NOTES TO THE FRAGMENTS

Fragm. 1

1 Anti-Semitic fragments of the Exodus-story were current in the Hellenistic-Roman period. We have fragments of some ten authors who wrote on this subject between the fourth century B.C.E. and the fourth century C.E. See J.G. Gager, Moses in Greco-Roman Paganism, Nashville-New York (Abingdon Press) 1972, 113-133, and N.R.M. de Lange-C. Thoma, Antisemitismus I, Theologische Realenzyklopädie III (1978), 116-117. Gager rightly remarks (on Manetho, but it applies as well to Chaeremon, Lysimachus, Apion, etc.): "there is general agreement that the underlying stories themselves, of which there were many versions (the invasion of Egypt by outsiders, variously called Hykos and Syrians; the reign of terror under these outsiders who devastated the holy places of the indigenous Egyptian religion; the expulsion of the outsiders by a hero-king), reach far back into Egyptian history and that their application to the Jews is only a secondary phenomenon" (116). Traditions about the Hykos and the Sethians have especially played a part in this development. See on these and related matters J. Marquart, Chronologische Untersuchungen 3: Die Exodusberichte des Manetho und Chairemon und die Josephsgeschichte der Genesis. Philologus Supplementband VII (1899), 667-693; R. Weill, La fin du moyen empire égyptien I, Paris (PICARD) 1918, 104-111; P. Montet, Le drame d’Avaris. Essai sur la pénétration des Sémites en Égypte, Paris (Geuthner), 1941, 173-186; J. Schwartz, Le ‘cycle de Pétoubaissi’ et les commentaires égyptiens de l’Exode, BIFAO 49 (1950), 67-83, esp. 75-78; W. Helck, Die Beziehungen Ägyptens zu Vorderasien im 3. und 2. Jahrtausend v. Chr., Wiesbaden (Harassowitz) 1962; J.G. Griffiths, Plutarch’s De Iside et Osiride, (henceforth Plut. DIO), Cardiff (University of Wales Press) 1970, 418-419; J. Hani, La religion égyptienne dans la pensée de Plutarque, (henceforth La relig. égypt.) Paris (Les Belles Lettres) 1976, 107-108. For commentary on our passage see J.G. Müller, Des Flavius Josephus Schrift gegen den Apion, Basel (Bahrmeier) 1877, repr. Hildesheim (Olms) 1969, 203-205, but especially M. Stern, Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism I, Jerusalem (Israel Academy of Sciences and Humanities) 1974, 420-421. On the relations between Jews and Egyptians in antiquity in general see S. Davis, Race-Relations in Ancient Egypt: Greek, Egyptian, Hebrew, Roman, London (Methuen) 1951.

2 Manetho’s account has been quoted by Josephus in preceding sections, I 73-91, 93-105, 228-252. On this Egyptian priest from the first half of the third century B.C.E. see Stern, op. cit. I 62-86 (literature on p. 65), and H.J. Thissen, Manetho, LdÄ III (1980), 1180-1181. He was the first to write a history of Egypt in Greek with a strongly anti-Jewish account of the Exodus. A discussion of his name can be found in Griffiths, Plut. DIO 78-81.


4 M. Stern, An Egyptian-Greek Prophecy and the Tradition about the Expulsion of the Jews from Egypt in the History of Chaeremon, Zion 28 (1963), 223-228 (in Hebrew), and the same, Greek and Latin Authors I 420, has pointed out that the element of the wrath of Isis has a striking parallel in a papyrus dating from the third century C.E., in which the wrath of Isis is in some way related to the expulsion of the Jews from Egypt (according to the generally accepted restoration of the papyrus). The text may be found in CPJ III pp. 119-121 (no. 520). This “fragment of Graeco-Egyptian prophecy
bearing on Jews" (so the editors of CPJ) is related to the so-called Oracle of the Potter, but that work does not show anti-Semitic traits; see now the latest critical edition by L. Koenen, Die Prophezeiungen des "Töpfers", ZPE 2 (1968), 178-209. There is no allusion to the wrath of Isis in Manetho or other anti-Semitic authors, but it seems likely that both Chaeremon and CPJ 520 derive from a common Graeco-Egyptian tradition. The 'wrath of Isis' could be explained in theological terms. In the Eastern Delta the Semitic Asiatics were worshippers of Seth (= Baal), and the Osirian religion, which included Isis and Horus, was in constant confrontation with them; see e.g. J.G. Griffiths, Horusmythe, LdA III (1980), 54-59. For the importance of dream-epiphanies of Isis see J.G. Griffiths, Apuleius of Madauros. The Isis-Book (EPRO 39), Leiden (Brill) 1975, 139. Manetho, too, places the expulsion in the reign of Amenophis (C. Ap. I 230). The identification of this king remains a problem; see Stern on Manetho, op. cit. I 84.

