stephanus's emendation, Holladay, *Fragments*, 229, n. 24.

⁸⁶ Holladay, *Fragments*, 229, n. 24.

⁸⁷ Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 159, 217. While Strabo mentions Tanis and the Tanite Nome (ὁ Τανίτης νομὸς καὶ πόλις ἐν αὐτῷ μεγάλῃ Τάνις), he also notes that this is also associated with the Saïte mouth of the Nile (ὅ τινες Σαϊτικὸν λέγουσι). It is also worth noting that Avaris, while itself predating the Hyksos, was the capital of their (15th

connection of Heliopolis with Pi-Ramesses in LXX Exod 1:11 noted above.⁸⁸ In the end, the inclusion of Saïs is enigmatic at best and requires some etymological gymnastics to make sense of it. The interpretation of Athos is even less felicitous as it has been interpreted “since Segurier, as a corruption of Pithom” thus linking it to LXX Exod 1:11.⁸⁹ These readings ultimately do not make complete sense of these places and their significance to the Jewish communities in Egypt in the same way that it does for Heliopolis.

It remains to be seen in what sense we should appreciate the significance of Heliopolis. So far, we have seen that it is significant simply by its association with attested Jewish traditions. While this is not insignificant, I am suggesting that it does not help us say much about the fragments other than that Artapanus seems to have been aware of a tradition of Heliopolis. Without knowing any existing significance of Saïs and Athos among the Jews in Egypt, it is difficult to determine if there would be any similar claim to make. The function of these locations in the larger origin story of the Jews in Egypt is left unanswered. However, reading these locations as part of a colonial typology may provide some further explanation.

Beginning with the locations themselves, rather than a connection to attested traditions, as a starting point, Saïs is important. It was the capital of Egypt during the Saïte Period (26th Dynasty, 664–525 BCE) and was intimately bound up with Naukratis, which functioned as the

Dynasty, which ruled most of Lower Egypt. After its conquest by Ahmose I sometime towards the beginning of the Egyptian 18th Dynasty (c. 1550 BCE–1292 BCE), Marc van de Mieroop notes that by the 19th Dynasty Avaris was superseded by the construction of Pi-Ramesses “two kilometers to the north” under Seti I and Rameses II, Marc van de Mieroop, *A History of Ancient Egypt*. (Blackwell History of the Ancient World 17; Malden, Mass.; Chichester, West Sussex: Wiley-Blackwell, 2011), 148.

⁸⁸ Holladay also notes the biblical association of Jews with Tanis in Num. 13:22; LXX Ps. 77:12, 43; Isaiah 19:11, 13; 30:4 in addition to Jub. 13:12; Judith 1:10, Holladay, *Fragments*, 229, n. 24.

⁸⁹ Holladay, *Fragments*, 230, n. 27. Freudenthal reads a connection between the Egyptian name for Pithom *Pr Jtm* (House of Athum), Freudenthal, *Polyhistor*, 158.

port for the city.⁹⁰ The contested foundation stories of Naukratis play a role in the significance of Saïs, as well. As I noted above, Naukratis was a Panhellenic settlement, but one which appears to have been imposed on Egypt by the initial Milesian settlers. We are presented with a version of Naukratis made, retrospectively, into a Milesian colonial foundation under Amasis in the 6th century BCE after having been associated with the use of Greek mercenaries in creation of the Saïte Dynasty by Psammetichus I in the 7th century BCE. If Naukratis thus exists at the intersection of Greek and indigenous Egyptian power, then the same should be said for Saïs, as well.⁹¹ Saïs and Naukratis share an established connection based on a relationship between indigenous Egyptian and colonizing Greek powers which combined to support the Egyptian monarchy. With this in mind, what does it mean for the fragments to place the Jews at Saïs, as well?

If we read Fragment 2 in terms of the semionarrative structures at work, we can situate the passage above in this way:⁹²

Manipulation: 2.1 Joseph is prompted to flee to Egypt by his brothers' plotting (ὕπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλευθῆναι).

Competence: Joseph's competence is predisposed in 2.1 (συνέσει δὲ καὶ φρονήσει παρά τοὺς ἄλλους διενεγκόντα) and then made specific in his agricultural knowledge in 2.2 (τοῦτον πρῶτον τήν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὄροις διασημῆσθαι καὶ πολλήν χερσευομένην γεωγήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι).

⁹⁰ This was crucial since Saïs wasn't on the Nile as was located inland, Braun, "The Greeks in Egypt," 41.

⁹¹ Psammetichus is associated with Saïs explicitly by Diodorus (Ψαμμήτιχος ὁ Σαίτης) (1.66.8) in addition to the broader foundation of the Saïte Dynasty.

⁹² For this reading of the fragments, I am placing Dougherty's typological phase in **bold**, Calame's semionarrative surface structure in *italics*, and Dougherty's accompanying metaphor, overlapping with Calame's concept of the discursive structure, in underline.

Performance: The above passage, Fragment 2.3, notes that Joseph does and instigates two things. First, what he does is to marry an Egyptian woman and have children (γῆναι δ' αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπολίτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς γεννησάι παῖδας). Then, Joseph instigates the arrival and settlement (κατοικισθῆναι) of his family in Heliopolis and Saïs, presumably by his success.

Sanction: There is an implicit sanction in the apparent reconciliation between Joseph and his brothers and in the growth of the Syrians (τοὺς Σύρους) in Egypt, which clear up the family crisis of the *manipulation*. Similarly, the benefaction of Joseph's rule and commemoration as a "lord of Egypt" (τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεσπότην) represents a sanctioning event (2.4).

This semionarrative approach thus outlines the movement of the story as well as contextualizes the activity highlighted in Fragment 2.3 into a cohesive plot to which the foundation of Jewish communities at Heliopolis and Saïs is central.

Examining this plot in relation to Dougherty's typology produces similar results. The *manipulation* phase as **civic crisis** is represented here as a breakdown in the family relationship between Joseph and his brothers. This is the same narrative borne out in Gen 37 but substantially lighter in detail. Dougherty's typology moves political or civic violence to the personal, that is the violence of the murderous founder, in a way consistent with Greek literary tropes which instigated the necessary purificatory rites. Here, the cultural trope is the very specific situation of the dispute between the sons of Jacob. While drawing from the tradition represented by Gen 37, a Greek audience would certainly draw the parallel between the two crises.

While in Dougherty's typology the violence put onto the colonial founder prompts necessary purification (and the accompanying phase of *competence*), which is the catalyst for **consulting the Delphic Oracle**, in Fragment 2 we see no such prompting. Yet we do see the same metaphorical function of translation at work. We have already seen the concern in the fragments for literal translation in making the Jews both Greek and Egyptian in the introduction

to Fragment 1, but here we see Joseph engaged in the translation of wild land into cultivated and productive land. As we see in Fragment 2:

(2) καὶ πρότερον ἀτάκτως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεωρμούστων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν κρεισσόνων ἀδικουμένων, τοῦτον πρῶτον τὴν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὄροις διασημήνασθαι καὶ πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωγήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκλήρωσαι.
 (2) Prior to that time the Egyptians had farmed the land haphazardly because the countryside was not divided into allotments, and consequently the weak were treated unfairly by the strong. Joseph was the very first to subdivide the land, to indicate this with boundaries, to render much of the waste land tillable, and to assign some of the arable land to the priests.

We see here the translation of Egypt from chaos to order, wild to cultivated, oppression to justice, and haphazard to delimited. All of this is done by Joseph and in so doing he is presented in concert with the metaphorical reality Dougherty outlines, drawing on the ordering activity of the colonial founder who exerts mastery over the new land.⁹³

The *performance* phase is represented in two parts of what Dougherty implies as the **colonial act**, first Joseph's marriage to Aseneth and then the arrival of his family to Heliopolis and Saïs. The metaphorical integration between Joseph and the daughter of the Egyptian priest of Heliopolis (Ἡλιουπολίτου ἱερέως Ἄσενεθ θυγατέρα) not only draws from an attested tradition about Joseph (Gen 41:45) but also represents the integration between the (soon to arrive) Jews and the Egyptians. By specifying that Joseph fathered children through Aseneth (ἐξ ἧς γεννήσασαι παῖδας) (Gen 41:50-2), we see a resonance between the new agricultural fertility of the land and the sexual fertility of Joseph's marriage. The narrative here is also drawing on existing cultural tropes to emplot the synthesis of the foundation with sexual imagery.

⁹³ The connection that Dougherty draws between the metaphor of cultivation and marriage, noted above, may also be a productive reading here. Given that we do not see Joseph engaged in the cultivation itself, but rather in unlocking the *potential* for cultivation by organizing the land, this may be too speculative.

The second part of the *performance* is the arrival of Joseph's father and brothers and their settling (κατοικισθῆναι) at Heliopolis and Saïs. I suggest this is the crucial element in how the narrative describes the origins of the Jews in Egypt, that is as colonial founders. The use of the term κατοικίζειν should not be taken lightly here. While it does have the sense of "to settle" generally, it is also a term of colonization specifically.⁹⁴ It is through this colonization that we apprehend the reconciliation between Joseph and his brothers, the resolution of the initial crisis or *manipulation*. This resolution also acts as *sanction* for the performance which is confirmed by the multiplication of the Jews in Egypt and their construction of temples at Athos and Heliopolis.

When the narrative returns after the death of Joseph in Fragment 3.2 noted above, what are we to make of the pharaoh's building of Saïs? Rather than suggest some sort of chronological error on the part of Artapanus, I suggest that reading this as a continuation of Fragment 2.3, and in light of the tradition of refounding Naukratis by Miletus, we see the political implication of the pharaoh's actions. Holladay reads Palmanothes's treatment of the Jews alongside Exod 1:9–14, which is certainly reasonable. The narrative here gives us no other explicit clues as to what sort of negative treatment this is, except that Palmanothes "first built Saïs, then he set up the temple there" (καὶ πρῶτον μὲν τὴν τε Σάιν οἰκοδομήσαι τό τε ἐπ' αὐτῇ ἱερὸν καθιδρύσασθαι) (Fragment 3.2). The distinction between κατοικίζω and οἰκοδομέω is no less than the difference between "founding" and "building onto."⁹⁵ Having seen how Naukratis was refounded in order to transition into a full *polis*, what would it mean for the location of Saïs to be "built" by the

⁹⁴ LSJ, s.v. "κατοικίζω." Thucydides 6.76, e.g. The term is used by Herodotus to describe Amasis II's removal of the Ionian and Carian mercenaries from their garrisons to Memphis as his own, non-Egyptian, bodyguard (2.154).

⁹⁵ LSJ, s.v. "οἰκοδομέω." οἰκοδομέω has the general sense of "building." In this sense, Herodotus records Cheops as having the middle of the three great pyramids built (οἰκοδομηθῆναι) (2.126). We can see from Paul that the term can also be implied negatively (1 Cor. 8:1) or positively (1 Cor. 10:23).

pharaoh after already having been “founded”? This is inverse of the Naukratis example and reading the *performance* of the foundation of Saïs as a colonial act implicates the pharaoh’s action in undoing a colony. Mean treatment, indeed.

The implication of Fragment 3.2, then, reinforces the *sanction* that exists at the end of the narrative of Fragment 2 and, I will argue, sets up a new *manipulation* phase of an experience of lack. The sanctioning of the colonial foundation is clear in the ultimate success of the colonial endeavor under Joseph’s leadership and his veneration as a lord of Egypt (τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεσπότην) recalls the resolution of Dougherty’s typology, **the cult of the founder**. The undoing of the colony at Saïs represents a new *manipulation* which will prompt the narrative of Moses in Fragment 3. Prior to this narrative development, though, the undoing of the colony at Saïs reiterates its positive implications: by removing it and setting up the crisis of Fragment 3, the narrative has clarified the significance of the Jewish colonization of Saïs to begin with.

5 Conclusions

The outcome of this analysis is two-fold. First, applying Dougherty’s typology, and the accompanying metaphorical structure, to Fragment 2 leads to a novel way of explaining a previously mysterious place in the narrative. The parallels both in typological and metaphorical structure are enough to justify interpreting the Fragments of Artapanus as participating in colonial discourse. The example of the location of Saïs is illuminating. While Heliopolis is attested in both biblical and extra-biblical narratives, the significance of Heliopolis as place was uncontroversial. But because Saïs is not easily reconcilable to existing biblical narratives, it had to be explained by forcing an association to existing tradition. Saïs provides a clear example of how the parallels between wider Greek colonial discourse and the Fragments of Artapanus give us new interpretive tools to explain some of the enigmatic aspects of the narrative.

The second outcome is that, by reading the location as a colonial place, we can identify Saïs as an intersection of Greek, Egyptian and ultimately Jewish identity. While the connections to the earliest Greek settlement in Egypt at Naukratis and the function of Saïs as capital of the revived pharaonic dynasty are easily discernable, reading Saïs as a colony makes clear that the narrative is establishing Jewish belonging in Egypt as that of colonial founders. Not only is the explanatory power of this model evident in this reading, but the commitment of the narrative to establishing Jewish origins outside of Egypt, as well as origins within Egypt, is reinforced. Both the concept of place of origin and that of origin of place function within the narrative framework to cast the Jews as colonists in Egypt and locates them at a place significant for Greek and Egyptian power. The dynamics of the colonial relationships which are contained in this colonial identity, that is the relationship between colony and metropolis and between colony and the surrounding indigenous people, will thus tell us more about how the Fragments of Artapanus are constructing Jewish identity in Hellenistic Egypt. These relationships will be the subject of the next two chapters.

CHAPTER THREE
 FAILED FOUNDERS

Introduction

Fragment 1

(1) ...μείναντα δὲ ἔτη ἐκεῖ εἴκοσι πάλιν εἰς τοὺς κατὰ Συρίαν ἀπαλλαγῆναι¹
 τόπους · τῶν δὲ τούτῳ συνελθόντων πόλλους ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καταμεῖναι διὰ τὴν
 εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας.

(1) ...after he [Abraham] had remained there twenty years, he returned to the
 regions of Syria, but many of those who had accompanied him remained behind
 in Egypt, attracted by the prosperity of the country.

In the previous chapter, we saw how Artapanus uses Syria as a place of origin for the Jews in Egypt to contest anti-Jewish polemic, which described Jews as exiled Egyptians. There, I contrasted the apologetic implications of the construction of this place of origin with the construction of the origin of places, specifically Egyptian places; in this chapter, I contend that place of origin implies another relationship. Reading the Fragments of Artapanus through the lens of Greek colonial discourse invites us to speculate about the relationships of the presumptive colony with its metropolis, or mother city. If Artapanus uses place of origin, read apologetically, as a defensive move to protect the Jews in Egypt from ethnic misidentification, then, read colonially, it also implies the origins of the colonists themselves. To this relationship we now turn.

¹ Here ἀπαλλάσσω is used in the passive sense of “to leave a place,” as in Herodotus 1.61 or, in the case of Egypt in particular, Herodotus 2.139.

The passage from Fragment 1 above gestures to the idea of Syria as a metropolis for the Jewish colonial endeavor in Egypt that Artapanus constructs. Stated differently, this construction of Syria as a place of origin for the Jews in Egypt is analogous to the function of the metropolis in Greek colonial discourse. Abraham brings the first Jewish settlers from Syria into Egypt and, though Abraham himself returns to Syria, many remain in Egypt. Artapanus seems concerned to establish that Jews, while originating from Syria, were present in Egypt since the time of Abraham's sojourn. At this point, Artapanus's narrative deviates from the narrative in LXX Gen 12:20, in which Pharaoh sees that "Abraham and his wife and all that he had and Lot with him" are escorted from Egypt (NETS). The LXX version of Abraham's journey to Egypt portrays Abraham's stay as a hiatus from the main narrative before he returns to Canaan; but in Artapanus's version, the role of Abraham's sojourn seems to be to establish a Jewish community, originating from Syria, in Egypt. This would be the beginning of an ongoing relationship between the Syrian Jews and Egypt, analogous to the relationship between the metropolis and her colony. Yet, this is a settlement in need of a foundation. Abraham does not enact the necessary steps for a proper colonial expedition, especially because he does not remain with those who settle in Egypt. The foundation of the Jewish community in Egypt will have to wait for a proper *oikist* from the metropolis, Joseph.

The relationship between metropolis and colony in the Greek world was not monolithic, but there are some common traits that we can identify from some of the best attested colonies. These traits can be divided into two broader categories: the initial cause of the colonizing effort from the metropolis and the subsequent relationship between the metropolis and the colony. We can draw an additional layer of this relationship from the foundation narratives describing Archaic Greek colonization and later Hellenistic-period foundations, which lack a metropolis in

the sense of a mother city and are instead depending on the endorsement of a monarch for the origin of a new colony. The Fragments of Artapanus show several parallels to several of the traits illustrated by Greek colonization and foundation narratives across these categorical distinctions. First, the fragments espouse the same impetus to narrativize the public crisis that prompts a colonial endeavor as a private issue related explicitly to the *oikist*. Second, this privatization of the crisis leads to the direct interaction of the *oikist* with the necessary divine sanction for the colonial foundation, in Greek discourse represented by the oracle at Delphi. Third, the attempts by Joseph and Moses to conclude successful colonial foundations in Egypt show a shift in the location of the metropolis from a geographic location, such as Syria, to the role of the person of the king in originating colonial expeditions.

In this chapter, I will begin with the apparent repetition of founding activity in Egypt by Joseph and Moses in Fragments 2 and 3. The first section details the failure of both Joseph's foundation in Egypt, as well as the failure of Moses's first attempt to re-found Egypt. I suggest that this repetition, and the ultimate failure of each foundation attempt, is the result of lack of proper divine sanction, which is required in Dougherty's colonial typology. In section two, I outline the connection between these failed foundations and Dougherty's typology, ultimately showing the centrality of divine sanction for a proper colonial event. I argue in this section that the failed foundations of Joseph and Moses are part of the larger tradition within Greek colonization discourse of privatizing civic crises to focus narrative attention on the person of the *oikist*. The relationship between metropolis and colony structures this sanctioning, as the proper response to a civic crisis is to found a colony elsewhere. In addition to improper sanction, it is this failure to recognize the proper target of their founding activity that also undermines Joseph's and Moses's initial attempts, which is the focus of section three. In this chapter, I suggest that the

lack of proper divine sanction is what undermines these foundations and drives Artapanus's narrative towards the proper resolution of the crisis, which is the Exodus from Egypt later in Fragment 3.

1 Foundation Failure: Joseph and Moses as Failed *Oikists*

As I argued in the previous chapter, Joseph's activity in Fragment 2 aligns with the narrative typology of Greek colonization discourse outlined by Dougherty. Fragment 3 contains several distinct foundations, two of which I will address in this chapter. Fragment 3 opens after the death of Joseph with the introduction of a new political reality in Egypt, one in which there is an antagonism between the Egyptian ruler and the Jews.² Thus, the first foundation we find in Fragment 3, perhaps unsurprisingly, is a re-foundation by the new pharaoh, Palmanothes, at both Saïs and Heliopolis. It was here that Joseph's family, along with the larger group of *Hermiouth*/Syrians, settled in the second-wave colonization as I noted in the previous chapter (2.3). The new pharaoh's anti-Jewish anxiety prompts his erasure of the Jewishness at these sites and their re-foundation as Egyptian places. The second foundation in Fragment 3 is one in which Moses also engages in a re-foundation of Egypt when he "divided the state into 36 nomes and to each of the nomes he assigned the god to be worshipped...he set aside, as well, land exclusively

² The text of the fragment reads "when Abraham had died and his son Mempsasthenoth" (Μεμψασθενώθ), which does not align chronologically with what we expect immediately prior to a Moses narrative. Holladay notes that "doubtless Jacob is meant here, especially since the preceding sections (*Praep. ev.* 9.21–4) dealt with Jacob and Joseph," *Fragments*, 230, n. 31. Holladay also points out that Joseph is given the name Ψονθομφανηχ by the pharaoh in LXX Gen 41:45, and that both names have the ring of vaguely Egyptian names, *idem.*, 230, n. 32. This Egyptianizing seems consonant not only with the name given to Joseph in LXX Genesis, but also with the Egyptianizing name *Hermiouth* given to the Jews, noted above in Chap. 1. Given that there's no reason to suspect that Artapanus suddenly confused his patriarchal chronology, and given the complex transmission history of his fragments, I will assume, following Holladay, that the transition at the outset of Fragment 3 deals with the death of Jacob and Joseph as a way to introduce the Moses narrative, much as Exod 1:6–10 opens with the death of Joseph and the beginning of a new Egyptian regime, hostile to the Hebrews.

for the use of the priests” (ἔτι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς λς’ νομοὺς διελεῖν καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν νομῶν ἀποτάξαι τὸν θεὸν σεφθήσεσθαι ... ἀπομεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξαίρετον χώραν) (3.4).³ This mirrors Joseph’s activity in Fragment 2.2, in which “Joseph was the very first to subdivide the land, to indicate this with boundaries, to render much of the waste land tillable, and to assign some of the arable land to the priests” (τοῦτον πρῶτον τὴν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὄροις διασημῆσθαι καὶ πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωγήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκληρῶσαι).⁴ In both instances, a location previously established in the narrative is re-established by a later figure. I am suggesting that there is a parallel between the re-foundation of Saïs and Heliopolis by Palmanothēs, a king of Egypt, and the founding and re-founding activities of kings in the Hellenistic period.

It is noteworthy that Artapanus’s pharaoh does not rename the site of Jewish settlement in the course of their re-foundation. As Paul Kosmin notes regarding early Seleucid foundations and re-foundations, “the early Seleucid monarchs used new cities or new names for old cities to mark themselves off from recent precedent and former regimes, framing their imperial enterprise as something new—a forging, not an inheriting, of an empire.”⁵ In this case, Palmanothēs’s actions mirror those of Antiochus I at Sardis. Sardis maintained its name, but also “acquired standardly Hellenistic political and cultural forms, none of which seem to have existed before the

³ Holladay, *Fragments*, 207.

⁴ Holladay, *Fragments*, 207.

⁵ Paul Kosmin, “Remaking a City: Sardis in the Long Third Century,” in *Spear-Won Land: Sardis from the King's Peace to the Peace of Apamea* (ed. Andrea Berlin and Paul Kosmin; Wisconsin Studies in Classics; Madison, Wisc.: University of Wisconsin Press, 2019), 80. For example, Apamea itself was renamed from the Macedonian Pella when it was re-founded by either Seleucus I or Antiochus I.

reign of Antiochus I.”⁶ The re-foundation, without changing the name of the city, can still reflect a radical ideological transformation. The king builds temples in both Saïs and Heliopolis, which seems to indicate that the temple built by the *Hermiouth* in Heliopolis was either replaced or subordinated. Given that this foundation activity follows immediately after the description of Palmanothēs’s anti-Jewish sentiment, we can also read into this an ideological motive. The re-foundation is necessary in order to make Saïs and Heliopolis Egyptian again, rather than Jewish. We do not find these locations in the remainder of the extant fragments, so we have no evidence to suggest that these re-foundations were anything other than successful, as far as Artapanus was concerned. These re-foundations are executed by the person of the king and align more with Hellenistic re-foundations like Sardis than the colonial typology we have seen so far; in this way, they align with the reduced role of the *oikist* at the expense of the king in the Hellenistic period.

Moses’s foundation activities become the focal point for the remainder of Fragment 3. Moses’s first foundation is directed at Egypt at-large, rather than at the Jewish community in particular, and Artapanus returns to the narrative typology of archaic, rather than Hellenistic, colonial foundation. Moses’s Jewish identity is explicitly named by Artapanus as Merris, wife of another Egyptian king, Chenephres, “took as her own a child of one of the Jews and named him Moses” (ὕποβαλέσθαι τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παιδίον, τοῦτο δὲ Μώϋσον ὀνομάσαι) (Fragment 3.3).⁷ The explanation of why there are seemingly two different names for the king of Egypt, “for at that time there were many kings of Egypt” (πολλοὺς γὰρ τότε τῆς Αἰγύπτου βασιλεύειν)

⁶ Kosmin, “Remaking a City,” 85.

⁷ Holladay, 209.

(Fragment 3.3), is often considered a gloss to explain a textual error in the naming of the reigning pharaoh.⁸ Read against Dougherty's colonial typology, however, this period of divided rule resonates with the sort of civic crisis represented as fraternal conflict common as the manipulation for Greek colonial expeditions. Artapanus explicitly names Moses's motivations for subdividing Egypt into nomes, demarcating boundaries and assigning (Egyptian) gods: for the preservation of Chenephres's claim to the monarchy (Fragment 3.5). Rather than using a colonial expedition to remove a rival claimant, Moses instead directs his energy as an *oikist* in the service of the king toward eliminating potential rivalry. Artapanus makes this clear:

(3.5) ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιῆσαι χάριν τοῦ τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν τῷ Χενεφρῶ διαφυλάξαι. Πρότερον γὰρ ἀδιατάκτους ὄντας τοὺς ὄχλους ποτὲ μὲν ἐκβάλλειν, ποτὲ δὲ καθιστάνειν βασιλεῖς, καὶ πολλάκις μὲν τοὺς αὐτοὺς, ἐνιάκις δὲ ἄλλους.
 (3.5) He did all these things for the sake of keeping the monarchy stable for Chenephres, for prior to this time the masses were disorganized and they would sometimes depose, sometimes install rulers, often the same persons, but sometimes others.

Reading this activity through the lens of colonial foundation resonates with the foundation activity of Joseph in Fragment 2 as noted above, but not only due to the organization of hitherto unorganized land, but also in the goal of the foundation activity: to support the Egyptian monarchy (Fragment 2.2).

What we see at work in the first section of Fragment 3 is not merely a continuation of Joseph's founding act in Fragment 2, but a clear repetition of it. This repetition should invite us to speculate as to why this re-foundation needs to be executed. Both Joseph and Moses divide the land of Egypt into regions and assign some of that land to the indigenous Egyptian priests. It is

⁸ Collins, "Artapanus," in *Old Testament Pseudepigrapha* (vol. 2; ed. James H. Charlesworth; New York: Doubleday, 1985), 898, n. g.

noteworthy that Moses does not establish any particular Jewish sites, like Joseph and his family did at Saïs, Heliopolis, and Athos. Rather, those sites have already been re-Egyptianized at the outset of Fragment 3 when Palmanothes re-founded the temples at Saïs and Heliopolis. It seems that the pharaoh's motivation for erasing the Jewishness of these particular sites is his own animosity toward the Jewish community in Egypt, which was established in those very places by Joseph. This should strike us as reminiscent of LXX Exod 1:8–10, in which the memory of Joseph is forgotten by a new pharaoh. After this Egyptianization, Moses directs his activity toward the reinforcement of the Egyptian state more explicitly than even Joseph's work in Fragment 2, that is “for the sake of keeping the monarchy stable” (χάριν τοῦ τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν ... διαφυλάξαι) (3.5).

This series of repeated foundations invites further investigation. We should consider what necessitates Moses's duplicated foundation of Egypt after the work of Joseph in Fragment 2. While the re-foundation of Saïs and Heliopolis by Palmanothes undoes the specifically Jewish aspect of Joseph's foundation, it does not seem that Artapanus is extending this re-foundation to all of Egypt. Something about Joseph's foundation did not work as intended. I suggest that the absence of the divine sanction, represented in Greek colonial discourse as the consultation with the oracle at Delphi, is the missing element that leads to the failure of Joseph's foundation. Moreover, Moses's re-foundation at the outset of Fragment 3 likewise ultimately fails, setting up the necessity of the Exodus of the Jews from Egypt. Again, the absence of proper divine sanction for Moses's activities leads to their ultimate inefficacy. Before returning to address this absence in the Fragments of Artapanus, I will turn to the way divine sanction is often expressed in Greek colonization discourse. The Delphic oracle is the example *par excellence* of the colonial

sanction, as Dougherty has rightly noted.⁹ The *oikist* for a colonial expedition must first visit Apollo's temple and receive the blessing of the god in order to secure a successful foundation. These visits, however, are prompted by a crisis in the metropolis. This crisis first structures the instigation for an oracular consultation and then subsequently structures the initial relationship between the metropolis and the colony. In addition, the ways in which these crises are narrativized, metaphorically personalizing civic crises onto the person of the *oikist*, provides the personal impetus for the *oikist* himself to become the agent of Apollo's sanction through Delphi.

We see this narrativization of a metropolitan crisis at work in the story of the foundation of Cyrene, which provides us with a helpful starting point for examining the motivation for a colonial expedition as well as the subsequent relationship between the colony and its metropolis. The instigation for sending out a colonial expedition, in the Archaic period, seems to have been based on imminently practical needs. The Theraean version of the foundation of their colony in Cyrene, according to Herodotus, involves finding a solution to an ongoing drought (4.151). This general need for population relief is also cited by Plato as a reason for a city to send out excess population on colonial expeditions (*Laws* 740e). Thera itself was founded for another practical reason, namely the competition between the Spartan regent Theras and his two nephews. According to Herodotus, when Theras had to give up his reign on behalf of his nephews, he set out to found his own city, Thera (Herodotus 4.147–8). As noted above, Dougherty has illustrated how these practical needs were narrativized as a civic crisis in the metropolis which prompts the colonial narrative.¹⁰ The need to found a colony is practical, in response to some sort of crisis,

⁹ See above, Chap 2; cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 18–21.

¹⁰ Cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 16–18.

whether an ecological disaster, a population crisis, a civic or political crisis, or some combination. In either case, the simplest solution is to send people out of the city to start a new life somewhere else.

Once this expedition is launched from the metropolis, the nature of the relationship between the metropolis and the colonial expedition and subsequent colony needs to be established. The foundation decree of Cyrene provides a starting point for several of the most common facets of this relationship. It was not guaranteed that the colonial expedition would be successful. The foundation decree of Cyrene (*SEG IX.3*)¹¹ makes an accommodation for the potential failure of the colony, namely in providing for the right of return to Thera for the colonists if that should happen. The foundation decree makes this clear when it lays out the right of the colonists to return, should the colony fail because Thera could not help it (33–37). Similarly, the decree allows for the accommodation of additional waves of colonists from the metropolis by saving some of the allotted land for them if the colony should succeed:

Αἱ μὲν δὲ καὶ κατέχ[ων]τι τὰν οἰκισίαν οἱ ἄποικοι, [τῶν Θηραίων] τὸν καταπλέον[τα] ὕστερον εἰς Λιβύαν [καὶ π]ο[λιτῆιας] καὶ τιμᾶμ πεδέχ[εν] καὶ γὰρ τᾶς ἀδεσπότη [ἀπολαγ]χάνεν.

...if the settlers hold on the settlement, anyone amongst the Theraeans who would later on sail to Libya should take part in the [civil rights] and honours and should receive by lot a portion of owner-free land. (30-33 [trans. Dobias-Lalou, et al])

¹¹ This is a 4th century BCE reproduction of the original 7th century BCE document, inscribed on a pillar in Cyrene. I am following the textual reconstruction and translation from Catherine Dobias-Lalou, *Inscriptions of Greek Cyrenaica* (in collaboration with Alice Bencivenni, Hugues Berthelot, with help from Simona Antolini, Silvia Maria Marengo, and Emilio Rosamilia; CRR-MM: Alma Mater Studiorum Università di Bologna, 2017; IGCyr011000 <http://doi.org/10.6092/UNIBO/IGCYRGVCYR>), accessed Feb 19, 2023. Graham points out that “what we probably have is the seventh-century document edited for re-publication in the fourth. The matter in it may be taken as authentic, if some of the wording may not,” A. J. Graham, *Colony and Mother City in Ancient Greece* (2nd ed.; Chicago: Ares, 1983), 27, n. 4.

These clauses lay out key aspects of a relationship between metropolis and colony. The right of return and second wave colonization also imply a mutual citizenship between the new *polis* and the metropolis, that the citizens of one can remain the citizens of the other. There is to some degree an interchangeability between being a Theraean and a Cyrenean.

Beyond the historical exigencies of Greek colonial expeditions, we must also confront the tropes with which these expeditions were narrativized. As noted in Chapter 2, Carol Dougherty has demonstrated how Greek colonization narratives depend on several salient metaphors to narrativize the memory of these historical events.¹² In the case of the relationship between colony and metropolis, however, we have little extant metaphorical innovation. The relationship, described as a filial one of mother and child, is already imbued with metaphorical meaning. The relationship is thus a generative one, which Pindar evokes in *Pythian* 4.19-20, “This sign will bring it to pass that Thera will become the mother-city of great cities” (κεῖνος ὄρνις ἐκτελευτάσει μεγαλᾶν πολιῶν ματρόπολιν Θήραν γενέσθαι). This relationship is also evoked, although not in a specific colonial way, in LXX Genesis 17:4 “...and you [Abraham] will be the father of many nations” (...καὶ ἔσῃ πατὴρ πλήθους ἐθνῶν). To be a metropolis requires the generation of new *poleis*; the generative metaphor instilled in the concept of the metropolis operates in the background of any narrativization of the colonial endeavor. That is to say, the metropolis is literally the mother city in that it begets its colonial progeny and maintains a genealogical relationship with them. I will address the implications of this reproductive relationship, and the fecundity of the accompanying metaphorical constellation, in the next chapter.

¹² Chapter 2, cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 6.

Therefore, in this chapter I will focus on the metaphorical expressions of the motivation for the colonial endeavor from the metropolis. Greek colonization narrative deploys metaphors of personal or family crisis to narrativize the ecological or political crises which often prompts a colonial expedition. Artapanus deploys similar metaphors to his Greek colonial counterparts when it comes to describing the impetus for the various movements of Jewish founders to Egypt. In addition to Abraham's migration to Egypt and return to the Syria briefly narrated in Fragment 1, the movements of Joseph and his family to Egypt in Fragment 2 and the activity of Moses in the first part of Fragment 3 provide examples of how Artapanus's text resonates with the Greek relationship between metropolis and colony narrativized through metaphors interpreting the causes of the colonial expedition. Practical necessity like environmental constraints and overpopulation and political expedience based on contested rule in the metropolis provide the civic crisis, as Dougherty describes it, prompting the foundation of a colony.¹³ In Calame's semionarrative schema, these crises correspond to the manipulation of the plot, the catalyst for action.¹⁴ These same metaphors resonate with Artapanus's depictions of the Jewish founders in Egypt, situating them in the role of the *oikist*, bridging the gap between metropolis and colony. We will see how Artapanus positions Joseph and Moses as prototypical *oikists* in how they drive forward the colonization narrative through civic crises which Artapanus metaphorically attributes to them as individuals. I will then argue that these narrative causes of the colonial expedition are the set up for failed foundations by Joseph and Moses. These fail due to the lack of proper divine sanction, which in turn sets up the proper foundation of the Exodus event.

¹³ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 16–18.

¹⁴ Calame, *Myth and History in Ancient Greece*, 31–2.

2 Privatizing Public Crises or: How Apollo Approves a Colony

Abraham's journey to Egypt narrated in Gen 12:10 is precipitated by a famine in the land to which God had directed him (Gen 12:1–9). This migration prompts a stock episode in which Abraham plays off Sarah his wife as his sister, is discovered and is sent from Egypt with considerable wealth (Gen 12:11–20).¹⁵ As noted above, Artapanus departs from the LXX narrative in his emphasis on those remaining in Egypt after Abraham's return to Syria, rather than on Abraham's return itself (Fragment 1.1). Artapanus also differs from the LXX narrative in that there is no mention of the impetus for Abraham's migration to Egypt, at least in terms of what is preserved in the extant fragments. Rather, we are simply given that many remained in Egypt "attracted by the prosperity of the country" (καταμείναι διὰ τὴν εὐδαιμονίαν τῆς χώρας), which may imply the famine narrative from the LXX tradition, but does not name it. We observe the same phenomenon in Fragment 2, when Jacob and his other sons come to join Joseph in Egypt. In the LXX version of the Joseph narrative, Jacob and his sons go to Egypt to procure grain, needed due to a significant famine (Gen 41:54; 42:1–2). Again, Artapanus does not mention a famine as the motivation for Jacob's migration but simply states that Joseph's family arrives in Egypt later (Fragment 2.3). This seems to undermine the notion that Artapanus can be read alongside Greek colonization narratives, since the crisis, or manipulation, of the colonial plot is absent in the extant fragments.

Yet, an examination of the metaphors used to narrativize the civic crises prompting Greek colonial expeditions opens new interpretive possibilities. Investigating how the environmental crises in Greek narratives are expressed shows that these public crises are narrativized as

¹⁵ This same plot is repeated with Isaac in Gen 26:1–16.

personal crises affecting the *oikist*. We will see that instances of famine, drought or overpopulation referenced in Greek texts, namely the case of the Theran expedition to Cyrene, provide examples of how this environmental crisis is personalized. By following Carol Dougherty's initial appraisal of this public-private dichotomy in how the crisis is narrativized, we will observe how the dominant metaphors resonating within Greek colonization discourse structure how these events are remembered in narrative. After using various iterations of the Theran colonization of Cyrene, I will return to the versions of Abraham's and Jacob's arrivals in Egypt in the LXX and Artapanus to suggest that the same sort of metaphorical privatization is at work in the Fragments. This privatization of a crisis, in turn, should prompt the *oikist* to attain divine sanction from the Delphic oracle. We will see in the case of Artapanus that this sanction is lacking in the foundations of Joseph and Moses in Egypt, which acts within the narrative as the instigation for the Exodus.

2.1 A Private Catastrophe: Ecological Crisis as Personal Problem

Herodotus, on the Theran version of the foundation of Cyrene

(4.151) Ἐπτά δὲ ἑτέων μετὰ ταῦτα οὐκ ἔειπεν τὴν Θήρην, ἐν τοῖσι τὰ δένδρα πάντα σφί τὰ ἐν τῇ νήσῳ πλὴν ἑνὸς ἐξασάνθη. Χρεωμένοισι δὲ τοῖσι Θηραίοισι προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην.

(4.151) Then for seven years after this [initial consultation with Delphi] there was no rain in Thera; all their trees in the island save one were withered. The Theraeans inquired again at Delphi, and the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libya. (Godley, LCL)

Herodotus, on the Cyrenean version of the foundation of Cyrene

(4.155) χρόνου δὲ περιόντος ἐξεγένετό οἱ παῖς ἰσχύφωνος καὶ τραυλός, τῷ οὔνομα ἐτέθη Βάττος... ἦλθε ἐς Δελφούς περὶ τῆς φωνῆς· ἐπειρωτῶντι δὲ οἱ χρᾶ ἡ Πυθίη τάδε.

Βάττ', ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες· ἄναξ δὲ σε Φοῖβος
Ἀπόλλων

ἐς Λιβύην πέμπει μηλοτρόφον οἰκιστῆρα,
ὥσπερ εἰ εἶποι Ἑλλάδι γλώσση χρεωμένη “ᾧ βασιλεῦ, ἐπὶ φωνὴν ἦλθες.”

(4.155) In time there was born to him a son [with impaired speech], to whom he gave the name Battus ... he went to Delphi to enquire concerning his voice; and the priestess in answer gave him this oracle:
 “Battus, thou askest a voice; but the King, ev’n
 Phoebus Apollo,
 Sends thee to found thee a home in Libya, the
 country of sheepfolds,”
 even as though she said to him, using our word, “O King, thou askest a voice.”
 (Godley, LCL)

The excerpts above come from two different narratives recounting the Theran colonization of Cyrene on the Libyan coast preserved in Herodotus Book 4. In typical fashion, Herodotus preserves both versions and notes where they align and where they diverge.¹⁶ What is even more significant is that Herodotus preserves versions of the colonization narrative that he ascribes to Thera and Cyrene; that is, to metropolis and colony. We find in these two versions divergent narratives with separate causes for the Theran colonial expedition. On the one hand, the Theran version preserves a public cause, a drought stressing the metropolis. On the other hand, the Cyrenean version is focused on the private crisis of one man, Battus, who would become the founder of Cyrene. Both versions, however, maintain the prominent role of the Delphic oracle in colonial foundations. A brief examination of both narratives will help us elucidate how the public crisis of the metropolis is privatized to the person of the founder and will provide a backdrop for returning to our analysis of the fragments.

The Theran version of the narrative, in Herodotus 4.150-153, maintains its focus on the metropolis. In the preceding section, 4.147–149, we learn about the founding of Thera itself, by

¹⁶ For Herodotus’s use of this trope, see Simon Hornblower, “Herodotus and His Sources of Information,” in *Brill’s Companion to Herodotus* (ed. Egbert Bakker, Irene J. F. de Jong, and Hans van Wees; Brill’s Companions to Classical Studies; Leiden: Brill, 2002), 373–86; and Detlev Fehling, *Herodotus and His “Sources”: Citation, Invention and Narrative Art* (Leeds: Cairns, 1989). Artapanus also deploys this trope in Fragment 3.35–36 in which he preserves purportedly Mephite and Heliopolitan versions of the crossing of the Red Sea during the Israelites’ flight from Egypt.

the Spartan *oikist* Theras. In the course of a seemingly unrelated consultation of the Delphic oracle, the response to the Theran king's inquiry "concerning other matters" (περὶ ἄλλων) is a direction by the oracle to found a colony in Libya (κτίζειν ἐν Λιβύῃ πόλιν). The king immediately deflects that he is too old to do so and gestures to the younger men in his entourage, including Battus. In the end, however, they ignore the command: "But when they had departed, they neglected to obey the oracle, seeing that they knew not where Libya was, and feared to send a colony out to an uncertain goal" (μετὰ δὲ ἀπελθόντες ἀλογίην εἶχον τοῦ χρηστηρίου, οὔτε Λιβύην εἰδότες ὄκου γῆς εἶη οὔτε τολμῶντες ἐς ἀφανὲς χρῆμα ἀποστέλλειν ἀποικίην) (Herodotus 4.150 [Godley, LCL]). It is ignoring the oracle's instruction that seemingly precipitates the seven-year drought in Thera, which in turn prompts another Theran delegation to Delphi (4.151). At this consultation, Herodotus does not tell us who leads the Theran party nor what precisely is asked, but we can assume it is directly related to the environmental crisis at Thera, to which "the priestess made mention of the colony they should send to Libya" (προέφερε ἡ Πυθίη τὴν ἐς Λιβύην ἀποικίην) (4.151). The Therans acquiesce to the oracle's task, hire a Cretan who was familiar with Libya, named Corobius, drop him off on an island, Platea, and return to Thera to recruit colonists for this new site (4.152).¹⁷ Herodotus tells us that:

(4.153) Οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι ἐπεῖτε τὸν Κορόβιον λιπόντες ἐν τῇ νήσῳ ἀπίκοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην, ἀπήγγελλον ὡς σφι εἶη νῆσος ἐπὶ Λιβύῃ ἐκτισμένη. Θηραίοισι δὲ ἔαδε ἀδελφεόν τε ἀπ' ἀδελφεοῦ πέμπειν πάλω λαγχάνοντα καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν χώρων ἀπάντων ἑπτὰ ἐόντων ἄνδρας, εἶναι δὲ σφέων καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα Βάττον.

(4.153) As for the Theraeans, when they came to Thera after leaving Corobius on the island, they brought word that they had founded a settlement on an island off

¹⁷ *In the course of his being left on Platea, the Cretan guide Corobius runs out of provisions (which were for "some months") and is saved by a Samian ship which was blown off course from Egypt to Platea and whose captain gives Corobius additional provisions for a year. The Samians are then blown off course again, all the way to the Pillars of Heracles where they make such a profit that they make a tremendous dedication in the Heraion at Samos. But Herodotus mentions that their act of saving Corobius "was the beginning of a close friendship between them and the men of Cyrene and Thera" (4.152).

Libya. The Theraeans resolved to send out men from their seven regions, taking by lot one of every pair of brothers, and making Battus leader and king of all.
(Godley, LCL)

There are several features of note in this account, aside from the focus on the metropolis as a community and the public crisis, rather than on an individual and his private crisis.

The first important feature, and a link between the two versions of the narrative, is the role of Apollo and Delphi. The Delphic oracle is prominent in the account as not only the catalyst for the colonial enterprise, but seemingly as the cause of the crisis in Thera to begin with. It is the Therans' failure to heed the colonial task set by Apollo that Herodotus attributes as the cause of the drought. It is only the organization of a colonial expedition that (implicitly) resolves the crisis. Dougherty's typology of Greek colonization narratives is helpful to remember at this point:

The narrative pattern or 'plot' of archaic colonization is a familiar one: (a) A civic crisis (b) prompts the consultation of Apollo's oracle at Delphi. Apollo delivers an oracle that (c) authorizes the foundation of a colony overseas. The successful colonial foundation then provides (d) the resolution of the original crisis, which will be forever marked and memorialized through the cult of the founder.¹⁸

The centrality of Apollo as the patron of colonial activity, and of the Pythia at Delphi as Apollo's interlocutor, is clear in the Theran version of the narrative preserved by Herodotus. Defying the colonial command of the god is a recipe for disaster at home, which in turn prompts submission to the initial task of founding a colony to resolve the crisis. Therefore, reading this version alongside Dougherty's typology of the poetics of colonization, we find:

¹⁸ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 15.

Table 1. Typological Features in the Theran Colonization Narrative.

Typological feature	Narrative element
Delphic consultation	Theran delegation comes for an unrelated consultation (4.150)
Oracular authorization	Apollo commands a colony in Libya, which Therans disregard (4.150)
Civic crisis	Seven-year drought prompted by disregard for the initial Delphic command (4.151)
Delphic consultation	Second consultation by Therans, sent in response to the drought (4.151)
Oracular authorization	Reiteration of previous authorization to found a colony in Libya (4.151)
Colonial foundation	A guide is hired (4.152) and expedition is sent to establish the colony (4.153)
Cult of the founder ¹⁹	Implied by Battus as “leader and king of them” (σφεῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα)

In this version of the colonization narrative, not only is the eventual colonial expedition sanctioned by Apollo, the proper divine sanction for colonization, but in effect it is pre-sanctioned. The failure of the Theran delegation to properly fulfill the command of the god prompts the eventual crisis, which ultimately leads to the crisis, sanction, foundation narrative structure. Here the role of Delphi in the colonial act is doubly enforced.

The role of Delphi in the foundation of Cyrene is paralleled in the much more elaborate Cyrenean version of the narrative, found in Herodotus 4.154–158. The narrative focus in the Cyrenean version is on the person of the *oikist*, Battus. While the Theran narrative names Battus as present at the initial Delphic consultation (4.147) and describes him as the Theran *oikist* (4.153), the Cyrenean version gives a genealogical backstory for Battus. He is descended from a

¹⁹ We will find a much fuller iteration of the founder cult of Battus at Cyrene in Pindar *Pythian* 5.93–95, “There, having died, he [Battus] lies apart, at the edge of the agora. Blessed, on the one hand, he lived among men, and then was a hero, honored by the people” (ἐνθα πρυμνοῖς ἀγορᾶς ἐπὶ δίχρα κεῖται θανῶν · μάκαρ μὲν ἀνδρῶν μετὰ ἐναίειν, ἥρωος δ’ ἔπειτα λαοσεβής) (trans. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 24–5).

ruler in Crete, Etearchus, who tricks a Theran trader into casting his daughter, Battus's mother, into the sea. This Theran, Themison, indignantly dips Phronime into the sea and promptly pulls her out, thus fulfilling the letter of his oath to Etearchus, and delivers her to Thera (4.154). At Thera, Phronime is taken as a concubine to the Theran Polymnestus to whom Battus is born, albeit with impaired speech of some sort (4.155). From the outset, then, Herodotus relates a narrative substantially focused on a particular individual rather than the metropolis itself, to the extent of relating a hero's genealogy for Battus the *oikist*. This focus is maintained as the initial crisis which prompts the colonial endeavor is not a public one, but rather Battus's attempt to address his personal crisis related to his speech. Reading these two version of the foundation of Cyrene together, we can see the personalization of the civic crisis onto the figure of the *oikist*, in this case Battus, at work in the narrative.

In the Theran version, the oracle prompts the colonial expedition in the course of a seemingly routine visit to Delphi by a civic delegation, including the Theran king (4.150). The disregard of this oracle prompts the public crisis of a drought. In the Cyrenean version, the crisis is personalized to Battus. The consultation of the oracle is not quotidian, but specific to Battus's desire to address his speech in 4.155, noted above. The Pythia's response is seemingly incongruous: Battus is to found a colony in Libya. Battus's response to the oracle is telling:

(4.155) “Ὁναξ, ἐγὼ μὲν ἦλθον παρὰ σὲ χρησάμενος περὶ τῆς φωνῆς, σὺ δέ μοι ἄλλα ἀδύνατα χρεῖς, κελεύων Λιβύην ἀποικίζειν τέῳ δυνάμι, κοίῃ χειρὶ;”
 (4.155) “Lord, I came to thee to enquire concerning my speech; but thy answer is of other matters, things impossible of performance; thou biddest me plant a colony in Libya; where shall I get me the power or might of hand for it?”
 (Godley, LCL)

The narrative then parallels the Theran version, but with a noted lack of specificity. Battus seemingly ignores the command of Apollo to found a colony and thus “afterwards matters went

untowardly with Battus and the rest of the Theraeans” (Μετὰ δὲ αὐτῷ τε τούτῳ καὶ τοῖσι ἄλλοισι Θηραίοισι συνεφέρετο παλιγκότως) (4.156 [Godley, LCL]). Herodotus does not mention what went wrong, and we have no indication of a large-scale crisis like a drought, but it was enough to prompt a return to Delphi at which the oracle reminded the Therans (and presumably Battus) of the command to establish a colony in Libya, which they proceed to initiate on the island of Platea, similar to the Theran version of events.

In the Cyrenean version, then, we find a change of focus from the public and civic sphere, oriented around the metropolis of Thera as a whole, to the private and personal sphere, oriented around the person of the *oikist*, Battus. Note, though, that the plot of each narrative mostly adheres to Dougherty’s typology. While the narrative does not provide a complete resolution of the plot, that is the actual founding of Cyrene and the ongoing founder cult of Battus the *oikist*, the narrative elements are present to infer them. The colonial expedition is sent in submission to the Delphic authorization and Battus is named as leader and king of the new colony. Likewise, the Cyrenean version closely follows the same typology, but extended:

Table 2. Typological Features in the Cyrenean Colonization Narrative.

Typological feature	Narrative element
[Genealogy of <i>oikist</i>]	Battus’s genealogy (4.154)
Personal crisis	Battus has a speech impairment (4.155)
Delphic consultation	Battus consults the oracle about his speech (περὶ τῆς φωνῆς) (4.155)
Oracular authorization	The oracle tells Battus to establish a colony in Libya (4.155)
Personal and civic crisis	Battus ignores the command and things go badly for both him and for Thera (4.156)
Delphic consultation	Second consultation by Therans, sent in response to the unnamed crises (4.156)
Oracular authorization	Oracle reiterates the initial authorization (4.156)

Colonial foundation	An expedition is sent under Battus, which eventually establishes a colony at Cyrene (4.156-158)
Cult of the founder	Not mentioned

Arranging these two versions next to each other, we can see how both demonstrate each typological element of the poetics of colonization within the narrative, aside from the cult of the founder:

Table 3. Comparison of Typological Features in Colonization Narratives.

Typological feature	Theran Version (Hdt. 4.150-53)	Cyrene Version (Hdt. 154-58)
[Genealogy of <i>oikist</i>]		Battus's genealogy (4.154)
Personal crisis		Battus has a speech impairment (4.155)
Delphic consultation	Theran delegation comes for an unrelated consultation (4.150)	Battus consults the oracle about his speech (περὶ τῆς φωνῆς) (4.155)
Oracular authorization	Apollo commands a colony in Libya, which Therans disregard (4.150)	The oracle tells Battus to establish a colony in Libya (4.155)
Civic [and personal] crisis	Seven-year drought prompted by disregard for the initial Delphic command (4.151)	Battus ignores the command and things go badly for both him and for Thera (4.156)
Delphic consultation	Second consultation by Therans, sent in response to the drought (4.151)	Second consultation by Therans, sent in response to the unnamed crises (4.156)
Oracular authorization	Oracles reiterates initial command to found a colony (4.151)	Oracle reiterates the initial command to found a colony (4.156)
Colonial foundation	A guide is hired (4.152) and expedition is sent to establish the colony at Cyrene (4.153)	An expedition is sent under Battus, which incrementally establishes colony at Cyrene (4.156-158)
Cult of the founder	Implied by Battus as “leader and king of them” (σφεῶν καὶ ἡγεμόνα καὶ βασιλέα)	

In both cases, the narratives generally follow the colonization typology proposed by Dougherty, but with a clear distinction between a narrative focus on the *polis* or the person. The presence of the genealogy of the *oikist*, Battus, reinforces this focus quite clearly. The Cyrenean version has

privatized the initial crisis and the Delphic consultation to focus on the person of the *oikist* instead.²⁰ As Dougherty summarizes:

In one account, the motivation is a personal, physical trauma (Battus' stutter), and in the other version, it is a civic, natural disaster (drought); on the narrative level, however, the two are synonymous; they both motivate the progression of the narrative and Herodotus himself underscores the interchangeability of public and private crises.²¹

This interchangeability between public and private, civic and personal crises is the lens through which we will now read Fragment 2.

2.2 Better Late than Never: Second Wave Colonization in Fragment 2

LXX Genesis 41:54; 42:1-2

^{41:54} καὶ ἤρξαντο τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦ λιμοῦ ἔρχεσθαι καθὰ εἶπεν Ἰωσηφ καὶ ἐγένετο λιμὸς ἐν πάσῃ τῇ γῆ ἐν δὲ πάσῃ γῆ Αἰγύπτου ἦσαν ἄρτοι.

^{42:1} ἰδὼν δὲ Ἰακωβ ὅτι ἔστιν πρᾶσις ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ εἶπεν τοῖς υἱοῖς αὐτοῦ ἵνα τί ῥαθυμεῖτε; ² ἰδοὺ ἀκήκοα ὅτι ἔστιν σῖτος ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ κατὰβητε ἐκεῖ καὶ πρίασθε ἡμῖν μικρὰ βρώματα ἵνα ζῶμεν καὶ μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν.

^{41:54} ...and the seven years of famine began to come, just as Ioseph had said. And famine occurred in all the earth, yet in all the land of Egypt there were bread loaves.

^{42:1} Now Iakob, when he saw that there was a sale in Egypt, said to his sons, "Why are you idle? ² See, I have heard that there is grain in Egypt; go down there and purchase a few provisions for us in order that we may live and not die." (NETS)

Fragment 2

(3) πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν τε πατέρα καὶ τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς κομίζοντας πολλὴν ὑπαρξιν καὶ κατοικισθῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἡλίῳ καὶ Σάει καὶ τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ.

(3) Later, both his [Joseph's] father and brothers came to him, bringing with them many possessions. They settled in Heliopolis and Sais, and the Syrians multiplied in Egypt.

²⁰ Maybe this is also an implication of a founder cult of Battus, which we see confirmed in Pindar?

²¹ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 17.

As noted above, the divergence between the LXX version of Jacob's sons' journey to Egypt and the version in Artapanus centers around the natural disaster of a famine. The seven-year famine features prominently in the LXX narrative, both in Joseph's anticipation of it through dream interpretation and its role in spurring Jacob to send his sons to Egypt, thus discovering and reuniting with Joseph. We find no mention of this famine in Artapanus's version of events at all.²² Jacob and his other sons arrive in Egypt seemingly for no reason other than that Joseph is already there (Frag. 2.3). I have already noted that Jacob and his family are named as Syrians, emphasizing their foreign place of origin, but there is not much narrative connection between Syria-as-metropolis and a colonial destination in Egypt. While the famine serves as an appropriate civic crisis in the LXX narrative, with no such impetus given by Artapanus for Jacob's relocation to Egypt, we must look to the larger narrative of Fragment 2 for parallels to a colonization typology that represents the relationship between metropolis and colony.

Returning to the Cyrenean version of the foundation of Cyrene, we find that there are in fact several attempts to found the Libyan colony mandated by the Delphic oracle. Immediately after the oracle's reminder of the original mandate, "the Theraeans sent Battus with two fifty-oared ships; these sailed to Libya, but presently not knowing what else to do returned back to Thera" (ἀπέστελλον μετὰ ταῦτα τὸν Βάττον οἱ Θηραῖοι δύο πεντηκοντέροισι. πλώσαντες δὲ ἐς τὴν Λιβύην οὗτοι, οὐ γὰρ εἶχον ὅ τι ποιέωσι ἄλλο, ὀπίσω ἀπαλλάσσοντο ἐς τὴν Θήρην) (4.156 [Godley, LCL]). When they attempt to return to Thera, "the Therans shot at them as they came to land and would not suffer the ship to put in, bidding them sail back" (οἱ δὲ Θηραῖοι καταγομένους ἔβαλλον καὶ οὐκ ἔων τῇ γῆ προσίσχειν, ἀλλ' ὀπίσω πλώειν ἐκέλευον) (4.156 [Godley, LCL]). The relationship between the metropolis and the (as-yet-unestablished) colony is antagonistic prior to the act of foundation.²³ Considering the consequences of previously

ignoring Apollo's order were some sort of community crisis (4.156), perhaps the reaction of the Therans is not very surprising.

Subsequently, Battus and his company settle on the island of Platea, but with limited success (4.157) after which they again consult Delphi, whose oracle informs them that “the god would not suffer them to do aught short of colonising Libya itself” (οὐ γὰρ δὴ σφραγὶς ἀπίει ὁ θεὸς τῆς ἀποικίης, πρὶν δὴ ἀπικῶνται ἐς αὐτὴν Λιβύην) (4.157 [Godley, LCL]) as opposed to an island nearby. After establishing a settlement on the Libyan coast and remaining there for six years, they again relocate at the insistence of the indigenous Libyans, who show them a much better location when “they brought the Greeks to what is called the Fountain of Apollo” (ἀγαγόντες δὲ σφραγὶς ἐπὶ κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος) (4.158 [Godley, LCL]). Thus, after three failed attempts, the fourth iteration establishes the permanent colony at Cyrene.²⁴ After the successful colonization, two generations later, the Delphic oracle is again involved in Cyrene when “the Pythian priestess admonished all Greeks by an oracle to cross the sea and dwell in Libya with the Cyrenaeans; for the Cyrenaeans invited them, promising a distribution of land” (Ἑλληνας πάντας ὄρμησε χρήσασα ἢ Πυθίη πλέειν συνοικήσοντας Κυρηναίοισι Λιβύην· ἐπεκαλέοντο γὰρ οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἐπὶ γῆς ἀναδασμῶ) (4.159 [Godley, LCL]). Thus, we find a fifth, supplemental, colonization which bolsters the viability of the new colony.

This ongoing activity of colonization is the lens through which we should read the arrival of Jacob and his family in Egypt narrated so briefly by Artapanus. As noted above, included in the foundation decree of the Theran colony of Cyrene, there was a certain degree of

²⁴ We should perhaps not be surprised at the toponym “Fountain of Apollo” (κρήνην λεγομένην εἶναι Ἀπόλλωνος) given Apollo's outsized role in sanctioning this colonial endeavor. It serves to implicitly finalize, through a retrospective sanction, the establishment of the proper colony at Cyrene.

interchangeability between citizenship in the metropolis and in the colony. This interchangeability seems to require some level of mobility, either returning to the metropolis because a colony fails or citizens of the metropolis immigrating to the colony. Second, there is an implication that the metropolis, at least until the colony is more stable, would provide for its protection. This seems to be the meaning behind the caveat in the right of the colonists to return if the Therans are unable to help the colony (μηδὲ οἱ Θηραῖοί μιν δύνανται ἐπικουρῆν) (34). The parental relationship between the mother city and her colony extends to the wellbeing of the colonists during their venture. This makes the Theran reaction to the attempted return by Battus before even attempting to found a settlement more understandable—he returned before even founding the colony, let alone demonstrating that the metropolis could not support it. Third, and most important for reading this passage from Artapanus, is the accommodation for an additional wave of colonists from the metropolis noted in lines 30–33 of the foundation decree.

These subsequent colonists are not subject to the same narrative motivations as the initial colonial expedition. In Herodotus’s account, the subsequent colonists were called from all of Greece and are invited because in the first 56 years after the foundation of Cyrene, “the dwellers in Cyrene were no more in number than when they had first gone forth to the colony” (οἴκεον οἱ Κυρηναῖοι ἔόντες τοσοῦτοι ὅσοι ἀρχὴν ἐς τὴν ἀποικίην ἐστάλησαν) (4.159 [Godley, LCL]). The second wave of colonists, who are promised a share in the available land, are called to supplement the current population. This is the same sort of invitation implied in the foundation decree of Cyrene when it maintains the right of Therans to continue to emigrate to Cyrene. Similarly, in Fragment 2 we can read the arrival of Jacob and his family to Egypt as simply an additional immigration to an established colony. Abraham arrived in Egypt from Syria and while he returned to the metropolis, many remained. As I noted in Chapter 2, Joseph’s arrival in Egypt

prompts him to act in the same way as an *oikist* would: he organizes the land and makes it fertile, assigns land to the temples, and marries an indigenous woman and has children, thus literally and metaphorically brings the land from chaos to order, sterility to fecundity. Jacob's arrival with his family brings about an increase in the population of Syrians (τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ) (Frag. 2.3). This leads to the establishment of the temples at Athos and Heliopolis, the same sort of civic works essential to the establishment of a new colony, which we see in Pindar's portrayal of the Cyrenean *oikist* Battus who, "founded larger sanctuaries for the gods..." in Cyrene (κτίσεν δ' ἄλσεα μείζονα θεῶν) (*Pythian* 5.89 [Race, LCL]). The arrival of Jacob and his family, narrated with such little fanfare by Artapanus, does not defy the narrative typology of a colonization narrative, but rather is functioning in a different way. That is to say, the second wave colonization reflected in Jacob's arrival operates outside, or supplemental to, the primary colonization narrative. In order to explore the relationship between metropolis and colony in Artapanus's narrative more fully, we must shift our view earlier in the narrative to the motivation for Joseph's arrival in Egypt. This portion of Artapanus's narrative participates in another trope of Greek colonization narratives in which political crises are privatized to be narrated as family conflicts, especially as succession conflicts between relatives.

2.3 It's Not Politics, It's Personal: Civic Crises as Family Disputes

Herodotus, on the foundation of Cinyps

(5.42) ὁ Δωριεὺς δεινὸν τε ποιούμενος καὶ οὐκ ἀξιῶν ὑπὸ Κλεομένεος βασιλεύεσθαι, αἰτήσας λεῶν Σπαρτιήτας ἤγε ἐς ἀποικίην, οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἥντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦν, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι.

(5.42) Dorieus was very angry and would not brook to be subject to [his brother] Cleomenes; and he asked the Spartans for a company of folk, whom he took away as colonists; he neither enquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should

plant his settlement, nor did aught else that was customary; but he set sail in great wrath for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. (Godley, LCL)

Fragment 2

(1) Ἀρτάπανος δὲ φησιν ἐν τῷ Περὶ Ἰουδαίων τῷ Ἀβραὰμ Ἰωσήφ ἀπόγονον γενέσθαι, υἱὸν δὲ Ἰακώβου · συνέσει δὲ καὶ φρονήσει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διενεγκόντα ὑπὸ τῶν ἀδελφῶν ἐπιβουλευθῆναι · προϊδόμενον δὲ τὴν ἐπισύστασιν δεηθῆναι τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀράβων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτὸν διακομίσει ...

(1) Artapanus says in his book *Concerning the Jews* that Joseph, the son of Jacob, was descended from Abraham. Because he excelled all the other sons of Jacob in wisdom and understanding, his brothers plotted against him. Anticipating the conspiracy, however, he besought the neighboring Arabs to transport him to Egypt ...

That conflict within families was an instigation for colonial expeditions was well-known in Greek narratives. We see examples such as Proetus and Acrisius (Bacchylides *Odes* 11.59–82), Medon and Neleus (Pausanias 7.2.1), and Doreius and Cleomenes (Herodotus 5.42), noted above. In each of these examples, the brothers are at odds over who will rule at home, and the initial conflict is resolved when one brother decides to make a colonial expedition to found a new city in which to rule. The political conflict in the metropolis is oftentimes distilled to a conflict between two brothers for the throne. This personalization of a civic crisis is in line with the movement from an environmental crisis to a personal disability, shown in the case of the Thera and Cyrenean versions of the same colonization above. In the case of disputed succession in the metropolis, the crisis is not environmental, such as the drought in Thera, but political. This political crisis is privatized in the form of a familial dispute.²⁵ This trope resonates with Artapanus's narrative of Joseph's arrival in Egypt in Fragment 2.