In Manetho (C. Ap. I 232) this part is played by Amenophilis, son of Paapis (i.e. Amenhotep son of Hapu), a very important and famous personage in the reign of Amenophis III. See D. Wildung, Imhotep und Amenhotep, München (Deutscher Kunstverlag) 1977, 201 ff.

The meaning of the name Phritibautes is uncertain. Probably the first element, Phri-, means "he who is in charge of"; see J. Quaegebeur, Le dieu égyptien Shai, Leuven (Leuven University Press) 1975, 227; cf. A. Erman-H. Grapow, Wörterbuch der ägyptischen Sprache III (repr. Berlin, Akademie Verlag, 1971) 141. For the second element (-Tibautes) no satisfactory solution has been found; but cf. p'-hrj-djb'.wt, "he who is in charge of the seals" (Wörterbuch V 566).

Chaeremon's account must have been abridged here by Josephus. For parallels in the other versions see Stern, op. cit. 84 ff. The μολυσμοὺς ἔχοντες ἄνδρες are Manetho's ἔκπρους καὶ ἄλλοι μιαροὶ ἄνθρωποι (I 233).

Joseph's rule over Egypt (Genesis 41) is conflated with Moses' leadership during the Exodus, and so they are made contemporaries. This anachronism occurs in some other authors as well; see the references in Stern, op. cit. I 420. Both Phritibautes and Joseph are depicted here as Egyptian hierogrammateis, a category to which Chaeremon himself belonged as well; see the Introduction and K. Th. Zauzich, Hierogrammat, LdA II (1977), 1199 ff.

Schwyzer 57 ff. surmises that in the original story § 290 b ran: ἡγεσθαι δ' αὐτῶν Τισήθων τούτοις καὶ Πετεσέρηα, and that only at a later, anti-Jewish stage were the names of Moses and Joseph interpolated. This is probably right; see also Stern, op. cit. I 421. In Manetho's account the Egyptian name of Moses is Osarsep (Stern, ibid. 85). The name Tisathen in its present form is feminine. Perhaps it should be amended to Petisithen, "he whom Isis gives", cf. Πετεσέρης. Petesephe could be a corruption of Peteseth, "he whom Seth gives". It could also be a blend of Petephrē, the name of Joseph's father-in-law (Genesis 41:45, LXX), and Joseph's own name. But more probably it is a compound of Pete-, "the one given by", and of Sepa, a chthonian deity worshipped in the shape of a centipede in the neighbourhood of Heliopolis (see Bonnet, Reallexikon 698 ff.). Manetho's Osarsep might be a combination of the names of Osiris and Sepa. See on these matters G. Mysies, 'The interpretatio judaica of Sarapis', in M. J. Vermaseren (ed.), Studies in Hellenistic Religions (EPPO 78), Leiden (Brill) 1979, 209-212, and also his article 'Some Notes on the Name of Sarapis', in Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren (EPPO 68), Leiden (Brill) 1978, 821-832.

On the problems of localization of these events in the different versions see J. Schwartz, BIFAO 49 (1950), 75 ff. and also J. G. Müller ad loc. (see n. 1).

The identity of this group on the border is rather unclear. Manetho introduces the Hyksos here (I 237 ff.).

Cf. Manetho in C. Ap. I 246-7. Manetho's version looks much more elaborate since Josephus quotes it literally, whereas Chaeremon's account has been abridged. But in the main lines they are consonant.

Stern, op. cit. I 421: "The story ... is typical of the myth of the saviour-child and its persecution".

Quite unexpectedly the people expelled by Ramesses are called Jews here, and it is