²⁵ The political dispute as political dispute of course has a literary life in Greek traditions outside of colonization narratives, such the conflict between Atreus and Thyestes and their brother Chryssippus (and later between themselves, as well) or the mutually-destructive conflict over the rule of Thebes between the brothers Eteocles and Polynices.

In Herodotus, Doreius is unwilling to be subject to his brother Cleomenes, so he leaves to found a colony in Libya. Likewise, in Pausanias, Neleus is unwilling to submit to his brother Medon, so he leads a colonial expedition, ultimately landing at Miletus. The emphasis here is on the activity of the *oikist* to resolve the conflict, which prompts a typical Greek colonization typology. For instance, Doreius's failure to consult the Delphic oracle for guidance about his colonial endeavor is, according to Herodotus, what dooms his new colony to failure:

οὔτε τῷ ἐν Δελφοῖσι χρηστηρίῳ χρησάμενος ἐς ἣντινα γῆν κτίσων ἦν, οὔτε ποιήσας οὐδὲν τῶν νομιζομένων· οἷα δὲ βαρέως φέρων, ἀπίει ἐς τὴν Λιβύην τὰ πλοῖα· κατηγέοντο δὲ οἱ ἄνδρες Θηραῖοι. ἀπικόμενος δὲ ἐς Λιβύην οἴκισε χῶρον κάλλιστον τῶν Λιβύων παρὰ Κίνυπα ποταμόν. ἐξελασθεῖς δὲ ἐνθεῦτεν τρίτῳ ἔτει ὑπὸ Μακέων τε Λιβύων καὶ Καρχηδονίων ἀπίκετο ἐς Πελοπόννησον.
 "...he [Doreius] neither enquired of the oracle at Delphi in what land he should plant his settlement, nor did aught else that was customary; but he set sail in great wrath for Libya, with men of Thera to guide him. Thither he came, and settled by the Cinyps river, in the fairest part of Libya; but in the third year he was driven out by the Macae and Libyans and Carhedonians, and returned to Peloponnesus."
 (Herodotus 5.42 [Godley, LCL])

Doreius's failure to conform to the proper typology not only results in the failure of the colony, but also confirms the interchangeability of the civic crisis which prompts a colonization narrative. It matters less what specific crisis occurs, than it does that a crisis exists at all in general to motivate the colonial expedition. In this case, the conflict between brothers over who should rule the metropolis is paramount. In these narratives, the brother-turned-*oikist* initiates the resolution of the conflict by removing himself from his home and venturing out to found a new city.

We find a similar plot at work in Fragment 2, in which we are also confronted with a fraternal conflict, in this case between Joseph and his brothers. As Artapanus describes it, Joseph's brothers are jealous of his wisdom and initiate some sort of plot against him. Joseph, in a display of initiative similar to Doreius and Neleus, heads off the crisis by arranging for his own

escape. Perhaps as evidence of Joseph's superior wisdom, his anticipation of his brothers' plot in essence diffuses the conflict, albeit temporarily, and his movement to Egypt avoids a confrontation. Here a comparison to the version of the narrative in LXX Genesis is illustrative.²⁶ Both traditions preserve the same fraternal conflict: Joseph's brothers are jealous of him. However, Artapanus presents a reversal of the Genesis version. In Genesis, Joseph shares dreams with his brothers in which he will rule over his family (Gen 37:5–11), therefore his brothers are jealous and they plot against him (Gen 37:18–20). The implication is that the brothers see Joseph as a threat to their own positions at home, which they ultimately resolve by sending Joseph with "Ishmaelite travelers" (ὁδοιπόροι Ἰσμηλιται) to Egypt (Gen 37:25–8). Here the conflict is set explicitly in terms of who has the right to rule, mirroring the succession crises which are common in Greek colonization narratives. The crisis is not precipitated by an actual conflict between the brothers over who will be the ruler, since Jacob is still alive and clearly the leader of the family. Yet Joseph's dreams, or at least their interpretation by his family, raises the specter of a fraternal succession dispute, and Joseph's brothers hatch a plan to prevent the dispute from occurring by removing Joseph. In the case of the Genesis narrative, the brothers instigate Joseph's departure, rather than Joseph's anticipation of their plan to remove him. However, there is still a resonance with the Greek iterations of fraternal strife. In the LXX version, the brothers—and their father Jacob, for that matter—are threatened by the idea of the youngest brother ruling over all of them. As Jacob responds to Joseph's dream of the stars and moon bowing down to himself, "And his father rebuked him and said to him, 'What is this dream that you have

²⁶ As noted in Chapter 1, that Artapanus was familiar with the Septuagint tradition is well-established, going back to Freudenthal's analysis of verbal similarities between the two. See Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, esp. 215.

dreamed? Shall we indeed, I and your mother and your brothers, when we come, come to do obeisance upon the ground to you?” (Gen 37:10 [NETS]).

The version of the narrative preserved by Artapanus emphasizes Joseph’s agency as the actor who resolves the crisis as he anticipates the plot against him and escapes to Egypt (προϊδόμενον δὲ τὴν ἐπισύστασιν δεηθῆναι τῶν ἀστυγειτόνων Ἀράβων εἰς τὴν Αἴγυπτον αὐτὸν διακομίσει ...) (Fragment 2.1). Artapanus keeps Joseph at the center of the narrative and keeps the initiative with him. Unlike the Genesis version, in which Joseph is more of a passive victim of his brothers’ scheme, Artapanus portrays an active Joseph who is in control of the situation entirely. Both iterations of the Joseph narrative capture aspects of the civic crisis that precipitates a colonial expedition in Greek colonization discourse. Yet Artapanus’s focus on Joseph as *oikist* precludes the version of events which gives Joseph’s brothers narrative agency: if Joseph is to function as the colonial founder, then he must resolve the initial conflict, just as Doreius and Neleus do, and his reception of oracular dreams in Genesis shifts agency to his brothers instead. This may explain why the extant Artapanus is lacking any mention of Joseph’s dreams or dream interpretation from his version of the narrative. Artapanus is concerned to keep Joseph at the center of the plot and in control of resolving the initial crisis in the same way that famous Greek *oikists* are. Joseph is no longer the passive victim of a fraternal plot, but the one who resolves the plot by his own departure to settle in a new land, in this case Egypt.

This change of crisis from a natural disaster or environmental crisis to a political one aligns with the broader tradition of Greek colonization narratives. Moreover, we see the implication of a founder cult in both versions of the Joseph narrative. At the conclusion of Fragment 2, Artapanus states that, because of Joseph’s management of the food supply, “he became the lord of Egypt” (τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεσπότην γενέσθαι) (Frag. 2.4). The tradition

preserved in Genesis, Exodus, and Joshua is more robust and implies a certain cultic status for Joseph's bones. At his death, "Joseph made the sons of Israel swear, saying, 'In the time of the visitation with which God will visit you, you shall also carry up my bones from here together with you'" (Gen 50:25 [NETS]). This oath is executed by Moses in Exodus 13:19, in which Moses explicitly honors the promise Joseph exacted from the Israelites. Finally, the Israelites reinter Joseph's remains in Shechem, "in the portion of the field that Iakob acquired from the Amorrites living in Sikima for one hundred ewe-lambs, and he gave it to Joseph as a portion" (Joshua 24:32 [NETS]), after Joshua's death and where the people had reoriented themselves against foreign gods (Joshua 24:19–31). While there are no explicit cult practices mentioned in this biblical account, the preservation of Joseph's remains indicates an enduring memorialization of the founder figure, which continued after the movement of Israel out of Egypt.²⁷

2.4 Apollo Leads the Way: Delphic Sanction of Colonial Expeditions

Despite the other parallels, the colonization narrative in Artapanus's Joseph fragment is missing a key component of Dougherty's typology: the sanctioning event analogous to that provided by the Delphic oracle. While the two versions of the foundation of Cyrene found in Herodotus are seemingly lacking an explicit mention of an enduring founder cult, that element appears to be less essential to the overall typology than the oracular consultation, especially in terms of steering the narrative trajectory. The Joseph narrative preserved in Fragment 2 omits any mention of divine impetus in Joseph's movement to Egypt. The only intimation of a sanction

²⁷ Another example of the cult of the colonial founder is found in Pausanias who notes of Theras, the *oikist* of Thera, that "the Theraeans even now still honor him every year as an *oikist*" (καὶ οἱ καὶ νῦν ἔτι οἱ Θηραῖοι κατὰ ἔτος ἐναγίζουσιν ὡς οἰκιστῆ) (3.1.8 [trans. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 25]).

is that Joseph “excelled all the other sons of Jacob in wisdom and understanding” (συνέσει δὲ καὶ φρονήσει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διενεγκόντα) (Frag 2.1).²⁸ The implication of this lack of a sanctioning event jeopardizes Joseph’s migration as a colonial endeavor and insinuates the same colonial failure as Doreius’s first attempt after leaving Sparta. The acknowledgement of Joseph’s intellectual superiority, in addition to being unconnected to a particular moment or event of divine permission, is deployed as the motive for his brothers’ jealousy, rather than for Joseph’s own ability as an *oikist*. What is striking is that Joseph’s characterization in the Genesis tradition as an interpreter of dreams, and as a recipient of oracular dreams, is missing from Artapanus’s account, a characterization that could have fulfilled the necessary divine sanction for Joseph’s migration to align with Greek colonial typology.

Given the prominence that the tropes of dreams and dream interpretation play in the Genesis narrative, and again noting that Artapanus does seem familiar with the Septuagint, this absence is even more striking. Here, Margaret Foster’s work is helpful, as she also documents the excision of the individual mantic seer from Greek colonial narratives. As Foster argues, the role of Delphi in Greek colonization cannot be understated because the Oracle seems to be deliberately enacting an ideology by which it alone is the proper sanction for any colonial expedition, at the expense of independent seers (*manteis*).²⁹ These seers function as talismanic figures in most significant endeavors in Greek narratives, like games, wars and political conflicts, and would have featured prominently in a colonization attempt. Yet, as Foster shows,

²⁸ Holladay, *Fragments*, 205–7.

²⁹ Margaret Foster, *The Seer and the City* (Oakland, Calif.: University of California Press, 2017).

this role is effectively supplanted by Delphi in Greek colonization narratives and by the person of the *oikist* himself. First, the Oracle supplants the seer in monopolizing access to the divine, and then the *oikist* is positioned as the able interpreter of Apollo's command.³⁰ As Dougherty outlines, the function of the Delphic oracle, and how it was represented in colonial narratives, is enacted by the metaphor of riddle-solving often through etymological speculation.³¹ The *oikist* is presented with the oracular utterance, which is in the form of a riddle and has to be parsed—a feat which the *oikist* is uniquely positioned to do. This follows Lisa Maurizio's description of these riddled oracles as having “sanctioned the attempt to move beyond the known world by advising clients to seek seemingly impossible objects, landscapes or animals.”³² Because this interpretative role falls onto the *oikist*, this makes the absence of Joseph's interpretive prowess in the fragments all the more noticeable. However, the transition to the institutional oracle at Delphi marks the move away from the individual seer—the *oikist* is indeed singled out by the divine and blessed with the ability to interpret the colonial riddle. Yet this riddle originates from an established and authoritative location, namely Delphi, which has supplanted the mantic seer as the privileged transmitter of divine guidance. Here, the trope of Joseph as dream *interpreter*

³⁰ As Dougherty argues, this metaphor of “translation,” which I noted in Chapter 2, is linked to the actual act of colonial founding: translating the riddle of the Delphic oracle is the first step in forming order from chaos, cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 56.

³¹ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 45.

³² Lisa Maurizio, “The Voice at the Center of the World: The Pythia's Ambiguity and Authority,” in *Making Silence Speak: Women's Voices in Greek Literature and Society* (ed. André Lardinois and Laura McClure; Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press, 2001), 42–3.

would resonate with the role of the *oikist*, but as dream *recipient* there is perhaps too much tension with established Greek colonial sanction, which must originate at Delphi.³³

This trope bristles not only against Greek colonial narrative, but also the tradition of Egyptian dream interpretation. We have not examined the interplay of the Joseph narrative in the fragment of Artapanus with Egyptian traditions, and yet they are plentiful. Joseph's role as organizer and allotter of land and temples (Frag. 2.2–3) resonates not only with Greek colonial discourse, but also with Egyptian traditions of founding figures. Ptolemaic trilingual decrees preserved in inscriptions mark the patronage of the king via tax policy. For example, the *Canopus Decree* make a particular note of Ptolemy III Euergetes relaxing the taxes on temples and the same tax relief is related in the *Memphis Decree* under Ptolemy V Epiphanes.³⁴ The *Satrap Stela* of Ptolemy I provides an even clearer example of the king allotting land to the Egyptian temples in a hieroglyphic inscription.³⁵ Herodotus preserves an account of the mythical pharaoh Sesostrius who “divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax” (Herodotus, 2.109 [Godley, LCL]). This tradition also seems to align more with what is preserved in Gen 47:13–26 in which royal taxation plays a major role in Joseph's land reforms. Osiris and Isis, as well, are featured as productive rivals by Diodorus who “thus in eager rivalry

³³ There is also a resonance, perhaps, with the trope of dream interpreter from the Ancient Near East in Greek historiography, such as the role of the magi in interpreting the dreams of Astyages in Herodotus 1.107–108.

³⁴ See texts preserved in E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Decrees of Memphis and Canopus* (Books on Egypt and Chaldea 17–19; New York: AMS Press, 1976).

³⁵ See Robert Ritner, “The Satrap Stela,” in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (ed. William K. Simpson; 3rd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 392–97.

brought the country under cultivation, and they made images of the gods and magnificent golden chapels for their worship” (Diodorus, 1.15.5 [Oldfather, LCL]) therefore not only making the land productive, but also establishing the temple infrastructure of Egypt.³⁶ While we see functional similarities between Joseph as *oikist* and the founding activities of Egyptian gods and heroes, dream interpretation presents an ideological conflict.

The interpretation of dreams, especially the dreams of the pharaoh, are also caught up in a transition toward institutional religious authority in Egypt, similar to the transition of oracular pronouncements from the seer to Delphi in Greek colonization narratives noted above. As Kasia Szpakowska argues, there was a movement toward greater institutionalization of the interpretation of the pharaoh’s dreams through the New Kingdom and into the Hellenistic period.³⁷ Szpakowska points out that this movement “can be attributed to what [Pascal] Vernus has dubbed ‘the great ideological mutation’ which began in the New Kingdom with ... the gradual re-emergence of divine control over the state of Egypt.”³⁸ As Szpakowska continues, this framework situates dream interpretation, especially of the pharaoh’s dreams, “against the backdrop of increased power of the priesthood and the institutionalization of previously private

³⁶ See also Diodorus 1.14.1–6 for Isis and Osiris collaborating on founding activities in Egypt, including agriculture; for Osiris as founder of agricultural practices, Diodorus 1.17.1–2. The fraternal rivalry between Seth/Typhon and Osiris, and then Osiris’s son Horus, may also echo the same fraternal conflict that lies at the heart of the personalization of political conflict in Greek narrative. It should come as no surprise, then, that Plutarch explains this rivalry between Osiris, Horus and Typhon as one between historic kings (*Is. Os.* 13–19).

³⁷ Kasia Maria Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes: Dreams and Nightmares in Ancient Egypt* (Swansea, Wales: Classical Press of Wales, 2003).

³⁸ Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*, 55 cf. Pascal Vernus, “La grande mutation idéologique du Nouvel Empire: Une nouvelle théorie du pouvoir politique face à sa création,” *BSEG* 19 (1995), 69–95.

activities.”³⁹ This context makes sense when we examine the *Tanutamani Dream Stela*, which narrates the dream oracle of the pharaoh Tanutamani (664–656 BCE). Here the pharaoh must rely on his interpreters to discern the meaning of his oracular dream, which asserts his royal claims.⁴⁰ The account of the pharaoh’s dreams in Genesis 41:8 reflects the increasing centralization of royal dream interpretation, in which none of the standard Egyptian interpreters can understand the pharaoh’s dream. There is a failure of Egyptian priestly institutions. This prompts the pharaoh, upon the recommendation of his cupbearer, to send for Joseph, who then demonstrates his interpretive ability (Gen 41:14–36). In the Genesis account, Joseph functions as an extraordinary outsider who is able to best the official priestly institution at one of its key functions. This seems at odds with Artapanus’s emphasis on Joseph as an integrative figure who easily becomes a key figure in the royal administration upon his arrival and who facilitates both Egyptian prosperity and subsequent Jewish migration.⁴¹

Therefore, while the initial conflict between Joseph and his brothers represents a resonance with the personalization of political conflicts found in Greek colonization narratives, what remains is a narrative conundrum. Joseph’s movement to Egypt, despite all the trappings of the, in this case contentious, relationship between the *oikist* and the metropolis, lacks any indication of divine sanction. In the case of Doreius, the same lack of Delphic sanction leads to

³⁹ Szpakowska, *Behind Closed Eyes*, 56.

⁴⁰ Jean-Marie Husser, *Dreams and Dream Narratives in the Biblical World* (Trans. Jill Munro; Sheffield, UK: Sheffield Academic Press, 1999), 62–3.

⁴¹ In fact, unlike the Genesis account, in which Joseph must overcome the antagonism associated with his outsider status and earn his way into the royal court by virtue of his mantic ability, Artapanus’s only antagonism with Joseph is between Joseph and his brothers, which is not resolved in the narrative as it is in Genesis.

the failure of his colonial expedition. Doreius then does consult the Oracle for guidance after getting a tip that he should found a colony in Italy:

ὁ δὲ ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐς Δελφοὺς οἶχετο χρησόμενος τῷ χρηστηρίῳ, εἰ αἰρέει ἐπ' ἦν στέλλεται χώραν· ἢ δὲ Πυθίη οἱ χρᾶ ἀιρήσειν. παραλαβὼν δὲ Δωριεὺς τὸν στόλον τὸν καὶ ἐς Λιβύην ἦγε, ἐκομίζετο παρὰ τὴν Ἰταλίην.

When Dorieus heard that, he went away to Delphi to enquire of the oracle if he should win the place whither he was preparing to go; and the priestess telling him that so it should be, he took with him the company that he had led to Libya, and went to Italy. (Herodotus 5.43 [Godley, LCL])

The failure of the divine sanction is remedied by consulting the oracle; this leads to a properly sanctioned colonial foundation in a new location.⁴² Joseph is not provided any such remedy. On the contrary, he pursues the expected activities of an *oikist* in a colony: arranging the land, delimiting temple precincts, and facilitating the arrival of follow-on colonists. However, the situation in Egypt deteriorated rapidly after the death of Joseph and the pharaoh, which echoes the entanglement of memory and royal succession in Exod 1:8. In the end, the effort by Joseph to colonize Egypt is a failure—or at least it is only a temporary success. A new effort must be undertaken, under a new founder, to re-establish the colony. This re-foundation precipitates a change in the relationship between the colony and the metropolis, one in which the role of the metropolis as a place is subsumed into the role of the (re-) founder, much like the role of the *mantis* was subsumed into the *oikist* and the Delphic Oracle in Margaret Foster's study. In this case, we will find a parallel between the way in which Artapanus constructs Moses as a (re-) founder and the changing foundation narratives that emerged in the Hellenistic period.

⁴² Granted, Dorieus's expedition is ultimately a failure because he ends up aiding Croton in a war against Sybaris, in which he and most of his expedition are killed (5.44–45). In classic Herodotean fashion, the Sybarite version maintains that Dorieus and his men died taking their city, while the Crotonite version is that no outsider helped them in their war (5.45). In any case, the Sybarite version holds that had Dorieus simply founded a colony as the oracle instructed, he would have been successful (εἰ γὰρ δὴ μὴ παρέπρηξε μηδέν, ἐπ' ὃ δὲ ἐστάλη ἐποίησε, εἴλε ἂν τὴν Ἐρυκίνην χώραν καὶ ἐλὼν κατέσχε, οὐδ' ἂν αὐτὸς τε καὶ ἡ στρατιὴ διεφθάρη).

3 If at First You Don't Succeed...: Refoundations from the Lack of Oracular Sanction

That the arrival of Philip and Alexander on the Mediterranean scene led to a radical shift in the way Greekness was constructed hardly needs to be reiterated here. What specifically concerns us, however, is the shift in the role of the *polis* in Greek life after Alexander. As Peter Green puts it:

We have seen much evidence of a move away from involvement with the classical *polis* during the late fourth century: commercialism, lack of real political power, and intellectual alienation all played their part in the process. ... Another major factor was the rapid development of urbanism. The collapse of one sort of city, and political system, heralded the emergence of another ... The establishment of the great Successor kingdoms under autocratic monarchs working through centralized bureaucracy brought urbanisation on a far larger and more cosmopolitan scale than anything hitherto known.⁴³

No longer are independent cities sending out their own colonial expeditions, but these cities now exist under the auspices of a broader centralized administration. And new cities were founded frequently in the Hellenistic period. The political shift is that the person of the king, and the accompanying bureaucracy, becomes the locus of political decision-making, including regarding the foundation of cities. This complicates any formulation of the relationship between the colony and the metropolis when the *polis*-as-metropolis stops being an operative partner in the city foundation process. This relationship does not dissolve, however, but rather is sublimated into the person of the founder.⁴⁴

⁴³ Peter Green, *Alexander to Actium: The Historical Evolution of the Hellenistic Age* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1990), 80.

⁴⁴ I am using the term founder here to distinguish it from the role of the *oikist* as a representative of the metropolis in a colonial expedition, in the way I have been using the term previously. Here, the emphasis shifts even more to the individual founder and the founder's own agency to act, rather than the *oikist* acting on behalf of the metropolis.

This mirrors the process alluded to above, in which the role of the mantic seer is gradually subsumed under the auspices of the *oikist* and the Delphic Oracle, to which it is worth returning. As noted above, Margaret Foster's work on this suppression of the mantic seer in colonization narratives is particularly illuminating. Following on Dougherty's work, as well as Irad Malkin's *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece*,⁴⁵ Foster's contention is that the itinerant seer was deliberately suppressed in Greek colonization narratives in order to shift religious authority to the person of the *oikist* and the Delphic Oracle. These seers "were professional diviners whose primary role was to interpret the will of the gods through omens."⁴⁶ The religious authority inherent in the activity of the *mantis* was a conspicuous presence in military campaigns, in which a good omen could make all the difference for strategic decision-making.⁴⁷ What Foster points out is that, through the *oikist*'s relationship to Delphic Apollo as an integral component of the colonization process, "colonial discourse establishes the *oikist* as a figure who wields not only political but religious authority."⁴⁸ The *oikist* assumes the mantle of religious authority, endorsed by the oracle at Delphi, from the itinerant seer. The decline of Delphi's influence, complemented by the emergence of Hellenistic kingship with the arrival of Alexander, change the landscape of colonial foundations. What is telling is that in Hellenistic accounts, the seer returns to assist the king-as-*oikist*. Foster briefly notes three instances of

⁴⁵ Irad Malkin, *Religion and Colonization in Ancient Greece* (Leiden: Brill, 1987).

⁴⁶ Foster, *Seer and the City*, 13. See also Michael Flower, *The Seer in Ancient Greece* (Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2008).

⁴⁷ Foster, *Seer and the City*, 23–50 on the role of the independent seer in Greek military campaigns.

⁴⁸ Foster, *Seer and the City*, 77.

foundation accounts in which Delphi is no longer mentioned and the mantic seer is employed, albeit subordinate to the *oikist*: Xenophon's abandoned plans to settle his army (*Anabasis* 5.6), Pausanius's account of the re-foundation of Messene (4.26–27) and the foundation of Alexandria in Plutarch (*Alex.* 26) and Arrian (*Anabasis* 3.2.2).⁴⁹ With this historical development in mind, I am suggesting that the religious authority imbued in the person of the *oikist*, as well as the political authority of the metropolis shifting onto the person of the king, is at work in Moses's re-foundation of the Egyptian Jews in Fragment 3.

First, the shift from representations of archaic period colonization to that of the Hellenistic kingdoms should be acknowledged. The Greek representations of their own past colonial endeavors still structure the underlying poetics of the colonization narrative, but the historical actors have changed. With the emergence of the Hellenistic kingdoms, and the accompanying loss of political agency afforded to many Greek cities, the fulcrum of colonization pivots on the person of the king. Indeed, rather than social or political exigency, the motivation for colonization seems to be practical in other ways. Richard Billows notes the preponderance of cities founded for the purpose of the political control of the Hellenistic kingdoms vying for control of Asia Minor. In the case of Antigonous Monophthalmos, for example, he asserts that the “settlement of these regions [Asia Minor and Syria] with Macedonians and Greeks was the obvious way to secure them firmly and exploit them effectively.”⁵⁰ Rather than functioning as a

⁴⁹ Foster, *Seer and the City*, 186–187.

⁵⁰ Richard Billows, *Kings and Colonists: Aspects of Macedonian Imperialism* (Columbia Studies in the Classical Tradition 22; Leiden; New York: Brill, 1994), 146.

means by which the metropolis resolves a civic crisis, colonization becomes a means by which kings reinforce royal authority of their kingdoms and new conquests.

Beginning with the foundations in Egypt executed by Joseph in Fragment 2, I noted above that there was no analogue to the Delphic consultation in the Joseph narrative. The parallels with Dougherty's typology are represented as follows:

Table 4. Typological Features in Fragment 2.

Typological feature	Narrative element
Civic crisis	Joseph escapes his brothers' plot (2.1)
<i>[Delphic consultation]</i>	<i>[Absent from the narrative]</i>
<i>[Oracular authorization]</i>	<i>[Possible implied sanction as Joseph "excelled all the other sons of Jacob in wisdom and understanding" (συνέσει δὲ καὶ φρονήσει παρὰ τοὺς ἄλλους διενεγκόντα) (2.1)]</i>
Colonial foundation	Joseph subdivides Egypt, endows the Egyptian temples, and orchestrates the construction of Saïs and Heliopolis (2.2-4)
Cult of the founder	Implied by Joseph's becoming "lord of Egypt" (τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεσπότην) (2.4)

The sanctioning for Joseph's founding activities does not originate from Delphi, of course, but neither does it originate from any divine sanction, Greek, Egyptian, or Jewish. The only parallel to a sanctioning event stems from Joseph's own wisdom and understanding, not from any revelatory moment. This striking absence might at first glance seem to strike a blow against reading the fragments alongside colonial discourse. On the contrary, however, this absence precipitates a failure which can (and will) be remedied. We should remind ourselves of the example of Doreius which I noted above: Doreius likewise attempted to found a colony without proper oracular consultation and authorization and therefore his colonial endeavor failed. Yet

Doreius's second attempt in establishing a colony was ultimately successful: because he attended to the obligation for Delphic consultation and authorization.

A similar lack of proper authorization for Joseph's foundations in Egypt leads to their being supplanted by a subsequent ruler, Palmanothes. In the same way that Doreius's initial colony could not last, neither can Joseph's foundations. Whereas Doreius can make another attempt, through the proper channels, the collapse of Joseph's work in Egypt occurs after his death. This opens the door to the first re-foundation, by Palmanothes, to Egyptianize the sites at Saïs and Heliopolis. Palmanothes creates the conditions of possibility for Moses's own founding acts, as it seems that the benefits of Joseph's organization of Egypt were also temporary.

Moses's subdivision of Egypt makes sense in that he must re-establish the administration of Egypt after Joseph's subdivisions collapse. It is telling, in the course of his re-founding of Egypt, that Moses "set aside as well land exclusively for the use of the priests" (ἀπομεῖναι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐξαίρετον χώραν) (3.4). This seems to closely mirror Joseph's actions in Fragment 2.2 in which Joseph was the first "to assign some of the arable land to the priests" (καὶ τινὰς τῶν ἀρουρῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκληρῶσαι).

Moses repeats the same actions as Joseph, which are similarly directed toward stabilizing the Egyptian state, but with one crucial difference: Moses does attain divine sanction, albeit from Egyptian and Greek religion. On the one hand, Moses is directly involved in establishing cultic and priestly practice in Egypt whereby he "assigns the sacred writings to the priests" (τά τε ἱερὰ γράμματα τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν) and assigns to each nome an animal to be worshipped as its particular god (2.4). This is not the divine sanction of Moses's actions, but rather its cause. As Artapanus puts it, "...being deemed worthy of divine honor by the priests, he was called Hermes because of his ability to interpret the sacred writings" (...ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων ἰσοθέου τιμῆς καταξιωθέντα

προσαγορευθῆναι Ἑρμῆν, διὰ τὴν τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν) (2.7). Here Moses is granted divine sanction by the Egyptian priesthood at large and in very Greek terms. To put this in terms of the split role of the mantic seer and the *oikist* noted by Foster, Joseph acts as *oikist* but without having absorbed the role of the seer to achieve a divine authorization. Now Moses is sanctioned by the religious authorities of Egypt and divinized as Hermes, thus taking on role of divine interpreter through his knowledge of sacred writing.⁵¹

Now we find the foundation act of Moses in the first part of Fragment 3:

Table 5. Typological Features in Fragment 3.

Typological feature	Narrative element
Civic crisis	The people constantly overthrow rulers (3.6)
Delphic consultation	Implied by Moses's ability to interpret the sacred writing (τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν) (3.6)
Oracular authorization	Given divine honor (ἰσοθέου τιμῆς) by the Egyptian priesthood (3.6)
Colonial foundation	Moses divides Egypt into nomes, assigns local gods and provides land for the Egyptian priests (3.4)
Cult of the founder	Moses is worshipped as Hermes (Ἑρμῆν) (3.6)

Moses checks the boxes, according to Dougherty's colonial typology, in ways that Joseph does not. Yet the colonization narrative is sanctioned entirely in Greco-Egyptian terms—and very clearly not in oracular terms at all. It is telling that Moses is endorsed by the Egyptian priesthood, based on his own interpretive ability like any good *oikist* should possess. Yet what

⁵¹ Note the etymological resemblance between Ἑρμῆν/ἐρμηνείαν in Diodorus 1.16.1-2, who also aligns Hermes with the origin of language generally, specifically related to his worship in Egypt. In this role, Hermes became associated with the indigenous Egyptian god Thoth and Hermes-Thoth became a common syncretistic patron of language and learning in Egypt, Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria*, 1.208, 2.353 n. 150. The “sacred writing” (ἱερὰ γράμματα) here most likely refers to the hieroglyphic writing system, following Holladay, *Fragments*, 234-235, n. 55.

remains in this portrayal is the absence of any sort of oracular guidance, unlike the case of Alexander, who ventured to the oracles of Zeus-Ammon at Siwa (Plutarch *Alex.* 27.4–11; Arrian 3.3–4; Curtius 4.7.5–32; Diodorus 17.49.2–51.4; Justinian 11.11.2–12). In this event, Alexander is sanctioned in his establishment of Egypt as a Greek foundation by a hybridized Greco-Egyptian oracle, an oracle with an existing relationship to pharaonic power.⁵² So Greek and Egyptian traditions acknowledge the role of oracular sanction, yet Artapanus is pointedly missing this element.

The resulting failure to conduct a properly sanctioned colonial act will end up prompting Moses to re-found the Jewish community in the later portion of Fragment 3, which I will address in the next chapter. At this point, we find a series of necessary re-foundations in Artapanus's narrative that mirror the re-foundations in Greek colonization discourse prompted by failure to secure proper divine sanction. By reading the foundation of Joseph, the re-foundation of Saïs and Heliopolis by an anti-Jewish pharaoh, and the re-foundation of Egypt by Moses through the poetics of colonization, we see that the proper divine sanction is essential. In the case of the fragments so far, it is the lack of the proper sanction which propels Moses to follow Joseph in executing the same colonial foundation activities. Yet we found that Moses's foundation here is also improperly sanctioned, since it is endorsed by Greco-Egyptian cult, not an oracle, and ultimately not sanctioned by the proper God. From this lack, Artapanus generates the eventual

⁵² Herodotus, for example, equates Zeus with Ammon (4.181) and also knew the relationship of the oracle at Siwa to the temple of Ammon-Re in Thebes and its importance to the Egyptian monarchy (2.54–57). For more on Alexander's visit to Siwa, see Edward Anson, "Alexander and Siwah," *Ancient World* 34.2 (2003): 117–130; K. P. Kuhlmann, "The Oracle of Amun at Siwa and the Visit of Alexander the Great," *Ancient Society (Australia)* 18.2 (1988): 65–85.

success of the Exodus, in which Moses aligns with the Greek trope of the murderous founder and the colonial endeavor attains proper sanction for an explicitly Jewish community.

CHAPTER 4
METAPHORICAL FERTILITY

Introduction

In the previous chapter we saw how the relationship between the metropolis and her colony is expressed in the Fragments of Artapanus through the same metaphorical privatization of public crises that we find in Greek colonization discourse. Through this crisis, the narrative element that motivates the colonization plot, Joseph is situated as an *oikist*. Joseph, responding to the crises of fraternal conflict, organizes his own expedition to Egypt. The relationship between the new colonial foundation in Egypt and the metropolis of Joseph's home in Syria is reinforced by the second-wave immigration of his family, mirroring the accommodation of follow-on colonists so prevalent in Greek colonial foundations. Moses, as well, attempts a re-foundation of Egypt in order to alleviate the anti-Jewish attitude of the new pharaoh. Both attempts, however, are thwarted by their lack of proper divine sanction for the foundation. This sanction, provided by oracular authority and also structured by the relationship between the metropolis and the colony, ultimately provides for a successful colonial expedition. The lack of this sanction dooms both Joseph's foundation and Moses's first attempt to failure.

In this chapter, I will argue that this failure, in large part due to the inability of Greek and Egyptian religion to properly sanction the colonial endeavor, sets up Artapanus for the final, successful founding act: the Exodus event. The previous, failed founding actions of Joseph and Moses were characterized by the narrative representation of the relationship between the

metropolis and colony. Moses's founding activity can be read in two distinct, but related, ways. First, Moses reacts to the civic crisis of divided rule in Egypt with an attempt to re-order Egypt along the lines of a colonial foundation. Second, Moses reacts to the anti-Jewish sentiments of the new pharaoh, itself a civic crisis for the Jews in Egypt especially, with a colonial expedition. In both readings, however, there is a lack of proper divine sanction. The sanction implied in the narrative is not only not oracular in nature but is also emanating from Greek and Egyptian religious sensibilities, rather than Jewish religion. Read as a colonization narrative, this lack is an obvious cause for Moses's failure to remedy the situation of the Jewish community in Egypt. By reading the Fragments of Artapanus through the lens of the poetics of colonization, I suggest that the relationship between Moses and his activities in Egypt is not simply Artapanus's way of showing the cultural superiority of the Jews. Rather, the poetics of colonization provides a means by which we can appreciate the complex intersections of narrative tropes and metaphors that structure the relationships between Jews, Greeks and Egyptians. The relationship between the colony and the indigenous population, and the injunction inherent in the role of the *oikist* to integrate the two, scaffolds these tropes and metaphors into a coherent vision of intercultural interaction in the fragments which would resonate with an audience attuned to them.

The lack of proper divine sanction, evident in the relationship between the metropolis and the colony, is one cause of Moses's first failure. Another cause, however, is the target of Moses's founding activities. The proper response to a civic crisis in the metropolis is to establish a colony elsewhere. Moses focuses his founding activities within Egypt, rather than moving to a new location. This is related to the lack of oracular sanction given that the content of the oracle includes a cryptic description of where the requisite colony should be settled. Yet colonial foundations, once established, also construct a new set of relationships: those between the new

colony and the indigenous population. This set of relationships can function at multiple narrative junctures. First, the indigenous population can appear as the agent enforcing divine sanction (or the lack thereof). This is the case of Dorieus's first foundation at Cinyps from Herodotus 5.42, noted in the previous chapter. Dorieus's effort was not sanctioned by Delphi and was destroyed by the surrounding indigenous population, thus necessitating a second, Delphic-endorsed foundation in Sicily in Herodotus 5.43. Second, and more commonly, the indigenous population functions as representative of the new land in which the colony is founded and into which the colony must be integrated. On a historical level, this integration is often replete with violence, yet when it is narrativized in Greek colonization narratives, the violent integration of colonization is sublimated into acceptable integration through sexual metaphors of agricultural fertility and marriage. While these metaphors are expressive of the relationship, and idealized integration, between the colony and the indigenous population, they also emanate from the role of the metropolis, or mother city.

This maternity is the primary reproductive metaphor and is not only restricted to colonial narratives, but is also an expression of an individual's place of origin. We find two examples of this in Sophocles. The chorus in *Oedipus at Colonus* describes their home city of Colonus as their metropolis (ἄλλον δ' αἶνον ἔχω ματροπόλει τᾷδε κράτιστον) (707). Sophocles also describes Thebes as a metropolis in *Antigone*, either of the Maenad, the ecstatic Bacchic dancers, or of Dionysius himself (ὦ Βακχεῦ, Βακχᾶν ματρόπολιν Θήβαν ναιετῶν) (1122).¹ The maternal relationship of the metropolis to her children is also deployed metaphorically in cases like Diodorus 1.2.2, "we assume that history, the prophetess of truth, she who is, as it were, the

¹ Hugh Lloyd-Jones (LCL, 1994) renders this the metropolis of the Bacchantes, while Paul Woodruff renders it as the metropolis of Bacchus himself, Sophocles and Paul Woodruff, *Antigone*. Indianapolis: Hackett, 2001.

mother-city of philosophy as a whole” (ὕποληπτέον τὴν προφητικὴν τῆς ἀληθείας ἱστορίαν, τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας οἰονεὶ μητρόπολιν οὖσαν) (Oldfather, LCL). The relationship between metropolis and colony thus has its own metaphorical life in which the maternal-filial relationship is used to express the same sort of generation as the act of founding a colony. The expression of a hierarchical relationship, that is to say, a relationship of genealogy, is important to keep in mind as we explore the narrative iterations of this relationship. If the metropolis is generative of the colony in the same way as a mother is generative of her child, then to claim a metropolis is to claim an origin not just geographically, but genealogically. Pindar makes this point when he links the athletic victory of Pytheas to glorifying both his metropolis Aegina and his ancestors, who were also athletic victors. In *Nemean* 5.4–9, Pindar proclaims the glory won by Pytheas for “...the Aeacidae, heroic warriors / born of Cronus and Zeus and from / the golden Nereids, and his / mother city, a land welcoming to foreigners...” (ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ζηνὸς ἥρωας αἰχματὰς φυτευθέντας καὶ ἀπὸ χρυσεᾶν Νηρηΐδων Αἰακίδας ἐγέραιρεν ματρόπολιν τε, φίλαν ξένων ἄρουραν) (Race, LCL). Later, in lines 40–55, Pindar expands this glory to put Pytheas in continuity with his maternal uncle and grandfather, both also acclaimed athletic victors. Likewise, the deployment of the metropolis to express the relationship of the individual to one’s home city extends this generative metaphor.

In this chapter, I will explore the extension of these reproductive metaphors to describe the integration necessary for a successful colonial foundation in Greek colonization narratives, especially how these metaphors obscure the violence inherent in the colonial act. Artapanus also deploys these metaphors in Joseph’s foundation narrative in Fragment 2, as well as in the multiple iterations of Moses’s foundation in Fragment 3. I suggest that Artapanus uses various metaphorical expressions of integration to shift his narrative towards the properly sanctioned

colonial event of the Exodus, which concludes the narrative of the fragments. Additionally, Artapanus deploys another established trope from Greek colonization narratives to mark the shift from improper to proper colonial expeditions: that of the murderous founder. Shifting the violence of the colonial endeavor onto the person of the *oikist*, in addition to participating in the same sort of privatization of public crises outlined in the narrative instigation of the colonial act, also serves to position the *oikist* squarely at the center of the relationship between the colony and indigenous people. In this way, the occlusion of violence is a function of both the integrative metaphors of fertility and of the trope of the *oikist* as murderous founder. This trope sets up Moses's final founding act, the Exodus, as the proper colonial response to a civic crisis. Therefore, in this chapter I will trace the function of fertility metaphors through Greek colonization discourse, chart their resonance with Egyptian cultural imaginary, and then show how they are used in the Fragments of Artapanus to position Joseph and Moses as *oikists*. Finally, I will argue that Moses's characterization as a murderer follows the same concealment of violence as the sexual metaphors and marks the shift to Artapanus's vision of a proper Jewish foundation, the Exodus event.

1 Tilling the Garden: Agricultural Fertility as Integrative Metaphor

Fragment 2

(2) ... τοῦτον πρῶτον τήν τε γῆν διελεῖν καὶ ὄροις διασημήνασθαι καὶ πολλήν χερσευομένην γεωγήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι

(2) Joseph was the very first to subdivide the land, to indicate this with boundaries, to render much of the waste land tillable

In the previous chapter, I argued that Artapanus used colonial typology to move Joseph to Egypt in Fragment 2. Namely, Joseph responds to a civic crisis at home, the contested rule between the sons of Jacob, by arranging for a colonial expedition to Egypt. Once he arrives in

Egypt, Artapanus does not include anything that correlates to the LXX narrative related to Joseph's enslavement, imprisonment, or how he ingratiates himself to the pharaoh. Because Joseph is not sold into slavery by his brothers in Artapanus's version of the narrative, he is free to begin his colonial activities without encumbrance. Joseph's founding activities take several forms, the most prominent of which are represented as agricultural and marital. These two discursive fields provide the metaphors for Artapanus to describe the integration of the colonial expedition with the indigenous people surrounding the colony, in the same way that this integration is represented in Greek colonization narratives. Both agricultural and marital metaphors structure the relationship between colonist and indigenous person, a relationship which is figured through the *oikist*. An examination of these metaphors, beginning with the agricultural, will illuminate what implications this relationship has for Artapanus's construction of Jewish identity.

1.1 A Network of Metaphors: Agricultural Fertility in Fragment 2

The first action Joseph undertakes in Egypt after his arrival is the arrangement of the land. This arrangement comes in the form of boundaries (ὄροι), which delimit Joseph's subdividing (διαίρω) of Egypt. There are two implications of Joseph's actions. First, Joseph's arrangement of the land bears literal fruit, as it is through this action that Joseph "renders much of the waste land tillable" (πολλὴν χερσευομένην γεωγήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι) (2.2). The second implication is related to the status of the land under indigenous Egyptian control. As Artapanus makes clear, Joseph's innovation is the development from Egyptian rule: "prior to that time the Egyptians had farmed the land haphazardly because the countryside was not divided into allotments" (καὶ πρότερον ἀτάκτως τῶν Αἰγυπτίων γεωμορούτων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι) (2.2). Not only are the Egyptians incapable of properly farming their own land,

but in addition to agricultural consequences, there are political consequences: “and consequently the weak were treated unfairly by the strong” (καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν κρεισσόνων ἀδικουμένων) (2.2). Artapanus thus characterizes Joseph’s intervention in Egypt as one that is entirely beneficial, not only in terms of productivity, but in terms of the political stability of Egypt as a whole.

There is a complex network of narrative elements at work in how Artapanus deploys agricultural imagery. It is worth dividing up this network into a set of “nodes” that interrelate within the narrative. Here, the terminology of “network theory,” as it has been developed in postcolonial theory is useful.² The concept of the network deprivileges a hierarchical conception of relationships and decentralizes, in the case of colonialism, the location of the imperial center. In this sense, the network consists of “the interconnectedness of Greek city-states . . . through such networks as those of mother cities and colonies” and this network “with its changing connections and ‘bypasses’ . . . created the virtual center of Greek identity.”³ The various relationships of the

² Irad Malkin’s work has been foundation to the introduction of network theory to archaic Greek colonization; see especially *The Returns of Odysseus: Colonization and Ethnicity* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1998); idem, “A Colonial Middle Ground: Greek, Etruscan, and Local Elites in the Bay of Naples,” in *The Archaeology of Colonialism* (ed. C. Lyons and J. Papadopoulos; Los Angeles: Getty Research Institute, 2002), 151–81; idem, *A Small Greek World: Networks in the Ancient Mediterranean* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011). The “network” emerges from Mediterranean studies, namely Braudel’s *réseau*, as well as Deleuze and Guattari’s “rhizome” in Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (trans. Siân Reynolds; 2nd ed., 2 vols., Glasgow: Collins, 1973); Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari, *A Thousand Plateaus: Capitalism and Schizophrenia* (trans. Brian Massumi; Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1987). The “confrontation with the Middle Ground—inhabited . . . by non-Greek peoples” occurs within this network and thus delimits “Greekness,” *ibid.* An additional framework for considering the “network” as a methodological approach is provided by Bruno Latour’s actor network theory, which similarly serves as a means of describing the shifting relationships that constitute social reality, see Bruno Latour, *Reassembling the Social: An Introduction to Actor-Network-Theory* (Clarendon Lectures in Management Studies; Oxford, New York: Oxford University Press, 2007). While I will not engage with Latour directly here, the malleability of his approach to represent the changes inherent in a networked landscape may be fruitful for further exploration in the future.

³ Malkin, “Postcolonial Concepts and Ancient Greek Colonization,” *Modern Language Quarterly* 65 (2004), 359.

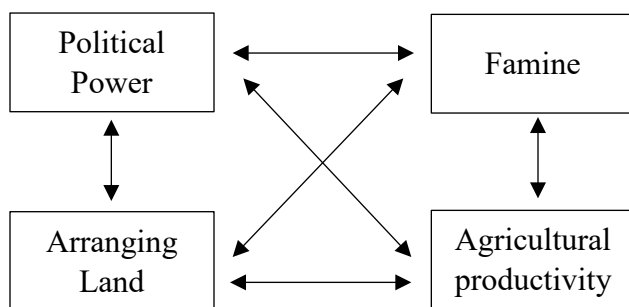
nodes within a given network also construct a “middle ground” which muddies the interaction of the colonial and indigenous figures, such that “each side plays a role dictated by what it perceives as the other’s perception of it, resulting from the mutual misrepresentation of values and practices” which inevitably creates a “new” cultural intersection that impacts both colonizer and colonized.⁴ Therefore, while I am not engaging with the postcolonial approach of network theory and the middle ground *per se*, the terminology is worth contextualizing in its robust application to postcolonial thinking generally and Greek colonization specifically. For my purposes, the rhizomatic nature of the network concept is useful because of the focus on the relationships between nodes, rather than only focusing on the nodes themselves. By creating a constellation of narrative elements which exist at the level of the discourse, a networked approach allows analysis of multiple narratives which use various nodes drawn from a shared menu of options which constitute a given discourse. The analysis is then aimed at the relationships which are created by the way certain nodes are then deployed within texts.

To put this in the terms of the present study, the discourse in which Fragment 2 is participating is one tied to the figure of Joseph and his position in Egypt. If we analyze Fragment 2 hierarchically against the LXX narrative, assigning priority to the biblical text and relegating Artapanus as derivative, then we miss significant points of comparison. Using a network approach, however, we can identify several salient nodes within the larger Joseph discourse and then identify what nodes, and their subsequent relationships, are used in each text. The differences here provide a wholly different analytic starting point. Figure 1, below, identifies

⁴ Irad Malkin, “Postcolonial Concepts and Ancient Greek Colonization,” 357. Malkin borrows the term “middle ground” from Richard White, *The Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650–1815* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

what I suggest are the discursive nodes and potential relationships among the agricultural imagery of the Joseph narrative: the arrangement of land, agricultural productivity, political power and famine.

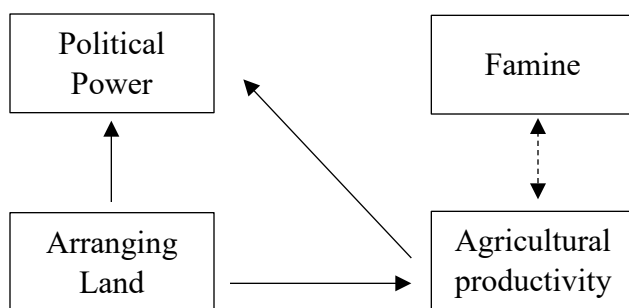
Figure 1. Possible discursive relationships related to agricultural imagery.



These four nodes constitute the symbolic system that describes Joseph's impact on Egypt, ultimately leading to an outburst of fertility. In Fragment 2, it is precisely this fertility, which culminates in Joseph's marriage and offspring, that situates Joseph as an integrative figure who bridges the divide between the *Hermiouth* and Egypt. Each of these nodes potentially relates to the others and thus I will address each relationship in turn, finally describing how they lead the narrative to the reproductive fertility of Joseph as emblematic of his integrative role. Joseph's arrangement of land in Egypt is a helpful starting point both because it represents a prototypical role of an *oikist* when founding a colony, noted above, but also because the threads that connect it to the other nodes are clear. The arrangement of the land, a delimitation of the boundaries, prompts agricultural bounty by making formerly barren land into productive field (πολλήν χερσευομένην γεωργήσιμον ἀποτελέσαι) (2.2). Joseph's imposition of boundaries onto Egyptian land also implicates indigenous Egyptian political power, since before his land reform, the poor were oppressed by the powerful (καὶ πρότερον ἀτάκτως τῶν Αἰγυπίων γεωμορούντων, διὰ τὸ τὴν χώραν ἀδιαίρετον εἶναι καὶ τῶν ἐλασσόνων ὑπὸ τῶν κρεισσόνων ἀδικουμένων) (2.2).

Additionally, this arrangement of land and its consequences allows for Joseph’s lasting legacy since “as long as Joseph held power over the financial affairs of Egypt, he stored up the grain surplus which had accumulated during the seven years as a result of the immense production” (τὸν οὖν Ἰωσήφ κρατοῦντα τῆς Αἰγύπτου τὸν τῶν ἑπτὰ ἐτῶν σῖτων, γενόμενον κατὰ τὴν φορὰν ἄπλετον) (2.4).⁵ The arrangement of land is connected to other nodes in the network of agricultural imagery in Fragment 2, which ultimately relies on the founding act of Joseph-as-*oikist*. These relationships are noted below in Figure 2, with arrows denoting causal relationships.

Figure 2. Discursive relationships related to agricultural imagery in Fragment 2.



What we see in Fragment 2, then, is the interrelation of political power, land arrangement, and agricultural productivity. These relationships are operative at the level of the indigenous population and the colonial founder. For the indigenous Egyptians, the mismanagement of land was the root cause of political strife and resulted in land being under-utilized, leading to a lack of productivity. Conversely Joseph, following the typical role of the *oikist*, arranges the land in order to increase agricultural production. This productivity leads not to alleviating a famine, but instead to the honor of Joseph as the lord of Egypt (παραθέσαι καὶ τῆς Αἰγύπτου δεσπότην γενέσθαι) (2.4).

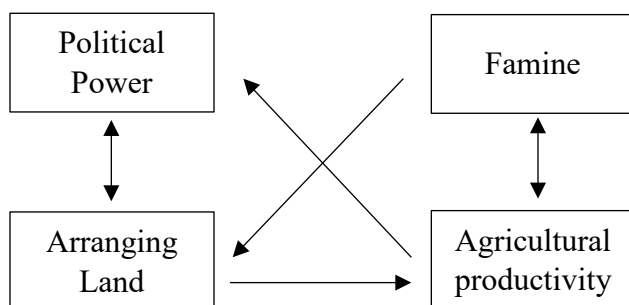
⁵ Holladay, *Fragments*, 209.

The node of the famine is notable in Fragment 2 by its presence by implication only, represented in Figure 2 by a dashed line, in that agricultural productivity is necessarily the antithesis of famine. This absence affords a more detailed investigation. I noted in the previous chapter that the famine which prompts Jacob's migration to Egypt in Gen 42 is missing from Artapanus's version. I argued that this ecological crisis is unnecessary for Artapanus's plot, since the crisis prompting Joseph's colonial expedition is established in the conflict with his brothers. In addition, the famine would only complicate Jacob's characterization as a second-wave colonist, arriving as part of a normative Greek colonial schema. Here in Fragment 2, we also find a missing famine, as it were—the same famine that prompts Jacob's migration in Genesis is also the one which Joseph is said to anticipate in Gen 41. The idea of Joseph invigorating Egyptian agriculture and reserving surplus food for seven years certainly resonates with the narrative of LXX Gen 41. In fact, the very notion that Joseph accumulated agricultural surplus for seven years only makes sense when read against the LXX narrative, since there is no mention of the duration of Joseph's work in Fragment 2. The famine is not only an element from LXX Genesis missing from Artapanus's version, but the relationship between these nodes is entirely different.

In the Genesis version of the Joseph narrative, the consequence of the famine in Egypt is not starvation, but rather social and political violence. Genesis 47:13–26 describes Joseph's role in a radical reorientation of Egyptian society during the famine. As the famine progresses, Joseph gradually releases the accumulated surplus from the seven years of fertility (Gen 41:47–9) to the Egyptian population, but at increasingly harsh terms. Joseph accumulates, for the pharaoh, all of the money (47:14), livestock (47:17), and finally the land and the very freedom of the Egyptians (47:19–21). Thus, Joseph is the key operative behind a radical centralization of power and wealth into the person of the pharaoh. In this version, Joseph's role in increasing agricultural

productivity is in response to an anticipated famine, but more prominently it creates an opportunity for land reform aimed at centralizing political power. In this sense, the causality of the relationships in the Genesis narrative is distinct from Artapanus's version. While Artapanus structures the causality to originate from Joseph's arrangement of land, the Genesis version originates with the anticipated famine, which leads to the arrangement of land, an increase in productivity and ultimately the accumulation of political power (Figure 3).

Figure 3. Discursive relationships related to agricultural imagery in Genesis.



We see that there are some of the same relationships at work between Genesis and Artapanus. For instance, the increase in agricultural productivity increases Joseph's political power in both accounts.

In the Genesis account the result of Joseph's land reform is the expropriation of land from the people of Egypt to the pharaoh, an action replete with social and political violence. By the end of the narrative, the pharaoh not only owns all of the land in Egypt, but the very Egyptians themselves. This violence was clearly noticed in other accounts of Joseph, which may explain why Josephus amends this element of the Joseph narrative to rehabilitate Joseph's role in Egyptian politics:

οὕτως τε τοῦ βασιλέως πάσης αὐτῶν τῆς περιουσίας κυρίου γεγενημένου, μετακίσθησαν ἄλλος ἀλλαχοῦ, ὅπως βεβαία γένηται τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς χώρας τούτων ἢ κτήσις, πλὴν τῶν ἱερέων· τούτοις γὰρ ἔμενον ἡ χώρα αὐτῶν. ἐδούλου τ' αὐτῶν οὐ τὰ σώματα μόνον τὸ δεινὸν ἀλλὰ καὶ τὰς διανοίας, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς

ἀσχήμονα τῆς τροφῆς εὐπορίαν αὐτοὺς κατηνάγκαζε. λωφίσαντος δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ καὶ τοῦ τε ποταμοῦ τῆς γῆς ἐπιβάντος καὶ ταύτης τοὺς καρποὺς ἀφθόνως ἐκφερούσης, ὁ Ἰώσηπος εἰς ἐκάστην παραγενόμενος πόλιν καὶ συλλέγων ἐν αὐταῖς τὸ πλῆθος τὴν τε γῆν αὐτοῖς, ἦν ἐκείνων παραχωρούντων βασιλεὺς ἔχειν ἠδύνατο καὶ καρποῦσθαι μόνος...

(191) And thus it befell that the king became owner of all their substance, and they were transported from place to place, in order to assure to the king the possession of their territory, save only the priests, for these kept their domains. Furthermore, this scourge enslaved not only their bodies but their minds and drove them thereafter to degrading means of subsistence. (192) But when the evil abated and the river overflowed the land and the land yielded its fruits in abundance, Joseph repaired to each city and, convening the inhabitants, bestowed upon them in perpetuity the land which they had ceded to the king and which he might have held and reserved for his sole benefit... (*Antiquities* 2.191-2 [Thackery, LCL])

Josephus is understandably concerned about the appearance that Joseph works against the Egyptian people and for the consolidation of power in the hands of the pharaoh. The omission of the famine from Artapanus's narrative offers the same outcome: Joseph remains unimplicated in political violence, in this case the exploitation of the Egyptian people. While Josephus amends the biblical narrative to rehabilitate Joseph, Artapanus instead deploys tropes from Greek colonization discourse to occlude the violence. This is the same function that Dougherty identified when she states that "the legitimation of violence is part of what lies behind the use of marriage imagery in colonial discourse."⁶ Artapanus, read as a colonization narrative, is participating in the same obfuscation of violence between the colony and the indigenous population that we find elsewhere in Greek colonization narratives. The relationships constructed between the shared discursive nodes in Artapanus and Genesis show how the same narrative material is reoriented for different ideological purposes. In the case of Artapanus, the role of Joseph as an integrative figure would be compromised by his role in the institutional violence of

⁶ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 76.

the land reforms in the Genesis account. Just as the omission of the famine served to clarify the cause of Jacob's arrival as a second-wave colonist from the metropolis, so does the omission of the famine here serve to preserve Joseph as an idealized *oikist*.

1.2 The Land Shall Be Apportioned: Land Politics in Fragment 3

Fragment 3

(4) ἔτι δὲ τὴν πόλιν εἰς λς'νομοὺς διελεῖν καὶ ἐκάστῳ τῶν νομῶν ἀποτάξει τὸν θεὸν σεφθήσεσθαι ... (5) ταῦτα δὲ πάντα ποιῆσαι χάριν τοῦ τὴν μοναρχίαν βεβαίαν τῷ Χενεφρῆ διαφυλάξει.

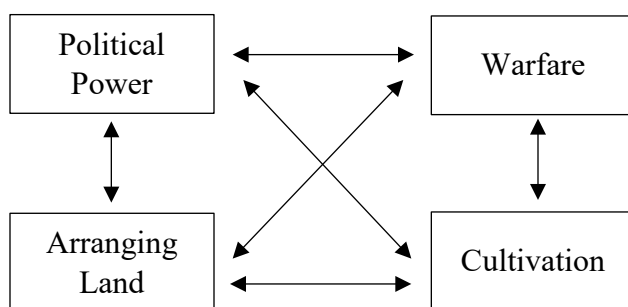
(4) He [Moses] also divided the state into thirty-six nomes, and to each of the nomes he assigned the god to be worshipped ... (5) he did all these things for the sake of keeping the monarchy stable for Chenephres ...

It is also worth noting that there are parallel examples to the founding activities of Joseph in Fragment 3, in which the role of *oikist* falls to Moses. Just as we saw in the previous chapter that Moses is the culmination of the failed foundation of Joseph, so is Moses the logical next step from Joseph's initial support for the Egyptian monarchy. Artapanus obscures the violence of Joseph's role in the Egyptian monarchy and emphasizes his integrative role. In the case of Moses, the same founding activities are couched in a political-ethical necessity. Egypt is in the midst of political chaos. Earlier we noted that Joseph's founding activity ameliorated an ethical problem in which "the weak were treated unfairly by the strong" (2.2).⁷ The stakes are again raised with Moses, who is confronted by an Egypt in which "the masses were disorganized and they would sometimes depose, sometimes install rulers" (ἀδιατάκτους ὄντας τοὺς ὄχλους ποτὲ μὲν ἐκβάλλειν, ποτὲ δὲ καθιστάνειν βασιλεῖς) (3.5). Moses's organization of the land is directly related to alleviating this political chaos and "thus, for these reasons Moses was loved by the masses" (διὰ ταῦτα οὖν τὸν Μώυσον ὑπὸ τῶν ὄχλων ἀγαπηθῆναι) (3.6). Thus, the organization

⁷ Holladay, *Fragments*, 207.

of the land, a key concern of the colonial *oikist*, is the means by which Moses resolves political pressure on the Egyptians and the Egyptian kingdom. The constellation of discursive nodes related to agriculture in Fragment 3 differs from that in Fragment 2. While the arrangement of land and political power are still the dominant relationship, rather than famine and agricultural productivity, we find the nodes of cultivation and warfare (Figure 4).

Figure 4. Possible discursive relationships related to agricultural imagery in Fragment 3.



In Artapanus's narrative, Moses responds to a civic crisis, that is the unstable monarchy in Egypt, by arranging the land in the way an *oikist* would. Moses even establishes the proper Egyptian cult for each new district, resonant of the demarcation of temples ordered by the Greek *oikists*.⁸ All of this is done to resolve the political crisis and bolster indigenous Egyptian political institutions. As a result of Moses's action, the pharaoh is jealous and sends him with an army of farmers (τὸ δὲ τῶν γεωργῶν αὐτῷ συστῆσαι πλῆθος) against invading Ethiopians (3.7). While Artapanus provides no details of the campaign, other than it lasted for ten years (γενέσθαι τὸν πόλεμον τοῦτον ἔτη δέκα) (3.8), Moses is ultimately successful on several fronts. Moses then founds a city, Hermopolis, dedicated to the ibis (3.9).⁹ Finally, upon his return to Egypt proper, Moses established the Apis cult when "he suggested a breed of oxen because of their usefulness

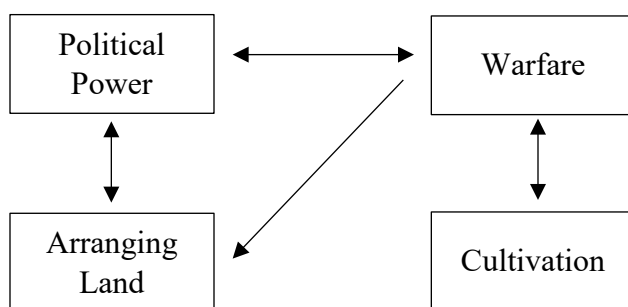
⁸ As in the case of Battus in *Pythian* 5.89, noted in the previous chapter.

⁹ More on which below, Section 3.

in tilling the land” (τὸν δὲ φάναι γένος τῶν βοῶν, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν ἀπὸ τούτων ἀροῦσθαι) (3.12).

While this narrative does not deploy agricultural imagery related to the organization of land, it is still saturated with agricultural resonances. Farmers and agricultural animals are integrated into the story of Moses’s success as a military leader. Thus, Artapanus’s network of agricultural imagery in Fragment 3 could be represented here as Figure 5.

Figure 5. Discursive relationships related to agricultural imagery in Fragment 3.



Here we find a number of reciprocal relationships between the nodes. Moses arranges the land as a response to decentralized political power, and the arrangement of land also reinforces indigenous political institutions. Likewise, Moses’s increasing political prominence prompts the Ethiopian campaign, which has the unintended consequence of further bolstering Moses’s prominence. The Ethiopian campaign itself is implicated in agricultural activity as it is conducted by farmers and it is after this campaign that the Apis cult is instituted by Moses due to the bull’s particular agricultural utility.¹⁰ Similarly, the foundation of Hermopolis is a result of the Ethiopian campaign, which also leads to further arrangements of land with Moses as *oikist* here,

¹⁰ See also Diodorus 1.21.10–11, “The consecration to Osiris, however, of the sacred bulls, which are given the names Apis and Mnevis, and the worship of them as gods were introduced generally among all the Egyptians, since these animals had, more than any others, rendered aid to those who discovered the fruit of the grain, in connection with both the sowing of the seed and with every agricultural labor from which mankind profits” (Oldfather, LCL) (τοὺς δὲ ταύρους τοὺς ἱεροὺς, τὸν τε ὀνομαζόμενον Ἄπιν καὶ τὸν Μνεῦιν, Ὀσίριδι καθιερωθῆναι, καὶ τούτους σέβεσθαι καθάπερ θεοὺς κοινῇ καταδειχθῆναι πᾶσιν Αἰγυπτίοις· ταῦτα γὰρ τὰ ζῷα τοῖς εὐροῦσι τὸν τοῦ σίτου καρπὸν συνεργῆσαι μάλιστα πρὸς τε τὸν σπόρον καὶ τὰς κοινὰς ἀπάντων ἐκ τῆς γεωργίας ὠφελείας).

as well. While certainly Moses's prowess as a commander is the primary focus of the narrative at this point, the connections to the agricultural life of Egypt are contiguous with Joseph's and Moses's arrangement of the land and thus making it fertile. Moses's role in the agricultural fertility of Egypt is taken to its ultimate conclusion in Artapanus's narration of the plagues of the Exodus. In his attempt to sway the pharaoh to release the Jews from Egypt, Moses "struck the Nile with his rod, and the river flooded, inundating all of Egypt. It was from this time that the flooding of the Nile began" (τὸν Νεῖλον τῇ ῥάβδῳ πατάξαι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν πολύχουν γενόμενον κατακλύζειν ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον · ἀπὸ τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι) (3.28). Moses shifts from a founder steeped in agricultural imagery to become the benefactor of the very foundation of Egyptian agriculture itself. The consistent throughline of the agricultural imagery in Fragments 2 and 3 is that the indigenous Egyptians were not capable of managing their own land effectively. The resulting political instability can only be remedied by the intervention of the colonial *oikist*, who initiates the proper arrangement of land, which leads to agricultural productivity and thus to a stable political realm. The role of Joseph and Moses in this movement from instability to stability through the arrangement of land and narrativized with agricultural metaphor is consonant with wider Greek colonization discourse.

1.3 From Wasteland to Fertility: Agriculture in Greek Colonial Narratives

Homer, on Odysseus's appraisal of the island near the Cyclops' home

(Od. 9.122-4) οὐτ' ἄρα ποιμήνησιν καταΐσχεται οὐτ' ἀρότοισιν,
ἀλλ' ἢ γ' ἄσπαρτος καὶ ἀνήροτος ἤματα πάντα
ἀνδρῶν χηρεῦει, βόσκει δέ τε μηκάδας αἴγας.

(Od. 9.122-4) No flocks browse, no plowlands roll with wheat; unplowed, unsown forever—empty of humankind—the island just feeds droves of bleating goats (trans. Robert Fagles).¹¹

¹¹ Homer, *The Odyssey* (Trans. Robert Fagles; New York: Viking, 1996), 215.

These same sorts of agricultural images abound in Greek colonization narratives, as I have already noted. The movement from barren land to verdant agriculture is the paradigmatic transition of the new colony. The *oikist*, through the organization of land, makes previously inhospitable terrain into land which supports a new city. This leads to descriptions of Greek colonial sites in terms of their wildness or potential for agricultural fertility, like Odysseus's description of the island above. Upon Odysseus's arrival, he notes that the Cyclopes' island is totally lacking in cultivation or agriculture of any kind, "...they never plant with their own hands or plow the soil" (οὔτε φυτεύουσιν χερσὶν φυτὸν οὔτ' ἀρόωσιν) (Od. 9.106 [trans. Fagles]).¹² The neighboring island is also charged with potential in its barren state, but it would be the role of the *oikist* to manage the transition to a productive colony represented by the transition from barren land to agricultural productivity.¹³ It is telling that Odysseus's further description of the island in 9.131-149 is in terms of its potential for settlement. The island "could bear you any crop you like in season" (φέροι δέ κεν ὄρια πάντα) with "land clear for plowing" (ἄροσις λείη) accompanied by a "a snug deep-water harbor" (λιμὴν εὐορμος) and "a spring that rushes forth from a beneath a cave" (ῥέει ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ κρήνη ὑπὸ σπείους).¹⁴ Odysseus casts an *oikist*'s eye on the island and notes the potential for productivity that makes it an excellent location for a colony.¹⁵

¹² Fagles, *Odyssey*, 215.

¹³ Odysseus notes that the neighboring island's condition can also be chalked up to the Cyclopes' lack of boats, so they are unable to mount a colonial expedition to settle the island themselves (Od. 9.125–130).

¹⁴ Fagles, *Odyssey*, 215.

¹⁵ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 21.

Earlier in the *Odyssey*, Homer describes Nausithous's foundation of Phaeacia as an act of delimiting and arranging land, "...he flung up walls around the city, built the houses, raised the gods' temples and shared the land for plowing" (ἀμφὶ δὲ τεῖχος ἔλασσε πόλει, καὶ ἐδείματο οἴκους, καὶ νηοὺς ποίησε θεῶν, καὶ ἐδάσσατ' ἀρούρας) (6.9–10).¹⁶ The divvying up of the land (δατέομαι) is specifically for the purpose of agriculture. We see the political implications of land reform when it is enacted in Egypt. Herodotus preserves a tradition of the legendary Egyptian hero Sesostris, an amalgam of several Twelfth Dynasty pharaohs, who "divided the country among all the Egyptians by giving each an equal square parcel of land, and made this his source of revenue, appointing the payment of a yearly tax" (Godley, LCL) (κατανεῖμαι δὲ τὴν χώραν Αἰγυπτίοισι ἅπασι ... κληρὸν ἴσον ἐκάστῳ τετράγωνον διδόντα, καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου τὰς προσόδους ποιήσασθαι, ἐπιτάξαντα ἀποφορὴν ἐπιτελέειν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν) (2.109).¹⁷ The land reform of Sesostris is for the purpose of financially supporting his own monarchy, rather than for agricultural production *per se*. Thus, Joseph and Moses in Fragments 2 and 3 combine these two motifs of land reform under the auspices of agricultural metaphor in the style of Greek colonization discourse.

Agricultural imagery is thus implicated in the colonial endeavor as a facet of the transition from indigenous land to colony. Dougherty notes that agriculture implies a certain

¹⁶ Fagles, *Odyssey*, 168. It may also be worth noting the cause of the Phaeacians's resettlement is due to their earlier proximity to the Cyclopes (*Od.* 6.4–5).

¹⁷ See also Diodorus 1.54.3 "And dividing the entire land into thirty-six parts which the Egyptians call nomes, he set over each a nomarch, who should superintend the collection of the royal revenues and administer all the affairs of his division" (Oldfather, LCL) (τὴν δὲ χώραν ἅπασαν εἰς ἕξ καὶ τριάκοντα μέρη διελὼν, ἃ καλοῦσιν Αἰγύπτιοι νομούς, ἐπέστησεν ἅπασιν νομάρχας τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῶν τε προσόδων τῶν βασιλικῶν καὶ διοικήσοντας ἅπαντα τὰ κατὰ τὰς ἰδίας μερίδας). Claude Obsomer, *Les campagnes de Sésostri dans Hérodote : essai d'interprétation du texte grec à la lumière des réalités égyptiennes* (Brussels: Connaissance de l'Égypte Ancienne, 1989); Kurt Lange, *Sesostris, ein ägyptischer König in Mythos, Geschichte und Kunst* (Munich: Hirmer, 1954).

violence towards the land and the indigenous population.¹⁸ Even the very act of plowing a furrow necessitates the physical manipulation of the soil by cutting into it. And while the land might be described as barren from the Greek perspective, this is not necessarily the case for the people living on the land. Dougherty makes this point when she represents several fragments of Archilochus narrating the colonization of Thasos by an expedition from Paros. Archilochus describes the island as completely bare: “this [island], stands like the backbone of an ass, crowned with wild jungle” (ἦδε δ’ ὄστ’ ὄνου ῥάκις / ἔστηκεν ὕλης ἀγρῆς ἐπιστεφής) (Fr. 21), which stands in stark contrast to the fertility of the land of Siris (Fr. 22).¹⁹ Dougherty rightly asserts that this barrenness, however, stands in for the anxiety about the indigenous inhabitants of Thasos.²⁰ The violence of this encounter underlies the violence of the transition from barren land to fruitful city which is a requisite of the colonization process. This is perhaps best illustrated by the competing narratives of the foundation of Syracuse, noted in Chapter 2. Plutarch’s version of the foundation of Syracuse (*Mor.* 772e–773b) places the violence in the hands of the *oikist*, who kills a boy in a fit of jealousy and founds a colony to expiate this wrong.²¹ Thucydides, on the other hand, cuts right to the chase: “the following year Syracuse was founded by Archias, one of the Heracleidae from Corinth, after he had first expelled the Sicels from the island” (6.3.2;

¹⁸ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 143.

¹⁹ Trans. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 22. Dougherty indicates the passages of Archilochus as Fragment 17T and 18T, but I have included above the fragment numbering included in *Archilochus, Semonides, and Hipponax, Greek Iambic Poetry: From the Seventh to the Fifth Centuries BC* (trans. and ed. by Douglas E. Gerber; LCL; Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1999). Fragment 21 is preserved in Plutarch, *On Exile* and Fragment 22 in Athenaeus, *Scholars at Dinner*.

²⁰ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 22. For more on the foundation of Thasos, see A. J. Graham, “The Foundation of Thasos,” *Annual of the British School of Athens* 73 (1978): 61–98.

²¹ This is consistent with the personalization of the civic crisis onto the figure of the *oikist*, and I will return to this trope later with a discussion of the “murderous founder,” cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 31–44.

Smith, LCL) (Συρακούσας δὲ τοῦ ἐχομένου ἔτους Ἀρχίας τῶν Ἡρακλειδῶν ἐκ Κορίνθου ᾧκισε, Σικελοὺς ἐξελάσας πρῶτον ἐκ τῆς νήσου). This is the same sort of obfuscation of violence that we saw in the differing accounts of Joseph's role in Egypt between Fragment 2 and Genesis. As we now turn to the role of sexual and reproductive metaphors in the Fragments, we will see further examples how colonization narrative obscures the violence inherent in the integration of colony and indigenous people.

2 Fertility of Another Kind: Reproductive Metaphors of Colonial Integration

Pindar, *Pythian 4*

(4.254-57) καὶ ἐν ἀλλοδαπαῖς
σπέρμ' ἀρούραις τουτάκις ὑμετέρας ἀ-
κτῖνος ὄλβου δέξατο μοιρίδιον
ἄμαρ ἢ νύκτες · τόθι γὰρ γένος Εὐφά-
μου φυτευθὲν λοιπὸν αἰεὶ
τέλλετο ·

(4.254-57) And in foreign fields, the fateful day or nights received at that time the seed of your splendid prosperity. For there the race of Euphemus was planted [to endure] forever (trans. Dougherty).²²

I noted in chapter 2 that agricultural imagery, such as that discussed above, also intersects with the metaphors of sexual relations and marriage found in Greek colonization narratives.²³

The example above, from Pindar's *Pythian 4*, illustrates the conflation with agricultural metaphor with the reproductive increase of the Greeks, who are coming into contact with women from Lemnos. Perhaps even more explicit is the tradition, preserved by Menander, that “when the father of the bride hands his daughter over to her future husband, he utters the following

²² Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 63.

²³ Cf. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 61–64.

formula: ‘I give her to you for the cultivation (ploughing) of legitimate children’ (ταύτην γνησίων παίδων ἐπ’ ἀρότωι σοι δίδωμι)” (*Perikeiromene* 1013–14).²⁴

This connection between agricultural imagery and sexual relationships includes an entirely new constellation of metaphors, namely metaphors of marriage, reproduction and sexual violence. The relationship between agricultural productivity and sexual productivity is found in Greek discourse outside of colonization narratives, as well. As Vernant notes:

In the Golden Age, before the institution of sacrifice, fruits and corn germinated spontaneously in the soil. It was as unnecessary to plough the land and plant it with seed in order to reap the harvest as it was to labour with women and fill their wombs with seed in order to obtain children from them. The sacrificial meal, instituted by Prometheus, has two effects. It introduces a diet in which the consumption of cooked meat from domesticated animals goes along with agricultural labour and the harvesting of cereals. Its other immediate consequence is, as Hesiod tell us, the appearance of the first woman and the establishment of marriage.²⁵

The integrative act of marriage is a parallel institution, in Vernant’s reading of Hesiod, with integrative activity of agriculture. Encoded in these metaphors is an explicit misogyny that frames the colonial narrative as one of masculine dominance, a misogyny which should be acknowledged at the outset as highly problematic. I will attempt to show in this section how these new metaphors expand the way in which Greek colonization narratives, and ultimately the Fragments of Artapanus, enact the integration between the colony and the indigenous population.

²⁴ Trans. Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 63–64.

²⁵ Jean-Pierre Vernant, “Introduction,” in Marcel Detienne, *The Gardens of Adonis: Spices in Greek Mythology* (trans. Janet Lloyd; Highlands, N.J.: Atlantic Press, 1977), ix.

2.1 Marriage and Procreation in Greek Colonization Narratives

Pausanias, on the origin of the island of Chios

Ποσειδῶνα ἐς τὴν νῆσον ἔρημον οὔσαν ἀφικέσθαι καὶ νύμφη τε ἐνταῦθα
συγγενέσθαι καὶ ὑπὸ τὰς ὠδῖνας τῆς νύμφης χιόνα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσεῖν ἐς τὴν γῆν,
καὶ ἀπὸ τούτου Ποσειδῶνα τῷ παιδί ὄνομα θέσθαι Χίον

(7.4.8) Poseidon came to the island when it was uninhabited; that there he had intercourse with a nymph, and that when she was in her pains there was a fall of snow (*chion*), and that accordingly Poseidon called his son Chios. (Jones, LCL)

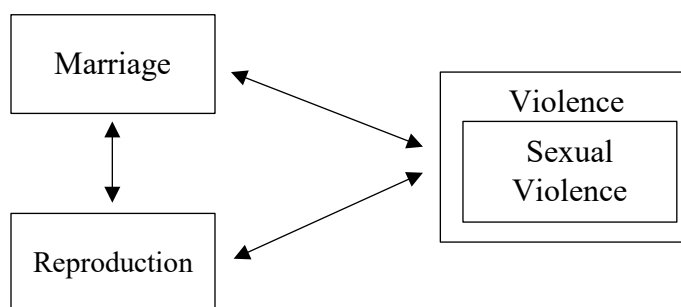
Pausanias, on Neleus's colonial expedition to Miletus

τότε δὲ ὡς ἐκράτησαν τῶν ἀρχαίων Μιλησίων οἱ Ἴωνες, τὸ μὲν γένος πᾶν τὸ
ἄρσεν ἀπέκτειναν πλὴν ὅσοι τῆς πόλεως ἀλισκομένης ἐκδιδράσκουσι, γυναῖκας
δὲ καὶ θυγατέρας τὰς ἐκείνων γαμοῦσι.

(7.2.5) When the Ionians had overcome the ancient Milesians they killed every male, except those who escaped at the capture of the city, but the wives of the Milesians and their daughters they married. (Jones, LCL)

These two excerpts from Pausanias serve to introduce several of the metaphorical nodes that constitute the additional network of discursive elements of sexual relations and integration. The metaphors of marriage, reproduction, violence (including the specific implication of sexual violence) are all elements in the integration of a new foundation into an indigenous space and population (Figure 6).²⁶

Figure 6. Possible discursive relationships of reproduction in Greek colonization discourse.

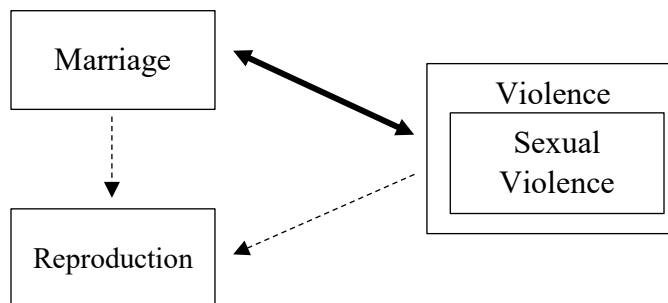


²⁶ I am indicating sexual violence as a particular subset of violence as a box within a box in this and subsequent figures.

Again, we see a web of potential discursive relationships that will be enacted in a given text.

Thinking causally, we could represent Neleus's foundation as such (Figure 7):

Figure 7. Discursive relationships related to reproduction in Neleus narrative.



The violent expropriation of the indigenous Milesians, and the execution of the men and male children, is the necessary engine for the perpetration of sexual violence against the women and female children in the form of forced marriage. The metaphors of sexual violence and marriage are, in the context of the narrative, coterminous in that the concept of sexual violence is obscured by that of marriage. For this reason, I have represented the relationship between the two metaphors with a bolded line. The narrative does not differentiate between the two, as colonial narrative often obscures violence—yet the preliminary violence of the encounter between Neleus's expedition and the indigenous Milesians is preserved. This integration through violence implicitly culminates in the generation of children between the colonists and the indigenous women, a generation which stems simultaneously from the metaphors of marriage and sexual violence.

The symbolic realization of the integration of the colony and the indigenous place, the children of the colonists and indigenous women, is therefore a symbol replete with violence at multiple levels, but which legitimates this violence as part of the larger integrative act. It is precisely to this end that Dougherty notes that “the legitimation of violence is part of what lies

behind the use of marriage imagery in colonial discourse; equally important are the ideology of acculturation and a belief in marriage as a model for the integration of Greek and native elements.”²⁷ This is the same sort of legitimation of violence we saw earlier in the examples of Joseph and Moses in the Fragments of Artapanus. In those instances, noted above, the metaphors related to agriculture and the arrangement of land occluded the violence underlying the integration in the narrative. As we now turn to further examples in the fragments, I argue that the integrative metaphors of marriage and reproduction are fulfilling a similar function here.

2.2 Joseph and Aseneth: Joseph Integrates Egypt

Fragment 2

(3) ... and he [Joseph] married Aseneth, the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis, by whom he fathered children.

(3) ... γῆναι δ’ αὐτὸν Ἡλιουπόλιτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα, ἐξ ἧς γεννησάι παῖδας.

In Fragment 2 we see a close parallel between the agricultural and sexual productivity of Joseph. I have noted already that Joseph spearheads agricultural development in Egypt, making what was once barren into fertile land (Fragment 2.3). The new agricultural fertility of the land is subsequently connected to the sexual fertility of Joseph’s marriage to Aseneth, the daughter of an Egyptian priest, with whom he fathers children (ἐξ ἧς γεννησάι παῖδας) (2.3). Making the land fertile, marrying and having children with an indigenous woman mutually reinforce the metaphorical enactment of the colonial endeavor. Both metaphors structuring this event point to the integration between Joseph and Egypt, as a cultivator of productivity.

The integrative role of Aseneth is highlighted by her identity as the daughter of a priest of Heliopolis (Ἡλιουπόλιτου ἱερέως Ἀσενέθ θυγατέρα) (2.3). Joseph’s arrangement of the land of Egypt towards greater agricultural productivity relates towards the temples of Egypt, as well.

²⁷ Dougherty, *Poetics of Colonization*, 76.

After he makes Egypt fertile again, Joseph also allocates amounts of land to priests (τινας τῶν ἀρουῶν τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποκληρῶσαι) (2.2).²⁸ The institutional priesthood and the temples in Egypt are a consistent element of Egyptian identity, not only in Greek representations of Egypt but also as illustrated by their role in various periods of Egyptian political upheaval.²⁹ In the Ptolemaic period, contemporary to Artapanus, the indigenous Egyptian temples were a key aspect of the Ptolemaic political ideology. As demonstrated by the preserved accounts of temple rituals at Edfu, the Egyptian temples and Ptolemaic monarchy were mutually reinforcing.³⁰ So Joseph marrying the daughter of an Egyptian priest is freighted with integrative weight, when read alongside the role of Egyptian temples in Greek, Egyptian and especially Ptolemaic Greco-Egyptian contexts.³¹

Joseph's procreative activity, with his Egyptian wife Aseneth, begins the final phase of the integration of the colonial foundation, which continues with Jacob's arrival and settlement of

²⁸ Diodorus 1.21.7 attributes this same activity of allocating land to the Egyptian temples to Isis, when she commits a third of the land of Egypt to the temples to defray the costs of the new cult to Osiris that she institutes throughout Egypt after his death.

²⁹ For an overview of the importance of temples in Egyptian culture from the Old Kingdom through the Roman period, see the essays in *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Byron Shafer; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997). Some notable Greek representations of the wisdom of Egyptian priests include Herodotus 2.37, Diodorus 1.21.7. Also Gen 47:22, 26 notes that the temple estates were exempt from Joseph's centralizing land reform.

³⁰ For the Coronation of the Falcon ritual at Edfu, see Carina van den Hoven, "The coronation ritual of the sacred living falcon at Edfu: a divine, royal and cyclical rite of passage," in *Life, Death, and Coming of Age in Antiquity: Individual Rites of Passage in the Ancient Near East and its Surroundings* (eds. Alice Moutron and Julie Patrier; Leiden: The Netherlands Institute for the Near East, 2014), 159–78. For more general surveys of the influence of Egyptian temples on the Ptolemaic monarchy, see, Ragnhild Bjerre Finnestad, "Temples of the Ptolemaic and Roman Periods: Ancient Traditions in New Contexts" in *Temples of Ancient Egypt* (ed. Byron Shafer; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), pp. 185–238. This is reinforced in the other direction, as well, by the Ptolemaic patronage of the Egyptian temples displayed in, for example, the *Satrap Stela* noted in the previous chapter. See Robert Ritner, "The Satrap Stela," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (ed. William K. Simpson; 3rd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 392–97.

³¹ We find a similar integrating use of marriage in the mass wedding preserved in Arrian's account in *Anabasis* 7.4.4–7 of Alexander at Susa, in which Alexander arranges marriages for himself and his lieutenants from among the Persian nobility, including the daughter of Darius.

particular places, and culminates with the summary phrase “the Syrians multiplied in Egypt” (τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ) (2.3). Since I have already considered the implications of Jacob’s arrival in Egypt and the construction activity of the *Hermiouth* in chapter 2, I will turn my attention to the two elements of reproductive activity which bookend the integration of Joseph’s foundation into Egypt. First, we see an attestation of Joseph’s virility which echoes the account of the birth of Manneseh and Ephraim in Gen 41:50–52, although in Fragment 2 Joseph’s children are not named. We see only that he marries Aseneth “by whom he fathered children” (ἐξ ἧς γεννήσαι παῖδας) (2.3). The construction γεννάω + ἐκ + genitive, rendered by Holladay as “by whom he [Joseph] fathered children” is worth some attention. We find a similar construction, also concerning procreation in Egypt, in Plutarch *Is. Os.* 366a in which Horus is born. Out of the sexual union of Isis and Osiris they beget Horus (ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνουσίας ταύτης γεννῶσι τὸν Ὡρον).³² Plutarch, in describing the calculation of generations, also describes a son being born to a father as “the one having been begotten from him” (τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγεννημένον) (*Def. orac.* 415e). It is worth noting that in Fragment 3.3, when the pharaoh fathers a daughter, Merris, it is rendered as τοῦτον δὲ γεννήσαι θυγατέρα Μέρριν, perhaps standing in contrast to the emphasis in Fragment 2 on Aseneth’s role as a place of reproductive origins.³³ The significance of this emphasis on Aseneth as the origin of Joseph’s children should not be lost on us, given Joseph’s role as a founder integrating the Jews into Egypt. The parallel is between Joseph’s arrangement of land, out of which springs a new agricultural bounty, and his marriage to an

³² Later in the same work we find another generative pair, Cronos and Aphrodite, out of whose union all things are created (ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτην, γεννᾶσθαι πάντα) (*Is. Os.* 378e).

³³ In LXX Gen 41:50 (τῷ δὲ Ἰωσηφ ἐγένοντο υἱοὶ δύο πρὸ τοῦ ἐλθεῖν τὰ ἑπτὰ ἔτη τοῦ λιμοῦ οὓς ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ Ἀσεννεθ θυγάτηρ Πετεφρη ἱερέως Ἡλίου πόλεως), the phrase οὓς ἔτεκεν αὐτῷ Ἀσεννεθ is rendered “to whom Aseneth bore to him [Joseph] (NETS). The verb τίκτω (ἔτεκεν) can be applied to a mother, a father or both parents in unison to refer to the procreation of children.

Egyptian woman, out of which spring children. In both cases, Joseph provides the means by which the fecundity of Egypt (both agricultural and procreative) is released.

This outburst of productivity is echoed by the statement that the “the Syrians multiplied in Egypt” (τοὺς Σύρους πλεονάσαι ἐν τῇ Αἰγύπτῳ) (2.3). There is a resonance here with the cause for the maltreatment of the Israelites given in Exod 1:9–10, in which pharaoh:

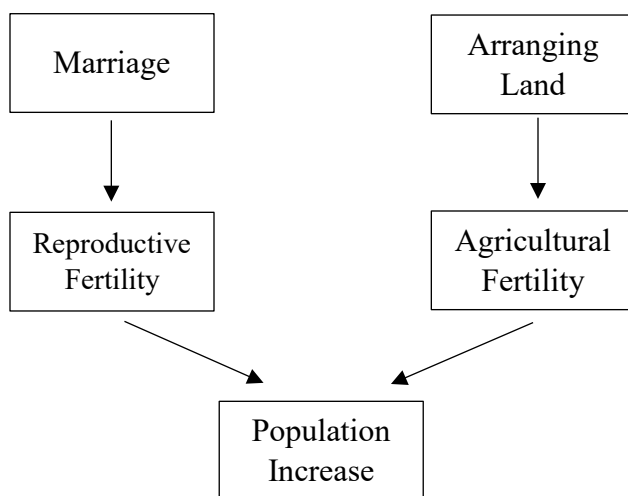
εἶπεν δὲ τῷ ἔθνει αὐτοῦ ἰδοὺ τὸ γένος τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ μέγα πλῆθος καὶ ἰσχύει ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς δεῦτε οὖν κατασοφισώμεθα αὐτούς μήποτε πληθυνθῆ καὶ ἡνίκα ἂν συμβῆ ἡμῖν πόλεμος προστεθήσονται καὶ οὗτοι πρὸς τοὺς ὑπεναντίους καὶ ἐκπολεμήσαντες ἡμᾶς ἐξελεύσονται ἐκ τῆς γῆς
 ...said to his nation, “Look, the race of the sons of Israel is a great multitude and is becoming stronger than we. Come then, let us deal shrewdly with them, lest it be multiplied, and, whenever war happens to us, these also shall be added to the opponents, and after going to war against us, they shall depart from the land.”
 (NETS)

The multiplication of the Israelites is the cause for anxiety among the indigenous rulers and it is reasonable to align this statement from Artapanus with the biblical tradition.³⁴ Yet Artapanus never gives the cause for the eventual mistreatment of the Jews in Egypt. A different point of comparison with the Exodus tradition appears in the preceding verse. In Exod 1:7 we find that “...the sons of Israel increased and multiplied and became common and were growing very, very strong. Now the land kept multiplying them” (οἱ δὲ υἱοὶ Ἰσραηλ ηὗξήθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν καὶ χυδαῖοι ἐγένοντο καὶ κατίσχυον σφόδρα σφόδρα ἐπλήθυνεν δὲ ἡ γῆ αὐτούς) (NETS). The land itself (ἡ γῆ) causes the increase of the Israelites. While this is perhaps a bit ambiguous, the increase of the population still seems consonant with the idea of increased agricultural fertility when the land allows for the multiplication. It is telling, then, that the increase of the Syrians in

³⁴ A similar acknowledgement of the increase of the Israelites in Egypt under Joseph’s management is found in lxx Gen 47:27 “So then Israel settled in the land of Egypt on the land of Gesem, and they gained an inheritance on it and increased and multiplied exceedingly” (κατόκησεν δὲ Ἰσραηλ ἐν γῇ Αἰγύπτῳ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς Γεσεμ καὶ ἐκληρονόμησαν ἐπ’ αὐτῆς καὶ ηὗξήθησαν καὶ ἐπληθύνθησαν σφόδρα) (NETS).

Egypt, according to Artapanus, is the final stage of increase which occurs only after Joseph's integrative acts. These acts provide for the overflowing fecundity of Egypt to be realized. Laying the reproductive fertility next to the agricultural fertility of the narrative can be represented along the following, parallel lines (Figure 8):

Figure 8. Discursive relationships between agricultural and sexual fertility in Fragment 2



Both Joseph's arrangement of land and his marriage to an Egyptian priest's daughter serve to set up the fertility of Egypt, leading to procreative increase. As we saw above, the metaphors of agricultural fertility structure the integration of the colonial expedition into the new territory of the indigenous population. The metaphors of agricultural fertility and procreation have a similarly integrative effect as they both serve to change Egypt from barren to fertile. We will see this same contrast between infertile Egypt and fecund founder in Fragment 3.

2.3 Founder of the Flood: Moses as Bringer of Fertility

Fragment 3

(19) διεκδρᾶναι δὲ εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν καὶ Ῥαγουήλω τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι συμβιοῦν, λαβόντα τὴν ἐκείνου θυγατέρα

(19) He then fled into Arabia where he took up residence with Raguel, the chieftain of the region, and he married Raguel's daughter.

(27) τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον ἦν εἶχε ράβδον ἐκβαλόντα ὄφιν ποιῆσαι · πτονθέντων δὲ πάντων ἐπιλαβόμενον τῆς οὐρᾶς 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 ·

(27) So Moses threw out the rod which he held and made it a snake. Since everyone was terrified, he seized it by the tail, and made it a rod again. (28) He then stepped forward a few steps, struck the Nile with his rod, and the river flooded, inundating all of Egypt. It was from that time that the flooding of the Nile began.

While the agricultural imagery of arranging land was very similar between Fragments 2 and 3, in this instance, we see a marked difference between Joseph and Moses. It is worth noting, however, that the land arrangements in Fragment 2 lend themselves to the notion of fertility and the consolidation of political power through the association with Joseph. Moses's land arrangements are almost explicitly oriented toward bolstering the political power of the pharaoh and Fragment 3 says very little about the subsequent fertility of any of this effort. This difference is highlighted again as Joseph integrates his colonial endeavor into Egypt through marriage and procreation, which foreshadow the multiplication of the Jews; yet Moses marries an unnamed non-Egyptian and we have no information about any children. The daughter of an Arabian chieftain is hardly the integrative location for Moses to found a colonial expedition to Egypt and this is the starting point for Artapanus's reorientation of proper founding activity which culminates in the Exodus event.³⁵

³⁵ We find a rough parallel in "The Story of Sinuhe," a Middle Egyptian tale of a courtier named Sinuhe who leaves Egypt to avoid some vague threat and ends up in Syria where he marries the daughter of a local ruler and raises children. The ultimate goal of Sinuhe is to return to Egypt, which he does by the end of the narrative, so the flight to Syria and marriage to an indigenous woman seem to fall short of the integrative outcome in this case, as well, which allows for Sinuhe to return home. See William K. Simpson, "The Story of Sinuhe," in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (ed. William K. Simpson; 3rd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 54–66. My thanks to Dr. Leanna Boychenko for pointing out this parallel.

We should be attuned to Moses as a symbol of fertility because of the version of his origin story preserved in Artapanus. In LXX Exodus 1, there is indeed a concern for fertility, as I noted above; namely, that the Hebrews in Egypt were becoming too numerous (1:7–10). This development sets in motion the plot by which Moses is adopted into the Egyptian royal household. When the pharaoh decrees that all Hebrew male children are to be killed (1:16, 22) Moses is set in a basket alongside the Nile and then discovered and adopted by the pharaoh's daughter (2:1–10). The text gives no indication about the motive for adopting Moses other than as an act of mercy (2:6). Artapanus combines the idea of Moses's adoption with a more pointed development of the anxiety around issues of fertility.

The negative side of this is the inclusion of infertility in Fragment 3. For Artapanus, Moses is not adopted out of an abundance of mercy for the plight of a Hebrew child, but rather is benefiting from the infertility of his Egyptian adoptive parents. Merris, the named daughter of pharaoh, adopts Moses because she is unable to have children biologically (ταύτην δὲ στεῖραν ὑπάρχουσιν ὑποβαλέσθαι τινὸς τῶν Ἰουδαίων παιδίων, τοῦτο δὲ Μώϋσον ὀνομάσαι) (Fragment 3.3). Artapanus does not mention the circumstances which made Moses available for adoption, nor the story of Moses being placed in a basket and discovered. Artapanus only prefaces the situation with a line in 3.2 that the new pharaoh, Palmanothes, “dealt meanly with the Jews” (τοῦτον δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις φαύλως προσφέρεσθαι). Instead, the cause of Moses's adoption seems to be that Merris and her husband, Chenephres, were unable to have their own children.³⁶ The setup to the narrative of Moses is this one of noticeable infertility, an infertility remedied by the prolific fecundity of the Jews in Egypt noted in Fragment 2.3. This is amplified by the lack of

³⁶ Philo *Moses* 1.13 and Josephus *Ant.* 2.232 both note that the pharaoh's daughter had no children, but not that she was unable to have children.

any violence directed at the Jews prompting Moses to be rescued—indeed we have no sense in Artapanus that Moses needs rescuing from being killed at all, but that it is plausible to read his adoption as a solution to a problem particular to Merris and Chenephres, rather than to the Jews as a community.

If the infertility of the Egyptians is the negative aspect of the reproductive metaphor in Fragment 3, then the positive aspect is Moses’s activity related to the fertility inherent in the Nile. The Nile is the foundation of Egyptian prosperity and agricultural fertility and is reflected in “a cyclic line of periodicity, which manifested itself to the Egyptians above all in the regular repetition of the Nile flood-waters and the flourishing of crops.”³⁷ It is precisely this abundance with which Moses related by means of his rod (ῥάβδον). The LXX Exodus narrative, consistent with the Hebrew text, Moses (through Aaron) transforms the Nile into a river of blood either by striking the river with his rod or by having Aaron do so (Exod 7:17–19).³⁸ The results are noticeable, to say the least, in Exod 7:20-21:

καὶ ἐποίησαν οὕτως Μωυσεῖς καὶ Ααρων καθάπερ ἐνετείλατο αὐτοῖς κύριος καὶ ἐπάρας τῇ ῥάβδῳ αὐτοῦ ἐπάταξεν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐναντίον Φαραῶ καὶ ἐναντίον τῶν θεραπόντων αὐτοῦ καὶ μετέβαλεν πᾶν τὸ ὕδωρ τὸ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ εἰς αἷμα καὶ οἱ ἰχθύες οἱ ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ ἐτελεύτησαν καὶ ἐπώζεσεν ὁ ποταμός καὶ οὐκ

³⁷ Siegfried Morenz, *Egyptian Religion* (trans. Ann E. Keep; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1973), 75-6. Morenz also notes that “the Egyptians must have been constantly aware of death, for the Nile valley is a long, thin strip of cultivable territory surrounded by lifeless desert; no one in central or Upper Egypt could ever forget the sharp dividing-line between fertile land and desert,” 186–87.

³⁸ The biblical account bears the evidence of redaction, in which E preserves the tradition of Moses striking the river with his rod at God’s behest, while the P redaction shifts the action onto Aaron, who follows the instruction of Moses. For a source and redaction analysis of this passage, see William H. C. Propp, *Exodus I, 1-18: A New Translation with Introduction and Commentary* (AB 2; Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1998), 286–354. For a thorough treatment of the relationship between the Jews in Egypt and water, especially the Nile, see Nathalie LaCoste, *Waters of the Exodus: Jewish Experiences with Water in Ptolemaic and Roman Egypt* (JSJSupp 190; Boston; Leiden: Brill, 2018).

ἠδύναντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι πιεῖν ὕδωρ ἐκ τοῦ ποταμοῦ καὶ ἦν τὸ αἷμα ἐν πάσῃ γῆ Αἰγύπτου.

And Moses and Aaron did so just as the Lord commanded them, and Aaron lifted up his rod and with his rod struck the water that in the river before Pharaoh and before his attendants, and all the water in the river turned into blood. And the fish in the river died, and the river stank, and the Egyptians could not drink water from the river and there was blood in the whole land of Egypt.

While Propp notes that this image of Egypt bleeding from its arterial river would be especially disturbing and would render all of Egypt ritually impure for a Jewish audience, Artapanus picks up on a different aspect of the narrative.³⁹

When Moses strikes the Nile with his rod in Fragment 3.28, the connection to the LXX Exodus narrative is in the water of the river stinking (τὸ ὕδωρ ἐποζέσαι).⁴⁰ In the LXX version, the fact that the river has turned into blood and all the fish in it have died seems to precipitate the fouling of the water. Artapanus, however, gives a different result to Moses's striking of the Nile: "When the stagnant water began to smell, the animals in the river perished and the people as well began to die of thirst" (συναγαγὸν δὲ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐποζέσαι καὶ τὰ ποτάμια διαφθεῖραι ζῶα τοὺς τε λαοὺς διὰ τὴν δίψαν φθείρεσθαι) (3.28). The order of events is inverted; whereas in the LXX narrative, the river stinks after the fish in the river die, in Artapanus the fish appear to die because of the stagnant, flooded river. What is important to note here is that in Artapanus, Moses does not turn the Nile into a river of blood. Instead, Moses causes the inundation of the Nile to begin: "He then stepped forward a few steps, struck the Nile with his rod, and the river flooded, inundating all of Egypt. It was from that time that the flooding of the Nile began" (προελθόντα

³⁹ Propp, *Exodus I, 1-18*, 325. Propp is following Ziony Zevit, "The Priestly Redaction and Interpretation of the Plague Narrative in Exodus," *JQR* 66 (1975-76): 193-211, esp. 200, n. 31.

⁴⁰ In LXX Exod 7:21, the river begins to stink (ἐπόζεσεν ὁ ποταμός).

δὲ μικρὸν τὸν Νεῖλον τῇ ῥάβδῳ πατάξαι, τὸν δὲ ποταμὸν πολύχουν γενόμενον κατακλύζειν ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον · ἀπὸ τότε δὲ καὶ τὴν κατάβασιν αὐτοῦ γίνεσθαι) (3.28). This combination, the flooding of the Nile and the resulting stagnant water, presents a tension in the narrative. Moses's actions are both overflowing with the fertility upon which the very existence of Egypt depends and also destructive to that same Egyptian abundance.⁴¹ While Artapanus does not directly mention the agricultural implications of the Nile inundation, the inference is clear. Yet the network of fertility metaphors around the flooding of the Nile in Egyptian discourse is inclusive of, but not limited to, agriculture. There are two throughlines that add depth to how Artapanus positions Moses as a founder of fertility. First, and most obviously, is the role of the Nile in the agricultural bounty of Egypt, as noted above. Notably, the Nile often avoids divine personification in Egyptian cult, but is instead the purview of several divinities.⁴² The flooding

⁴¹ Here, Howard Jacobson's reading of τὴν κατάβασιν as τὴν κατάραξιν is tempting. Howard Jacobson, "Artapanus and the Flooding of The Nile," *CQ* 56.2 (2006): 602–3. Jacobson reads τὴν κατάβασιν as a scribal error, replacing a practically unattested word with one more familiar, although one which Jacobson contends is not connected to flooding or the Nile inundation. Yet the Nile having inundated Egypt (κατακλύζειν ὅλην τὴν Αἴγυπτον) is already established in the narrative and so it seems plausible that καταβαίνω, which can be associated with the movement of water, such as in Plato *Critias* 118d, would be read as the movement of the Nile waters as well, given the context. In the same vein, we will note below that Plutarch uses ἐπιβαίνω to describe the movement of the water of the Nile onto the land during the inundation, as well, in *Is. Os.* 366a. This being said, the idea of "cataracting" the Nile as a response to the initial flood resonates with the portrayal of Osiris in Diodorus 1.19.5, who prevents stagnant pools (μὴ λιμάζειν) of Nile floodwater from forming by constructing the initial cataracts in Ethiopia. I will address the parallels between the account in Diodorus and the stinking pools of flooded Nile water in Artapanus below.

⁴² David Silverman stresses the distinction between the Nile itself, which was unpersonified as a god, and the inundation, personified in the figure of Hapi, "Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt," in *Religion in Ancient Egypt* (ed. Byron Shafer; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1991), 34. Erik Hornung's position is that no waterways in Egypt are personified as gods, but only the general concepts of abundance, including the lack of a sea god until the New Kingdom import of the Semitic god Yamm, *Conceptions of God in Ancient Egypt: The One and the Many* (trans. John Baines; Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1982), 77–79. Siegfried Morenz suggests that representations of cosmic divine power were impacted by the absence of cult practice, which led to more clear personification of Re as the sun god, rather than sun itself (barring the Atenist development later), *Egyptian Religion*, 29–31. Conversely, Hornung notes that both Hapi and Nun, the primeval waters of creation, often bear the epithet "father of the gods" (along with other divinities associated with the primordial creation like Atum, Geb, Shu e.g.) thus bringing together the waters of the Nile in association with the waters of creation, perhaps, *Conceptions of God*, 147–48. Other gods do have particular purviews over the activities in the Nile, as well, such as the crocodile god Sobek, Hornung, *Conceptions of God*, 79. It seems perhaps that while the Nile itself was not personified in its nature as a river, the core concepts associated with the Nile, fertility, abundance, and creation, are personified and

of the Nile was associated with the god Hapi (*ḥ'p̄j*), who is typically represented as a man with a protruding belly and “pendulous breasts,” symbolizing the annual influx of fertility from the Nile inundation.⁴³ In this sense, Moses takes on the role of Hapi by assuming responsibility for the inundation.

The manipulation of the Nile is a trope we find in Greek depictions of Egyptian myth, as in an explanation of the Prometheus myth in Diodorus 1.19.1–4. In this case, the Nile overflows with such violence that it destroys everything in the path of the flood. It takes the intervention of Heracles to set the river back into its proper course. Similarly, Diodorus recounts an episode in which Osiris, as king of Egypt, constructs dikes (*τὰ χώματα*):

...ὥστε κατὰ τὴν πλήρωσιν αὐτοῦ τὴν χώραν μὴ λιμνάζειν παρὰ τὸ συμφέρον,
ἀλλὰ διὰ τινῶν κατεσκευασμένων θυρῶν εἰσαφίεσθαι τὸ ῥεῦμα πρῶως καθ' ὅσον
ἂν ἦ χρεία.

...so that at flood-time it might not form stagnant pools over the land to its detriment, but that the flood-water might be let upon the countryside, in a gentle flow as it might be needed, through gates which he had built (Oldfather, LCL).

The role of the hero, in both instances, is to manipulate the flow of the Nile in order to preserve its fertility while managing its destructive power. Moses, likewise, returns the Nile to its proper course after a concession from the pharaoh, “So Moses again struck the water with his rod and the waters subsided” (*τὸν δὲ Μώϋσον πάλιν τῇ ῥάβδῳ πατάξαντα τὸ ὕδωρ συστεῖλαι τὸ ῥεῦμα*) (3.29). Thus, for Artapanus, Moses is thoroughly in command of the Nile, both in unleashing its

the relationship of those personified gods to the Nile are preserved, especially in the case of Hapi. Morenz’s hunch may very well be true “that heaven and earth, sun and moon, air and water (Nile) did have the rank of real gods with a personal existence,” but “the evidence does not go far enough to solve our problem,” *Egyptian Religion*, 30.

⁴³ David P. Silverman, “Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt,” 7–87; esp. 21, 25, and 34. See also John Baines, *Fecundity Figures: Egyptian Personification and the Iconology of a Genre* (Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 1985) and, for the Greco-Roman period, see Danielle Bonneau, *La crue du Nil, divinité égyptienne, à travers mille ans d'histoire (332 av.-641 ap. J.-C.) d'après les auteurs grecs et latins, et les documents des époques ptolémaïque, romaine et byzantine* (Paris: C. Klincksieck, 1964).

destructive power and, in fulfilling the role of the Egyptian heroes, in restoring the Nile's proper flow. Moses can manipulate the power of the Nile and prompts its initial burst of fertility.⁴⁴

The second throughline of fertility is more complex in how the fertility of the Nile is associated with Isis and Osiris. Diodorus 1.22.6 notes that, after Isis gathered up all of the dismembered parts of Osiris, one part was missing:⁴⁵

Τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀνευρεθέντα τοῦ Ὀσίριδος μέρη ταφῆς ἀξιοθῆναί φασι τὸν εἰρημένον τρόπον, τὸ δὲ αἰδοῖον ὑπὸ μὲν Τυφῶνος εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν ριφῆναι λέγουσι διὰ τὸ μηδένα τῶν συνεργησάντων αὐτὸ λαβεῖν βουλευθῆναι
Now the parts of the body of Osiris which were found were honoured with burial, they say, in the manner described above, but the [genitals] (τὸ αἰδοῖον), according to them, were thrown by Typhon into the Nile because no one of his accomplices was willing to take them. (Oldfather, LCL)⁴⁶

The association of the Nile with the reproductive symbol of the male genitals should come as no surprise, given the association between agricultural and reproductive fertility already noted. The

⁴⁴ There are episodes of Egyptian figures manipulating the Nile, in addition to portrayals of the Egyptian priests in Frag 3.30, who are only able to change the color of the Nile, and Exod 7:18. In “King Cheops and the Magicians,” a Middle Egyptian narrative preserved in the Westcar Papyrus (P. Berlin 3033), a certain Djadjaemonekh is able to pull back water in a lake using magic words in order to retrieve a woman's brooch which had fallen in. “Then said the chief lector Djadjaemonekh his magic sayings. He placed on e side of the water of the lake upon the other...,” trans. William K. Simpson, “King Cheops and the Magicians,” in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (ed. William K. Simpson; 3rd ed.; New Haven: Yale University Press, 2003), 17.

⁴⁵ For an overview of the Osiris myth, and its reception in antiquity, see J. Gwyn Griffiths, *The Conflict of Horus and Seth from Egyptian and Classical Sources; A Study in Ancient Mythology* (LMAOS; Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1960); *ibid.*, *The Origins of Osiris and His Cult* (SHR 40; Leiden: Brill, 1980).

⁴⁶ See also Diodorus 1.21.5 “Now Isis recovered all the pieces of the body except the privates, and wishing that the burial-place of her husband should remain secret and yet be honoured by all the inhabitants of Egypt, she fulfilled her purpose in somewhat the following manner” (τὴν δ' οὖν Ἴσιν πάντα τὰ μέρη τοῦ σώματος πλὴν τῶν αἰδοίων ἀνευρεῖν· βουλομένην δὲ τὴν ἀνδρὸς ταφὴν ἄδηλου ποιῆσαι καὶ τιμωμένην παρὰ πᾶσι τοῖς τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατοικοῦσι, συντελέσαι τὸ δόξαν τοῖς δὲ τινὶ τρόπῳ). The Osiris myth has a long life in both Egyptian and Greek literature. For the Osiris myth in Egyptian myth, see James Allen, *The Ancient Egyptian Pyramid Texts* (2nd ed.; Atlanta: SBL Press, 2015); Raymond O. Faulkner, *The Ancient Egyptian Coffin Texts* (3 vols.; Modern Egyptology Series; Warminster, Wiltshire: Aris & Phillips, 1973–78). In addition to Diodorus, Plutarch *Is. Os.* preserves a full accounting of Plutarch's understanding of the myth, more on which below.

result of the separation of Osiris's genitals is Isis's institution of their likenesses in Egyptian cult

(1.22.6):

ὑπὸ δὲ τῆς Ἰσιδος οὐδὲν ἦττον τῶν ἄλλων ἀξιοθῆναι τιμῶν ἰσοθέων· ἔν τε γὰρ τοῖς ἱεροῖς εἶδωλον αὐτοῦ κατασκευάσασαν τιμᾶν καταδειῖξαι καὶ κατὰ τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰς θυσίας τὰς τῷ θεῷ τούτῳ γινομένας ἐντιμότερον ποιῆσαι καὶ πλείστου σεβασμοῦ τυγχάνειν.

Yet Isis thought them as worthy of divine honours as the other parts, for, fashioning a likeness of them, she set it up in the temples, commanded that it be honoured, and made it the object of the highest regard and reverence in the rites and sacrifices accorded to the god. (Oldfather, LCL)

Plutarch develops the reproductive metaphor of the Osiris myth further in *Is. Os.* 366a:

Ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἰσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν, ἀλλ' ἣς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μειγνόμενος· ἐκ δὲ τῆς συνουσίας ταύτης γεννῶσι τὸν Ὡρον.

As they [the Egyptians] regard the Nile as the effusion of Osiris, so they hold and believe the earth to be the body of Isis, not all of it, but so much of it as the Nile covers, fertilizing it and uniting with it. From this union they make Horus to be born. (Babbitt, LCL)

Here the reproductive fertility of the Nile is figurative, as in the resting place of Osiris's genitals, but is put into practice through metaphorical reproduction. The fertilization of the land by the Nile inundation is personified in the sexual generation of Horus as the offspring of Isis and Osiris.⁴⁷ Osiris's fertility, expressed through the inundation of the Nile is not limited to Isis-as-earth. Plutarch also recounts, regarding the begetting of Anubis, in *Is. Os.* 366b:

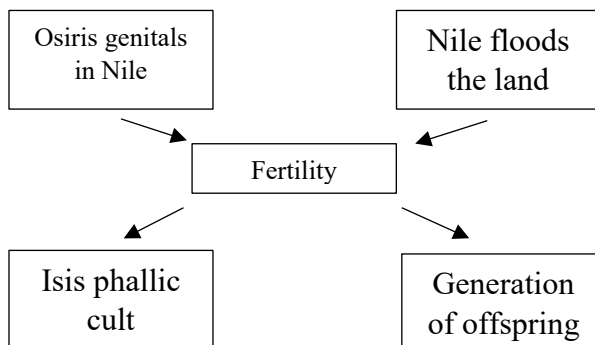
ὅταν δ' ὑπερβαλὼν καὶ πλεονάσας ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπέκεινα πλησιάσῃ τοῖς ἐσχατεύουσι, τοῦτο μεῖζιν Ὀσίριδος πρὸς Νέφθην καλοῦσιν

Whenever, then, the Nile overflows and with abounding waters spreads far away to those who dwell in the outermost regions, they call this the union of Osiris with Nephthys. (Oldfather, LCL)

⁴⁷ See also *Is. Os.* 363d "And thus among the Egyptians such men say that Osiris is the Nile consorting with the Earth, which is Isis" (Oldfather, LCL) (οὕτω παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις Νεῖλον εἶναι τὸν Ὀσίριν Ἰσιδι συνόντα τῇ γῆ).

We could visually represent the reproductive fertility metaphors of the Nile thus (Figure 9):

Figure 9. Reproductive fertility metaphors of the Nile in Diodorus and Plutarch



Thus, there is parallel imagery of the fertility of the Nile that culminates in the establishment of a phallic cult in Egyptian temples and the generation of divine offspring, namely Horus, who is associated most strongly with Egyptian kingship.⁴⁸ In this way, the flooding of the Nile fertilizes both the Egyptian temple culture and the monarchy.

In Callimachus's *Hymn to Zeus*, after Rhea gives birth to Zeus she strikes Gaia (the earth) with her staff and the water of many rivers flows out, "She spoke and the goddess, lifting up her great arm, struck the hill with her staff; it was split wide apart for her and a great stream of water poured forth" (εἶπε καὶ ἀντανύσασα θεῆν μεγάλην ὑψόθι πῆχυν πληξεν ὄρος σκήπτρω· τὸ δέ οἱ δίχα πολὺ διέστη, ἐκ δ' ἔχεεν μέγα χεῦμα) (30–32 [trans. Susan A. Stephens]).⁴⁹ Stephens also notes the Egyptian connection here that just as "the region of Arcadia was dry before the birth of Zeus and that waters flowed as a consequence," so do we see a similar abundance of fertility

⁴⁸ "Once in his new position, the king would reenact the succession of Horus after the death of his father, Osiris. The living king was identified with Horus, the falcon, while the dead king was identified with Osiris (and Re)," Silverman, "Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt," 68. See also the coronation ritual of the falcon at Edfu, noted above.

⁴⁹ Susan A. Stephens, *Callimachus: The Hymns* (New York, N.Y.: Oxford University Press, 2015), 55.

connected with coming of the Nile inundation.⁵⁰ Callimachus provides a helpful Hellenistic merger of the fertility metaphors of the arrival of rivers and the procreative fertility of birth, both of which orient around the birth of Zeus.

Moses's actions at the Nile are likewise operating at two levels, which parallel this division of Nile fertility imagery from Greek discourse. First, Moses exercises command over the foundation of Egyptian culture by commanding the Nile itself by means of his rod (ράβδον). In addition to commanding the fertility of the Nile, via the inundation, with his rod, Moses also commands the fertility of the earth by the same means:

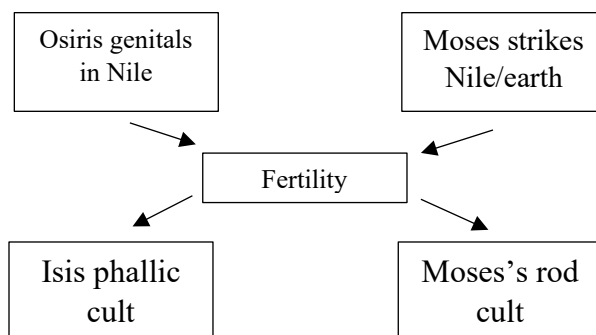
(3.31) πατάξαντα τὴν γῆν τῆ ῥάβδῳ ζῴων τι πτηνὸν ἀνεῖναι λυμαίνεσθαι τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους ... (32) πάλιν τε τὸν Μωϋσον βάτραχον διὰ τῆς ῥάβδου ἀνεῖναι, πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀκρίδας καὶ σκνίφας.
 (3.31)...[Moses] struck the ground with his rod and raised up certain species of winged creatures to scourge the Egyptians... (32) Once again, Moses used his rod to raise up frogs as well as locusts and fleas.

The response to this outburst of fertility by means of Moses's rod is striking: the Egyptians erect a version of Moses's rod in their temples (διὰ τοῦτο δὲ καὶ τοὺς Αἰγυπτίους τὴν ῥάβδον ἀνατιθέναι εἰς πᾶν ἱερόν) (32). The resonance with Isis establishing the phallic cult of Osiris in the temples of Egypt is clear and made even more explicit by Artapanus, "they do the same with Isis because the earth is Isis and it produced these wonders when it was struck with the rod" (ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τῆ Ἰσιδι, διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν εἶναι Ἰσιν, παιομένην δὲ τῆ ῥάβδῳ τὰ τέρατα ἀωεῖναι) (32). Artapanus has changed the origin of the phallic cult in Isis temples by associating it with Moses's actions at the Nile, rather than with Osiris's genital disposition.⁵¹ The parallel can be represented as such (Figure 10):

⁵⁰ Stephens, *Callimachus*, 51.

⁵¹ For further analysis of the connection between the Nile and Isis, see LaCoste, *Waters of the Exodus*, 145-7.

Figure 10. Origins of the Isis phallic cult



Moses has therefore assumed the representation of the Nile fertility, otherwise attributed to the fecundity of Osiris's reproductive association with the Nile. The cult sanctification of this representation likewise shifts from the phallic cult object of Osiris to the cult object of Moses's rod. Moses thus takes on the procreative role of Osiris through his mastery of the symbol of the procreative power of the Nile, now Moses's rod rather than the Isis's replication of Osiris's phallus.

Thus, we find multiple intersections of fertility metaphors operating in Fragment 3. Artapanus represented Moses as emblematic of the fertility of the Nile, both agriculturally and reproductively. While Moses does not father any children in the narrative, we should not ignore that Moses's striking of the Nile, and thus commanding its destructive and fecund power, occurs in front of his Egyptian adoptive father, who was unable to conceive children with Merris. Moses is simultaneously controlling the fertility of Egypt-as-place while highlighting the failure of fertility in the Egyptian king. While the additional discursive resonances of Nile fertility intersect with discourse related to Isis and Osiris, as well, what are we to make of this outpouring of fertility in relation to Moses as a founder? It is obvious that none of this fertility is directed at a Jewish colonial foundation in Egypt, but rather it is directed at rescuing the Jews from Egypt. This is a marked change from the orientation of Moses's arrangement of the land of Egypt earlier

in the fragment. The turning point occurs in Moses's self-imposed exile after his murder of an Egyptian in 3.13–19. The role of Moses as a murderous founder leads to a final, proper divine sanction for a Jewish colonial foundation and then allows for Moses's miraculous command over the fertility of Egypt. Prior to addressing this narrative shift, it is worth examining Artapanus's account of Moses's campaign against the Ethiopians (Αἰθίοποι) in 3.7–12 in light of the above characterization of Moses as a founder empowered by metaphors of fertility.

3 Moses in Ethiopia

Fragment 3

(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.

(10) So then, although the Ethiopians had been enemies, they came to love Moses, and as a result learned from him the practice of circumcising the genitalia—not only they but all the priests as well.

After Moses's initial founding activities in Egypt (3.4–6), the jealous pharaoh sends him to repel an Ethiopian invasion, hoping that Moses would be killed because of the weak troops he would have at his disposal (3.7). Of course, what we find in the narrative instead is another instance of Moses acting as a founder figure. In this case, Moses functions as an integrative founder whose work as an *oikist* is freighted with metaphors of fertility as a way to describe the integration of Ethiopia into Egypt. The distinction that Artapanus draws between Moses's integrative founding activities in Ethiopia and his later command of fertility, illustrated by his command of the Nile, is one of both location and of orientation. I will suggest here that the integrative actions of Moses are in part successful in Ethiopia because they take place outside of Egypt proper. Yet the overall outcome is still hindered by the orientation of Moses's founding actions towards Egypt. Moses's integration of Ethiopia foreshadows the ultimate success of the

Exodus event, the context in which Moses's command of Egyptian fertility is so obviously displayed, yet it still lacks the proper divine sanction and orientation of the foundation outside of Egypt.

Moses's founding activities in Ethiopia comprise two related narrative units, brought together not just in their Ethiopian setting, but also under the overall narrative auspices of the plot against Moses by the jealous Chenephres. The first unit covers Moses's successful military campaign against the Ethiopian invasion and its consequences (3.7–12). The second unit resolves the narrative with the death of Moses's adoptive mother, Merris, and her burial at Meroe and the establishment (or perhaps enhancement) of a local cult. Moses's actions come on the heels of his founding activities earlier in Fragment 3.4–6 (Table 6), which I noted in the previous chapter:

Table 6. Moses's Founding Activities in Frag. 3.4–6.

Typological feature	Narrative element
Civic crisis	The people constantly overthrow rulers (3.6)
Delphic consultation	Implied by Moses's ability to interpret the sacred writing (τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν) (3.6)
Oracular authorization	Given divine honor (ἰσοθέου τιμῆς) by the Egyptian priesthood (3.6)
Colonial foundation	Moses divides Egypt into nomes, assigns local gods and provides land for the Egyptian priests (3.4)
Cult of the founder	Moses is worshipped as Hermes (Ἑρμῆν) (3.6)

In the episode related to Ethiopia, we find a similar structure, which seems to build on the previous, and ultimately ineffective, divine sanction of the Egyptian priesthood in 3.6. Moreover, we find two parallel foundation narratives at work, one related to Moses and the other to Chenephres.

Moses responds to the civic crisis of the Ethiopian invasion of Egypt while Chenephres responds to the internal political crisis of Moses's rising popularity with both the priesthood and the population as a whole (3.6). These crises set in motion two different founding actions, one which integrates the invading Ethiopians into Egypt and the other which is meant to supplant the influence of Moses in Egyptian politics. Both of these responses to a civic crisis can be read alongside the narrative typologies from Dougherty's work. The two narratives can be laid out in parallel according to the typological features (Table 7):

Table 7. The Foundations of Moses versus Chenephres.

Typological feature	Narrative element related to Moses	Narrative element related to Chenephres
Civic crisis	Ethiopian invasion of Egypt (3.7)	Chenephres plots against Moses (3.7)
Delphic consultation	Implied by Moses's ability to interpret the sacred writing (τῶν ἱερῶν γραμμάτων ἐρμηνείαν) (3.6)	Chenephres asks Moses for guidance (3.12)
Oracular authorization	Given divine honor (ἰσοθέου τιμῆς) by the Egyptian priesthood (3.6)	Moses gives Chenephres guidance on the Apis bull (3.12)
Colonial foundation	Moses founds a city in Ethiopia, Hermopolis (Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν) (3.9)	Chenephres rebuilds temple at Diospolis (3.11) and for Apis (3.12)
Cult of the founder	Moses establishes Merris cult at Meroe (3.16)	Chenephres established the Apis cult (3.12)

I will address each of these two foundation narratives in turn and will suggest that Moses's foundation, which integrates Ethiopia into Egypt, is successful for Egypt, but not for Moses. Likewise, Artapanus portrays Chenephres's foundation as not only derivative of Moses, but also as ultimately unable to withstand the actions of a properly sanctioned Moses in his command of the integrative metaphors of fertility.

As I noted above, Moses's campaign in Ethiopia carries with it some resonances of agricultural imagery, not least by including the detail that his army was made up of farmers (γεωργῶν) (3.8). Similarly, the type of ox that Moses recommends to Chenephres, which

becomes the Apis bull, is recommended because of its agricultural utility (3.12). There are two resonances with reproductive imagery, as well. In the first case, Moses is a benefactor to his defeated foes by introducing to the Ethiopians the practice of circumcision (3.10). In his discussion the supposed genealogical link between Colchians and Egyptians (2.104), Herodotus marshals as evidence that:

ὅτι μούνοι πάντων ἀνθρώπων Κόλχοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ Αἰθίοπες περιτάμνονται ἀπ’ ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα. . . οὗτοι γὰρ εἰσὶ οἱ περιταμνόμενοι ἀνθρώπων μούνοι, καὶ οὗτοι Αἰγυπτίοισι φαίνονται ποιεῦντες κατὰ ταῦτά. αὐτῶν δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Αἰθίοπων οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν ὁκότεροι παρὰ τῶν ἑτέρων ἐξέμαθον· ἀρχαῖον γὰρ δὴ τι φαίνεται ἔόν.

the Colchians and Egyptians and Ethiopians are the only nations that have from the first practiced circumcision. . . These are the only nations that circumcise, and it is seen that they do even as the Egyptians. But as to the Egyptians and Ethiopians themselves, I cannot say which nation learnt it from the other; for it is manifestly a very ancient custom. (Godley, LCL)

Artapanus is positing the source of circumcision for the Ethiopians to Egypt through the agency of Moses.⁵² By introducing circumcision to Ethiopia, Moses is integrating into Egyptian culture—making Ethiopia Egyptian. That this is completed through genital circumcision at least places this in the same register as metaphors of reproductive fertility noted above.

The second reproductive resonance is tied to the city that Moses founds, aptly named the “city of Hermes” (Ἑρμοῦ πόλιν) which is associated with a cult of the ibis (3.9). In this way,

⁵² Walter assumes that the priests mentioned are Egyptian, rather than Ethiopian, Nicholas Walter, “Artapanus,” in *Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker* (vol. 2 of *Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit*, Bd. 1; ed. Werner Georg Kümmel), 131, n. 10b. This requires Walter to assume [Αἰγυπτους] ἱερεῖς in Fragment 3.10. Walter notes that “the complement is uncertain, but without it (or another one) the sentence is meaningless. According to ancient sources, circumcision was either common in Egypt in general (so Herodotus, II 36f. 104; Hecataeus of Abdera, FGrH 264(F25)/Diodorus 1.55.5, and others) or only common among the priests (so Josephus, C. Ap. 141, and others)” (die ergänzung ist unsicher, doch ist ohne sie [oder eine andere] der Satz sinnlos. Nach antiken Quellen war in Ägypten die Beschneidung allgemein [so Herodotos, II 36f. 104; Hekataios von Abdera, FGrH 264F25/Diodorus 1.55.5, und andere [oder nur bei den Priestern [so Josephus, C. Ap. 141, und andere] üblich). Narratively, however, the insertion of the modifier Αἰγυπτους is difficult to justify, given that the focus is on the relationship between Moses and the Ethiopians. If any specificity should be presumed, it should be that these are Ethiopian priests.

Artapanus situates Moses as the founder of a city of Hermes, again resonating with the earlier identification of Moses and Hermes in Frag. 3.6.⁵³ Hermes is associated with the Egyptian god Thoth, who is often depicted as an ibis-headed man in Egyptian iconography.⁵⁴ Thoth is already associated with Moses through the syncretic figure of Thoth-Hermes, the giver of the hieroglyphs, in Fragment 3.6.⁵⁵ Thoth also figures in the Osiris myth in his adjudication of the legitimacy of Horus as the posthumous son of Osiris (*Is. Os.* 373b).⁵⁶ In his capacity as arbiter of the result of the reproductive union of Isis and Osiris, Thoth figures prominently in the reproductive fertility discourse of Osiris and Isis, metaphorically figured in the inundation of the Nile, noted above.⁵⁷ To further the connection of Moses's founding activities with fertility

⁵³ In addition, Hermes is often depicted using a rod (ῥάβδος) as in *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* 210, 529; *Od.* 5.47, 24.2; *Il.* 24.343.

⁵⁴ Thoth was particularly associated with the ibis at his cult center of Hermopolis; see A. Mohammed, "An Ibis Catacomb at Abu-Kir," *ASAE* 66 (1987): 121–23.

⁵⁵ Thoth is also represented as an ibis generally or sometimes as a baboon, Morenz, *Egyptian Religion*, 20; Silverman, "Divinity and Deities in Ancient Egypt," 20. For an analysis of the role of Thoth-Hermes in Jewish literature, see Gerard Mussies, "The *Interpretatio Judaica* of Thot-Hermes.," in *Studies in Egyptian Religion: Dedicated to Professor Jan Zandee* (Leiden: Brill, 1982), 89–120; for Thoth-Hermes in Hellenistic Egyptian syncretism, as well as Thoth in an Egyptian context, see Patrick Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt: A Study of Some Aspects of Theological Thought in Ancient Egypt* (Chicago: Ares, 1979); Garth Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes: A Historical Approach to the Late Pagan Mind* (Cambridge; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986).

⁵⁶ For further evaluation of the role of Thoth in the various iterations of the Osiris myth, see Boylan, *Thoth, the Hermes of Egypt*, 11–48.

⁵⁷ Plutarch also notes that there are also traditions of Thoth being the father of Isis, which joins Thoth-Hermes to the myth in yet another, genealogical way (*Is. Os.* 352b). In addition, Diodorus recounts that Osiris, as king of Egypt, installed Hermes (Thoth) as a counsellor to Isis, as queen, when he embarked on a military campaign outside of Egypt (1.17.2). Thoth also arbitrates between the reproductive dispute of Set and Horus in which Set sexually assaults Horus in an attempt to disqualify him from his position related to Egyptian kingship. Horus and his mother Isis turn the tables on Set by impregnating him with Horus's semen delivered on Set's favorite lettuce. When Set confronts Horus in front of the divine council, he is bested when it turns out that he is the who reproducing from a male sexual union and the solar disc that emerges from Set's head is taken by Thoth as a new crown for himself, Edward F. Wente "The Contending of Horus and Set." in *The Literature of Ancient Egypt: An Anthology of Stories, Instructions, Stelae, Autobiographies, and Poetry* (ed. William K. Simpson. 3rd ed. New Haven, Conn.: Yale

imagery of Osiris, the very Apis cult that Moses causes to be established is associated with the manifestation of Osiris:

οἱ δὲ πλεῖστοι τῶν ἱερέων εἰς ταὐτό φασὶ τὸν Ὅσιριν συμπεπλέχθαι καὶ τὸν Ἄπιν, ἐξηγούμενοι καὶ διδάσκοντες ἡμᾶς, ὡς ἔμμορφονδ εἰκόνα χρῆ νομίζειν τῆς Ὅσιριδος ψυχῆς τὸν Ἄπιν (*Is. Os.* 362c-d)

Most of the priests say that Osiris and Apis are conjoined into one, thus explaining to us and informing us that we must regard Apis as the bodily image of the soul of Osiris. (Babbitt, LCL)⁵⁸

This also has the implication of subsuming Chenephres's cultic conclusion of his parallel foundation narrative under the auspices of Moses—the Apis cult is a pale imitation of Moses's own command of fertility as a means of integration, thus it should be no surprise that Moses again bests the Egyptians in a contest of fertility by commanding the Nile. We can see, through the intersections of fertility metaphor around the place of Hermopolis and the association of Moses with Thoth-Hermes, how Moses's activities are freighted with resonances of the Isis and Osiris fertility imagery that is later deployed by Moses against Egypt.

A final relationship worth noting is that of the parallels between Moses's campaign in Ethiopia and Greek narratives of Egyptian campaigns in Ethiopia. Diodorus 1.55.1 and Herodotus 2.110 both attribute the initial Egyptian conquest of Ethiopia to Sesostris. Diodorus also records a tradition of Osiris's own campaign in Ethiopia, in which he likewise is received positively by the Ethiopians and introduces to them agriculture and founds cities there:

κατὰ δὲ τὴν Αἰθιοπίαν διδάξαντα τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τὰ περὶ τὴν γεωργίαν καὶ πόλεις ἀξιολόγους κτίσαντα καταλιπεῖν τοὺς ἐπιμελησομένους τῆς χώρας καὶ φόρους πραξομένους (1.18.6).

University Press, 2003), 91–103. See also Herman te Velde, *Seth, God of Confusion: A Study of His Role in Egyptian Mythology and Religion* (Probleme der Ägyptologie 6; rev. ed.; Leiden: Brill, 1967).

⁵⁸ See also 359b and 368c.

In Ethiopia he instructed the inhabitants in agriculture and founded some notable cities, and then left behind him men to govern the country and collect the tribute. (Babbitt, LCL)

This is markedly similarly to Artapanus's version of Moses's campaign, in which Moses leads an army of farmers into Ethiopia, founds a city, and puts in place new rulers over the region from his army (πέμψαι δὲ στρατηγούς τοὺς προκαθεδουμένους τῆς χώρας) (Fragment 3.8). Moses's success in integrating Ethiopia as a colonial foundation of Egypt is in part due to the parallel to wider traditions of Egyptian campaigns in the same region.

The location of Moses's activities in Ethiopia is what sets this foundation apart from both Joseph's foundation in Fragment 2 and Moses's first foundation in Egypt earlier in Fragment 3. In this regard, the geographic location of Moses's founding activities in Ethiopia are at least partially successful. We still find, however, that there are two impediments to Moses's campaign in Ethiopia being a colonial solution to the crisis of the new Egyptian antipathy towards the Jews (Fragment 3.2). First, the geographic location is outside of Egypt, but the orientation of Moses's foundation is still Egyptian. Just like Moses's founding activity in Egypt earlier in the fragment, the purpose of his expedition to Ethiopia is to defeat an invasion of Egypt and to render the Ethiopians into Egyptians. Second, Moses's foundation is still lacking a proper divine sanction. As outlined in Table 2 above, the sanction for Moses's foundation in Ethiopia is still non-oracular and based on the Egyptian priesthood.

Still, we can see here how the Fragments of Artapanus deploy the same integrative metaphors that are found in Greek colonization narratives related to the integration of the colony with the indigenous population. The metaphors of fertility, both agricultural and sexual, are the means by which Artapanus demonstrates the integrative efforts of both Joseph and Moses as they attempt successfully to found, and re-found, the Jewish community in Egypt as a colony. The

structure of the poetics of colonization provides the framework for understanding how these integrative metaphors also define the relationship between Jews, Greeks and Egyptians within the narrative. The fragments display a sophisticated conception of fertility which draws on tropes and figures across all three cultural registers, from Greek narrative tropes to Jewish culture heroes to Egyptian fertility myths. This intercultural interaction is made clear by reading the narrative in terms of the framework provided by colonization narratives and the accompanying metaphorical constellation of fertility. Artapanus positions both Joseph and Moses as key integrative figures who command all the right metaphorical roles and yet are unable to execute a colonial foundation successfully in Egypt. Moses comes the closest to success with his Ethiopian campaign and yet he still is ultimately pushed out by the political machinations of the pharaoh.

What remains to be explained is how Artapanus transitions Moses from a founder who is participating in the proper tropes of an *oikist*, but with limited to success into the founder portrayed in the latter part of Fragment 3. In this portion of the fragment, detailed in Section 2.3 above, Moses is completely in command of the metaphors of fertility required for the integration of a colony into the surrounding territory and population. Yet the deployment of those metaphors in Moses's command of the Nile, for example, seemingly are not used in the course of a foundation—at least not a foundation in Egypt. The display of Moses as a paradigmatic integrative figure in Egypt is part of the final, proper foundation narrative in the Fragments of Artapanus, the Exodus event itself. This is the only properly sanctioned foundation event, prompted by the theophany of God, and is only set in motion by Moses's exile from Egypt and the murder of his would-be assassin. It is notable, especially, that the Fragments align Moses with multiple Greco-Egyptian deities, as well. Moses is named as Hermes, evoking Thoth, as well; Moses takes on the personified Nile inundation of Hapi as well as the Nile fertility of

Osiris. Even Moses's rod is aligned with the fecundity of Nile through its association with the inundation as the metaphorical sexual reproductivity of Isis and Osiris. The proper divine sanction of Moses's foundation allows him to supersede Egyptian religion by overpowering it and taking on an idealized version of its attributes related to the metaphorical fertility so necessary of the *oikist*. The following chapter will explore Moses characterized as a "murderous founder" as the path forward to the Exodus event as the properly sanctioned foundation that finally resolves the failures of the previous attempts by Joseph and Moses.

CHAPTER FIVE

MOSES THE *OIKIST***1 The Exodus as Proper Foundation**

The failures of Joseph and Moses to establish the Jewish community in Egypt through Artapanus's narrative ultimately lead to the Exodus event itself. In the previous chapter we saw how Moses's command of the integrative metaphors of fertility developed from failure in Egypt to partial success in Ethiopia and ultimately to the demonstrable integrative power of his command over the Nile and the associated fertility of Egypt as a whole. What remains to be seen is what allows for this development. In the case of the partial success of Moses's foundation in Ethiopia, I argued that the location of the foundation outside of Egypt was the key feature which provided for its success, while the orientation of the foundation towards Egypt and pharaonic rule ultimately undermined it as a foundation for the Jews.

In this chapter, I suggest that Moses's murder of an Egyptian is the narrative pivot which allows for the ultimate success of the Exodus event as a Jewish foundation, located outside of Egypt and oriented away from Egyptian rule. Returning to the tropes of the Greek poetics of colonization outlined by Dougherty, we will see that the "murderous founder" is a fixture in Greek colonization narratives. In Greek colonization narratives, the murder committed by the would-be *oikist* requires ritual purification and thus prompts the proper divine sanction for a colonial expedition from the Delphic Oracle. Likewise, Moses's murder of an Egyptian precipitates his movement from Egypt to Arabia—though we will see how Artapanus

complicates this narrative movement with the intervention of Aaron. Finally, the proper divine sanction of the Exodus event by a fiery theophany allows for Moses to wield the integrative powers demonstrated in his command of the Nile and validates his position as *oikist* for an expedition outside of Egypt. Another development that I suggest is at work in Moses's movement from failed founder to successful *oikist* is Moses's personification of the transition from colonial expeditions originating in independent *poleis* to the foundation of cities by Hellenistic kings. This movement complicates the location of the colonial metropolis by turning to the figure of the king, who employs the *oikist* in the foundation of a new city. I suggest that this movement parallels the movement of Moses from failed founder to successful *oikist*—and to personified metropolis.

1.1 The “Murderous Founder” in Greek Colonization Narrative

Pindar, *Olympian* 7.27–33

καὶ γὰρ Ἀλκμήνας κασίγητον νόθον
 σκάπτῳ θενῶν
 σκληρᾶς ἐλαίας ἔκτανεν Τί-
 ρυνθι Λικύμνιον ἐλθόντ' ἐκ θαλάμων Μιδέας
 τᾶσδέ ποτε χθονὸς οἰκι-
 στήρ χολωθεῖς, αἱ δὲ φρενῶν ταραχαί
 παρέπλαγξαν καὶ σοφόν. μαντεύσατο δ' ἐς θεὸν ἐλθῶν.
 τῷ μὲν ὁ χρυσοκόμας εὐ-
 ῶδεος ἐξ ἀδύτου ναῶν πλόον
 εἶπε Λερναίας ἀπ' ἀκτᾶς
 εὐθὺν ἐς ἀμφιθάλασσον νομόν...

For he [Tlepolemus] killed Licymnius, the bastard brother of Alcmene, striking him with a scepter of hard olive wood at Tiryns, as he [Licymnius] was leaving the rooms of Midea, he, the founder of this land here—having been driven to anger. Disturbances of the mind cause even a wise man to wander astray. He went to consult the god. And the golden-haired one told him from his well-scented inner chamber to sail from the Lernean cape straight to a land surrounded by sea... (trans. Dougherty)¹

¹ Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 124.

The trope of the murderous founder in Greek colonization narratives provides a narrative synthesis between the civic crises that prompt the colonial expedition and the anxieties around the integration of the colony into the indigenous surroundings. As Dougherty summarizes, through the trope of the murderous founder, “the Greeks reconciled mythically the invasive reality of colonization with their ideals of autochthony or a peaceful coexistence with the indigenous peoples.”² The idea of the colonial founder being a murderer also follows the personalization of the civic crisis onto the person of the *oikist* which I have previously noted. In addition, the murderous founder is prompted to seek purification, namely through Apollo, which also draws the narrative towards the necessary role of the Delphic Oracle. These elements are shown in the above excerpt from Pindar *Olympian 7*.

Tlepolemos murders his uncle and promptly consults the oracle of Apollo for expiation of the crime. This consultation leads him to set out to settle at Rhodes. Dougherty notes the contrast between the narrative of Tlepolemos’s founding of Rhodes in *Iliad* 2.661–669 and Pindar. Homer’s version, found in the Catalogue of Ships, makes no mention of the role of Apollo. Tlepolemos simply leaves, with all his companions, after the murder and eventually settles on Rhodes. Pindar, though, is deliberately incorporating the foundation myth of Rhodes into *Olympian 7*, associating the foundation of Rhodes with the Rhodian victor to whom the ode is dedicated.³ As such, the poetics of Greek colonization narratives structure Pindar’s version and require the inclusion of the proper divine sanction of the colonial expedition by Delphi. The

² Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 32.

³ Tlepolemos is also the namesake of game held in Rhodes, so Pindar’s narrative route to the founder is not just through the association with Rhodes itself, but also with the ritual expression of the founder cult practiced there, as well, Dougherty, *The Poetics of Colonization*, 121.

murderous founder is the narrative linchpin that holds all of these narrative strands together.

Placed alongside the narrative elements of the poetics of colonization (Table 8), we can see the parallels:

Table 8. Poetics of colonization and the murderous founder.

Typological feature	Murderous founder trope
Civic crisis	Personalized as a murder and exile
Oracular consultation	Apollo functions as purifier for the crime
Oracular authorization	Apollo bridges purification and foundation
Colonial foundation	Founding acts as ritual purification
Cult of the founder	Founder honored in cult or games

Thus, the murder is the narrative catalyst for the colonial act, emplotted in the ritual purification required to expiate the crime. The murderous founder is a narrative device to join the multiple narrative approaches to the foundation story that we have seen in the previous chapters.

In Chapter 2, I outlined how Dougherty weaves Apollo's dual roles as purifier and founder together in the colonization narrative. The metaphor of purification brings together the *oikist* and the Delphic Oracle into colonial poetics in a way that both legitimizes the role of Delphi and provides a resolution to the now-personalized crisis of the *oikist*. Similarly, the enigmatic oracles, issued as riddles, given in response to the needed expiation allow for the *oikist* to receive instructions on founding a city as the catharsis needed. The personalization of the civic crisis in the *oikist*-as-murderer is the same narrative move that I noted in Chapter 3, in which the civic crisis affecting the metropolis was personalized onto the *oikist* in the foundation narrative. It is through the lens of the murderous founder acting as the narrative intersection of these tropes that I suggest reading Moses's murder of an Egyptian. As I argued in Chapter 4, Moses moves from failed founder to a founder clearly in command of the integrative metaphors of fertility

required for a successful foundation. I suggest Moses's act of murder and subsequent exile is the narrative development required for this transition.

1.2 Moses as Murderous Founder

LXX Exodus 2:11–12

(11) ...Μωυσῆς ἐξήλθεν πρὸς τοὺς ἀδελφοὺς αὐτοῦ τοὺς υἱοὺς Ἰσραηλ κατανοήσας δὲ τὸν πόνον αὐτῶν ὁρᾷ ἄνθρωπον Αἰγύπτιον τύπτοντά τινα Εβραῖον τῶν ἑαυτοῦ ἀδελφῶν τῶν υἱῶν Ἰσραηλ. (12) περιβλεψάμενος δὲ ὧδε καὶ ὧδε οὐχ ὁρᾷ οὐδένα καὶ πατάξας τὸν Αἰγύπτιον ἔκρυπεν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ἄμμῳ.

(11) ...Moyses went out to his brothers, the sons of Israel. And as he observed their toil, he saw an Egyptian man beating some Hebrew from his own brothers, the sons of Israel. (12) Now when he looked around this way and that, he saw no one, and he struck the Egyptian and hid him in the sand (NETS).

Fragment 3

(18) τὸν δὲ Χανεθώθην πυθόμενον τοῦ Μωύσου τὴν φυγὴν ἐνεδρεύειν ὡς ἀναιρήσοντα · ἰδόντα δὲ ἐρχόμενον σπάσασθαι τὴν μάχαιραν ἐπ' αὐτόν, τὸν δὲ Μωύσον προκαταταγήσαντα τὴν τε χεῖρα κατασκεῖν αὐτοῦ καὶ σπασάμενον τὸ ξίφος φονεῦσαι τὸν Χανεθώθην ·

(18) Now when Chanethothes learned that Moses had fled, he lay in wait in order to kill him. When he saw Moses approaching, he drew his dagger on him, but Moses reacted too quickly for him, restrained his hand, and then drew his own sword and killed Chanethothes.

That Moses is implicated in the murder of an Egyptian is a tradition that we find in both the LXX and MT version of Exodus 2:11–12.⁴ Before analyzing the differences between the LXX version and the version of the episode preserved by Artapanus shared above, there are other approaches to this apparent narrative problem worth mentioning. By appreciating the spectrum of later Jewish responses to the association of Moses with murder, we can better understand Artapanus's narrative motives in maintaining the tradition. This is important to note because this

⁴ The Masoretic text of Exod. 2:11–12 is:

12 וַיֵּרָא אֶל-אֶחָיו וַיִּבְרָא בְּסוּלָתָם וַיֵּרָא אִישׁ מַצְרִי מַכֶּה אִישׁ-עִבְרָי מֵאֶחָיו׃
13 וַיִּבְרָא כִּי אִישׁ וַיֵּרָא אֶת-הַמַּצְרִי וַיִּשְׁמְטֵהוּ בְּחֹל׃

is not an episode in Moses's life that all Hellenistic Jewish writers care to preserve as it appears in the biblical tradition.

The murder of the Egyptian occurs in *Jubilees* 47:12–13 similarly to its appearance in the biblical tradition:

12 ותהי בחצר שלושה שבועים עד עת צאתך מחצר המלך ותרא איש מצרי מכה רעך מבני ישראל:
13 ותך אותו ותטמנהו בחול:

You remained in the court for three weeks of years until the time when you went from the royal court and saw the Egyptian beating your kinsman who was one of the Israelites. You killed him and hid him in the sand. (trans. VanderKam)⁵

In Philo *Vita Mosis*, however, the murder itself is preserved but treated differently in how it is narrativized. Philo sets up the episode similarly to the Exodus version, but places it in a significantly expanded narrative context. Moses, upon venturing out and witnessing the treatment of the Jews in Egypt, notices a particular Egyptian and situated his behavior as such:

ἦσαν γάρ τινες τῶν ἐφεστηκότων ἀτίθασοι σφόδρα καὶ λελυττηκότες, μηδὲν εἰς ἀγριότητα τῶν ἰοβόλων καὶ σαρκοβόρων διαφέροντες, ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία, τὴν τοῦ σώματος μορφήν εἰς δόκησιν ἡμερότητος ἐπὶ θήρα καὶ ἀπάτη προβεβλημένοι, σιδήρου καὶ ἀδάμαντος ἀπειθέστεροι.

For some of the overseers were exceedingly harsh and ferocious, in savageness differing nothing from venomous and carnivorous animals, wild beasts in human shape who assumed in outward form the semblance of civilized beings only to beguile and catch their prey, in reality more unyielding than iron or adamant. (*Vit. Mos.* 1.43 [Colson, LCL])

Philo is priming his audience to sympathize with Moses's choice to kill the Egyptian overseer by emphasizing the particular cruelty of this character. Indeed, Philo goes on to narrate the murder, albeit rather obliquely:

τούτων ἓνα τὸν βιαιότατον, ἐπειδὴ πρὸς τῷ μηδὲν ἐνδιδόναι καὶ ταῖς παρακλήσεσιν ἔτι μᾶλλον ἐξετραχύνετο, τοὺς τὸ προσταχθὲν μὴ ἀπνευστὶ καὶ ὀξυχειρίᾳ δρῶντας τύπτων, προπηλακίζων ἄχρι θανάτου, πάσας αἰκίζόμενος αἰκίας, ἀναιρεῖ δικαίως εὐαγὲς εἶναι τὸ ἔργον· καὶ ἦν εὐαγὲς τὸν ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ ζῶντα ἀνθρώπων ἀπόλλυσθαι.

⁵ VanderKam, James C. *Jubilees: The Hermeneia Translation* (Hermeneia. Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2020), 157.

One of these [Egyptian overseers], the most violent one, because not only he never made a concession but his demands would make him ever more harsh, beating those who did not follow his orders with breathless quickness, abusing them to the point of death and subjecting them to every torment. He [Moses] killed him, judging the deed to be justified. And it was lawful for one living as a plague on people to be destroyed. (*Vit. Mos.* 1.44)⁶

Thus, Moses's actions are not only explained, but justified and made into the proper choice when confronted with such cruelty. Philo's treatment of this episode indicates a certain level of discomfort with the idea of Moses as a murderer, an idea which must be situated within a narrative context that exonerates Moses from blame, even to the extent that Moses is himself not named in the murderous passage, but only implied.⁷

Josephus, for his part, completely omits the episode where we would expect to find it in *Ant.* 2.254–257; Moses is forced to flee Egypt to avoid the machinations of jealous adversaries who turn the pharaoh against him. Rather than any murder, Moses evades the scheming pharaoh:

φθάσας δὲ τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν καταμαθεῖν λαθῶν ὑπέξεισι· καὶ τῶν ὁδῶν
φυλαττομένων ποιεῖται διὰ τῆς ἐρήμου τὸν δρασμὸν καὶ ὄθεν ἦν ὑπόνοια μὴ
λαβεῖν τοὺς ἐχθροὺς
Their victim [Moses], however, informed betimes of the plot, secretly escaped,
and, since the roads were guarded, directed his flight across the desert and to
where he had no fear of being caught by his foes. (*Ant.* 2.256 [Thackery, LCL])

Josephus appears to address a concern about Moses as a murderer by excising the whole affair, which is consistent with Josephus's overall apologetic motive. Conversely, the *Exagoge* of

⁶ This is my own translation of the text to maintain the focus on the crimes of the Egyptian overseer and the subordination of Moses's actions. My thanks to Olivia Stewart-Lester for pointing out this distinction over the LCL translation and Moses not being named explicitly.

⁷ Philo also treats this episode allegorically in *Leg. All.* 3.37–39 and *Fuga.* 147–148. These allegorical treatments, certainly not surprising from Philo, still point to Philo's need to provide the proper interpretation for an episode which may lend itself to criticism of Moses. The commonality between the added narrative context in *Vit. Mos.* and the allegorical interpretations is that the murder itself cannot be properly understood as such, but through a different, more sympathetic lens. For further contextualization of this episode in Philo's overall political aims, see René Bloch, "Alexandria in Pharaonic Egypt: Projections in *De Vita Mosis*." *Studia Philonica Annual* 24 (2012), pp. 69–84. See also Acts 7:24 for a similar notion of Moses's acting in a morally upright manner by killing the Egyptian in the defense of someone being oppressed.

Ezekiel the Tragedian provides another point of reference for the reception of Moses as a

murderer.⁸ In Moses's recap of his own life, he treats his murder of the Egyptian almost casually:

ὄρῳ δὲ πρῶτον ἄνδρας ἐν χειρῶν νόμῳ,
 τὸν μὲν γ' Ἑβραῖον, τὸν δὲ γένος Αἰγύπτιον.
 ἰδῶν δ' ἐρήμους καὶ παρόντα μηδένα
 ἐρρυσάμην ἀδελφόν, ὃν δ' ἔκτειν' ἐγώ,
 ἔκρυφα δ' ἄμμῳ τοῦτον, ὥστε μὴ εἰσιδεῖν
 ἕτερόν τιν' ἡμᾶς κάπογυμνῶσαι φόνον.
 The first thing I saw was men fighting,
 The one a Hebrew, the other an Egyptian.
 When I saw them alone, with no one else around,
 I rescued the brother, but the other one I killed,
 And hid in the sand, so that no one else
 Would see us and disclose the murder. (42-47 [trans. Holladay])⁹

There is no attempt here to explain Moses's choice in terms of a moral imperative to act. Rather than a moral explanation, the only hint of justification for Moses's action is that he was protecting his brother (ἀδελφόν) against an Egyptian without any clue as to why they were fighting in the first place.¹⁰ Howard Jacobson admits the puzzling nature of Ezekiel's treatment of Moses as a murderer, speculating that "perhaps Ezekiel is portraying Moses here after the

⁸ Ezekiel's work is preserved in a series of seventeen fragments and, following Holladay's notation, found in *Praep. ev.* 9.28.1-2 (Frag. 1b = 1-31)/*Strom.* 1.23.155.1-5 (Frag. 1a = 7-31); *Praep. ev.* 9.28.3 (Frag. 2b = 32-58)/*Strom.* 1.23.155.6-7 (Frag. 2a = 32-40a)/*Strom.* 1.23.156.1-2 (Frag. 2 = 50b-54); *Praep. ev.* 9.28.4a (Frag. 3 = 59); *Praep. ev.* 9.28.4b (Frag. 4 = 60-65); *Praep. ev.* 9.28.4c (Frag. 5 = 66-67); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.4-5 (Frag. 6 = 68-82); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.6 (Frag. 7 = 83-89); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.7 (Frag. 8 = 90-95); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.8 (Frag. 9 = 96-112); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.9 (Frag. 10 = 113-115); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.10 (Frag. 11 = 116-119); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.11 (Frag. 12 = 120-131); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.12 (Frag. 13 = 132-174); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.13 (Frag. 14 = 175-192); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.14 (Frag. 15 = 193-242); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.15-16a (Frag. 16 = 243-253); *Praep. ev.* 9.29.16b (Frag. 17 = 254-269). A parallel of Frag 17.256-269 is found in Pseudo-Eustathius and a possible fragment (Frag 18) is found in Epiphanius *Pan.* 64.29.6-30.1, which itself reproduces a citation from Methodius *Res.* 1.20-2.8, 10; for further and detailed information on the fragments and the manuscript tradition, see Carl Holladay, *Fragments from Hellenistic Jewish Authors: Volume II: Poets* (Society of Biblical Literature: Texts and Translations 30; Pseudepigrapha Series 12; Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1989), 338-343.

⁹ Holladay, *Fragments: Volume II*, 355-357.

¹⁰ Howard Jacobson, *The Exagoge of Ezekiel* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 78-79.

model of the Greek hero who impetuously rises up to kill, for instance Oedipus.”¹¹ I suggest that Artapanus also finds a resonance with Greek literary tropes, in this case the murderous founder.

The apologetic character of Artapanus’s version of the murder of an Egyptian is readily apparent.¹² Moses kills Chanethothes in self-defense. In many ways, this is even more clearly justifiable than Philo’s depiction of the Egyptian killed as an exceptionally cruel overseer, one who deserved to die. In Artapanus’s version, Moses does not kill an Egyptian to protect someone else, but rather to protect himself. Artapanus includes an intense sequence describing Moses’s quick reflexes and reaction to an attempted assassination, all of which certainly portrays Moses as not only in the right, but also as the superior fighter. The assassination attempt is at the behest of the pharaoh, operating out of a sense of jealousy after Moses’s successful Ethiopians campaign, similar to Josephus’s version in *Ant.* 2.254–255. In Josephus’s version, after influential Egyptians worry about Moses’s rising influence, they find a sympathetic co-conspirator in the pharaoh himself:

ὁ δὲ καὶ καθ’ αὐτὸν μὲν εἶχε τὴν τοῦ πράγματος ἐπίνοιαν ὑπὸ τε φθόνου τῆς Μωυσέως στρατηγίας καὶ ὑπὸ δέους ταπεινώσεως, ἐπειχθεὶς δ’ ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερογραμματέων οἷός τε ἦν ἐγχειρεῖν τῇ Μωυσέως ἀναιρέσει.
He on his own part was harbouring thoughts of so doing, alike from envy of Moses’ generalship and from fear of seeing himself abased, and so, when instigated by the hierarchy, was prepared to lend a hand in the murder of Moses.
(*Ant.* 2.254-255 [Thackery, LCL])

In Fragment 3, Chenephres begins to plot against Moses “when Chenephres saw the fame of Moses, he became jealous and sought to kill him on some reasonable pretext” (τὸν δὲ Χενεφρῆν ὁρῶντα τὴν ἀρετὴν τοῦ Μωϋσέως φθονῆσαι αὐτῷ καὶ ζητεῖν αὐτὸν ἐπ’ εὐλόγῳ αἰτία τινὶ ἀνελεῖν)

¹¹ Jacobson, *Exagoge*, 196, n. 43; cf. Howard Jacobson, “Two Studies on Ezekiel the Tragedian,” *GRBS* 22.2 (2004): 167–78.

¹² See Holladay, *Fragments*, 238, n. 75.

(Frag. 3.7). This is in response to the adulation heaped on Moses by Egyptian priests and the people as a whole (Frag. 3.6) and the successful campaign in Ethiopia, contrary to the designs of Chenephres who intended Moses to be killed, makes matters that much worse (Frag. 3.7–8). Similar to the biblical narrative, as well as Philo and Ezekiel the Tragedian, it is the fear that Moses's action will be discovered that prompts him to escape Egypt, yet in the case of Artapanus it is Moses that discovers the plot, after being informed by Aaron, and plans his escape to Arabia prior to the murder (Fragment 3.17).

This might appear to jeopardize Moses's characterization as a murderous founder along the same lines as found in Greek colonization narratives. After all, Moses had already planned to flee from Egypt after being informed of the royal plot against him, and it is in the course of the pre-planned escape that Moses is forced to defend himself from the would-be assassin. And yet, we have seen in the case of Josephus's version of the narrative that the simplest solution is simply to omit the entire episode. If apologetics is the primary motive, then we should expect to see editing like Josephus or at least an expanded narrative context like in Philo *Vit. Mos.* Here, Ezekiel the Tragedian is a better parallel. If indeed Jacobson's hunch is correct and a resonance with Greek narrative tropes is part of Ezekiel's overall effort to conform to genre, then we can speculate about something similar in Artapanus.

In the case of Artapanus, then, the preservation of the murder of the Egyptian is worth noting in the same way as it is in Ezekiel. If Artapanus's motive was strictly apologetic, then why keep the details of Moses as a murderer at all? On the one hand, we could suggest that the tradition of Moses as a murderer was simply too commonly accepted to avoid, which is why Artapanus includes it in such a way as though it were unavoidable. In a similar way that we see in Josephus, Moses was already fleeing Egypt because he was warned of the pharaoh's plot, so

the confrontation with Chanethothes is not necessary to locate Moses outside of Egypt. I suggest that reading the murder of Chanethothes alongside the Greek narrative trope of the murderous founder provides a reading to explain Artapanus's preservation of this episode.

1.3 Proper Divine Sanction through Theophanic Oracle

Fragment 3.21

τὸν δὲ Μωϋσον εὐχέσθαι τῷ θεῷ, ἤδη 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 δέισαντα τὸ γεγονὸς φεύγειν · φωνὴν δ' αὐτῷ θείαν εἰπεῖν στρατεύειν ἐπ' Αἴγυπτον καὶ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους διασώσαντα εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγαγεῖν πατρίδα. Moses prayed to God that the people might soon have respite from their sufferings. While he was making his appeal to God, suddenly, he [Artapanus] says, fire appeared out of the earth, and it blazed even though there was neither wood nor any other kindling in the vicinity. Frightened at what happened, Moses fled but a divine voice spoke to him and told him to wage war against Egypt, and as soon as he had rescued the Jews, to return them to their ancient fatherland.

LXX Exodus 3:2–6

²ὤφθη δὲ αὐτῷ ἄγγελος κυρίου ἐν φλογὶ πυρὸς ἐκ τοῦ βάλτου καὶ ὄρα ὅτι ὁ βάλτος καίεται πυρὶ ὁ δὲ βάλτος οὐ κατεκαίετο. ³εἶπεν δὲ Μωϋσῆς παρελθὼν ὄψομαι τὸ ὄραμα τὸ μέγα τοῦτο τί ὅτι οὐ κατακαίεται ὁ βάλτος. ⁴ὡς δὲ εἶδεν κύριος ὅτι προσάγει ἰδεῖν ἐκάλεσεν αὐτὸν κύριος ἐκ τοῦ βάλτου λέγων Μωϋσῆ Μωϋσῆ ὁ δὲ εἶπεν τί ἐστίν ⁵καὶ εἶπεν μὴ ἐγγίσης ὧδε λῦσαι τὸ ὑπόδημα ἐκ τῶν ποδῶν σου ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν ⁶καὶ εἶπεν αὐτῷ ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ θεὸς τοῦ πατρὸς σου θεὸς Ἀβρααμ καὶ θεὸς Ἰσαακ καὶ θεὸς Ἰακωβ ἀπέστρεψεν δὲ Μωϋσῆς τὸ πρόσωπον αὐτοῦ εὐλαβεῖτο γὰρ κατεμβλέψαι ἐνώπιον τοῦ θεοῦ.

²Now an angel of the Lord appeared to him [Moses] in a fire of flame out of the bush, and he saw that the bush was burning with fire, but the bush was not burning up. ³Then Moyses said, “When I pass by, I will look at this great sight, why it is that the bush is not burning up.” ⁴Now when the Lord saw that he was drawing near to see, the Lord called him from the bush saying, “Moyses, Moyses.” and he said, “What is it?” ⁵And he said, “Do not come near here! Loose the sandal from your feet! For the place on which you are standing is holy ground.” ⁶And he said to him, “I am the God of your father, God of Abraam and God of Isaak and God of Iakob.” And Moyses turned his face away, for he was being reverent to look down before God. (NETS)

In previous chapters, I have argued that the lack of a proper divine sanction prevented both Joseph and Moses from executing successful foundations in Egypt. Here we find the turning point in the Fragments of Artapanus that leads to the final, successful foundation under the leadership of Moses. To get to that point, however, proper divine sanction must be received. Following the narrative pattern of Greek colonization typology, the founder who commits murder must seek purification from the Delphic Oracle, leading to the oracular endorsement of a colonial endeavor as expiation for the crime. I suggest that Moses is following the same narrative pattern and his murder of the Egyptian, while certainly smoothed over to some degree, is preserved in order to maintain the resonance with Greek narrative.

The murder of the Egyptian Chanethothes, while not providing the narrative impetus for Moses's exile from Egypt, maintains the resonance with Greek colonial poetics and the cause for the *oikist* to receive oracular authorization for the inevitable colonial expedition. I argued in Chapter 3 that the lack of proper divine sanction is not only a problem for Greek founders, but also for Joseph and Moses. Their foundation attempts are either completely lacking a divine sanction, in the case of Joseph, or seem to be sanctioned by Egyptian religious institutions, which are not only Egyptian but lack oracular communication, in the case of Moses's first attempts in Egypt. Even Moses's foundation in Ethiopia, while effective to a degree, still lacks the divine sanction needed and thus does not accommodate the Jewish community in Egypt, as I suggested in Chapter 4. Now I suggest that the theophanic revelation to Moses provides the proper divine sanction to the Exodus event, setting it apart from previous attempts in the Fragments of Artapanus.

The starting point for our reading of the theophany in Fragment 3.21 should be to note the difference between Artapanus and the version preserved in LXX Exod. 3:2–6. The biblical

version creates a spatial distinction between Moses and the burning bush (ὁ βάτος καίεται πυρί). Moses is herding sheep on Horeb and God entices him to approach through the bizarre sight of a burning bush which is not burned up (οὐ κατακαίεται ὁ βάτος). The implication here, and it is confirmed in God's instruction to Moses, is that the place Moses has been attracted to is a holy place (ὁ γὰρ τόπος ἐν ᾧ σὺ ἕστηκας γῆ ἁγία ἐστίν). God brings Moses to a particular place in order to make a self-revelation and give Moses his commission. On first glance, then, this iteration of the narrative seems much more sympathetic to a reading alongside Greek oracular pronouncements. The Delphic Oracle was precisely that: the oracle at Delphi. The inquirer, the would-be *oikist* in the case of Greek colonization narratives, must journey to Delphi to consult the oracle and receive the proper guidance from Apollo via the Pythia.¹³ Similarly, in the LXX Exodus account, Moses must draw near to the site which God has made sacred by initiating the theophanic revelation of the burning bush.

Artapanus, on the other hand, appears to lack the sanctification of the site in a way comparable to the Delphic Oracle and omits the image of the burning bush. The voice of God is associated with a miraculous fire which appears out of the earth, but which burns without wood or kindling of any kind (ἐκ τῆς γῆς πῦρ ἀναφθῆναι καὶ τοῦτο κάεσθαι, μήτε ὕλης μήτε ἄλλης τινὸς ξυλείας οὔσης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ) (Frag. 3.21).¹⁴ Not only is the site itself seemingly irrelevant,

¹³ This in-person requirement is implied, as well, through the imposition of the *promanteia* (προμαντεία), the priority granted to certain cities in the queue to consult the oracle, e.g. the legendary account of Croesus's patronage of the oracle in Herodotus 1.54. For the development of the site at Delphi and the particular spatial interactions of visitors with the site, see Catherine Morgan, *Athletes and Oracles: The Transformation of Olympia and Delphi in the Eight Century B.C.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); Michael Scott, *Delphi and Olympia: The Spatial Politics of Panhellenism in the Archaic and Classical Periods* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

¹⁴ This reads almost like an explicit repudiation of the marvelous bush which is unconsumed by flames and that the fire erupts out of the earth itself (ἐκ τῆς γῆς) reinforces this distinction from Exodus.

and there is a lack of any pyrotechnic plant life, but we have no sense in the Fragments that this interaction takes place on a sacred site more broadly. In LXX Exod 3:1, the scene of the theophany is set clearly on Mount Horeb, to which Moses comes (ἦλθεν εἰς τὸ ὄρος Χωρηβ). This doubly sanctified place, both the site of the burning bush and the mountain more generally, are not mentioned in Artapanus. While this could simply be the omission of a commonly known element of the narrative, this seems unlikely given the description of the event in Fragment 3. Here, Moses prays to God (ἰλασκομένου δ' αὐτοῦ) and God arrives, rather than drawing Moses to a sacred place as he passes by.¹⁵

The distinction between the two accounts centers on the role, or even the agency, of Moses himself. Whereas in the biblical version, Moses must be lured towards the particular location of God's revelation, itself occurring on a holy mountain, in the Fragments of Artapanus it seems as though Moses's own prayer prompts God's arrival. Even the miraculous fire out of which the voice of God emanates is not tied to a particular place, but rather the ground more generally (ἐκ τῆς γῆς). In this case, the oracular revelation is layered on top of the person seeking the guidance. In effect, Moses provides his own access to oracular approval from God. Moses also flees when confronted with the miraculous fire, which seems to resonate with Moses's fear of God in LXX Exod 3:6 or even his reluctance to take on his assigned role in LXX Exod 3:11–4:17. Yet the utterance of the divine voice, the oracular utterance itself, is what persuades Moses to act. After hearing this oracular utterance, as opposed to his fear when faced with the miraculous fire, Moses resolves to act and “takes courage” (θαρσέω) from the divine voice (Frag.

¹⁵ ἰλασκομένου is an interesting turn-of-phrase—Homer uses it of the need to appease the gods (Od. 3.419) and an appeasement through sacrifice (Il. 1.147) or Herodotus 8.112 which seems to describe a Parian payoff to appease Themistocles.

3.22). The emphasis, then, is entirely on the oracular message delivered directly to Moses. This still seems at odds with the journey the *oikist* must make to Delphi for the required oracular consultation, as we saw in the case of Battus in Chapter 3, but this is consistent with Greek oracular traditions more generally. The ritual associated with the oracle of Trophonius provides a way to think about this conflation of the seeker of the oracle with its delivery.

Pausanias relates the mechanics of the oracle of Trophonius, in which the seeker must also descend to the oracle personally (ἐς τοῦ Τροφωνίου κατιέναι) (Pausanias 9.39.5). Sacrifices must be made in order to determine if the seeker will have a positive reception from the oracle (9.39.6–7) and then must pray before an image of Trophonius (9.39.8). The seeker descends to Trophonius, enters the sacred water and is granted either an auditory or visual oracle about the future (9.39.11–12) and, most crucially, then reports his own oracle to the accompanying priests upon the seeker’s return to the surface:

τὸν δὲ ἀναβάντα παρὰ τοῦ Τροφωνίου παραλαβόντες αὔθις οἱ ἱερεῖς καθίζουσιν ἐπὶ θρόνον Μνημοσύνης μὲν καλούμενον, κεῖται δὲ οὐ πόρρω τοῦ ἁδύτου, καθεσθέντα δὲ ἐνταῦθα ἀνερωτῶσιν ὅποσα εἶδέ τε καὶ ἐπύθετο· μαθόντες δὲ ἐπιτρέπουσιν αὐτὸν ἤδη τοῖς προσήκουσιν.

After his ascent from Trophonius the inquirer is again taken in hand by the priests, who set him upon a chair called the chair of Memory, which stands not far from the shrine, and they ask of him, when seated there, all he has seen or learned. After gaining this information they then entrust him to his relatives. (Pausanias 9.39.13 [Jones, LCL])

In this way, the seeker is both the inquirer of the oracle and the means of delivering it himself. In this sense, we find a shared conceptualization of the seeker-as-oracular provider. Just as the supplicant to Trophonius creates the conditions to deliver his own oracle, so, too, does Moses invite the reception of God’s theophany by his own prayer.

While the location of the proper reception of the oracular communication is important for the oracle of Trophonius, we do not have enough information in the Fragments of Artapanus to

say whether or not the location was significant for God's revelation to Moses. What we can say, however, is that the reception of an oracle without the mediating agency of a priest or cult figure is still consistent with the reception of Greek oracular practice. Therefore, the provision of God's guidance to Moses in Fragment 3.21 should not stand at odds with the typology of Greek colonial poetics. The proper divine sanction has finally been achieved as the revelation of God to Moses explicitly names the resolution to Moses's concern for the Jews as the removal of the Jews from Egypt and back "to their ancient fatherland" (εις τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγαγεῖν πατρίδα) (Frag. 3.21). It is Moses who is to function as the *oikist* for this expedition, now that he has been properly endorsed through the reception of an oracular revelation, which comes on the heels of Moses's own murder of an Egyptian. The resonances here with the overall typology of the Greek murderous founder narrative of colonial foundations are striking.

2 Moses the Founder

Moses is thus the first properly sanctioned founder presented in the Fragments of Artapanus. It is this divine sanction that provides for the narrative transition we find in Moses's effectiveness as an *oikist*, which I suggested in Chapter 4 through the integrative metaphors of fertility. The sanction of the theophany of God and God's explicit instruction to Moses to implement a new foundation outside of Egypt combine to authorize Moses to exert control over the metaphors of fertility proper to an *oikist*. In this way, Moses combines the various attributes required of a proper founder, which we have seen developed piecemeal in the figures of Joseph and Moses previously. The trope of the murderous founder provides a helpful template for reading this transition of Moses from failure to founder, which keeps the Fragments of Artapanus in line with the framework of Greek colonial poetics. What remains to be seen is what the implications are for understanding Moses as an *oikist* in the narrative of the Exodus. While the

problem of the divine sanction and the orientation of the foundation to, now, outside Egypt have been solved, understanding the Exodus event as a colonial endeavor prompts us to determine the metropolis for this new foundation. In evaluating this question, I suggest that Artapanus deviates from, or perhaps innovates upon, the poetics of colonization by drawing on the ideology of the later foundations of the Hellenistic kingdoms.

2.1 Back to Their Roots: The Origin of the Exodus

To begin, then, by turning to the question of the metropolis for the Exodus event, the most obvious suggestion would be the geographic point of origin for the expedition, Egypt itself. This would seem to present several problems for understanding Artapanus's conception of Jewish identity. Most strikingly, the idea that Jews were a type of Egyptian is precisely the sort of anti-Jewish accusation that Josephus takes pains to refute. In *Ag. Ap.* 1.232–240, Josephus describes the accusation that the Jews were in fact Egyptians who had been cast out of Egypt because of leprosy or other ailments and were led by “one of the priests of Heliopolis called Osarsiph” (τινα τῶν Ἡλιοπολιτῶν ἱερέων Ὀσάρσιφον), who is associated with Moses (*Ag. Ap.* 1.238 [Thackery, LCL]). It seems difficult to imagine that Artapanus could accommodate an Egyptian origin for the Jews because of the use of Egyptian origin in prevailing anti-Jewish rhetoric. Moreover, though, it would be incoherent for Artapanus to allow for an Egyptian origin of the Jews after making it clear in Fragments 1 and 2 that the origin of the Jews is, in fact, in Syria.

As I argued in Chapter 2, the Fragments of Artapanus are very clear that the Jews in Egypt originated elsewhere, both in Abraham's origin in, and eventual return to, Syria to Joseph's origin and his family's arrival as a second-wave colonists. In both of these cases, the Syrian origin of the Jews is clear. To make matters even more straightforwardly clear against

Egypt as the metropolis for the Exodus, the command of God to Moses is to bring the Jews back to their ancient homeland (εἰς τὴν ἀρχαίαν ἀγαγεῖν πατρίδα), implying yet again that the Jews are not ultimately from Egypt.

Before dealing with the notion that Syria could be the metropolis (and the destination) of the Exodus, it is worth noting Moses's brief interlude in Arabia. After his self-imposed exile from Egypt and the accompanying murder of Chanethothes, Moses ends up in Arabia (εἰς τὴν Ἀραβίαν) (Frag. 3.19). While there, Moses married the daughter of a local chieftain (τῷ τῶν τόπων ἄρχοντι), Raguel (Frag. 3.19). Perhaps this marriage could indicate an expression of the integrative metaphor of marriage, thus drawing Arabia into the trajectory of the Exodus as a place of origin. Several narrative elements should give us pause, however. First, the marriage of Moses to the unnamed daughter of Raguel takes place prior to the divine sanction of the theophany in Frag. 3.21, in the same way that Moses's prior foundation events were also improperly sanctioned. Second, and perhaps more importantly, Moses stops Raguel from invading Egypt for the purposes of installing his daughter and Moses as rulers (Frag. 3.19). While much has been made of the possible resonance in this anecdote to the invasions of Egypt by Semitic peoples that lived on in Hellenistic Egyptian memory, this element also serves to reinforce the line between the proper orientation of Moses's foundation activities.¹⁶ The proper, and as yet unknown, foundation cannot be oriented toward Egypt in any way, similar to how Moses's foundation in Ethiopia, while also outside of Egypt, was still oriented toward Egypt politically. Here, the potential origin of a foundation from Arabia is oriented explicitly towards

¹⁶ This association goes back to Freudenthal, who first saw a resonance between an invading Semitic force the Egyptian memory of rule by the Hyksos, Jacob Freudenthal, *Alexander Polyhistor*, 217.

maintaining the Jews in Egypt. It is this idea that is expressly rejected in the oracular authorization in Frag. 3.21.

The final geographic possibility for a metropolis, then, is Syria. As I noted above, Artapanus goes to great lengths to emphasize the Syrian origins of the Jews in Egypt. It seems clear that Syria is also the ancestral homeland that God directs Moses towards for the Exodus foundation. In this reading, Syria is both the metropolis of the colonial expedition and its ultimate destination. As we have seen in previous chapters, the right of return for the members of a failed colonial expedition was often included as an element of the foundation decree of the colony. In the example of the Cyrene foundation decree noted in Chapter 3, if the metropolis is unable to protect the new colony of Cyrene, the colonists can return to Thera to enjoy the reciprocal citizenship which existed between the two locations. In this sense, it does seem possible that Syria is the ultimate metropolis for the Exodus, going back to Abraham's explicitly Syrian origins in Fragment 1. The distinction here is between the metropolis of the Jewish origins in Egypt in general and the metropolis of the Exodus event in particular. I have earlier argued that the Syrian origin of the Jews, especially as opposed to an Egyptian origin, factors into how the metropolis of the Jewish origin in Egypt is constructed in the Fragments of Artapanus. The idea of Syria being the ultimate metropolis for the Exodus, however, presents some interpretive problems.

If Syria, treated as the colonial metropolis of the Jews, is also the destination of the Exodus event, then the Exodus is mired in failure. As I argued in Chapter 3, the return to the metropolis after a colonial expedition is predicated on the failure of the colony to succeed. It is true that I have read Joseph's and Moses's initial foundations in Egypt as failures, but I also suggest that this is part of a movement toward the success of the Exodus. The Exodus is the only

foundation directly sanctioned by God and indicated as a positive event. Indeed, the final episode fully narrated in the Fragments of Artapanus includes the escape of the Jews by passage through the sea (Frag. 3.35–37). Again, we find Moses exercising the command of a body of water in an analogous way to his command of the fertility of the Nile previously.¹⁷ The movement of the narrative from failure to success also serves to rehabilitate Moses, who initially begins his role as a founder aligned with Egypt and a series of failed foundations. Therefore, reading the Exodus as a failed return to the original colonial metropolis deprives the Exodus of its positive connotations and Moses himself of his role as a founder. Yet, Syria is the ultimate destination for the Exodus, the “ancient fatherland” (τὴν ἀρχαίαν πατρίδα) of the Jews maintained by Artapanus since Fragment 1. In this way, Syria is not a problematic destination, but it does not fit functionally into the role of metropolis, either.

If Syria is not, then, the metropolis for the foundation event of the Exodus, then I suggest we could read the idea of metropolis on another level. Namely, I suggest that the Fragments of Artapanus may be conflating Moses and the concept of the colonial metropolis in a way that mirrors the conflation of the metropolis and the person of the king in Hellenistic city foundations (and re-foundations). In this reading, Moses, as the founder figure, provides the same function for the new foundation as the metropolis does in Greek colonization narratives. Moses takes on the role of the Hellenistic king as the source of political agency for the new foundation; this

¹⁷ Here, Artapanus provides two different accounts of the crossing of the sea, a euhemeristic explanation of the Memphites and an explanation of the Heliopolitans that tracks more closely to the biblical narrative, following a historiographical tradition of naming multiple explanations for events, as in Herodotus 2.3–4, Philo *Vit. Mos.* 1.163–180, Josephus *Ant.* 2.347–348, Arrian *Anabasis* 1.26, cf. Nikolaus Walter, “Fragmente jüdisch-hellenistischer Historiker” in *Historische und legendarische Erzählungen (Jüdische Schriften aus hellenistisch-römischer Zeit, Bd. 1*; ed. Werner Georg Kümmel; Gütersloh: G. Mohn, 1973), 135, n. 35a.

development marks Artapanus's development of the colonial typology with which we have been reading the Fragments up to this point.

2.2 It's Good to be the King: Hellenistic Conflation of Metropolis and King

In Chapter 3, when discussing Margaret Foster's argument on the supplanting of the itinerant *mantis* by the Delphi-endorsed *oikist*, I also suggested a parallel movement from the independent *polis* which operated as a colonial metropolis to the role of foundations being personified in the Hellenistic king. I would like to bear that argument out further here, using the role of Moses as a successful *oikist* in Fragment 3 as a possible parallel to the role of the Hellenistic king as a city founder. What I am suggesting is that Moses functions as a colonial metropolis for the Exodus event supplanting, or at least deemphasizing, the significance of a geographic metropolis. This mirrors the same personification of the metropolis of Hellenistic city foundations in the person of the king, rather than in the *poleis* which were replaced as the sources for new city foundations. To put this another way, I am suggesting that Moses acts as the metropolis for the Exodus in the same way that the decision of a Ptolemaic or Seleucid king to found (or re-found) a city fills the metropolitan function of the origin of a new foundation.¹⁸

When Alexander the Great determined to have a new city built on the Nile Delta, he did not commission a Greek *polis* to furnish a colonial expedition. Rather, Alexander "decided to found a great city in Egypt, and gave orders to the men left behind with this mission to build the city between the marsh and the sea" (Κρίνας δ' ἐν ταύτῃ πόλιν μεγάλην κτίσαι προσέταξε τοῖς

¹⁸ It is important to note that this is not a complete replacement of the *polis* by the king in the Hellenistic period. Rather, the imposition of the Hellenistic kingdoms adds a new layer of political agency, often at the expense of the complete independence of the *polis*, especially in regard to the foundation of cities. For a helpful treatment of the dynamic relationship between the *poleis* and the king in the Hellenistic period, see John Ma, *Antiochos III and the Cities of Western Asia Minor* (2nd ed.; Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2002).

ἐπὶ τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν ταύτην καταλειπομένοις ἀνὰ μέσον τῆς τε λίμνης καὶ τῆς θαλάσσης οἰκίσαι τὴν πόλιν) (Diodorus 17.52.1 [Welles, LCL]).¹⁹ The origination of the city of Alexandria lies with Alexander himself and not with a *polis* as the source of the city. No longer is an expedition to establish a new city determined as the appropriate response to a civic crisis in the metropolis; instead, the decision to establish a city, like Alexandria, is made by the person of the king and for various motives.²⁰

After Alexander, the same trend of the king as the ultimate origin for the new city continues under his various successors. Pausanias preserves the tradition of the founding of Ephesus by Lysimachus:

συνώκισε δὲ καὶ Ἐφεσίων ἄχρι θαλάσσης τὴν νῦν πόλιν, ἐπαγαγόμενος ἐς αὐτὴν Λεβεδίους τε οἰκῆτορας καὶ Κολοφωνίους, τὰς δὲ ἐκείνων ἀνελὼν πόλεις
He founded also the modern city of Ephesus as far as the coast, bringing to it as settlers people of Lebedos and Colophon, after destroying their cities. (Pausanias 1.9.7 [Jones, LCL])

In this case, the city of Ephesus is populated by former residents of cities in Lebedos and Colophon, but they maintain no agency in the expedition. Lysimachus destroys their cities and

¹⁹ Diodorus's version of the founding of Alexandria takes place after the visit of Alexander to the oracle of Zeus-Ammon at Siwa (and so Curtius 4.8.1–6 and Justin 11.11.13) while Plutarch *Alex.* 26.2–6 and Arrian 3.1.5–3.2.2 place the visit to the oracle after the foundation of Alexandria. This follows the divergent traditions noted by Arrian of Aristobulus (after Siwa) and Ptolemy (before Siwa) in Arrian 3.4.5. The historical reality of the visit to the oracle at Siwa is less important here than the acknowledging that it was remembered as having preceded the foundation of Alexandria in one major tradition and thus resonates with the proper origination of divine sanction for the new city. For the two sides of this argument, see C. Bradford Welles, “The Discovery of Sarapis and the Foundation of Alexandria,” *Historia* 11.3 (1962): 271–98; P. M. Fraser, “Current Problems Concerning the Early History of the Cult of Sarapis,” *Opuscula Atheniensia* 7 (1967): 23–45. For a reevaluation of the Siwa legend in light of a fragment of Callisthenes, see Andrew Collins, “Alexander’s Visit to Siwah: A New Analysis,” *Phoenix* 68.1/2 (2014): 62–77. In Plutarch’s version, Alexander is the recipient of a dream-vision that prompts him to look to the island of Pharos as a site for his city, leading him to the site of Alexandria, which may also imply some layer of divine sanction (*Alex.* 26.3). The later *Alexander Romance* makes the connection to the oracle explicit when the oracle of Zeus-Ammon directs Alexander to found Alexandria in its location (*Alexander Romance* 1.30.7).

²⁰ Paul Kosmin differentiates between those cities founded as “the small, ungeometric fortified settlement and the large, grid-planned city. The distinction is, in Gramscian terms, between the former’s architecture of dominance...and the latter’s additional political aesthetics of hegemony, Paul J. Kosmin, *The Land of the Elephant Kings: Space, Territory, and Ideology in the Seleucid Empire* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2018).

relocates them to the new foundation. In this way, the cities of Lebedos and Colophon are hardly functioning in same metropolitan role as the *poleis* of the Archaic period. Rather, the function of the metropolis to determine the entire process of colonization rests with Lysimachus. We see the same phenomenon occur in the Seleucid empire, when Antiochus I founded Apamea in present-day Syria and he populated the new city with relocated indigenous Phrygians:

έντεῦθεν δ' ἀναστήσας στήσας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ὁ Σωτήρ Ἀντίοχος εἰς τὴν νῦν Ἀπάμειαν τῆς μητρὸς ἐπώνυμον τὴν πόλιν ἐπέδειξεν Ἀπάμας, ἣ θυγάτηρ μὲν ἦν Ἀρταβάζου, δεδομένη δ' ἐτύγγανε πρὸς γάμον Σελεύκῳ τῷ Νικάτορι
and it was from [Celaenae] that Antiochus Soter made the inhabitants move to the present Apameia, the city which he named after his mother Apama, who was the daughter of Artabazus and was given in marriage to Seleucus Nicator. (Strabo 12.8.15 [Jones, LCL])

In this case Apameia is a Seleucid city and the indigenous settlement that was relocated surely can have no claim to the role of the metropolis.²¹ This exertion of political control over the foundation of cities, far from the responsive nature of Greek colonization narratives of the pre-Hellenistic periods, marks the transition toward the king as metropolis in Hellenistic foundations.

The intersection of this newfound imperial power of the Hellenistic kings intersects with the construction of Jewish foundation narratives, as well. Josephus relates a tradition of Antiochus III ordering the resettlement of several thousand Jewish families from Mesopotamia and Babylonia (ἀπὸ τῆς Μεσοποταμίας καὶ Βαβυλωνίας) to garrison fortresses in Phrygia and Lydia to protect the empire against a rebellious population (*Ant.* 12.148–153). Likewise, in Ptolemaic Egypt we know of several Jewish garrison towns that were organized parts of the

²¹ As Kosmin notes about the genre of Hellenistic foundation narratives (*ktiseis*) in the Seleucid empire, “the chief characteristic of these official representations of the colonial enterprise is the Seleucid king’s monopolization of agency, a distortion that was achieved by suppressing predecessors, subordinates, and partners,” Kosmin, *Land of the Elephant Kings*, 215.

imperial hierarchy.²² Jewish tradition is thus familiar with the role of the Hellenistic kings in the movement peoples for the foundation of new cities. In these cases, however, the Jews are themselves at the mercy of imperial command, being resettled to meet geopolitical needs. In the case of the Fragments of Artapanus, it is not a Greek king who personifies the metropolitan impetus for a new colonial endeavor, but Moses.

The metropolis for the Exodus event in the Fragments of Artapanus thus moves outside the scope of geographic constraint. The metropolis is no longer the place of origin of the colonial expedition but is instead wrapped up in the person of the founder. The original metropolis for the arrival of the Jews in Egypt with Abraham and following Joseph is indeed Syria, as Artapanus emphasizes throughout the Fragments. Here, though, the return to Syria could be a return to the original metropolis after a failed attempt at a colonial expedition—yet this would implicate the Jewish community in Egypt contemporary with Artapanus in a failed foundation, one that remained in, or returned to, Egypt after the Exodus. Rather than separate the Jewish community by geographic location, I propose that Moses as a founder, personifying the functions of the metropolis, allows Artapanus to broaden the geographic scope of the Jews by associating them with Moses-as-metropolis, rather than with Syria alone.

3 Conclusions and Implications for Reading Artapanus

This is not to suggest that Artapanus has obliterated the importance of “place” in the construction of Hellenistic Jewish identity. On the contrary, place, namely a non-Egyptian place of origin, is central to the foundation of a Jewish community. Yet, we must remind ourselves that

²² Josephus *Ant.* 12.8, *Letter of Aristeas* 12–14; for further on Jewish military service under Ptolemaic rule, see Joseph Modrzejewski, *The Jews of Egypt: From Rameses II to Emperor Hadrian* (Philadelphia, Penn.: Jewish Publication Society, 1995), 83–87.

Artapanus himself is mostly likely emanating from an Egyptian Jewish community, which prompts us to reconcile his moves away from Egypt in his narrative. I suggest that Moses is the key figure in this reconciliation. Moses, by personifying the metropolis of the Exodus, provides access to the origin of the Jewish community apart from, or perhaps in addition to, the function of place. In this way, the Jewish diaspora communities in Egypt, and throughout the Mediterranean diaspora, for that matter, could stake an equal claim to the shared Jewish place of origin through the figure of Moses as founder. Indeed, Moses leads the return of the Jews, via the Exodus event, to their ancestral homeland; yet, the community of Jews in Egypt out of which Artapanus himself emerges can still lay claim to the Syrian origin, and therefore non-Egyptian, origin of the Jews while remaining geographically separated from Syria as a place. Moses provides the means by which Jewish identity maintains its distinctiveness in diasporic communities while remaining embedded outside the ancestral homeland of Syria.

Reading the Fragments of Artapanus through the lens of the poetics of colonization provides the necessary tools to understand Artapanus's narrative agenda. In Chapter 1, I argued that the predominant reading of Artapanus as a text displaying syncretism for apologetic purposes was only one possible reading. The primary concern of this reading, I suggested, is the reconstruction of a historical reality out of which Artapanus sprang. Instead of limiting our reading to the horizon of historical reality, in Chapter 2 I proposed focusing a reading in the realm of representation. By reading the Fragments of Artapanus through the Greek poetics of colonization, I argued that we could shift our points of reference to appreciate the representation of Hellenistic Jewish identity as it is constructed within the text itself. This reading is naturally focused on the idea of place and how the focus on places in the Fragments provides the entry point for reading them alongside Greek colonization narratives.

Then, in Chapters 3 and 4, my focus turned to reading the Fragments of Artapanus through the typological features of Greek colonization, expressed in the paired relationships between the colony and its metropolis and the colony and the surrounding indigenous place. In Chapter 3 I argued that the same narrative privatization of civic crises that features prominently in Greek narratives of colonial foundations, and the accompanying Delphic oracular sanction that this private crisis afforded, was a fruitful way to understand the apparent failures of Joseph and Moses to establish Jewish communities in Egypt. Here I suggested the absence of appropriate divine sanction for the foundation efforts of Joseph and Moses contributed to their ultimate failure. This reading has the benefit of reading beyond the apologetic scope of Artapanus's assignment of substantial Greek and Egyptian cultural tropes to Joseph and, especially, to Moses. Instead of reading these as attempts to syncretize the Jewish founders into Greek and Egyptian culture wholesale, reading these foundations as failures lacking proper divine sanction creates a narrative distance between Joseph and Moses and Greek and Egyptian religious practice.

In Chapter 4, then, I explored the transition that takes place in Fragment 3 of Artapanus which allows for Moses to exert control of the integrative fertility metaphors common to Greek colonization narratives. Building on my argument in Chapter 3, the access to this integrative power which was so clearly lacking earlier in the Fragments can be explained by the changing divine sanction of the Exodus event itself. The fertility metaphors explicated by the poetics of colonization provide the means by which we can differentiate between Moses's failed foundations and the indication, with his command of Nile fertility, of his ultimate success as a founder through the Exodus.

Finally, in the preceding sections of this chapter, I have suggested that the Exodus itself is the culmination of the Fragments of Artapanus. On the surface, this should not come as a

surprise—the Exodus was of course a seminal event in the representation of Hellenistic Jewish identity. By reading the Fragments of Artapanus through the lens of the poetics of colonization, I suggest the Exodus event is also the singular foundation, made possible by the proper divine sanction of the theophany to Moses in Fragment 3. Paralleling the movement in the Fragments from failure to success is the movement of Moses from failed founder to personified metropolis. In this sense, I argue that Moses mirrors the development of the Hellenistic kings as the origins of new foundations in place of the *polis*. These complementary developments situate the representation of Jewish identity in the Fragments of Artapanus at the intersection of proper divine approval and of the consolidation of metropolitan identity in the person of the king. In this sense, Artapanus may not strictly conform to the typology of Greek colonization narratives, but in fact mirrors the same innovative political developments related to foundations reflected in the Hellenistic period at large.

Throughout this project, as well, another intersection has also featured prominently; namely, the intersection of Jewish, Greek and Egyptian identity in the Fragments of Artapanus. This intersection is evident in the Fragments through the construction of place and through the narrative elements deployed in the representation of foundations. The representation of foundations in the Fragments draws on narrative tropes from Greek and Egyptian narratives. My argument in this project assumes this intersection can certainly be read as an apologetic move, positioning Moses as the originator of Egyptian religious practices, for example; and yet, this also factors into the overall development of the narrative from failure to the Exodus. Artapanus aligns the Jewish founder with Greek and Egyptian tropes in the course of distinguishing the ultimate source of Jewish distinctiveness, which is the foundation of Moses at the Exodus. Similarly, the intersection of Greek colonial poetics and their construction of place and the

representation of Jewish places in Egypt provides an opportunity to read Artapanus as simultaneously maintaining the non-Egyptian origin of the Jews while acknowledging their Egyptian foundations. Thus, the intersection of Greek, Egyptian, and Jewish identities in the context of the creation of place allows for Artapanus to align, as well as differentiate, these identities. The Jews are not Egyptians and yet are able to play the defining role in the creation of Egypt as a place.

The deliberate multicultural mode of Hellenistic Jewish identity in the Fragments of Artapanus is therefore one of the key advantages of reading the Fragments alongside the poetics of colonization. This lens affords us the opportunity to see, through the construction of colonial place and its eventual development into the role of the founder, the way that Artapanus blends Greek, Egyptian and Jewish tropes together with the overall purpose of clarifying Hellenistic Jewish identity. The Fragments of Artapanus are therefore more than simply syncretistic apologia. Instead, by reading them through the lens of the poetics of colonization, the Fragments of Artapanus present us with a sophisticated effort to situate Hellenistic Jewish identity within the wider, cosmopolitan and multiethnic world of the Hellenistic Mediterranean.

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